Reforming Reformation

Edited by Thomas F. Mayer

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*This volume is dedicated to Ron Thiemann from his colleagues
with affection and esteem.*

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Edited by

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Series Editor's Preface

The still-usual emphasis on medieval (or Catholic) and reformation (or Protestant) religious history has meant neglect of the middle ground, both chronological and ideological. As a result, continuities between the middle ages and early modern Europe have been overlooked in favor of emphasis on radical discontinuities. Further, especially in the later period, the identification of 'reformation' with various kinds of Protestantism means that the vitality and creativity of the established church, whether in its Roman or local manifestations, has been left out of account. In the last few years, an upsurge of interest in the history of traditional (or Catholic) religion makes these inadequacies in received scholarship even more glaring and in need of systematic correction. The series will attempt this by covering all varieties of religious behavior, broadly interpreted, not just (or even especially) traditional institutional and doctrinal church history. It will to the maximum degree possible be interdisciplinary, comparative and global, as well as non-confessional. The goal is to understand religion, primarily of the 'Catholic' variety, as a broadly human phenomenon, rather than as a privileged mode of access to superhuman realms, even implicitly.

The period covered, 1300–1700, embraces the moment which saw an almost complete transformation of the place of religion in the life of Europeans, whether considered as a system of beliefs, as an institution, or as a set of social and cultural practices. In 1300, vast numbers of Europeans, from the pope down, fully expected Jesus's return and the beginning of His reign on earth. By 1700, very few Europeans, of whatever level of education, would have subscribed to such chiliastic beliefs. Pierre Bayle's notorious sarcasms about signs and portents are not idiosyncratic. Likewise, in 1300 the vast majority of Europeans probably regarded the pope as their spiritual head; the institution he headed was probably the most tightly integrated and effective bureaucracy in Europe. Most Europeans were at least nominally Christian, and the pope had at least nominal knowledge of that fact. The papacy, as an institution, played a central role in high politics, and the clergy in general formed an integral part of most governments, whether central or local. By 1700, Europe was divided into a myriad of different religious allegiances, and even those areas officially subordinate to the pope were both more nominally Catholic in belief (despite colossal efforts at imposing uniformity) and also in allegiance than they had been four hundred years earlier. The pope had become only one political factor, and not one of the first rank. The clergy,

for its part, had virtually disappeared from secular governments as well as losing much of its local authority. The stage was set for the Enlightenment.

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Thomas F. Mayer,
Augustana College

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INTRODUCTION

The Reformation used to be singular. It used to be an event, and a singular, unique one at that. It happened within a tidily circumscribed period of time, in a tightly constrained area and largely because of a single individual. Few students of early modern Europe would now accept this view. Certainly the Whig paradigm of the Reformation is, if not dead, mortally wounded. Nevertheless, many observers do continue to endorse a similar notion that would restrict the label "Reformation" only to those places lucky enough to have the right kind of reformation, a Protestant one, places like Wittenberg, Geneva, even England. As a direct result, those students would also probably at least implicitly endorse a teleological, orthogenetic story of how the proper Reformation came about. In the last generation this situation has begun to change. The Reformation has been stretched both backward and forward in time, its geography has been similarly extended, and the cast of characters has expanded exponentially. Still, despite the efforts of Hubert Jedin and others to gain admission for Catholic varieties of reform, the ideological and religious content tends still to be confined to various kinds of Protestantism, placing fairly sharp limits on how far the Reformation's (or even the Reformations') compass can be stretched.

Over the last 10 or 15 years the Reformation/s have slowly been evolving into a process or set of processes that cropped up just about anywhere Europeans might be found. In order to nudge this development along, I hosted a conference in October 2010 at Augustana College called "Reforming Reformation." The object was to undertake a fundamental rethinking of all the possible meanings of the term reformation, concept and label. In order to stimulate such thought, I divided the conferees into four vaguely "national" panels, emphasizing places that either did not have a "real" reformation or had an odd or incomplete one. The four panels treated Italy, England (emphasizing the Marian interlude since it has almost always been considered a bump on the way to seeing God's will done), the Empire and Spain.[1] The conference was designed to be strongly interdisciplinary, with participants from literature, art history, theology and history. By examining a single topic from multiple interdisciplinary perspectives, we hoped to avoid inadvertently reinforcing disciplinary logic, a common result of the way knowledge has been institutionalized and compartmentalized in research universities over the last century.

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[1] France had to be excluded for lack of resources. I chose not to solicit an essay about it, since the author would not have had the shared experience of the conference to draw on in revisions.

This approach also had the effect of revealing the degree to which knowledge is always context-dependent, at least in the human sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*). Holding the conference at an elite liberal arts college where the walls between disciplines can be lower than at R-1 institutions dramatized the opportunities for cross-disciplinary discussion that we pursued during the conference. Nowadays, there may be nothing very subversive in these goals, but there was in the unusual way in which the conference was conducted. Instead of reading papers at one another, the conferees submitted their work in advance for posting on the Web and gave only a short summary at the event. We spent the rest of our time in discussion, including the opening and closing sessions devoted solely to reflection on Big Questions and broader implications. The sessions also mixed up papers geographically to see what extra comparative sparks might be struck, as well as to bring into the discussion questions of center-periphery, which automatically raised issues of method. This introduction is mainly intended to capture the high points of those discussions.

We asked questions of just about any imaginable kind, from fairly mundane ones about periodization to much more interesting ones of epistemology and the role of agency and contingency in historical events. It mattered, for example, that Philip II became king of England or that his father happened to be king of Spain. As scholars do, we worked within several dominant paradigms, especially confessionalization and the recently refurbished notion of secularization at the same time as we put pressure on them, especially their attendant emphasis on ideology. The geographical range of the conferees' expertise as well as their disciplinary backgrounds constantly threw up questions about questions. For example, to the suggestion that the vernacular spoken in a given area had an impact on believers' access to the Latin mass, it was pointed out that German cultural areas offered explanations of it in the language of the people, including readings for the day, and conversely that Latin was still a spoken language in the sixteenth century. Similarly, to an observation that cognitive functioning, for example, memorization skills, might explain differences in reactions to religious messages, several participants pointed out that the spreaders of those messages took such problems into account by amplifying the point through vernacular repetition, teaching songs containing pericopes that peasants could sing, or using mnemonic devices that had been around since the eleventh century.

Such comparatively small points of detail arose as a function of one of the major themes that emerged from discussion, the importance of individuals in particular contexts and an attendant stress on events rather than structures, in a word, contingency. The actions of particular people and the motives behind them, not putative larger forces, provided causation, but not teleology, making room for difference, and assuming

nothing about process.[2] The nexus between the diachronic and synchronic frequently drew attention as a means of linking individuals and the long-term processes they continued to instantiate. There was much talk of institutions, conceived as sets of dynamic practices, for example, the procedure of inquisition in the hands of a particular inquisitor or the practice of confession and penance. Often institutions were conceived of as frameworks allowing, even demanding, innovation not repression, especially in literary and artistic reactions to the Council of Trent. These conjoint themes arose from and fed back into the careful attention to texts of whatever kind manifested in all the papers. As one participant observed, reading texts in a way impossible a generation ago (whether through *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, close analysis, or the method of legal anthropology, to name just a few of the approaches deployed in the papers) raises fascinating questions about truth—can we tell true stories about the past?—and about the degree to which those stories, call them histories if you must, are fictional or fictive in Paul Ricoeur's sense. Those questions in turn underscored the role of individual intention in the telling of stories as a way of making sense of the past.

Let it not be thought that we spent all our time at the level of micro-analysis. As already indicated by our stress on individuals as the source of causation, beginning from them and the texts they produced led us to the problem of explanation, the relation between the particular and the general, the part and the whole, together with the role of counterfactuals that although implicit in every claim to provide an explanation are rarely acknowledged or brought to consciousness. Interestingly enough, our discussions of causation and narrative were aborted at exactly the same moment.

Concern with the relation between narrative and causation and between the general and the particular meant that dialectics of one kind or another, included as method in some cases, cropped up often in our papers and discussions. The dominant interpretive model was conversation, dialogue, negotiation. All the papers were also much more historicist, much more concerned to get at history from the inside, than would have been the case a generation ago. Although far decentered from his erstwhile position of dominance, when Luther did put in an appearance, it was usually as the inventor of a form of dialectical theology, which as method at least is still with us. It is emblematic of both the decentering accomplished and of the

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[2] The contrast between the approaches to the history of printing taken by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book. Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) illustrates the point. For Eisenstein, printing functions as a *deus ex machina*, a purely technological process virtually independent of historical context, while Johns instead makes it a thoroughly historicist phenomenon.

importance of individual agency that the only figure other than Luther and Cardinal Pole to be mentioned in more than one paper was Bartolomé Carranza. While the first pair could still be treated in simplistic terms of black and white hats, the triangular relation between all three virtually demands a dialectical analysis.

Perhaps the biggest point to emerge from our discussions on the score of content was the importance of political context. As happened almost a generation ago in the study of the "Tudor Revolution," the introduction of contingency moved in lockstep with a renewed interest in politics, rather than structures.[3] Not by chance, discussants often mentioned Tom Brady's *German Histories in the Age of Reformations*.[4] It, too, in common with older work, depends on the structure of German politics in order to make sense of the Reformations, but that structure is now the so-called "composite monarchies," a concept developed over the last 15 years to emphasize the weakness of some central authorities, particularly in Spain, and the significant strength of local institutions. The same model applies equally well not only to the Empire, but also more surprisingly to England, one of the strongest monarchies, but one in which self-government at the king's command opened the door wide to local initiative and resistance.[5] In all cases, the comparative weakness of central institutions throws up major problems for the confessionalization hypothesis.

More surprising yet, in light of Paolo Prodi's work on the success of the papal monarchy, although perfectly in keeping with older Protestant interpretations, Rome turns out to have been perhaps the weakest monarchy of all. Again, the strength of local piety in large part compensated for the pope's failings, at the same time as a gradual movement away from Rome accelerated, becoming increasingly apparent over the course of the fifteenth century. Again, this interpretation applies best to the Empire, but similar arguments could be made for England and perhaps even better for Scotland, two of the most strongly pro-papal countries at that time. Part of the pope's problem, of course, stemmed from his status as simultaneously universal monarch of Christendom and temporal prince in Italy. On the second stage, he succeeded even less well

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[3]   See the controversy engendered by the often intemperate attacks of David Starkey on Sir Geoffrey Elton, more moderately put in the essays in Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (eds), *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

[4]   Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[5]   See Peter Marshall's paper in this volume and inter alia Ben Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation. Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Vale of Gloucester, 1483–1560* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010) and Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

at playing the emperor's part among a congeries of competing local states. Only in response to the challenge from the north did the popes not only reinvigorate their monarchy, but also significantly increase its sway over the rest of the peninsula, particularly through the spread of the revived Roman Inquisition from the 1570s onward. On the European stage, popes at least until the opening of the council of Trent bungled away myriad opportunities to hold center and periphery together, failing repeatedly to adhere to what should have been their own most cherished principle, what might be called "permanent reformation," the idea derived from the Gregorian revolution of the eleventh century that if anything should break in western Christendom, the pope would fix it.[6]

We often found useful the framework of center-periphery, originally derived from economics and sociology, and just as often decentered it, reversing margins and centers, marginalizing centers, making margins central, once more yielding multiple dynamic, dialectical processes. And once more angle of vision and the breadth of the participants' expertise made a difference. When one conferee spoke of the "unsettling" observed in German art of the late fifteenth century as distinctive (Matthias Grünewald, for example), others responded that very similar painting appeared in Ferrara (Cosmé Tura) or in Spanish crucifixes. Thus, local circumstances, individual initiative, even artistic genius, produced patterns that suggested larger processes. Likewise, while German Lutheran art developed a sacramental representation of reality, virtually the same thing happened in many places in Italy in the wake of Trent.

Probably also not by coincidence, Brady's book covered a relatively long period, 1400–1650, and periodization often cropped up at the conference. What length makes sense? we constantly asked ourselves. Longer than has been traditional, we concluded. Even a paper that appeared to cover only five years actually concerned the whole sixteenth century. We all agreed that at least the fifteenth century had to be included, whether to demonstrate how the strength of lay piety could explain Luther's success or, contrariwise, how Luther makes sense as a "counter-reformer" as Heiko Oberman argued for his opposition to "higher" varieties of late medieval Christianity, especially the intrusion (as he saw it) of humanist values.

One topic did not attract much attention: labels. The intense debate of a decade ago over what to call traditional (Catholic) religion did not recur.[7] One element in it did crop up repeatedly, albeit usually without

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[6] This concept is an extrapolation from Jeffrey Burton Russell's argument in *A History of Medieval Christianity: Prophecy and Order* (New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1968).

[7] John O'Malley's suggested label, "early modern Catholicism," has not engendered much excitement. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). See William V. Hudon, "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy–Old Questions, New Insights," *American Historical Review*, 101

being recognized. That was the attempt to define the term *reformatio*. John O'Malley then interpreted it in almost exclusively disciplinary terms. "'Reform' meant change self-consciously introduced by ecclesiastical officials to improve the functioning in the first instance of other ecclesiastical officials." "*Reformatio* is not the same thing as heightened religious inspiration and commitment." Although calling it somewhat obscurely "a canonical term with religious implications," he admitted that it had a "diffuse meaning" along with a "technical and relatively precise one relating to the proper functioning of three offices—those held by the pope, the bishops, and the pastors of parishes." In short, "*reformatio* is a crucially important aspect of what happened in Catholicism from the fifteenth century forward." Even more important, he observed in passing its "continuous, though tumultuous, history from at least the eleventh century forward."[8] Once more, a long period.

O'Malley was surely right that any attempt to understand *reformatio* demands setting it in long-term, perhaps very long-term context. It turns out to be a permanent process in western Christianity, of which whatever happened in the sixteenth century must be considered a phase. The comparative lack of recognition of this process is in part a function of the continuing—if steadily more attenuated—divide between medievalists and scholars of early modern Europe.[9] But it is also a function of at least historians' predilection for doing history from the outside in a remarkably un-historicist way. Long after the "linguistic turn" in intellectual history, too many central terms used by the people of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remain poorly understood. Near the head of the list is *reformatio*.

A decade ago in the course of my work on Cardinal Pole, I set out to write a little piece about his view of *reformatio*, a word he used over and over, along with its root and cognates.[10] In grad school I had read Gerhard Ladner's and Karl Morrison's weighty volumes on patristic and medieval ideas of reform and therefore assumed that there would have to be comparable studies of early modern ones, certainly by German practitioners of *Begriffsgeschichte*. Alas, my expectations proved false. Aside from lexika, there was *no* work. Apart from my article, the gap still gapes. Pole, as iconic an eccentric figure as one could imagine, also well illustrates the value of

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(1996), 783–804, and 804 where he also rejects his teacher Eric Cochrane's "Tridentine Reformation."

    [8]   O'Malley, *Trent*, 131–33.

    [9]   For a meditation on the implications of this problem for the understanding of the Reformations, see Constantin Fasolt, "Hegel's Ghost," *Viator*, 39 (2009), 345–86.

    [10]   Thomas F. Mayer, "Cardinal Pole's Concept of *reformatio*, the *Reformatio Angliae* and Bartolomé Carranza," in John Edwards and Ron Truman (eds), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 65–80.

a dialectical approach, especially since his notion of *reformatio* changed significantly over the course of his career.[11] The term often meant reform of discipline, as O'Malley argued, including control of monastic communities, and by the time Pole returned to England under Mary I, its content had become almost exclusively disciplinary. Yet it also meant *everything* the Council of Trent had on its agenda, in both cases entailing the imitation of Christ. Getting down to brass tacks, Pole treated *reformatio* as almost exclusively a matter of institutional changes intended to allow the clergy to tend their flocks, beginning with the pope. At this point, Pole treated the pope as the chief prophet, a probably significant rewriting of his office in charismatic terms. Later, he wrote that the pope had literally to be Jesus and execute his office from the cross. The "true foundation of all works that pertain to the reformation of the church … consists in faith, in hope, and in love."[12] These may be metaphorical formulations, but they consort oddly with nuts-and-bolts administrative and disciplinary reform, almost as oddly as Pole's increasingly prominent apocalyptic streak. Interestingly enough, despite his emphasis on the pope, Pole also argued that acting like Christ meant only rarely restraining the bishops, emphasizing the tension between center and periphery, global and local.

Many of his contemporaries regarded Pole as singularly ineffectual, making him a poor example perhaps of the role of individual agency. That others thought him the man responsible for the burnings of almost 300 Englishmen and women in the Marian repression contradicts the image of passivity that Pole himself tried to project. Naturally, the relation between these two *personae* has to be dialectical, just as that between the "real" and the written Pole.[13] As an Englishman and agent of the pope, indeed virtual second pope in his homeland, he neatly instantiates the dialectic between center and periphery, especially when the center (in the form of Paul IV) turned on him and tried to have him hauled back to Rome as a heretic, at which point the periphery in the form of Queen Mary, temporarily become one of the centers of the Hapsburg empire, bent over backwards to defend him. So did the center of that empire, King Philip, despite the reservations of some of his closest advisers; that is, until they finally convinced the king that Pole was indeed the center of a large periphery of dangerous heretics, extending virtually all over Europe. In any case, Pole well illustrates the importance of an individual and his

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[11] I have sketched how such an approach might be applied more generally to the Italian Reformation, or at least the so-called *spirituali*, in "What to call the *spirituali*," in Gianpaolo Brizzi, Adriano Prosperi and Gabriella Zarri (eds), *Chiesa cattolica e mondo moderno*: *Scritti in onore di Paolo Prodi* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007), 11–26.

[12] Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5966, fo. 144r–v.

[13] See my *Reginald Pole, Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

agency, whether active or passive, at the nexus of a number of centers and peripheries, including real geographical ones. As for what to call him and his circles, well, they better than many others provide a textbook example of the negative power of labels.[14] Finally, since whatever Pole believed, heretical or not, was deeply rooted in St Paul, the importance of a very long period indeed is hard to miss.

The Papers

The first section of this volume, "Long-term perspectives toward the present," contains three essays. We begin with Brad Gregory, "Reforming the Reformation: God's truth and the exercise of power." He argues that most historians of the Reformation era regard radical Protestantism as an inconsequential sideshow to Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism. A different picture emerges if we separate the basis for their doctrinal claims (which was shared) from the matter of political support for them (which was not shared). A long-term perspective on the Reformation's legacy in the modern world, too, helps us to see how the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura* produced an open-ended proliferation of doctrinal claims and related groups that began in the early 1520s and has never gone away. In the early modern period, magisterial Protestants were not the norm among Europe's anti-Roman Christians, but the exception, being the only groups whose claims received the political support of secular authorities—and hence the only Protestant traditions that exerted a widespread social or a major historical influence.

Next, Peter Marshall in "Confessionalization, confessionalism and confusion in the English Reformation" considers the applicability of the "confessionalization thesis", formulated by the German historians Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, to the circumstances of the Reformation in England. It notes that confessionalization theorists have been remarkably reluctant to draw England into their framework and that historians of the English Reformation have been equally disinclined to engage with the concept, the few who have done so suggesting that the conditions for a successful confessionalizing process were absent from later Tudor England. The discussion here underlines how surprising it might seem that the Tudor monarchy should be unable fully to mobilize the resources of state religion for purposes of political and social control, noting the political advantages it enjoyed and the presence of proto-confessionalizing impulses

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[14] See my "What to call the *spirituali*" in Gianpaolo Brizzi, Adriano Prosperi and Gabriella Zarri (eds), *Chiesa cattolica e mondo moderno*: *Scritti in onore di Paolo Prodi* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007), 11–26.

on the part of the crown in the later middle ages. It seeks to explain the anomaly by drawing attention to the peculiarities of the early Reformation in England. Here it is argued that the state crucially failed to gain control of the confessionalizing process, and that forms of unofficial "bottom-up" confessional identity-formation were underway independently from a relatively early date. This was due to the doctrinal oddities of the Henrician Reformation, and to the subsequent swings of official policy, which, rather than "confusing" the populace, served to stimulate more entrenched religious positions, particularly through phenomena such as exile and martyrdom.

Finally, Ronald Thiemann offers a first glimpse of his forthcoming book about secularization. He notes that recent contributions to the debates about the rise of secularization continue to identify fourteenth–sixteenth century movements of reform, including the Protestant reformations, as "engines of secularity." In conversation with Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* this essay offers an account of Martin Luther's theology that emphasizes the "sacramental realism" that is central to his understanding of the person and work of Jesus Christ and of the sacraments. The essay thus offers the beginning of a counter-narrative about movements of reform, one that emphasizes the role of these movements in sacralizing the everyday.

The second section offers more detailed studies, tacking "From the general to the particular and back." Lu Ann Homza's piece, inspired by Clifford Geertz, asks whether religious figures in sixteenth-century Spain gauged religious truth and persuasion through the idea of the local and a preference for induction. It is clear that the local mattered to religious piety within early modern Europe; furthermore, we are familiar with the role of induction in the Scientific Revolution. Still, there were clerics in Spain who used an inductive process to understand religious controversies, and who liked to move from particular events to larger principles, much as Geertz's subjects did. The evidence suggests that some Spanish Catholics based their understanding of the true, the good, and the sinful on people, conversations, and duration, rather than institutions and traditions. This sort of knowledge does not have the same contours as the *conocimiento* pursued by Hernán Cortés, Francisco Hernández, and Philip II's maritime engineers: those figures were chasing and then attesting the possession of operative knowledge, which they could put to use for the state's benefit as well as their own. In contrast, my subjects' frame of reference was particularistic, dialogical, and spiritual; it was imagined as benefitting a smaller community of religious companions. Given the customary portrait of the Church Militant which dominates the writing of Spanish history, it is poignant to find Spaniards in the sixteenth century emphasizing conversation, a positive outlook on human beings, specific historical moments, and an acceptance of flux. The individuals examined here

resisted the imposition of supposedly timeless categories that really had been created by men. Their watchword came from Matthew 15:6: "by following tradition, you have wrecked the mandate of God."

The second piece also concerns Spain. Jodi Bilinkoff begins from the observation that historians have long identified the foundation of new religious orders or reform of already existing ones as hallmarks of the Catholic Reformation and lionized founders as the movement's "heroes" or "heroines." Among these iconic figures one might expect to find John of the Cross (1542–1591). Esteemed in modern times as a sublime mystic, valued spiritual guide, and one of the finest poets in the Spanish language, he is also widely regarded as the co-founder of the Discalced Carmelite Order, along with Teresa of Avila (1515–1582). Yet relatively little is known about John of the Cross as an individual. Unlike Teresa, he did not compose an autobiography and only a small number of his letters have survived. This lack of source material may account for the fact that while John's spiritual writings and poetry have been studied extensively by scholars of theology and literature few historians have examined his life, and afterlife. In this essay I explore how the six earliest biographers of John of the Cross negotiated the challenge of portraying a man who was actually a controversial and divisive figure. While these Carmelite authors were admirers of John and worked hard to establish his heroic virtues, they also betrayed considerable anxiety about his leadership within the new order. These narratives of exemplary deeds and saintly virtues thus provide evidence of the conflicts involved in the movements for religious reform in early modern Catholic Europe.

Anne Overell's essay concerns one of the strongest common dynamics to reformation of whatever stripe. According to many older history books, reformation began with the soul, with Luther's *Anfechtung* and a generation tortured by angst. Spiritual dialogue—soul talk—proved to be a notable survivor of religious change all over Europe. Although many Protestants rejected the sacrament of penance, they went on talking to individuals, teaching and advising them, whilst studies of Catholic areas show how spiritual direction became more widespread and more professional. This essay investigates the role of such dialogue in the several English reformations, concentrating on the dangerous mid-century years when devout souls were required to absorb a rapid sequence of capricious religious changes. The chapter shows that the urge to talk remained imprinted and that pressures to conform gave these conversations a new urgency. Serious attempts to provide consolation were made by churchmen of widely differing views, for instance Thomas Cranmer and Reginald Pole. Their efforts are evident in liturgies, sermons, biographies, letters and enthusiastic phases of publication of spiritual literature. Even the harsh polemic against Nicodemite compromise was littered with fictional

spiritual dialogues. The instinctive mental habits of the first generation to abandon Catholicism combined with the psychological and spiritual pressures of conformity to produce a unique moment for soul talk.

Finally, John Edwards meditates on the significance of the Marian interlude (to fall into Whiggish language) in English history. During the reign of Mary I (1553–58), not only were some of the old institutions of the Church restored, after the reforms of Henry VIII and Edward VI's governments, but new ideas were brought into England from the Council of Trent. The Council was suspended during Mary's reign, and its decrees would not be promulgated until after her death, but they began to have great effect in the English Church, and to a lesser extent in Wales and Ireland, before Elizabeth reversed the process, from 1559 onwards. This paper focuses on one of the most prominent churchmen who helped shape and implement this reform, alongside the Papal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Reginald Pole. This was the Spanish Dominican, Fray Bartolomé Carranza, who arrived in England with Philip of Spain, in July 1554. Pole's English Synod (1555–56) commissioned Carranza to write a catechism, primarily for the English clergy, which published in Antwerp in 1558. It was never applied in England, yet its influence on the later Tridentine catechism was so great that its study and analysis, which are undertaken here, shed bright light on the reformed Church which was envisaged by some of those who grew up in the turmoil which had followed Luther's defiance. Its systematic treatment of doctrine is garnished with pithy comments on the abuses and conflicts of the Church in Carranza's day and it deserves a prominent place among the historic formularies of the Church.

The last section of the volume deals with probably the most important moment in the history of the reformations, the point at which the division of Europe into confessional camps became almost inevitable, the Council of Trent. For an unusual, long-term perspective on what Trent did, we begin with John M. Frymire's "German Catholics, Catholic sermons, and Roman Catholicism in reformation Germany: Reconfiguring Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire." His target is simple: what did "Catholic" mean over the course of almost 200 years. The result of his investigation is anything but simple. Considering the two-decades-long revival of interest in Catholic varieties of reformation, he notes that the criteria employed to judge what counts as "Catholic" have been anachronistic and have left Catholic Germany between Luther and 1600 in a wasteland lying between the later Middle Ages and the post-Tridentine era. There are deep and distant historiographical reasons for this that have influenced research up until the present. After exploring some of the contents and contexts of this historiography, this essay summarizes the production and printing history of German Catholic sermon collections (postils) and suggests that they represent an alternative source that force a revision of standard characterizations of

pre-Tridentine, Catholic Germany. What counted as "Catholic" in 1600 was quite different from that which counted in, say, 1540. In Germany there were Catholics long before there were Roman Catholics, and it is due time that scholars acknowledged as much. Once they do, the activities (including the production of pastoral literature) of pre-Tridentine German Catholics will be taken more seriously, which in turn should warrant them a place in scholarly treatments of "early modern Catholicism."

Working in the history of Italian literature, Abigail Brundin takes issue with traditional historiographies of the period of "Counter Reformation" in Italy which present it as a time of "mental stagnation" in which literary innovation was all but stamped out by censorship and religious anxiety. This negative view has proved to be long lasting and hard to shift, but an alternative picture of the period after 1560 can be uncovered. By re-engaging with popular literary genres and local and scribal practices of dissemination, it is possible to argue that literary responses to the Tridentine age were usually pragmatic and often highly creative. In addition, a closer look at the functioning of successive Indexes from 1558 makes clear the contradictions and confusion that reigned on the issue of banned books. Central to a rewriting of the impact of the Council of Trent on Italian literature is a renewed focus on scribal culture as a popular means of literary expression and diffusion in the period. Equally crucial is the need to get away from assumptions that orthodoxy necessarily denotes literary tedium. Finally, the surprising picture offered by an analysis of women's contribution to literary culture during the Counter Reformation helps to correct the assumption that censorship was a universally effective repressor of literary innovation.

The volume concludes with a piece about another area in which Trent's impact has been almost universally regarded as negative, that of painting. Marcia Hall surveys changes in Catholic attitudes to images. At first, when Protestants banned them, Catholics tried to find common ground. When it became clear that the schism was irreversible, the Catholics defined their position in the Degree on the Veneration of Images at the final session of the Council of Trent (1563). In the decades that followed responses of clerics and artists ranged across the spectrum from the fanatical regulations put in place in Milan by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo to the embrace even of secular subjects like still-life and landscape by Federico Borromeo as appropriate subjects for devotional images. This paper will explore the diversity of responses in an effort to dispel the perception of the Counter-Reformation Church as a monolith issuing orders from the top.

Acknowledgments

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PART I
Long-term Perspectives
Toward the Present

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Reforming the Reformation: God's Truth and the Exercise of Power

Brad S. Gregory

This essay proposes a different way of thinking about the relationship between what we usually call the magisterial and the radical Reformations. Although it is primarily concerned with the Holy Roman Empire and Switzerland in the 1520s and 30s, its compass is much broader both chronologically and geographically. It spans from the beginning of the evangelical movement in German-speaking central Europe around 1520 through the English Revolution in the 1640s and 50s. This different way of thinking derives from an analytical distinction between the endeavor to know God's truth on the one hand (the central concern of those reformers who rejected the authority of the Roman church), and the exercise of political power on the other. Taken together, the analysis suggests a different perspective on the Reformation and its legacy — hence "Reforming the Reformation." It is imperative to start, though, with some sense of the character of Latin Christendom on the eve of the Reformation, else we cannot know what changed and how the Reformation differed from late medieval reforming efforts.

Considerable research in recent decades suggests that, seen as a whole, Western Christianity at the outset of the sixteenth century exhibits two major paradoxes. First, it combined a wide tolerance of diverse local beliefs and practices with sharp limits on orthodoxy. We are now well aware that any picture of medieval Latin Christianity as a homogeneous, uniform set of practices that were rigidly prescribed, strictly enforced, and closely followed is simply mistaken. Variety and voluntarism were hallmarks of late medieval religious life beyond a few basic expectations and implicit affirmation of the truth claims that they presupposed, from minimal participation in practices expected of all the baptized to the heights of spiritual life sought by individuals such as Henry Suso or Catherine of Genoa.[1] At the same time, orthodoxy conceptually and necessarily implied

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[1]   John Van Engen, "Multiple Options: The World of the Fifteenth-Century Church," *Church History*, 77/2 (2008), pp. 257–84; R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe,*

heterodoxy, simply as a corollary of the fact that the church made truth claims, no less in the fifteenth century than it had in the fifth. If some things are taken to be true, their contraries are necessarily false. Crossing the wrong lines could thus quickly land one in serious trouble—as the late medieval Waldensians, Lollards, and Hussites knew from their own experience.[2] In doctrinal and liturgical as well as devotional and institutional terms, the church around 1500 exhibited an identifiable unity across Latin Christendom from the British Isles to Poland, from Scandinavia to the Iberian Peninsula. But it also exhibited a vast range of local religious customs, preferential devotional practices, syncretistic beliefs, particular jurisdictional privileges, divergent theological approaches, and specific ecclesiastical sub-groups in a spectrum that ranged from the indisputably orthodox to the edge of heresy.[3] Any adequate depiction of late medieval Christianity must include both its commonalities as well as its variety. One-sided references to medieval "Christiani*ties*" that minimize the common beliefs, practices, and institutions of Latin Christendom are no less but differently distorting than now discredited exaggerations about the Middle Ages as an allegedly homogeneous "age of faith."

Late medieval Christianity's second major paradox consists in its combination of widely criticized shortcomings with unprecedented lay devotion and dedication. Despite Huizinga's influential opinions about the fifteenth century's purported spiritual decadence,[4] much recent research suggests that it was arguably more devout than any preceding century in the history of Western Christianity. At no time before had so many of the laity participated so enthusiastically in their religious lives, devoting themselves to Christ and the saints, enacting works of charity, joining (often multiple) confraternities, voluntarily practicing prayer and pious reading, and offering monetary contributions in support of the church.[5]

c. 1215–c. 1515 (Cambridge, 1995); Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984).

[2] Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2002); Euan Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000); Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988); Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot, 1998).

[3] Van Engen, "Multiple Options," and idem, "The Future of Medieval Church History," *Church History*, 71/3 (2002), pp. 492–522; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London, 2005).

[4] Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996).

[5] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*; idem, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven and London, 2006); Bernd Moeller, "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 56 (1965), pp. 3–31; Anne

At the same time, the late Middle Ages were filled with criticisms of clerical corruption and greed, lay superstition and ignorance, and manifest sinfulness by individuals in every station of life.[6] Such problems did not go unnoticed. From the fourteenth-century Avignonese papacy through the decades of the Western schism and into the sixteenth century, Christians were urged to live as the church taught that they should live, pursuing holiness through imitating their Lord and the saints and practicing the virtues, a message common to academic administrators such as Jean Gerson (1363–1429), preachers such as Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), and churchmen such as Antonino of Florence (1389–1459).[7] The effects of such efforts were apparent in new spiritual movements such as the *devotio moderna*, which enjoyed success despite provoking suspicion; in the Observantine movement among the established religious orders, which renewed hundreds of male and female monasteries; in new confraternities such as the Oratory of Divine Love, which attracted many members even as existing confraternities continued to thrive; and in the sacred philology of the northern humanists, which sought through scholarship and new

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Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa., 1997); Ellen Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York, 1997); Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1989); *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, (ed.) Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, N.Y., 1990), pp. 229–404; Berndt Hamm, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," trans. John Frymire, in Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety*, (ed.) Robert J. Bast (Leiden, 2004), pp. 1–49; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007).

[6] See, for example, the documents in *Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation*, Gerald Strauss (ed. and trans.) (1971; Bloomington, Ind., 1985); on anticlericalism, see Kaspar Elm, "Antiklerikalismus im deutschen Mittelalter," in Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, (eds), *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Leiden, 1993), pp. 3–18, and the other articles on the late Middle Ages in this collection.

[7] Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1979), pp. 213–59; Gerald Strauss, "Ideas of *Reformatio* and *Renovatio* from the Middle Ages to the Reformation," in Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1995), pp. 1–30; Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 1–28. On Gerson, see Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation* (University Park, Pa., 2005), and Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia, 2009); on Bernardino, see Cynthia L. Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience* (Washington, D.C., 2000); on Antonino, see Peter Francis Howard, *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus, 1427–1459* ([Florence,] 1995).

forms of pedagogy to instruct and thus morally to renew Christians.[8] No adequate account of Christianity in the decades prior to the Reformation can ignore such developments. But at the same time, recurrent calls for a thoroughgoing reform *in capite et membris* received no sustained response among popes and the cardinals at the papal curia, even when a politically pressured Pope Julian II called the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512.[9] The nepotistic, curial cardinals and the aristocratic prince-bishops of the Holy Roman Empire saw that their privileges and wealth would be subverted by any serious, sustained reforms concerning simony, pluralism, and ecclesiastical revenues.[10] So they tended to resist any ambitious (and therefore threatening) reforming initiatives. It was precisely the gulf between the church's prescriptions and the practices of its members that inspired constant calls to close the chasm, from Catherine of Siena in the 1370s to Erasmus in the 1510s, whether the issue was clerical avarice or lay superstition and ignorance.[11]

But apart from their rejection by members of minority groups such as the Bohemian Hussites and the small numbers of English Lollards, and of course aside from the comparatively small numbers of European Jews and Iberian Muslims who were geographically within Latin Christendom but not among the baptized, the church's prescriptions and truth claims remained a given. Practices such as the celebration of the liturgy, pilgrimages,

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[8] Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2008); R. R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden, 1968); Eric Cochrane, *Italy 1530– 1630* (ed.) Julius Kirshner (London and New York, 1988), pp. 106–23; Barry M. Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford, 1985); Kaspar Elm (ed.), *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, (Berlin, 1989); Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); John B. Gleason, *John Colet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989); *Erasmus' Vision of the Church*, (ed.) Hilmar Pabel (Kirksville, Mo., 1995); James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996); Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus: Der Humanist als Theologe und Kirchenreformer* (Leiden, 1997).

[9] Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 38–41.

[10] Cameron, *European Reformation*, pp. 40–1, 44–5. On curial cardinals' concern for their own and their family members' property and money, see Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property, 1492–1563* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985); for the late medieval imperial episcopacy and anti-episcopal sentiment, see Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "The Holy Roman Empire's Bishops on the Eve of the Reformation," in Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow (eds), *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History: Essays Presented to Heiko Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 21–47, and F. R. H. Du Boulay, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp. 187–95.

[11] Heiko A. Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought* (New York, 1966); Erika Rummel, "Voices of Reform from Hus to Erasmus," in Brady et al. (eds), *Handbook*, vol. 2, pp. 61–91.

processions, and prayers to saints, as well as institutions such as the papacy, the sacerdotal priesthood, religious orders, and confraternities, presupposed the (sometimes implicit) doctrines that delimited orthodoxy. Neither the church's teachings nor its claims about proper religious practice were changed by the negotiated concordats that began in the 1410s between late medieval rulers and popes.[12] Nor, when certain city councils and territorial princes in the Holy Roman Empire began asserting *jurisdictional* control over many ecclesiastical affairs in opposition to their respective local bishops, were there changes in the church's doctrines.[13] To reject the church's truth claims was to repudiate its authority as the caretaker of God's saving truth and thus to spurn the means of eternal salvation legitimated biblically for more than a millennium by reference to the church's establishment by Jesus himself.

A rejection of the Roman church's truth claims is precisely what happened in the Reformation, and is most fundamentally what distinguishes its leaders from the many late medieval reformers who sought to inspire more members of the clergy and laity to live up to the teachings of the Roman church. The reformers who, beginning in the early 1520s, denied that the established church remained the church established by Jesus jettisoned many traditional teachings of medieval Christianity. Their repudiation was not based primarily on pervasive ecclesiastical abuses, the manifest sinfulness of many clergy and laity, or deep-seated obstacles to reform. All of these problems and more had been apparent to earnest clerical reformers and other clear-eyed Christians for well over a century. The real point of the Reformation was different: it was that Roman Catholicism was a wayward form of Christianity *even at its best*, even if all of its members had been deliberately following all of the Roman church's teachings and knowingly enacting all of its allowed practices. The real problem was a flawed foundation of false and dangerous doctrines, of which the institutional abuses and immorality were symptomatic

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[12] On the concordats and the character of jurisdictionally "national" or "regional" churches in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Van Engen, "The Church in the Fifteenth Century," in Brady et al. (eds), *Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 318–19; Cameron, *European Reformation*, pp. 53–5; Oakley, *Western Church*, pp. 72–4; Du Boulay, *Germany*, pp. 187–95.

[13] Francis Rapp, *Réformes et Réformation à Strasbourg: Eglise et Société dans le Diocèse de Strasbourg (1450–1525)* (Paris, 1974), pp. 410–19; Manfred Schulze, *Fürsten und Reformation: Geistliche Reformpolitik weltlicher Fürsten vor der Reformation* (Tübingen, 1991); Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of the Keys: Confession, Conscience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2004), pp. 18–21; William Bradford Smith, *Reformation and the German Territorial State: Upper Franconia, 1300–1630* (Rochester, N.Y., 2008), pp. 17–58. Nor did the expulsion of bishops as civic rulers betoken changes in doctrine or proper religious practice. See J. Jeffrey Tyler, *Lord of the Sacred City: The* Episcopus exclusus *in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Leiden, 1999).

expressions.[14] Errors and lies were being taught as truths by the established church itself. This rotten root had to be torn up and the Gospel planted in its stead. Small wonder that it looked to so many anti-Roman reformers as if the apocalypse was imminent, given that the church had pressed so pervasively into so many aspects of politics, social life, economic activity, and culture—in myriad ways damaging them all, according to those who came to oppose the established church.[15] Savonarola had preached as much in Florence already in the early 1490s, and when Charles VIII of France invaded the Italian peninsula in 1494, it looked disturbingly as though the Dominican's fiery admonitions were being confirmed.[16] According to its protagonists, the Reformation would be Christendom's urgently needed, last-hour rescue and recovery mission before God's growing wrath had reached its full, final strength.

Once Christendom's situation had been recognized and its base problems diagnosed in the early Reformation, God's truth provided the criterion for recognizing the errors of a stubborn, self-interested, papist church. This meant comparing latter-day doctrines, practices, and institutions with the one genuine source for Christian faith and life, namely God's Word in scripture, and cleaving to the latter. Martin Luther articulated the principle at the Leipzig Disputation as early as July 1519: "[n]o faithful Christian can be forced beyond the sacred scripture, which is nothing less than divine law, unless new and approved revelation is added. On the contrary, on the basis of divine law we are prohibited to believe, unless it is approved by divine scripture or palpably obvious [*manifestam*]

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[14]   Referring to major Lutheran and Reformed Protestant theologians from the 1520s–1540s, Cameron rightly notes "the essential novelty and destructive power of the reformers' beliefs about human salvation" and "the devastating force of their logic": "At every critical point they challenged, redefined, and rearranged the very building-blocks of medieval belief: sin, law, faith, justification, the Church, in explicit defiance not only of the 'Occamist school', but of a much broader medieval consensus." Cameron, *European Reformation*, pp. 111–67, 191–3, quotations on 192, 111.

[15]   Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*, trans. Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart (New Haven and London, 1989), pp. 59–74; Walter Klaassen, *Living at the End of the Ages: Apocalyptic Expectation in the Radical Reformation* (Lanham, Md., 1992). On medieval apocalypticism, see Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), and Curtis V. Bostick, *The Antichrist and the Lollards: Apocalypticism in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Leiden, 1998); and on apocalyptic preaching in Italy in the early sixteenth century, see Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and the People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1990), pp. 89–120.

[16]   Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970); Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for the Soul of Renaissance Florence* (New York, 2006); Hamm, "Between Severity and Mercy. Three Models of Pre-Reformation Urban Reform Preaching: Savonarola—Staupitz—Geiler," in idem, *Reformation of Faith*, (ed.) Bast, pp. 50–87 at 55–65.

revelation."[17] In the German and Swiss cities that played such a central part in the early Reformation, other anti-Roman reformers concurred with Luther about scripture's foundational importance. In 1521 Melanchthon stated in the first edition of his *Loci communes* that "[w]hoever seeks the nature of Christianity from any source except canonical scripture is mistaken."[18] While he was still the dean of the theology faculty in Luther's Wittenberg, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt stated in a sermon in February 1522 that "all preachers should always state that their doctrine is not their own, but God's … They can discover nothing out of their own heads. If the Bible is at an end, then their competence is also at an end [*Wan die Biblien aus ist, sso ist ir kunst auch auss*]."[19] Zwingli held the same view in Zurich, declaring in his 1522 treatise on scripture's clarity and certainty that "no such trust should be given to any word like that given to [the Word of God]. For it is certain and may not fail. It is clear, and will not leave us to err in darkness. It teaches itself on its own [*es leert sich selbs*]."[20] In the same vein, Balthasar Hubmaier stated in the Second Zurich Disputation in October 1523 that "in all divisive questions and controversies only scripture, canonized and made holy by God himself, should and must be the judge, no one else … For holy scripture alone is the true light and lantern through which all human argument, darkness, and objections are recognized."[21] Those who drew up the Mühlhausen Articles, one of many such lists of demands and grievances composed during the German Peasants' War, asserted in September 1524 that the right standard of justice was given "in the Bible or holy word of God," and stated that the city's craftsmen and other parishioners who had formulated the articles had "derived their judgments from the Word of God."[22] Argula von Grumbach, along with Katharina Schütz Zell of Strasbourg one of the very few women who wrote evangelical pamphlets in the 1520s, shared

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[17] Martin Luther, *Disputatio excellentium . . . Iohannis Eccii et D. Martini Lutheri Augustiniani* [1519], in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* [hereafter *WA*], vol. 2 (Weimar, 1884), p. 279/23–26.

[18] "Fallitur quisquis aliunde christianismi formam petit, quam e scriptura canonica." Philip Melanchthon, *Loci communes rerum theologicarum, seu hypotyposes theologicae* [1521], in *Corpus Reformatorum* [hereafter *CR*] vol. 21 (Braunschweig, 1854), cols. 82–3.

[19] Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Predig oder homilien uber den propheten Malachiam gnant* [1522], sig. B3v, quoted in Ronald J. Sider, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt: The Development of His Thought, 1517–1525* (Leiden, 1974), p. 164 (Sider's trans.).

[20] Huldrych Zwingli, *Von Clarheit vnnd gewüsse oder vnbetrogliche des worts gottes* [1522], in Emil Egli and Georg Finsler (eds), *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* [hereafter *ZW*] vol. 1, in *CR*, vol. 88 (Leipzig, 1905), p. 382/20–26, quotation at lines 24–26.

[21] "Die Akten der zweiten Disputation vom 26.–28. Oktober 1523," in Emil Egli and Georg Finsler (eds), *ZW*, vol. 2, in *CR*, vol. 89 (Leipzig, 1908), p. 717/9–11, 26–28.

[22] "Die Mühlhauser Artikel" [1525], in Adolf Laube and Hans Werner Seiffert (eds), *Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit*, (Berlin, 1975), p. 80/13–14, 3–4.

similar views about the Bible's foundational importance for Christian life. She boldly told officials at the University of Ingolstadt in 1523 that "no one has a right to exercise authority over the Word of God. Yes, no human being, whoever he is, can rule over it. For only the Word of God, without which nothing was made, should and must rule."[23] Karlstadt put the matter bluntly with reference to scripture in 1524: "The naked truth alone … should be your foundation and rock."[24]

According to anti-Roman reformers, the Roman church had self-servingly distorted and ignored the Word of God to suit its own pecuniary self-promotion and pursuit of power, from the faked Donation of Constantine to the currency streams that flowed into papal coffers from the sale of church offices. Against the papal Antichrist's usurpatious tyranny, their Lord commanded Christians to return to him in word and deed, in fidelity and holiness, beginning with God's own teachings given in the Bible, liberated from clerical manipulations and uncluttered by human traditions. This had nothing to do with individual opinion or preference—the point was simply and only to discern what God taught, not what readers wanted or listeners thought.

Accordingly, the reformers who rejected the Roman church drew a sharp distinction between the Word of God and merely human writings and opinions. They insisted that Christians not arrogantly impose their own ideas on the Bible, but rather submit themselves in humility to God's pure teachings. Zwingli reprimanded anyone who would come to scripture with his "own opinion and forwardness and forces scripture to agree with it. Do you think he has something? No—from him will be taken away the opinion and understanding that he thinks he has."[25] Luther concurred, in a treatise from 1523 in which he defended the adoration of the Eucharist: "this is not Christian teaching, when I bring an opinion to scripture and compel scripture to follow it, but rather, on the contrary, when I first have got straight what scripture teaches [*tzuvor die schrifft klar habe*] and then compel my opinion to accord with it."[26] Writing in 1524, Karlstadt stated that "we are bound to scripture … [and] no one is permitted to judge

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[23] Argula von Grumbach, *Wye ein Christliche fraw des adels, in Bayern dürch iren, in Gottlicher schrifft, wolgegrundtenn Sendbrieffe, die hohenschul zu Ingoldstadt …* ([Erfurt: Matthes Maler,] 1523), sig. [A4]. On Zell, see Elsie Anne McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1999).

[24] Karlstadt, *Ob man gemach faren, und des ergernüssen der schwachen verschonen soll, in sachen so gottis willen angehn* [1524], in Erich Hertzsch (ed.), *Karlstadts Schriften aus den Jahren 1523–25*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1956), p. 75/17–18.

[25] Zwingli, *Clarheit*, in *ZW*, vol. 1, p. 360/7–10.

[26] Luther, *Von anbeten des Sacraments des heyligen leychnams Christi* [1523] in *WA*, vol. 11 (Weimar, 1900), p. 438/12–14.

according to the arbitrary opinion of his heart."[27] That same September, Conrad Grebel—like Zwingli, a learned reformer from Zurich—told Thomas Müntzer in a letter that "I do not want to concoct, teach, or establish a single thing based on personal opinion [*eignem gütduncken*]."[28] Hans Hut, another Anabaptist leader and an heir to Müntzer's legacy in Germany, wrote in 1527 that "God has forbidden us to do as we think fit; rather, we should do what he has commanded and hold to it and not deviate to the left or to the right."[29] Along with others who rejected the Roman church's authority, these reformers agreed about the foundational importance of scripture alone for Christian faith and life. They shared the goal of discerning and following what God had revealed in scripture. They abominated the idea that biblical interpretation was in principle a matter of individual opinion or preference.

That is just what made the undesired outcome of their shared commitment so disconcerting. From the early 1520s the meaning of God's Word prompted disagreement among those who rejected Rome. They disagreed about what God's truth was, and therefore about what Christians were to believe and do. "Yet you might ask," Luther wrote in 1520, "'What then is this Word, or in what manner is it to be used, since there are so many words of God?'"[30] These were the most fundamental questions of the Reformation, given the implications of the insistence on scripture as the sole legitimate authority for Christian faith and life. The consequences of the divergent answers given were so wide-ranging precisely because the Christianity that Protestant reformers sought to set right was not a discrete set of beliefs and practices called "religion" separated off from the rest of human life. It was rather an institutionalized worldview that shaped all its domains. If the reformers who disagreed among one another about what God's Word said had thought their divergent views relatively unimportant—as some

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[27] "Darauβ aber volget, dz wir an die schrifft angehenckt seyn, das sich keiner nach seines hertzen gutduncken richten dörfft …" Karlstadt, *Ob man gemach*, in Hertzsch (ed.), *Karlstadts Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 75/31–3.

[28] "… uβ eignem gütdunken nit ein einigs stuk erfinden, leren und uffrichten." Conrad Grebel to Thomas Müntzer, 5 September 1524, in Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid (eds), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz* [hereafter *QGTS*], vol. 1, (Zurich, 1952), p. 17.

[29] Hans Hut, "Von dem geheimnus der tauf …" [1527], in Lydia Müller (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer*, vol. 3, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, pt. 1, (Leipzig, 1938), p. 15.

[30] Luther, *Tractatus de libertate Christiana* [1520], in *WA*, vol. 7 (Weimar, 1897), p. 51/12–13: "Quaeres autem, 'Quod nam est verbum hoc, aut qua arte utendum est eo, cum tam multa sint verba dei?'" Writing for a wider audience, Luther's own German translation of his Latin is significantly different and avoids mention of "so many words of God": "Fragistu aber 'wilchs ist denn das wort, das solch grosse gnad gibt, Und wie sol ichs gebrauchen?'" Idem, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* [1520], ibid., p. 22/23–4.

scholars today seem to think in seeking to distinguish "central Reformation principles" from alleged "secondary issues"[31]—then their views might not have had important social, political, or economic ramifications. They might then have overlooked them for the sake of shared worship and fellowship, the building of community and the exercise of power. But their words and actions demonstrate that this is not what happened.

Karlstadt disputed Luther's marginalization of the book of James by March 1522, in addition to Luther's views about the permissibility of religious images, the oral confession of sins, eucharistic practice, and the character of the Old Testament.[32] Luther and Melanchthon disagreed about the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper over against Zwingli and the latter's reforming allies. Between 1525 and 1527, at least nine different evangelical reformers—including Zwingli, Martin Bucer, Leo Jud, Wolfgang Capito, Johannes Oecolampadius, and Johan Landtsperger—published no fewer than 28 treatises against Luther's views on the Lord's Supper, in Latin as well as German. This was before the dramatic stand-off and non-resolution on this issue between the two sides at the Marburg Colloquy in October 1529.[33] This impasse became the

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[31] For two examples, see Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther and the False Brethren* (Stanford, 1975), p. 197, and McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, vol. 1, pp. 265, 273. Edwards distinguishes between "central reformation principles" and "issues such as acceptable ceremonial practice, the real presence in the Lord's Supper, the separation of secular and spiritual authority, and the relation between law and gospel" (p. 197), and McKee contrasts "the Reformation basics" with "the secondary issues which were debated among Protestants," relegating to the latter category the boundaries between different groups, the toleration of those with different views, the Lord's Supper, baptism, and church order (vol. 1, p. 265). The problem of minimizing the differences that in fact concretely (and often with hostility) divided Christians among themselves characterizes the entire conceptualization of the Reformation era in Scott Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville, Ky., and London, 2004).

[32] For the Old Testament, eucharistic practices, and oral confession, see Sider, *Karlstadt*, pp. 108–12, 143–6; for images, see Karlstadt, *Von abtuhung der Bylder, Vnd das keyn Betdler vnther den Christen seyn soll* [1522], repr. in Adolf Laube et al. (eds), *Flugschriften der frühen Reformationsbewegung (1518–1524)*, vol. 1, (Verduz, 1983), pp. 105–27. Karlstadt refused to change his views, so his preaching was restricted and a treatise that he had written (in a veiled manner) against Luther was confiscated and destroyed. See James S. Preus, *Carlstadt's Ordinaciones and Luther's Liberty: A Study of the Wittenberg Movement 1521–22* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), pp. 73–7.

[33] See the list of the treatises in *Luther's Works*, vol. 37, Robert H. Fischer (ed.) (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 8–11; see also G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 296. The classic, magisterial work on the theological controversy is Walther Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen*, 2 vols. (1924, 1953; New York and London, 1971). On Karlstadt's centrality in the full-blown emergence of the controversy by late 1524, including his influence on Zwingli and others who adopted sacramentarian positions, see Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (New York, 2011).

doctrinal — and thus also the ecclesial and social — basis for the division between Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism, despite the fact that they continued to share so much in common.[34]

Zwingli disagreed as well with his former Zurich colleagues Hubmaier and Grebel about the biblical basis for infant baptism. This deadlock had dramatic ecclesiological implications for the nature of the Christian community. Their conflict led to the first adult baptisms in early 1525, a year before the Zurich city council enacted capital legislation against local Anabaptists and continued to work with Zwingli to dismantle established ecclesiastical institutions and practices.[35] Early German-speaking Anabaptists, in their rejections of infant baptism, were following the same insistence on scripture and repudiation of merely human teachings that they shared with their anti-Roman opponents such as Zwingli and Luther. The issue was far from a secondary matter of sacramental theology according to Anabaptists, for whom it concerned the essence of being a Christian. Relinquishing dreams of remaking Christendom after the overwhelming defeat of the "common man" in the mid-1520s, Anabaptists disagreed among themselves in numerous doctrinally divergent and therefore socially divisive ways, beginning already in the late 1520s.[36] By the time of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster in 1534–35, harsh persecution of the south German and Austrian Anabaptists under Ferdinand I had helped to precipitate the formation of the Austerlitz Brethren (including the young Pilgram Marpeck), Gabrielites, Philipites, and Hutterites, themselves distinct from the Swiss Brethren, who were in turn at odds with the central German Anabaptists.[37]

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[34] For an overview of the early conflict between Luther and Zwingli, and its consequences, see Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 15–48. That the theologians at Marburg agreed on 14 of 15 disputed points only underscores how important was the disagreement about this one issue, which, through centuries of variegated relations between Lutherans and Reformed Protestants, has had enormous political and social consequences up to the present.

[35] On Zwingli and the earliest Swiss Anabaptists, see Potter, *Zwingli*, pp. 160–97; for a recent, thorough overview of the origins of Swiss Anabaptism, see C. Arnold Snyder, "Swiss Anabaptism: The Beginnings, 1523–1525," in John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (eds), *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*, (Leiden, 2007), pp. 45–81. For the city council's mandate of 7 March 1526 sentencing obstinate Anabaptists to death by drowning, see *QGTS*, vol. 1, pp. 180–1; see also Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, Ont., 1995), p. 60.

[36] See Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525–1618. Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, and South and Central Germany* (Ithaca and London, 1972), pp. 30–48; Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*; Werner O. Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings: Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation* (Baltimore and London, 1995); and the contributions on Anabaptism in Roth and Stayer (eds), *Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism*.

[37] See Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings*; John S. Oyer, *Lutheran Reformers Against Anabaptists: Luther, Melanchthon and Menius and the Anabaptists of Central Germany* (The Hague, 1964). On Pilgram Marpeck's indebtedness to and origins among the Austerlitz Brethren,

Whatever their particular commitments, with few exceptions Anabaptists miniaturized their efforts to follow Christ after the suppression of the most widespread and concretely urgent expression of the early evangelical movement: the series of uprisings from 1524–26 known collectively as the German Peasants' War. According to Luther and those who believed him, the Gospel as such had nothing to do with remaking the hierarchical political structures or with altering the inequitable socioeconomic relationships characteristic of medieval Europe. Because in Luther's view salvation and the soul had nothing to do with worldly power, all men and women were bound to remain in their social locations, obliged, following Paul in Romans 13:1–4, to obey political authorities as ordained by God. According to other evangelical reformers, Luther was radically mistaken. The Gospel could not be separated from social, economic, and political realities that ran roughshod over human beings as *embodied* souls, contravening Jesus' clear concern in the Gospels for the downtrodden and the poor. In the mid-1520s some of these reformers were inspired by egalitarian, fraternal ideas that they discerned in scripture, and thus sought the abolition of existing social and political relationships and their radical reconfiguration. The point of the Gospel in their view was not to placate neurotically scrupulous consciences through an ultra-Pauline demotion of the book of James, but to inspire complacent Christians actually to heed Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God: "Do not think that I have come to bring peace to the earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword" (Matt. 10:34). Those who drew up the Mühlhausen Articles in September 1524, for example, took "action for themselves" and "based their decision on God's word" [*ir urtell aus Gots wort beschloßen*]: according to scripture, they maintained, rich and poor should be treated alike.[38] The *Twelve Articles*, the most widespread of the commoners' reform grievances in the early German Reformation, criticized in February 1525 the feudal rights of lords over serfs, "insofar as Christ redeemed and purchased all of us with the precious shedding of his blood, shepherds as well as those of the highest rank, without exception. Therefore with the scripture it is established that we are and shall be

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see James A. Stayer, "Pilgram Marpeck and the Austerlitz Brethren: A 'Disappeared' Anabaptist Denomination," *Mennonite Life*, 64 (Summer 2010), online edition, http://www.bethelks.edu/mennonitelife/2010/pilgram.php (accessed 5 February 2011). I am grateful to Professor Stayer for discussion on this point and for drawing my attention to his article. On Marpeck, see also Stephen Boyd, *Pilgram Marpeck: His Life and Social Theology* (Mainz, 1992).

[38]   "Das man in die bibel ader das helig worte Gotes bevel, darnach gerechtigkeit und urtell fellen, ursach, auf das man dem armen tu wie dem reichen." "Die Mühlhäuser Artikel" [1524], in Laube and Seiffert (eds), *Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit*, pp. 80–82 at p. 80/1–4, 13–16 (quotation at lines 13–15). Six biblical citations immediately follow the quoted passage; the 11 brief articles include dozens of others.

free."[39] Thomas Müntzer, briefly Luther's ally before becoming his hostile opponent, elaborated on such notions in ways that went well beyond such lists of grievances. Other anti-Roman reformers, such as the Nuremberg printer Hans Hergot and Michael Gaismair, one-time secretary to the Prince-Bishop of Brixen, shared Müntzer's appreciation for the Gospel's socio-economic implications, but rejected his apocalyptic exhortations to violence. Instead, they envisioned in their respective ways communitarian Christian societies predicated on a dismantling of feudal institutions.[40]

Many more examples could be given. All of these are from central Europe in the 1520s. The Reformation's shared, foundational principle of *sola scriptura* did not yield the desired result. The would-be solution for reforming the late medieval church immediately became an unintended, enormous problem of its own, one different in kind from the problem of how to close the gap between the Roman church's prescriptions and the practices of late medieval Christians. The new, central question for those who rejected the Roman church was: What is true Christianity and how is it known? Had the widely anticipated apocalypse in fact come, the problem of intra-Protestant disagreement obviously would not have mattered for long. But it did not come. Nor was this unwanted consequence of a commitment to scripture alone simply a feature of the turbulent years of the early German Reformation, when such contestation might well have been expected, but after which things began to "settle down" as part of a movement toward agreement about the Bible's meaning. That is not what happened. Once John Calvin rejected the Roman church in late 1533, for example, or indeed at any time between the first publication of his *Institutes* in 1536 and his death in 1564, Protestants did not tend toward a consensus around his exegetical claims and doctrinal assertions.[41] On the

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[39] "Die Zwölf Artikel," in Laube and Seiffert (eds), *Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit*, pp. 26–31 at p. 28/13–18.

[40] On the Peasants' War, see Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*, (trans.) Thomas A. Brady, Jr., and H. C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore and London, 1981); on Müntzer, see Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Thomas Müntzer: Apocalyptic, Mystic, and Revolutionary*, (trans.) Jocelyn Jaquiery, (ed.) Peter Matheson (Edinburgh, 1993), and Abraham Friesen, *Thomas Muentzer, a Destroyer of the Godless: The Making of a Sixteenth-Century Religious Revolutionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990). For Hergot and Gaismair, see "Michael Gaismairs Tiroler Landesordnung" [1526], and Hans Hergot, *Von der neuen Wandlung eines christlichen Lebens* [1527], in Laube and Seiffert (eds), *Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit*, pp. 139–43, 547–57; Blickle, *Revolution of 1525*, pp. 145–54; Walter Klaassen, *Michael Gaismair: Revolutionary and Reformer* (Leiden, 1978).

[41] For Calvin's conversion, see the account in Bruce Gordon's recent biography, *Calvin* (New Haven and London, 2009), pp. 33–5; see also the analysis of the events of autumn 1533 in the classic study by Alexandre Ganoczy, *The Young Calvin*, (trans.) David Foxgrover and Wade Provo (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 76–83.

contrary, Calvin, like Luther, was involved in doctrinal controversies with other Protestants throughout his reforming career.[42] Neither obviously nor necessarily did a commitment to the authority of scripture lead to justification by faith alone or to salvation through grace alone as the cornerstone doctrines of Christianity. The interpretations of many other anti-Roman Christians made clear that the Bible did not "interpret itself" in this way, contrary claims notwithstanding.

Unconstrained and unfettered, the Reformation simply yielded the historically manifest, full range of truth claims made about what the Bible said. Seeing the historical consequences of the commitment to *sola scriptura* does not depend on examining every one of the biblically based truth claims made by those Christian groups and individuals who rejected the authority of the Roman church beginning in the early 1520s and persisting through the mid-seventeenth century and beyond. The important analytical point is that every anti-Roman, Reformation-era Christian truth claim based on scripture fits into the same pattern of fissiparous disagreement among those who agreed that Christian truth should be based on scripture. Appeals to the confirmatory guarantee of the Holy Spirit were of course integral to the determination of God's truth by biblical interpreters who were interested not merely in accurate philology and ancient historical events but in eternal salvation. These appeals to the Spirit, too, were made by protagonists on all sides of every dispute, and thus could settle nothing. As Erasmus put it already in 1524, "What am I to do when many persons allege different interpretations, each one of whom swears to have the Spirit?"[43] Whether as a supplementary principle of biblical exegesis, an insistence on the reality of the Spirit's action in the heart of the believer, or a claim of substantively new revelation from God, recourse to the authority of God's direct influence intensified the problem it was meant to resolve: the unintended and unending disagreements that derived from *sola scriptura*.

"The Bible, I say, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants!" the English theologian William Chillingworth famously declared in 1638.[44]

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[42]   For a concise overview, see Richard C. Gamble, "Calvin's Controversies," in Donald K. McKim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 188–203; see also Jean-François Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, (trans.) Karin Maag (Kirksville. Mo., 2005), pp. 69–73, 93–107. On Luther's doctrinal conflicts with magisterial and radical Protestants, see Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren*.

[43]   Desiderius Erasmus, *De libero arbitrio diatribe, sive collatio* (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1524), sig. b1. On the inextricability of rival claims about the authenticating testimony of the Holy Spirit from sixteenth-century doctrinal controversies, see Susan E. Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise? The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Era* (New York, 2011).

[44]   William Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation …* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1638), p. 375.

But what did the *Bible* say? *That* was the question, to which so many rival answers had by then been given for over a century. In addition to their continuous doctrinal disagreements with Roman Catholics before and after the Council of Trent, Protestants disagreed among themselves on multiple fronts. They disagreed about the correct interpretation and prioritization of biblical texts, and the relationship of those texts to doctrines regarding the church, grace, worship, the sacraments, ministry, and so forth. They disagreed about the broad interpretative principles that should guide one's understanding of the Bible, such as the relationship between the Old and New Testaments or the allowability of religious practices not explicitly proscribed or commanded in scripture. They disagreed about the relationship of the textual interpretation of scripture to the exercise of reason and to God's influence in the hearts of individual Christians. And they disagreed about whether explicit, substantive truth claims were at all important to being a Christian, with some spiritualists and alleged prophets relativizing in radical ways the place of doctrines in Christian life.[45] This view would find many variations later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as in the modern period, partly as a result of the unintended disagreements that derived from the appeal to scripture and its supplements. In Benjamin Kaplan's apt phrase, "Protestantism itself was irrepressibly fissile."[46] Insistent claims that "the Bible is the religion of Protestants" caused the fissility rather than arresting it.

But must we not distinguish between the magisterial and radical Reformations from the outset? Why put in the same category Luther and Anabaptists, Zwingli and leaders in the Peasants' War, and those who alleged visions and revelations from God? Because all of them purported to be articulating God's truth, whether on the basis of the Bible or principles inspired by it (in the case of visions and prophecies). More fundamental than the distinction between the radical and the magisterial Reformations was the shared rejection by their respective leaders of the authority of the Roman church, which precipitated the new problem of determining God's truth. Scripture "*alone*," *without* an alliance between anti-Roman reformers supported by political authorities, resulted in a vast range of conflicting and irreconcilable Christian truth claims, not only in the 1520s and 30s but throughout the Reformation era and beyond. On the other hand, scripture *officially interpreted by hermeneutic authorities and backed by political authorities* led to confessional Protestant cities, territories, and

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[45]   For the sixteenth century, see R. Emmet McLaughlin, "Spiritualism: Schwenckfeld and Franck and Their Early Modern Resonances," in Roth and Stayer (eds.), *Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism*, pp. 119–61.

[46]   Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2007), p. 142.

states, whether Lutheran or Reformed Protestant (including the Church of England), which formulated and sought to impose and police their respective versions of what the Bible said in a manner analogous to efforts undertaken by Catholic confessional regimes.

Especially in the wake of the Peasants' War, political leaders drew the obvious conclusion that biblical ideas could be dangerously subversive. A careful monitoring and policing of their appropriation would therefore be necessary. Reformers such as Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Bucer agreed that the "freedom of a Christian" did not legitimate disobedience to secular authorities, for as Paul had said, "whoever resists authority resists what God has appointed" (Rom. 13:2). But Christian freedom also demanded a resolute *dis*obedience and the severing of all ties to the Italian, money-grubbing papacy and its tyrannical Roman minions. Secular authorities persuaded by the reformers' truth claims predictably appreciated the distinction drawn between the necessity of disobedience to Rome and the duty of obedience to them. "The Gospel" accompanied by such "good news" would allow them, for example, to appropriate all ecclesiastical property, including the vast and valuable holdings that belonged to Catholic religious orders, and to use it or the money from its sale in whatever ways they wanted.[47] In the late 1530s, taking for himself the extensive holdings of all the English monasteries and friaries, Henry VIII would demonstrate just how well a ruler could learn this lesson without even accepting Lutheran or Reformed Protestant doctrines about faith, grace, salvation, or worship.[48] Assertions of royal authority over the church were enough, provided they were backed by enough power. By the late 1530s, when Henry was demonstrating the sufficiency of his will for the task, a disturbing, communitarian and polygamist "New Jerusalem" in Münster led by the prophet-king Jan van Leiden had eliminated whatever

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[47]   On imperial cities and territories in general, see especially Christopher Ocker, *Church Robbers and Reformers in Germany, 1525–1547: Confiscation and Religious Purpose in the Holy Roman Empire* (Leiden, 2006); see also Henry J. Cohn, "Church Property in the German Protestant Principalities," in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (eds), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (London, 1987), pp. 158–87; and Walter Ziegler, "Reformation und Klosterauflösung," in Elm (ed.), *Reformbemühungen*, pp. 585–614; on Strasbourg in particular, see Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation* (Atlantic Highlands, N. J., 1995), pp. 170–4.

[48]   The classic study of the Henrician suppression of the monasteries is David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol. 3, *The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 268–417; see also Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1971); Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 162–96; Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, 2006), pp. 45–55; and most recently, Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Last Divine Office: Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (New York, 2009).

doubts might have remained among secular authorities in Europe about the dangers posed by religious radicalism and dissent.[49] The political implications were clear and grave. Lest the nonchalance of rulers permit another Peasants' War or Kingdom of Münster, religiously inspired rebellion had to be suppressed in accord with the divinely ordained duty, as Paul put it, to "execute wrath on the wrongdoer" (Rom. 13:5). Thus was the confessionalizing alliance created between anti-Roman Christians who supported and worked with secular political authorities, and those who did not—in short, the difference between magisterial and radical Protestants. Only a carefully controlled and domesticated Reformation would be permitted to exert a widespread influence throughout the Reformation era.

Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism thus became the great exceptions of the Reformation—exactly the opposite of how they usually have been and are still regarded. In light of all the anti-Roman Christians who made truth claims based on *sola scriptura* and its supplements, most of whom were proscribed, prosecuted, and punished, Lutheran and Reformed Protestant leaders were unusual in garnering the sustained political support of secular authorities. Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (before he settled in Zurich in 1530), all the leaders involved in the Peasants' War, the Swiss Brethren, the South German and Austrian Anabaptists who later contributed to the Austerlitz Brethren, Gabrielites, Philipites, and Hutterites, plus the Melchiorites, Münsterites, Batenburgers, Davidites, Mennonites, central German Anabaptists after the Peasants' War, Caspar Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Franck, and Michael Servetus comprise an incomplete list of anti-Roman Christians who, starting from the principle of *sola scriptura*, sufficiently disagreed with Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin and every other Lutheran or Reformed Protestant leader about God's truth to refuse to have fellowship or to worship with them.[50] Again we see the social implications of doctrinal disagreements behind which lie exegetical disagreements. With the few, short-lived exceptions of "civic Anabaptism" in the mid-1520s and the Münster regime of 1534–35, none of these Christians were politically allied with secular authorities.[51] All

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[49]   For a recent overview, see Ralf Klötzer, "The Melchiorites and Münster," in Roth and Stayer (eds), *Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism*, pp. 217–56; on the immediate reactions to Münster by both Catholics and magisterial Protestants, see Sigrun Haude, *In the Shadow of "Savage Wolves": Anabaptist Münster and the German Reformation during the 1530s* (Boston, 2000).

[50]   Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings*; Oyer, *Lutheran Reformers Against Anabaptists*; Boyd, *Pilgram Marpeck*; Roth and Stayer (eds), *Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism*.

[51]   Swiss villages in which a majority of citizens were baptized as Anabaptists in 1525 include Hallau and Waldshut; following his expulsion from the region, Balthasar Hubmaier was the leading figure behind the establishment of Anabaptism in Nikolsburg in 1526–27,

this had happened by the late 1530s, quite apart from the many other anti-Roman Christian reformers, theologians, and communities that also rejected Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism (including the Church of England except for Mary's reign) throughout the remainder of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[52] These expressions of radical Protestantism do not include, of course, the divisive disagreements within magisterial Protestant traditions, such as that between Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans in Germany in the decades after Luther's death in 1546, or that between Arminians and Reformed Protestants in the Dutch Republic and England in the early seventeenth century.[53]

The success of magisterial Protestant and Catholic confessional regimes in suppressing radical Protestants between Münster in 1535 and England in the 1640s minimized the number of Protestant radicals and their socio-political influence. As a consequence, the historical fact of *political approval and support*, essential to long-term success in creating demographically widespread Lutheran or Reformed Protestant confessional identities, has for centuries been conflated with *doctrinally and theologically normative Protestantism* in the Reformation era. But there is no necessary or inherent connection between the two, and conflating them simply begs the central question of the Reformation about the content of God's truth. Anabaptists disagreed in the sixteenth century that Lutheran or Reformed Protestantism was true Christianity, just as Mennonites, for example, do today.

Ironically, in recent decades there has been little change in historiographical terms with the shift in emphasis toward the social and cultural history and away from traditional theological and political history of the Reformation. The same scholarly attention long devoted to Lutherans and Reformed Protestants by confessional historians persists among post-confessional secular historians — no longer because of admiration for Luther's or Calvin's alleged theological genius or the supposed sublimity of magisterial Protestant piety, but because political support gave Lutheran and Reformed confessionalization a widespread and enduring impact across large populations. As a result, because of their

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before the suppression of religious dissent in the region under Ferdinand I. See James A. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal and Kingston, Ont., 1991), pp. 63–4, 139–41.

[52]   Up to 1580 or so, easily the most comprehensive work is George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Kirksville, Mo., 1992); for the seventeenth century, see Leszek Kołakowski, *Chrétiens sans église: la conscience religieuse et le lien confessionnel au XVIIe siècle*, (trans.) Anna Posner (Paris, 1969).

[53]   For the division between Gnesio-Lutherans and Philippists prior to the Formula of Concord, see Irene Dingel, "The Culture of Conflict in the Controversies Leading to the Formula of Concord (1548–1580)," in Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 15–64; on conflicts between Calvinists and Arminians in the Dutch Republic and England, see Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, pp. 305–16.

influence on the lives of millions of ordinary men, women, and children over a period of centuries, Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism continue to attract the attention of post-confessional historians. Radical Protestants command nowhere near the same attention because their social impact was minimal. Schwenckfelders and the Swiss Brethren, Familists and Davidites did not affect sixteenth-century state-building, gender roles, or wider cultural trends. Yet negligence of the radical Reformation has distorted our understanding of the Reformation as a whole — or, if one prefers, our understanding of early modern non-Roman Western Christianity. To treat the radical Reformation as a marginal theological sideshow with little social influence is to miss its critical importance. We quite literally do not see what a shared commitment to *sola scriptura* produced unless we historically reintegrate radical with magisterial Protestantism, and thus we misconstrue the Reformation as a whole. Unless radical and magisterial Protestants are studied together, historically and comparatively, the character of the Reformation simply cannot be seen. But studying them together is exactly what the research-channeling distinction between magisterial and radical Protestantism tends to prevent. Hence for the period between the fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster and the onset of the English Revolution, the study of radical Protestants is usually pursued by niche specialists while "Reformation scholars" study politics and power, state and society, culture and confessionalization.

Yet in important ways throughout the Reformation era, radical Protestants were simply doing what magisterial Protestants were doing. For example, in just the same way that conscientious Protestants in general thought they had to leave the Roman church once they grasped the implications of their convictions, conscientious radical Protestants thought they had to reject communities such as Luther's Wittenberg, Zwingli's Zurich, or Calvin's Geneva. As the former Benedictine monk turned Swiss Anabaptist leader Michael Sattler summed it up in 1527, "everything that is not united with our God and Christ is nothing other than the abomination which we should shun and flee."[54] In their diverse and divergent ways, radical Protestants were merely participating in the same religio-social exodus of the politically more secure Protestant antagonists who opposed them. Radical Protestants were doing exactly what Melanchthon, Bucer, Capito, Osiander, Oecolampadius, Bugenhagen, Calvin and every other politically protected Protestant reformer did: they rejected objectionable

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[54] Michael Sattler, *Brüderlich vereynigung etzlicher kinder Gottes, sieben Artickel betreffend …* " [1533], (ed.) Walter Köhler, repr. in Otto Clemen (ed.), *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, vol. 2 (Leipzig and New York, 1908), p. 309. On the significance of Sattler's life as a Benedictine monk and its relationship to his later Anabaptist ideas, see C. Arnold Snyder, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler* (Scottdale, Pa., and Kitchener, Ont., 1984), esp. pp. 30–65.

Christian communities whose claims they would not countenance, convinced that the leaders of such communities taught dangerous errors rather than God's truth. All Protestants in the Reformation era based their flight on the same foundation: their interpretation of scripture (including notions derived from it) and their experience. They fled differently because they read differently.

Some theologically inclined Reformation scholars are likely to dispute this reintegration of magisterial and radical Protestant reformers based on the reformers' shared appeal to the authority of scripture. Whereas radical Protestants, it is sometimes alleged, indeed favored "naked scripture" and opened the way to an anarchic hermeneutic individualism, reformers such as Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin upheld the importance of many aspects of tradition, such as the writings of the church fathers and decrees of the early ecumenical councils, in addition to scripture.[55] But this distinction is in the end unsustainable, because magisterial Protestant reformers rejected patristic theological claims and interpretations of scripture, just as they rejected medieval exegesis, papal decrees, canon law, conciliar decrees, and ecclesiastical practices, precisely wherever any of these contradicted their respective interpretations of the Bible. "Tradition" for magisterial Protestant reformers was not an authority to which they deferred relative to their respective readings of scripture, as it was for their medieval and early modern Catholic counterparts. This was the whole point of "scripture alone" and the source of its critical and creative power. Neither magisterial nor radical Protestant reformers modified their interpretative judgments when these were at odds with traditional authorities; instead, they rejected the latter wherever there was disagreement. In principle and as a corollary of *sola scriptura*, tradition retained for them no independent authority. Luther was clear by the Leipzig Disputation in 1519 that the church fathers belonged with popes, councils, and canon law over against the authority of scripture: "[e]ven if Augustine and all the Fathers were to see in Peter the rock of the church," he said, "I will nevertheless oppose them — even as an isolated individual — supported by the authority of Paul and therefore by divine law."[56] Zwingli set aside the entire patristic and medieval theology of baptism because it conflicted with his biblical

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[55]   See, for example, Alister McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 106–9; Heiko A. Oberman, "'*Quo vadis, Petre?*' Tradition from Irenaeus to *Humani Generis*," in idem, *The Dawn of the Reformation: Essays in Late Medieval and Early Reformation Thought* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 284–6; Schreiner, *Are You Alone Wise?*, pp. 80–2.

[56]   Luther, *Disputatio inter Ioannem Eccium et Martinum Lutherum* [1519], in *WA*, vol. 59, p. 465/1004–6, quoted in Manfred Schulze, "Martin Luther and the Church Fathers," in Irena Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Church Fathers to the Maurists*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1997), p. 621; see also ibid., pp. 601, 612.

interpretation relative to the sacrament.[57] Both Bucer and Calvin in their respective ways followed suit more generally: the church fathers and ecclesiastical tradition were criticized and rejected or simply ignored wherever they failed to corroborate a given reformer's interpretation of scripture.[58] Radical reformers proceeded likewise—but did so based on their different interpretations of scripture, despite the shared commitment of both groups, radical and magisterial, to its foundational importance. The difference between magisterial and radical reformers was therefore not that the former accepted some patristic writers and ecclesiastical tradition as authoritative and the latter none. Rather, they all rejected every alleged authority whenever the latter diverged from what each regarded as God's truth, based on God's Word as they respectively and contrarily understood it. Their respective distinctions between what in the church's tradition was acceptable and unacceptable were themselves a function of their rival interpretations of the Bible, which was the underlying bone of contention to begin with.

Political support was the *sine qua non* in determining which forms of Protestantism became influential in the Reformation era. The default outcome of the commitment to scripture alone and its adjuncts was neither Lutheranism nor Reformed Protestantism, but rather an open-ended proliferation of countervailing claims about God's truth. If this analysis is correct, then we should expect to find a couple of historical corollaries. First, situations in which the promotion of particular versions of Protestantism by confessional authorities was lacking, whether because of concrete disruptions or as a result of authorities' deliberate intent, should be marked by a greater profusion of diverse Protestant views. Second, non-magisterial expressions of Protestantism should have flourished in political situations in which their proponents enjoyed at least relative toleration. And this is indeed what we find in looking across Western Europe between 1520 and the mid-seventeenth century. I will give two examples of each.

The most obvious example of the profusion of Protestant truth claims, practices, individuals, groups, and churches in a situation of the breakdown of confessional oversight is England during the 1640s and 50s. The exertions of anti-Laudian puritans and the disruptions of the civil wars permitted an efflorescence of Protestant diversity unseen since Germany and Switzerland in the 1520s. According to the Presbyterian preacher Thomas Edwards, already in 1646 this phenomenon constituted a

[57] Zwingli, *Von dem Touff, vom Widertouff und vom Kindertouff* [1525], in Egli et al. (eds), *ZW*, vol. 4, in *CR*, vol. 91 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 216/14–25.

[58] See Irena Backus, "Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer and the Church Fathers," in Backus (ed.), *Reception*, vol. 2, pp. 644, 650; Johannes van Oort, "John Calvin and the Church Fathers," ibid., p. 690; Anthony N. S. Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 35–40, 53–4.

deplorable, gangrenous cancer of subjectively arbitrary doctrinal pluralism and socio-political disruptiveness, even before the advent of Quakers, Fifth Monarchists, Diggers, Levellers, Ranters, and Muggletonians.[59] In the absence of confessional control by hermeneutic and political authorities, the character of the Reformation unfettered was again clearly manifest, just as it had been in southwestern and central Germany in the 1520s.

The Dutch Republic provides a second, different kind of example of the proliferation of divergent Protestant claims and groups in the absence of confessional control. In this instance, however, political destabilization was not the reason for the proliferation. Especially in the cities of Holland and Zeeland, politically powerful Dutch regents saw the deleterious effects of unyielding Catholicism, militant Calvinism, and destructive war on commerce in the southern provinces, once again under Spanish control after 1585. So to the north they experimented in the opposite direction. Reformed Protestantism was made the "public church" of the United Provinces, but it never became the established church or state religion. In contrast to contemporary confessional regimes elsewhere, attendance at Reformed Protestant worship services was not compulsory, nor was membership in the *Gereformeerde Kerk* mandatory. Alongside the religiously dominant minority of Reformed Protestants, ruling urban regents practiced a significant *de facto* toleration of most other Protestants, a sizeable Catholic minority, and even Sephardic Jews, which turned on a carefully monitored, novel distinction between public and private space.[60] Consequently not only could and did a wide range of divergent

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[59] Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena, or, A Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in* England *in these four last years …* (London: T. R. and E. M. for Ralph Smith, 1646). For an important recent analysis of Edwards's work in context, see Ann Hughes, Gangraena *and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004). On religious radicals during the English Revolution, see Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1972); *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, (ed.) J. F. McGregor and Barry Reay (London and New York, 1984); Nicholas McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination: Culture, Religion, and Revolution, 1630–1660* (Oxford, 2003). On the rationalist criticism of Christian prophetic and spiritualist claims in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Michael Heyd, *"Be Sober and Reasonable": The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1995).

[60] *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, J. Israel, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds) (Leiden, 1997); *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, R. Po-chia Hsia and H. F. K. van Nierop (eds) (Cambridge, 2002); S. Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden: Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden, 1531–1675* (Hilversum and Leeuwarden, 2000); Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008); Miriam Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Bloomington, Ind., 1997); Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 172–6, 237–9, 241–3, 321–4.

and fissiparous Mennonite groups flourish, but by the height of the Dutch Golden Age even rationalizing spiritualists such as the Collegiants (with whom Spinoza was friends) and Socinians, plus Quakers after 1650 or so, could be found in the cities and towns of Holland.[61] Again, in the absence of confessional prescription and control but in a very different manner than prevailed across the English Channel in the 1640s and 50s, the open-ended character of the Reformation per se was apparent.

In addition, certain radical Protestant groups tended relatively to flourish when they either enjoyed some degree of freedom from the control and coercion characteristic of confessional regimes, or even had overt support from political authorities. Consider two Anabaptist examples. The first is that of the just mentioned Dutch Mennonites during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were free to develop in all their divergent and complex ways, from Waterlanders at one end of the spectrum to the Hard Frisians at the other, from the early years of the seventeenth century through the conflicts between Lamists and Zonists in the 1660s and beyond.[62] Along the way, some among them became extremely wealthy—in the 1630s, for example, among the speculators deeply involved in the "tulip craze" were Mennonites from the extended De Clercq family, including merchants from Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Utrecht.[63] The Moravian Hutterites comprise a second example of Anabaptists who flourished amidst relative toleration. As a result of political protection afforded by some members of the local nobility, they prospered economically and supported vigorous missionary efforts under the leadership of Leonhard Lanzenstil, Pieter Riedemann, Leonhard Dax, and Peter Walpot from the 1550s until Walpot's death in 1578, and indeed, into the early 1590s.[64] Given the disproportionate

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[61] See Zijlstra, *Ware gemeente*, and Andrew C. Fix, *Prophecy and Reason: The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1990).

[62] Zijlstra, *Ware gemeente*, and Michael D. Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona during the Confessional Age* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 14–15, 27–74.

[63] Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, 2007), pp. 132, 149–51, 152. On the socioeconomic assimilation of Mennonites in the Dutch Republic, see Mary Sprunger, "Hoe rijke mennisten de hemel verdienden: Een eerste verkenning van de betrokkenheid van aanzienlijke doopsgezinden bij het Amsterdamse zakenleven in de Goude Eeuw," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, n. s., 18 (1992): pp. 39–52; eadem, "Waterlanders and the Dutch Golden Age: A Case Study on Mennonite Involvement in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Trade and Industry as One of the Earliest Examples of Socio-Economic Assimilation," in Alastair Hamilton, Sjouke Voolstra, and Piet Visser (eds), *From Martyr to Muppy. A Historical Introduction to Cultural Assimilation Processes of a Religious Minority in the Netherlands: The Mennonites* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), pp. 133–48.

[64] Leonard Gross, *The Golden Years of the Hutterites: The Witness and Thought of the Communal Moravian Anabaptists during the Walpot Era, 1565–1578*, rev. ed. (Kitchener,

prosperity and the growth in numbers achieved by Mennonites in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona in the seventeenth century in circumstances of relative toleration—in dramatic contrast to their treatment at the hands of authorities in Zwinglian Zurich or Catholic Bavaria in the later 1520s, for example—it seems counterfactually reasonable to imagine that other Anabaptist groups might also have become more demographically significant than in fact they were under conditions of persecution.[65] Conversely, it is not only possible but seems likely that without political protection, Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism would have been more marginal than they in fact became. As it happened, they were the great outliers among those Christians who rejected the Roman church in the sixteenth century because they were the only two traditions which, like Catholicism, enjoyed sustained political support from secular authorities.

If this effort conceptually to reform the Reformation is near the mark, what difference would it make? It could change the way in which we regard the Reformation as a whole. "The Reformation" encompassed every expression of anti-Roman Western Christianity that rejected the authority of the Roman church. The large majority of these expressions involved reformers and groups who made truth claims and engaged in practices that *also* rejected Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism. Lutherans and Reformed Protestants were thus not typical in the Reformation, but unusual. Seeing this is only possible when we consider the Reformation as a whole, from the perspective of the shared principle that justified the rejection of the Roman church in the first place: the claim that God's Word alone was the standard of Christian faith and life. It is equally critical to distinguish analytically between the exegesis of scripture and the exertion of political authority. Interpreting the Bible and exercising power were two different things. Scripture did not "interpret itself"—or at least, there is no evidence that it did so in early modern Europe. Rather, human beings interpreted scripture in radically discrepant and divergent ways, only very few of whom became widely influential hermeneutic authorities because they were supported by political authorities. The early German Reformation and the English Revolution are the bookends to the Reformation era not because they were the only times when magisterial Protestantism was, respectively, as yet unformed and inchoate and then became again temporarily unsettled and contested. Such a view implicitly assumes that Lutheranism or Reformed Protestantism was somehow

Ont., and Scottdale, Pa., 1998); Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, pp. 182, 183.
    [65] Driedger, *Obedient Heretics*, esp. pp. 16–26; on Anabaptists in Bavaria and their suppression in the later 1520s, see Claus-Peter Clasen, "The Anabaptists in Bavaria," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 39 (1965): pp. 243–61; for documents on early Anabaptism in Zurich, including their persecution by civic authorities, see Muralt and Schmid (eds), *QGTS*, vol. 1.

doctrinally normal and normative. But historically—as distinct from confessionally, apologetically, or theologically—there is no reason to make such an assumption, and indeed no basis for doing so. The early German Reformation and the English Revolution frame the Reformation era because they make clear what *sola scriptura* produced in the absence of control and constraint by confessionalizing authorities: an open-ended range of rival claims about the meaning of God's Word.

By way of conclusion, consider the applicability of this argument to the modern era. If the argument is largely correct—that the Reformation engendered not justification by faith alone and salvation by grace alone as some sort of exegetically obvious, normative product of the interpretation of scripture, but rather simply yielded the full empirical range of divergent claims about what the Bible meant—then we might well expect to find further subsequent confirmation within the institutional arrangements of modernity, when individuals have been left free to understand scripture as they please. And this is in fact what we find, first adumbrated in the Golden-Age Dutch Republic and first institutionalized in the United States in the 1770s and 80s. Notwithstanding the restrictive realities of a Protestant "moral establishment" until well into the twentieth century,[66] a politically protected individual right to religious belief and practice established an American legal and institutional precedent regarding religion that has subsequently and eventually been adopted in some form or other in every state in Europe and in Britain. Within these modern institutional arrangements, nothing remotely resembling a convergence about the meaning of scripture has appeared, whether among learned Protestant biblical scholars or ordinary Protestants, any more than there was agreement about the meaning of God's Word in Germany in the 1520s or 30s or in England in the 1640s and 50s. Hence the Reformation as such, liberated from its early modern political constraints, remains alive and well in the United States in the early twenty-first century. Anyone who doubts this need only open the yellow pages of a local phone book from anywhere in the United States and look under the entry "Churches."

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[66]   See David Sehat, *The Myth of American Religious Freedom* (Oxford, 2011).

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Confessionalization, Confessionalism and Confusion in the English Reformation

Peter Marshall

One of the liveliest and most stimulating approaches to our understanding of the European Reformation over the past three decades has been the 'confessionalization thesis', pioneered by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard in the mid-1980s, and endlessly discussed and refined since. The principal achievement of the confessionalization thesis was to encourage attention to the Reformations (Protestant and Catholic) not just as episodes in the history of religion and culture, but as formative moments in European political and social history. In brief summary, the salient claims of the confessionalization model are: that in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries territorial rulers identified themselves closely with particular forms of confessional Christianity, and promoted them in their territories; that this policy was closely connected with centralization and state-building; that an alliance of secular and ecclesiastical authorities sought to promote stricter forms of religious and moral discipline, which served as an instrument for the 'social disciplining' of more obedient subjects; and that the coalescing of religious reform and state-formation wrought genuine and lasting social change, and acted as a vector of modernization and modern national identity.[1]

From the outset, proponents of the confessionalization thesis have been determinedly cross-confessional, comparative and international in their approach. Where traditional ecclesiastical history saw the Reformation

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[1] Heinz Schilling, *Konfessionskonflict und Staatsbildung* (Gütersloh, 1981); Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society* (Leiden, 1992); Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', in T. A. Brady, H. O. Oberman and J. D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History 1400–1600*, (2 vols., Leiden, 1995), ii. 641–70; Schilling (ed.), *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland: Das Problem der 'Zweiten Reformation'* Gütersloh, 1986); Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment', *Catholic Historical Review*, 75/3 (1989): pp. 385–403; Reinhard. and H. Schilling (eds), *Die Katholische Konfessionalisieung* (Gütersloh and Münster, 1995); J. M. Headley, H. J. Hillerbrand and A. J. Papalas (eds), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2004).

and Counter-Reformation as opposing forces, Schilling, Reinhard and their followers stressed their parallel impacts, and the similarity of their aims beyond the narrowly doctrinal. Confessionalization thus took Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic forms. Schilling's original focus was on conditions in the Empire, but the paradigm has since been rolled out across a broad front, and variants of it have been tested for polities as diverse as the Scandinavian kingdoms, France, Italy, Ireland, Hungary, Poland-Lithuania, Croatia and Spain.[2]

There has, however, long been a strikingly empty chair at the dining-table of confessionalization theory. From the perspective of a historian of the English Reformation, one of the most interesting features of the protracted discussion of confessionalization is the apparent failure of the history of England to make much of a mark on the refinement of the concept, or of the concept to make much of a mark on the interpretation of early modern England. There is virtually no mention of England, for example, in two recent survey essays on the historiography of confessionalization.[3] A textbook in a series on religious controversies by the German historians Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann, dedicated to Heinz Schilling on his sixtieth birthday, does include a short chapter on England, but treats it as a special case-study of an indigenous historiography, entirely detached from the book's wider concern with 'Konfessionalisierung als wissenschaftliches Paradigma' [confessionalization as a scientific paradigm].[4] Schilling himself has shown some willingness to draw England into the equation, identifying the beginnings of 'Anglican' confessionalization in the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563, though the references to England in his work tend to be passing and almost perfunctory. [5]

If students and advocates of the confessionalization paradigm have tended to avoid serious engagement with England, then specialist historians of the English Reformation have largely repaid the non-compliment. One looks in vain for any reference to the concept in most of the major studies and surveys of the Reformation process in England published since the

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[2]   For an introduction to the extensive bibliography on the topic, see Ute Lotz-Heuman, 'Confessionalization', in David M. Whitford (ed.), *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research* (Kirksville, MO, 2008), pp. 136–57.

[3]   Susan R. Boetcher, 'Confessionalization: Reformation, Religion, Absolutism, and Modernity', *History Compass*, 2 (2004): pp. 1–10 (online at http://www.blackwell-compass.com/subject/history/); Lotz-Heuman, 'Confessionalization' (a passing mention at p. 148).

[4]   Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Darmstadt, 2002), pp. 99–111.

[5]   Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', p. 641; Schilling, 'Das konfessionelle Europa. Die Konfessionalisierung der europäischen Länder seit Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Folgen für Kirche, Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur', in Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer (eds), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 19, 23, 33, 35, 43, 61.

early 1990s.[6] The obliviousness is not total. The literary scholar Thomas Betteridge has drawn on the concept in an attempt to understand the confessionalized poetics of the Tudor period, while an essay by the historian Caroline Litzenberger has observed that 'the means by which a more clearly defined national church emerged in England in the 1570s seems to have replicated some aspects of the process of "confessionalization", which had begun in Protestant regions of continental Europe'.[7] But these are exceptions to prove the rule.

Invited to contribute a chapter on England to a volume on *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700*, Peter Iver Kaufman produced in 2004 an interesting short essay on lay reception of Protestant teaching, but conspicuously neglected to relate the implementation of Protestant reform to the agendas or patterns of state-building in the later Tudor years.[8] There is, of course, a significant recent scholarly corpus on the theme of English state-formation itself in the early modern period. Naturally, this work takes due note of the Reformation and its importance, but it does not place it at or near the centre of its explanatory framework.[9]

How then do we account for this relative lack of experiment with a key conceptual tool of the recent historiography of European Reformation? Part of the answer lies undoubtedly in a longstanding scepticism on the part of English historians, and perhaps English intellectual culture more generally, towards grand theory and overarching conceptual models of change. Detailed empirical research on monographic themes has long been, and arguably continues to be, the life-blood of English Reformation studies

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[6] For example: Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603* (2nd ed., Basingstoke, 2001); Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002); Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003); Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480–1642* (London, 2003); Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms 1485–1603* (Harlow, 2009). There are a few fleeting references in Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 186, 196, 243, where the term is used in a slightly different sense.

[7] Thomas Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 1–4; Caroline Liztenberger, 'Defining the Church of England: Religious Change in the 1570s', in Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger (eds), *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson by his Students* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 137.

[8] Peter Iver Kaufman, 'Reconstructing the Context for Confessionalization in Late Tudor England: Perceptions of Reception, Then and Now', in Headley et al., *Confessionalization*, pp. 275–87.

[9] See in particular, Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550–1640* (Basingstoke, 2000); Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000), though Braddick supplies one interesting chapter on 'the claims of the confessional state' (pp. 291–333).

in both the United Kingdom and the United States. It is noteworthy that the two most significant books in the field published in the 1990s – the period when confessionalization theory was at the peak of its influence in Reformation studies more generally – were, respectively, a biography of Archbishop Cranmer and a richly textured evocation of parish religion and its fate in the sixteenth century.[10] Revisionism of various kinds – the knocking down of (sometimes imagined) grand narrative rather than its construction – has been the most notable characteristic of the scholarship on England over the period during which confessionalization theory was being developed. The literal insularity of Britain's situation also has its metaphorical equivalent in much of the scholarship on England (less so, that on Scotland). Nurtured by its own rich historiographical traditions and debates, the study of the English Reformation has often not felt the need to look horizontally for intellectual stimulus, or even for critical context. Some historians, for example, have emphasized a primary role for the indigenous Lollard tradition in the development of English Protestantism, while others have seen mid-Tudor Catholicism as 'belonging within an English Catholic tradition', which must not be 'judged by European standards'.[11] Christopher Haigh's influential study of 1993 was called *English Reformations*, so he tells us, rather than 'The Reformation in England', because his subject was emphatically not 'simply a local manifestation of the wider European movement, an integral part of "the Reformation"'. There were of course connections with other places, but it is a fallacy to see the English Reformation as something 'exported across the Channel and installed in England by Luther, Calvin and Co. Ltd'.[12] Not all leading historians share Haigh's 'euro-sceptic' approach, and others strongly emphasize the importance, across the sixteenth century and beyond, of English Protestants' self-conscious identification with co-religionists across the Channel.[13] An insistence that English history has a European context is not, however, quite the same as an eagerness to apply to English developments methodologies and research questions that have proved creative and constructive in the study of the Reformation elsewhere.

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[10]   Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven and London, 1996); Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

[11]   John F. Davis, *Heresy and Reformation in the South East of England 1520–1559* (London, 1983); Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000), quote at p. 115.

[12]   Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 12–13.

[13]   Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999); Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558* (Zurich, 2006); J. Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

All of this leaves the further possibility that historians of the English Reformation have not been drawn to any of the variants of the confessionalization thesis because, quite simply, they do not consider it useful for framing the kinds of questions they want to ask and answer, or because they see it as being unable to speak effectively to the peculiarities of the English situation. In an essay of 1998, Patrick Collinson, leading interpreter of England's later Reformation, recalled attending an Anglo-German conference in Munich a couple of years before, and attempting there 'some explanation of what looks like an unusual state of affairs', in front of German colleagues who have 'much to say about a Second Reformation, and about a process called confessionalization'. Collinson's view was that in England it was in the end not possible for Protestant orthodoxy to become an instrument of state formation, largely because of the attitudes of Queen Elizabeth I. The Queen certainly saw a role for the Church in promoting obedience, but she did not (unlike, say, Archbishop Grindal) think that an actively evangelizing and preaching ministry should be central to the project. What Collinson called 'the failure of the state church to define and underwrite Protestant orthodoxy' in England had dramatic consequences, including endless theological debates within the Church, and struggles, locally and nationally, over ritual and liturgy. Disconnected from a state-forming agenda, Protestant reformers pursued their own particular programmes in a multitude of different localities, while 'the process of doctrinal formulation was referred downwards' to the hundreds of godly clergymen who composed catechisms for the laity. England ended up having a very long Reformation, 'not as the natural functioning of a healthy, unrestrained organism, but as a sustained series of responses to the constraints of a Reformation never whole-heartedly embraced and promoted by the centres and sources of ecclesiastical and political power.'[14]

Writing about the same time as Collinson, and in the fullest discussion to date of the applicability of the confessionalization thesis to England (in fact, to North Western Europe in the round), Andrew Pettegree was if anything still more sceptical, asserting that 'in all its essential features the confessionalization model fails to provide an adequate description or explanatory framework for events in those lands'. In England, the drive for religious uniformity became essentially decoupled from the process of state-building. Both here and in other parts of North Western Europe insecure regimes 'were forced to accept a high level of religious diversity as the price of security as the state-building process continued'. Elizabeth I's

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[14]   Patrick Collinson, 'Comment on Eamon Duffy's Neale lecture and the Colloquium', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500–1800* (London, 1998), pp. 78–81. On catechisms, see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996).

government, while insisting on formal adherence to the state church, was not really serious about enforcing attendance at services or eradicating Catholicism. In so far as social discipline was concerned, the Elizabethan authorities showed much interest in the regulation of society, and they produced a mass of often moralistic social and economic legislation. But, remarkably, 'the Queen and her Council seem not to have perceived the ministers of the church as important allies in this process.' The English clergy undoubtedly became over the course of the reign a more highly educated and professional group, but almost in spite of the state's encouragement, rather than because of it. In terms of the reformation of behaviour of individuals, and for communities, 'the close co-operation between church and state evident in Germany is almost wholly absent'.[15]

There would appear, then, to be an at least implicit consensus among historians of the English Reformation that confessionalization simply couldn't or didn't 'take' in the conditions of Tudor rule. This perception sits comfortably with longstanding views about English 'exceptionalism', both ecclesiastical and political, in the early modern era. Alone among the major monarchies of Europe, England was to approach the end of the seventeenth century with its religious pluralism entrenched rather than eroded, and after 1688 it turned decisively towards constitutional monarchy rather than absolutism. The failure of the English monarchy to initiate a thorough-going confessionalization process in the preceding century would seem, on the face of it, to be foundational to these later developments. Yet this raises the crucial question of whether that failure was in some way structurally predetermined, or rather unforeseeable and largely contingent.

It is, I think, worth interrogating this point a little more closely. For on the face of it, the apparent inability of the Tudor monarchy, even the Elizabethan monarchy, fully to mobilize the resources of state religion for the purposes of political and social control is very surprising indeed. Of all the places in sixteenth-century Europe where one would expect to find a close and mutually-reinforcing alliance of throne and altar, the kingdom of England would surely come high on the list. England was, by contemporary standards, a highly unified and well-governed kingdom, with a tradition of centralized royal control stretching back to Anglo-Saxon times. Its ecclesiastical structure was remarkably streamlined, with its two provinces of Canterbury and York containing a mere 17 bishoprics. This, combined with a relative absence of great ecclesiastical liberties or peculiar jurisdictions made the Church comparatively easy for the crown to control in all practical matters. Nor – despite the implosion of blood-letting within

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[15]   Andrew Pettegree, 'Confessionalization In North Western Europe', in Bahlcke and Strohmeyer (eds), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa*, pp. 105–20, quotes at pp.106, 111, 113, 114.

the extended royal family in the mid-fifteenth century Wars of the Roses – was there any very strong tradition of aristocratic particularism in England, and independent noble power was clearly in decline in the immediately pre-Reformation decades, as the first two Tudor monarchs eliminated potential rivals and promoted the ideal of a subservient 'service nobility'. It is certainly possible to make the case for England, as some scholars have done elsewhere, of a kind of proto-confessionalization taking place in the fifteenth century, with religious devotion being promoted as a badge of national or territorial identity, and the ruler seeking greater practical control over the disciplinary mechanisms of the church.[16] The key figure here was Henry V, the second ruler from the usurping Lancastrian dynasty. Henry was able to use the perceived threat from the heresy of Lollardy to rally support for his regime as a guarantor of orthodox Catholic piety, while at the same time mobilizing religious rhetoric (and church resources) in pursuit of his dynastic ambitions in France.[17] His successors, during a period of prolonged dynastic uncertainty, naturally also sought to employ the resources of faith for political entrenchment: the efforts of Henry VII to promote the cult (and secure the canonization) of his Lancastrian progenitor, Henry VI, are a case in point.[18]

    In its classic formulation, the confessionalization thesis assumes a later sixteenth century starting date for the process, with parallel forms of confessional formation taking place in what was once regarded as the era of the 'Second Reformation'. Yet there is much about the early Reformation in England which looks like a precocious exercise in the techniques of confessionalization. Henry VIII's ecclesiastical policies have conventionally been regarded as almost devoid of theological content. They constituted an 'act of state', a political and jurisdictional change whose spiritual ambitions stretched no further than validating a form of 'Catholicism without the pope'. Henry's theology certainly looks odd and anomalous by later standards and definitions, and there has been no continuing tradition of 'Henricianism' descending from the sixteenth century. But there is no

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[16]   See here Peter Dykema, 'The Reforms of Count Eberhard of Württemberg: "Confessionalization" in the Fifteenth Century', in Beat Kümin (ed.), *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470–1630* (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 39–56; Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford, 2003).

[17]   Jeremy Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V', in G. L. Harris (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 97–115; Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422* (New Haven and London, 1998). See also Tom Betteridge, The Henrician Reformation and Mid-Tudor Culture', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 35/1 (2005): p. 94: 'the campaign against the Lollards meant that the tools of confessionalization, and perhaps the desire to use them, were sharper in Tudor England than the rest of Europe'.

[18]   Marshall, *Reformation England*, p. 20.

doubting the extent to which the Henrician regime sought to deploy the full resources of a state church, and of contemporary devotional culture, in order to bind its Christian subjects to a close identification with the realm and with the king's proceedings. The royal supremacy which Henry claimed over the Church was no merely pragmatic, administrative matter, but a divinely ordained, irresistible truth, the revelation of which could be inferred from scripture and the ancient tradition of Christianity. That supremacy – and its counterpart, the denigration of the papacy – was made into the focus of an elaborate theology of obedience, reiterated in a plethora of prescribed preaching and prayer.[19] The period witnessed ambitious campaigns to sanctify political conformity, beginning with the swearing of the entire adult male population to recognize the Boleyn marriage and the succession rights of its offspring (and also, implicitly, the royal supremacy over the Church). Whether or not all were inwardly convinced, the policy was a triumphant assertion of authority and obedience: among the laity, only Thomas More refused to swear. In the liturgical sphere, new bidding prayers inscribed the royal family as the principal focus of corporate petitionary entreaty for congregations, and (though it is always said that Henry preserved the Latin mass intact) the canon of the Sarum Missal was reworded to make the king's new position vis-à-vis the bishop of Rome evident at every celebration of mass.[20] It would also be hard to think of a more overtly confessionalizing image than Holbein's frontispiece to the official Great Bible of 1539, depicting Henry seated in divine majesty, the mediator of the Word of God between Christ and His/his people. Nor was the progress of the Henrician Reformation divorced from an explicit concern with social discipline. Idleness, disorder, superstition, and spiritual complacency were all key components of the discourses (sometimes enshrined in legislation and proclamations) against monks and friars, and against the twin bogeymen of the regime, 'heretics' and 'traitors'. In July 1540, three papists and three Lutherans were executed together at Smithfield, in an exemplary demonstration of the king's 'moderation'.[21]

In short, Henry VIII and his advisors aimed to fashion and inculcate a rhetoric of religious purity (orthodox, 'Catholic', anti-papist, opposed to superstition, and animated by the Word of God) and to align it with

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[19]   Richard Rex, 'The Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 39/4 (1996): pp. 863–94.

[20]   Aude Mezerac-Zanetti, '"And so his grace was prayd for ever sens": Praying for Henry VIII after 1534', Paper at the Reformation Studies Colloquium, University of St Andrews, September 2010.

[21]   Susan Doran (ed.), *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London, 2009), p. 204; Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot, 2006), ch. 7; George Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 392, 459–60, 574–6.

a national spirit of fidelity to the person of the anointed monarch. If this was not 'confessionalization', then what was it? One might object that what was missing from the edifice was the crucial keystone of a plausible confession itself. Adherence to the Lutheran Augsburg Confession of 1530 was the price for an alliance with the Schmalkaldic League, but it was a price Henry was never prepared to play.[22] The regime did produce its own confessional formulae, though these could show alarming inconsistency: *vide* the short distance separating the quasi-Lutheranism of the Ten Articles of 1536 from the rebarbative traditionalism of the Six Articles of 1539. Yet the position stabilized itself in the 1540s, after the production of the *King's Book* of 1543, a document behind which (unlike some previous statements of doctrine) the king threw his by now very considerable weight. Its status as a confessional document with the potential to define religious and political identity is shown, to some extent at least, by the way traditionalists rallied around it during the Protestant reforms of Edward VI's reign.[23]

The imperatives to confessionalize the nation were accelerated rather than arrested by Henry VIII's death in 1547 and the accession of Edward VI. The royal supremacy remained in place as an icon of unity and obedience, albeit exercised symbolically by an underage king rather than substantively for the entire course of the reign. The problematic relationship Henry VIII's Reformation had enjoyed with the orthodoxies emerging on the other side of the Channel was to a considerable extent resolved in Edward's reign, as the government linked itself, doctrinally and politically, with the axis of Reformed polities revolving around Strasbourg, Zurich and Geneva.[24] It is true that the regime, particularly in the first years of the reign, was willing to proceed pragmatically, casting a cloak of deliberate ambiguity over some of its actions. It is revealing, for example, that the reformed vernacular eucharistic service of 1549 billed itself as 'the supper of the Lord and the holy communion, commonly called the mass'.[25] But, increasingly, the building blocks of a confessionalized polity were being put in place: an unambiguously reformed liturgy in 1552, a detailed doctrinal confession in the Forty-Two Articles of 1553, a purged and reconstituted episcopal bench. A significant marker was reached by the 1552 Act of Uniformity, authorizing and imposing the new Prayer Book. For the first time in England, attendance at church was made a requirement

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[22]   See Rory McEntegart, *Henry VIII, The League of Schmalkalden, and the English Reformation* (London, 2002).

[23]   Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 534.

[24]   MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp. 167–74; Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558*; Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*.

[25]   *The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549 and A.D. 1552: with other Documents set forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI*, ed. J. Ketley (Cambridge, 1844), p. 76.

of statute, as well as of canon, law.[26] The state using its coercive power to make subjects participate in authorized forms of worship was of course a crucial component of confessionalization in Europe. Where the Edwardian regime perhaps fell down in its confessionalizing credentials was in the disjuncture between the secular authorities and the Church leadership over questions of moral and social discipline. It was not that the king's ministers were unconcerned with the control and regulation of deviance in the population. In 1547, parliament passed an act which notoriously (and ineffectually) decreed that masterless vagrants could be pressed into service as slaves.[27] But the state ultimately failed to give sanction to the Church's aspiration for a reformed framework of godly moral discipline. In 1551–52, a committee overseen by Cranmer produced the document known as the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, which proposed a thorough revision of canon law, designed to re-establish the whole system on clear evangelical principles, and to provide new prescriptions and sanctions to increase the Church's capacity in the field of moral discipline. Yet when the proposals came before parliament in 1553, the Duke of Northumberland caused them to fail in the House of Lords, the result of criticisms of his rapacious policies by evangelical preachers and of Northumberland's suspicions of apparent resurgent clericalism.[28]

The accession of Mary in 1553 was not so much an interruption to, as a change of direction in the confessionalizing impulse, as the Marian regime was every bit as concerned as its predecessors to align religious orthodoxy with political conformity. The re-grafting of England onto the body of the universal Church was also, as David Starkey has shown, accompanied by a remarkable degree of nationalistic rhetoric, emphasizing God's providential designs for England and its people.[29] It would be anachronistically premature to refer to Marian Catholicism as Tridentine, but neither was it, nor could it be, a simple return to the variegated religious culture of immediately pre-Reformation England. Its emphases were more overtly and self-consciously doctrinal, its devotional patterns more uniform and centralizing; in short, more confessional. Although the difficulties confronting the Marian regime, both financial and political, should not be underestimated, a rigorous campaign against heresy, a thorough overhaul of the episcopate, and of the universities, as well as advanced plans for the education and training of the

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[26] Henry Gee and William J. Hardy (eds), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1896), pp. 369–70.

[27] Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (Harlow, 1988), p. 122.

[28] See Gerald Bray (ed.), *Tudor Church Reform: The Henrician Canons of 1535 and the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, Church of England Record Society, 8 (Woodbridge, 2000).

[29] David Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London, 2000), pp. 172–6.

parish clergy, all boded well for the future development of a confessional Catholic state.[30]

That, of course, was never to come to pass, a prospect negated by the absence of a plausible Catholic heir on Mary's death in November 1558. The arrival of Elizabeth on the throne created the opportunity for a revival of the Reformed confessionalizing tendencies of Edward VI's reign. One version of the religious polity of Elizabethan England, however, mindful of Francis Bacon's observation that the Queen had no wish to 'make windows into men's hearts', suggests this was never on the cards. The Settlement of 1559, with its production of a revised Prayer Book and establishment of the Queen as Supreme Governor, was a conscious *via media*, aiming to conciliate religious conservatives while being acceptable to mainstream Protestants. Thereafter, the Elizabethan Church steered a moderate and pragmatic 'Anglican' middle way, beset on either side by immoderate Puritans and papists.[31] Most modern scholarship has come to reject this view, emphasizing both the clearly Protestant texture of the Elizabethan Settlement itself, and the explicitly Reformed character of the theology and identity of the resulting Church, few of whose members would have recognized themselves as 'Anglicans', even if the word had been available to them.[32] This is not to say that the priorities of Reformed Protestantism and of the Elizabethan state were always comfortably in sync with one another. The very existence of the Puritan movement belies that notion, and one can see a reining back from the imperatives of Edwardian Protestantism in such matters as the failure to consider a further reform of the Prayer Book, or to resurrect the disciplinary agenda of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

Yet we cannot simply extrapolate from this a self-evident invalidity of the confessionalization paradigm to English conditions after 1558. As Patrick Collinson recently argued, 'Elizabethan England was a confessional state', with closely aligned and logically analogous structures of governance in church and state (monarch and bishops), as well as an officially defined and enforced set of religious practices for the populace. Attendance at the legally prescribed church services on Sundays and holy days was once more a statutory requirement, and absence from them was a statutory offence, punishable by fines which were more than negligible in 1559 and massively increased in 1581. Although failure to take communion was

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[30] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 16; idem, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London, 2009); idem and David Loades (eds), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006).

[31] See, for example, M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939); J. F. H. New, *Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of their Opposition, 1558–1640* (London, 1964); Richard Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis, 1981).

[32] For a guide to the recent historiography, see Marshall, *Reformation England*, ch. 5.

not an offence against statute (Elizabeth saw to that) it could result in excommunication which had distinct social and political ramifications.[33] Bishop Edwin Sandys was enunciating a political commonplace when he declared in a speech at the opening of parliament in 1571 that 'this liberty, that men may openly profess diversity of religion, must needs be dangerous to the commonwealth… One God, one King, one faith, one profession, is fit for one monarchy and one Commonwealth. Division weakeneth; concord strengtheneth… Let conformity and unity in religion be provided for; and it shall be a wall of defence unto this realm.'[34]

Conformity in religion was not, moreover, purely a matter of outward compliance to prescribed duties, signalling an acceptance of the legitimate demands of the state upon the public conduct of the subject. As Mike Braddick notes, 'political legitimacy was claimed to rest in part upon the defence of true religion, defined in doctrinal and liturgical terms. There was a consequent pressure to define these terms and to enforce conformity to them.'[35] In emphasizing the importance of religious conformity in the values of the Elizabethan polity, there is a danger of accepting at face value Puritan accusations that simply to follow the requirements of the state religion was inherently inauthentic and mechanistic. Conformity can have its own internal logic and spirituality.[36] In particular, we should recognize here that the officially prescribed Book of Common Prayer, which all clergymen were required to swear contained nothing 'contrary to the Word of God'[37], had very real potential as an instrument of state-led confessionalization. Scholars like Judith Maltby, Ramie Targoff and Timothy Rosendale have in recent years argued forcefully for the Prayer Book's profound cultural significance in the post-Reformation decades, and for its ability to become increasingly constitutive of both individual religious mentalities and wider national identities.[38] Nor was the liturgical experience of the English people an entirely static or fixed one, beyond the immediate ability of the authorities to influence. On a regular basis, at

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[33] Patrick Collinson, 'The Politics of Religion and the Religion of Politics in Elizabethan England', *Historical Research*, 82/215 (2009): pp. 74–92, quote at p. 76.

[34] Cited in Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 56.

[35] Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 287.

[36] Margaret Spufford, 'The Importance of Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in eadem (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters 1520–1575* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.1–102.

[37] Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p. 245.

[38] Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998); Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago, 2001); Timothy Rosendale, *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England* (Cambridge, 2007). Rosendale notes in his conclusion that the Prayer Book's insistence upon uniform and common worship should be seen as 'a dimension of the closely related Tudor project of state centralization and nation-building' (p. 221).

times of perceived crisis or need, the bishops issued occasional Forms of Prayer, to be recited in the parish church. These texts were often overtly anti-Catholic, and promoted a sense of providential identity with a wider Protestant cause.[39] The Book of Homilies was another official instrument of Elizabethan confessionalization, and a significant semi-official one was John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', which the Privy Council and Canterbury Convocation in 1570–71 ordered to be placed in halls of senior clergy, all cathedrals, halls of the livery companies, and (somewhat unrealistically for a large and expensive book) in every parish church.[40]

In short, we cannot take for granted the notion that something like a campaign of confessionalization was simply never attempted in Elizabethan England, that the authorities were never really committed to the imposition of uniformity or the sacralization of politics, or that they were somehow promoting the 'wrong kind' of uniformity, without any significant confessionalizing potential among the populace at large. The confessionalization model certainly invites application to later sixteenth-century England. Yet it does so precisely because, despite the presence of appropriate theological and social conditions, and a fair amount of political will, it did not ultimately produce outcomes to be found in other key Protestant polities by the start of the seventeenth century. Elizabethan England was simultaneously a robustly confessional state and a de facto religiously plural society. It represents, I would therefore suggest, a case-study in failed, partial, state-confessionalization.

Two features of the religio-political landscape stand out. Firstly, the state church ultimately failed to contain the energies and aspirations of all English Protestants, many of whom, even while they remained within that Church's formal embrace, pursued their own distinct agendas for the reform and religious formation of individuals and communities. Secondly, a significant Catholic minority was not only not eradicated, but became increasingly entrenched and self-aware over the course of the reign. Historians have, of course, extensively discussed the reasons why the Elizabethan state was 'unable for lack of resources, or unwilling for lack of conviction and commitment, to enforce the strict religious uniformity which was supposed to obtain'.[41] The conservatism and pragmatism of Elizabeth herself was clearly a key factor, as was the lack of complete unity of purpose in the higher echelons of government and the Church, and the presence there of

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[39]   Eamon Duffy, 'The Shock of Change: Continuity and Discontinuity in the Elizabethan Church of England', in Stephen Platten (ed.), *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition: Continuity, Change and the Search for Communion* (Norwich, 2003), pp. 50–51.

[40]   Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, 'Print, Profit and Propaganda: The Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', *English Historical Review*, 119/484 (2004): pp. 1288–1307.

[41]   Collinson, 'Politics of Religion', p. 92.

what Braddick calls 'competing versions of orthodoxy'.[42] The extensive influence of the laity over patronage and appointments in the Church also inhibited the smooth implementation of centrally conceived directives.

Yet, in a sense, these are symptoms as much as they are causes of the partial decoupling of religious identity-forming from state-formation in England. In the final part of this paper, I want to suggest that state-confessionalization in England was patchy and incomplete because other, independent patterns of confessionalization had already established themselves in ways that proved impossible for the state simply to eradicate or appropriate. The concern with confessionalization in a wider European context has undoubtedly 'shifted historiographical interest from its emphasis on the early Reformation toward the second half of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.'[43] Yet in order to make sense of the peculiarities of later sixteenth-century England (and of other regions doubtless also) we cannot afford to neglect the crucial earlier period. In the case of England, keeping it firmly in view helps us get to grips with a striking paradox: how one of the most overtly Erastian of Reformations, in one of the best governed of European states, turned out also to be one of the most intractable and fissiparous.

The Henrician period was without doubt foundational for this. The great irony of Henry VIII's Reformation is that through its course a king obsessed with uniformity and obedience drove significant numbers of his own subjects towards opposition, active or passive, and allowed his kingdom to become deeply, dangerously divided over religion. Henry himself came to recognize this (though not his own culpability for it), appearing before parliament at Christmas 1545 to bemoan how, 'without charity or discretion', preachers railed against their rivals. 'The one calleth the other heretic and anabaptist, and he calleth him again, papist, hypocrite and pharisee'.[44] Yet the king's own policies ('papist' was a word invented by royal propagandists in 1533) had over many years fertilized this culture of name-calling and hostility.[45] The imperatives of the break with Rome, the public justification of the king's new marriage, and the explanation of subsequent religious policies, involved a massive effort of persuasion, involving pulpit, pageant and print. Consent, inner or outward, was not supposed to be optional. But campaigns of persuasion inevitably invite their targets to weigh arguments and alternatives, and, inevitably, the population as a whole was drawn in these years into a national conversation about true and false religion.

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[42] Braddick, *State Formation*, p. 334.
[43] Lotz-Heuman, 'Confessionalization', p. 136.
[44] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle*, (ed.) H. Ellis (London, 1809), 864–5.
[45] Marshall, *Religious Identities*, pp. 185–6.

The suggestion here is not that Henry signally failed to carry the nation with him. Episodes of overt resistance aside (like the massive popular rebellions of 1536), compliance with the royal will was the usual keynote of national response, and the king commanded genuine reverence and even affection in the nation at large. Yet the official Reformation galvanized forces and energies whose current and future development it was not able wholly to control. The idiosyncrasy of Henry's own theological and ecclesiological positions was undoubtedly a factor here. Attempts have been made to portray Henry's religious principles as clear, consistent, and internally coherent.[46] Yet there is little evidence that significant numbers of contemporaries found them so, or regarded them as a firm and reliable basis for ordering their own spiritual lives, for all that the royal propagandist Richard Morison might insist that 'the King's Grace shall never have true subjects that do not believe as His Grace doth'.[47] Certainly, Henry's proud claim to preside over a purified Catholic orthodoxy in an autocephalous English Church was widely regarded as bogus throughout Europe in the 1530s and 40s.[48] Whether it was any more convincing at home is a moot point. There was commonsense wisdom in Nicholas Harpsfield's characterization of Henry as 'one that would throw down a man headlong from the top of a high tower and bid him stay when he was half way down'.[49]

It was of considerable consequence to the political implementation of Henry's project that virtually all English evangelicals came to accept the doctrinal oddity of the royal supremacy, some of them, like Thomas Cranmer, with positive enthusiasm.[50] But even though their aims and methods sometimes coincided – in the demonization of the pope, the dissolution of the monasteries, or the propagation of an English bible – the evangelicals (they were not routinely to call themselves Protestants for at least another generation) were never fully in alignment with the vision of Henry VIII. The royal supremacy was for them an instrument, perhaps a providential one, of godly Reformation; for Henry it was an end in itself. Factional manoeuvrings – in court, council, Church and local administration, the aim of which was to appropriate the power of the royal supremacy for godly and scriptural purposes – helped breed a sense of 'party' identity among the evangelical activists, of bonded association overlapping with, but distinct from, conforming membership of the Henrician state Church. When the conservatives were ascendant,

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[46]   In particular by Bernard, *King's Reformation*.

[47]   *Humanist Scholarship and Public Order: Two Tracts against the Pilgrimage of Grace by Sir Richard Morison*, ed. David Sandler Berkowitz (London, 1984), p. 129.

[48]   Peter Marshall, 'The Other Black Legend: The Henrician Reformation and the Spanish People', *English Historical Review*, 116/465 (2001): pp. 31–49.

[49]   Cited in Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty* (London, 1971), p. 123.

[50]   On this, see MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, pp. 613–18.

and religious policy lurched in the 'wrong' direction, as it did in the early 1540s, the reaction of some evangelicals was to become increasingly disillusioned and oppositional.[51]

Simultaneously, the Henrician Reformation promoted discernible patterns of identity-formation among the evangelicals' opponents. Most obviously, the king's repudiation of Rome forced some English people, clerical and lay, to acknowledge the extent to which fidelity to the pope was after all constitutive of their Christian faith. A handful gave their lives for the principle, others fled, and a greater number kept their heads down, or expressed their discontent through disloyal talk and acts of passive resistance or partial conformity.[52] The consciousness of being a political dissident, and the perception of oppression, naturally strengthened commitment to the principles on which opposition was rooted. It is really only after 1533–34, and as a direct consequence of Henry's Reformation, that we can begin to talk meaningfully of *Roman* Catholics in an English context.

Most Catholics did not assume this overtly oppositionist stance. Indeed, it has been argued that Henry's masterstroke was to divide and rule the nation's Catholic majority, creating a 'bipartite division' between 'conformist Catholics' who supported the regime and 'non-conformist Catholics' who opposed it.[53] The issue of whether it was (theo)logically possible to be Catholic without the pope was to be a burning one for the rest of the century, and indeed still carries a residual charge in English ecclesiastical life. Yet 'conformist Catholics' were not necessarily unquestioning 'Henricians'. Like their evangelical rivals, many were committed to the Royal Supremacy to the extent that it operated as a guarantor of the orthodoxies they valued. The reign of Edward VI was in consequence a traumatic episode, as the spiritual authority of the crown was widely seen to endorse a full-scale assault on the traditional sacramental and ceremonial life of the nation. Henrician Catholics like Stephen Gardiner and Cuthbert Tunstal thus came at the end of the 1540s to the recognition that in the mid-1530s they had been wrong and Thomas More had been right: Catholic orthodoxy apparently did require communion with Rome as a safeguard against slippage into heresy.

It was not only at the level of the elite that a perception of hardening battle lines – the precise positioning of which was only partly determined by the pronouncements of the state – was growing at the start of Edward's reign. Amusingly, but revealingly, at Bodmin in Cornwall in 1547, the boys at the free school formed themselves into two gangs for purposes

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[51] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 2003).

[52] G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972).

[53] Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp. 29–60, quote at p. 59.

of play-warfare, 'the one whereof they called the old religion, the other the new.'[54] Awareness of confessional conflict had reached all levels of society, and all parts of the realm. English Catholicism under Edward is often portrayed as leaderless and demoralized: there were no successor martyrs in the reign to More, Fisher and the Carthusians. But it was not entirely toothless or moribund. In the summer of 1551 a laywoman at St Martin's Ludgate in London angrily told her reforming curate that God was plaguing the people 'because that they would not suffer them to pray upon their beads', and she reprovingly 'shook her beads' in the minister's face.[55] Another incident from that summer suggests the extent to which a traditional object of private devotion had become a militant symbol of confessional identity. The king's sister, the Lady Mary, rode defiantly into London with 130 attendants, all ostentatiously wearing a set of rosary beads at their belts.[56]

Two years later, Mary would be queen. The switch-back of religious policy consequent upon changes of ruler is of course one of the most notable characteristics of the early English Reformation. Anyone living through the three decades between 1529 and 1559 would have experienced five separate religious regimes: pre-Reformation Catholic, Henrician Reformed Catholic, Edwardian Protestant, Marian Catholic and Elizabethan – six or seven, if we follow Christopher Haigh's lead and regard the swings of official policy in 1538 and 1549 as decisive turning-points.[57] Conventional wisdom holds that the frequent shifts and turns of government religious policy in the mid-Tudor decades must have confused and disoriented people, leaving many with little clear sense of whether they were supposed to be Protestants, Catholics or whatever else type of Christian.[58] There is doubtless something to this. Though we need to be on guard for the polemical and rhetorical purposes undergirding such descriptions, it is not uncommon in the middle decades of the century to come across contemporary talk about significant numbers of 'neuters' and 'nullifidians' in the ranks of the laity.[59]

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[54]   Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, (ed.) F. E. Halliday (London, 1953), p. 196.
[55]   F. W. Fincham, 'Notes from the Ecclesiastical Court Records at Somerset House', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 4 (1921): p. 117.
[56]   *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, (ed.) J. G. Nichols (London, 1848), pp. 4–5.
[57]   Haigh, *English Reformations*, chs. 9–10.
[58]   For example, Rex H. Pogson, 'The Legacy of the Schism: Confusion, Continuity and Change in the Marian Clergy', in Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (eds), *The Mid-Tudor Polity c1540–1560* (Basingstoke, 1980), pp. 116–36; Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 267–8; Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 53, 102, 132–3; Jones, *English Reformation*, pp. 2–6, 137, 149–50; Ryrie, *Age of Reformation*, p. 171.
[59]   A. G. Dickens, *Late Monasticism and the Reformation* (London, 1994), pp. 107–8; John Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian*

Yet there are at the same time some good reasons for thinking that England's unusually topsy-turvy Reformation may have encouraged rather than inhibited the precocious adoption of confessional attitudes. One phenomenon to take note of is that of ideologically motivated exile. Every tidal change of official religious policy produced its own waves of spiritual migrants bound for sympathetic berths in Scotland or continental Europe. The earliest evangelicals took shelter from the last persecutory spurts of pre-Reformation Catholic England in Antwerp or Wittenberg. After the break with Rome, and, later, the dissolution of the monasteries and suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace, both lay and clerical opponents of the Henrician regime were to be found dispersed around the Low Countries, Scotland, and Rome. Henry's swing in a conservative direction after 1538 meanwhile prompted some evangelicals, increasingly unable to stomach the doctrine of the mass, to cross the seas once more. Under Edward, Catholic exile numbers were boosted (for example, by the extended family of Thomas More, and the remnants of the London Carthusians), and when these exiles came home in 1553, a new exodus of Protestants began. The Marian exiles themselves were able to return after 1558, while growing numbers of Catholics, unwilling to accept the Elizabethan Settlement, departed for what turned out to be a much longer-term banishment from their homeland.[60]

The exiles were, of course, at every stage a small minority in numerical terms, and they were, by definition, distanced from the course of events at home. But they nonetheless formed influential cadres, the core activist groups of their respective confessional communities. This was a role enhanced by their first-hand experience of the state-of-the-art varieties of Catholic and Protestant reform developing on the European mainland: the first stirrings of the Council of Trent, or the disciplinary, liturgical and doctrinal maturing of the Reformed cities of Switzerland and Southern Germany. Crucially, it was characteristic of the exiles to remain in close contact with sympathizers at home, sometimes counselling prudence and patience, but increasingly pressing the claims of passive resistance and forms of self-ascription as dissidents, such as refusal to attend 'heretical' or 'idolatrous' services. Both Protestant and Catholic exiles also made

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Market Towns, 1500–1610 (Aldershot, 2001), p. 9; Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter 1547–1603* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 227.

    [60] On the theme of exile, see Christina H. Garret, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938); Andrew Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: Six Studies* (Aldershot, 1996); Ryrie, *Gospel and Henry VIII*, ch. 3; Marshall, *Religious Identities*, ch. 11; Peter Marshall, 'Religious Exiles and the Tudor State', in K. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds), *Discipline and Diversity*, Studies in Church History, 43 (2007), pp. 263–84. See also the articles comprising the 'Special Forum: Religious Identity in Exile', in *Reformation*, 15 (2010): pp. 51–189.

considerable and effective use of the printing press in their efforts to confessionalize their compatriots at home.

What was perhaps most significant about this spiritual leaven was its periodic ability to reinsert itself into the lump. Changes in the religious climate allowed exiles to come home and exert influence on developments in religion, both official and unofficial. Evangelicals who had breathed the air of Wittenberg, like the former Augustinian friar Robert Barnes, helped advance the cause of the Gospel under the banner of Henry's Royal Supremacy in the 1530s, while returning Catholic exiles assumed many positions of influence (including the archbishopric of Canterbury) in the restored Catholic Church of the 1550s. The Marian exiles may not have been quite as decisive an influence on the shape of the Elizabethan Settlement as was once thought – Sir John Neale's notion of a 'puritan choir' of former exiles driving the pace of reform in the House of Commons has been substantially discredited.[61] But returning exiles, with their own distinct ideas about the directions reform in England should take, were prominent at every level of the Elizabethan Church. Some of the inheritances of their sojourn abroad – the Geneva Bible, for example, or John Foxe's martyrology – were both to enjoy a distinctly ambiguous relationship to the priorities of the Elizabethan regime, and to become deeply constitutive of a certain type of English Protestant identity.

Mention of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* prompts attention to another characteristic of the early English Reformation consequent upon the recurrent changes of regime: its periodically sanguinary nature. Despite a modern reputation for proceeding in a peaceful, orderly and non-violent manner, the early Reformation in England was marked by episodes of violence and blood-letting. Most notoriously, Mary I's government executed nearly 300 persons for the crime of heresy, but Henry VIII also had over 400 put to death, some formally for heresy, but many more for the religio-political heresy of denying or opposing his royal supremacy.[62] (The Edwardian regime – other than in the case of a couple of anabaptists – was sparing in its use of formal judicial procedures to execute religious dissidents, though thousands of Catholic peasants were slaughtered by its agents in the repression of the Western Rebellion of 1549). Martyrdom was, for both persecutors and persecuted, a whetstone of confessional

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[61]   John. E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, *English Historical Review*, 65 (1950); Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1559–1581* (London, 1953), revised by Norman Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London, 1982); W. S. Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, NC, 1980).

[62]   Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 387; Thomas S. Freeman, 'Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution', in Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (eds), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 171–205.

commitment. Its psychological and sociological effect was to cement group solidarities and sharpen the sense of overt commitment among adherents. The martyrs represented an ideal and an aspiration to their own communities of faith, even for those whose own courage fell well short of the sticking-point, while, on the other side, active participation in the process condemning a fellow-Christian to death might represent the crossing of a moral and ideological Rubicon.

Patterns of response to persecution also enable us to track some confessionalizing impulses at work in Tudor society. Pre-reformation Lollards almost invariably recanted when they were arrested and charged with heresy, and evangelicals who crossed the ever-shifting line of acceptable orthodoxy in Henry VIII's reign were also very often willing to retract their erroneous opinions.[63] What is striking about the heresy trials of Mary's reign, however, is the much greater preparedness of many of the accused to stick to their guns, even unto death. Among English evangelical writers there had in fact since the 1540s been a growing tendency openly to criticize those who were prepared to temporize, equivocate or recant when they were summoned in front of the authorities. How much was owed at this stage to the influence of the 'anti-Nicodemite' writings of continental reformers like Calvin is a moot point. Noting the phenomenon, Thomas Freeman persuasively suggests that, in England, anxieties about dissimulation and compromise over true doctrine were sharpened by the fact that 'religious policy, like a pendulum, was not only moving in opposite directions, but was also swinging between further and further extremes'.[64]

These swings of the pendulum undoubtedly helped to resolve issues in the minds of the most religiously committed. But could this in any way be true of the population as a whole, notoriously conformist, and clinging doggedly to the rim of fortune's wheel as the prospects of their betters rose and fell? Change, initially at least, is usually bewildering and unsettling to those not in the position of initiating it. In the early 1530s, for example, the parishioners of Ashlower in Gloucestershire reported their conservative-minded priest to the authorities, 'not knowing whether the act thus done by the said vicar... be treason or no'.[65] Yet, as the years passed, and the reversals of religious policy multiplied, I think a case can be made that – rather than causing ever-increasing bewilderment – the alterations helped to clarify matters at the local level. The successive orders to destroy or

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[63] Susan Wabuda, 'Equivocation and Recantation during the English Reformation: the 'Subtle Shadows' of Dr Edward Crome', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44/2 (1993): pp. 224–242.

[64] Freeman, 'Burning Zeal', p. 190.

[65] Christopher Haigh, 'Introduction', in Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 12. The priest had been obstructionist in regard to the local swearing of the oath of succession: Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp. 120–21.

restore altars, or to purchase or remove images and books, with their accompanying explanations and exhortations, in all likelihood resembled a traumatic form of catechizing. They must have encouraged people to think more intensely about the meanings and significance of the trappings of faith, rather than simply taking them for granted, and they drew the population as a whole into active participation with national projects of conversion and reconversion. What is sometimes regarded as 'confusion' in mid-Tudor testamentary bequests, such as stipulations that payments were to be made to specified pious causes on condition they continued to be legal, in fact reveals fairly sophisticated understandings of how patterns of piety were aligned with the confessional stances of current and likely future regimes.[66]

It is, I think, becoming increasingly clear that the reign of Mary I, for long regarded as an aberration and an 'interlude' in the story of the English Reformation, was in fact its central crux and crisis, and that it set the tone for much of what was to follow. Significantly, it was in this period that the linguistic categories of religious affiliation seem to have begun to stabilize, with 'Catholic' (perhaps the most theologically contested word of the entire Reformation) being effectively copy-righted by the supporters of Rome and the regime, and 'Protestant' being popularized (initially by their enemies) as the appropriate group-label for the advocates of doctrinal reform.[67] The changeover of 1558–59 was different in important respects from those of 1553, 1547 and 1534. The refusal of all (bar one) of the bishops, nearly all the Oxford heads of houses, a majority of the upper cathedral clergy, and an unknowable but likely significant number of the lower clergy to remain in post to serve the new regime under its own terms after 1559 is a tribute to the reforming zeal of Cardinal Pole and his collaborators in their reconstruction of the English Church.[68] But it is also surely a sign of the times more broadly: by the late 1550s people had a much clearer sense of the compromises that were likely to be demanded of them, and fewer were prepared to make them willingly. In the course of the following decade, Elizabeth's bishops were to find it noticeably more difficult than their predecessors had done to get parishes to comply swiftly with orders to remodel churches, and to remove now forbidden ornaments and objects. Perhaps churchwardens were increasingly and understandably wary about the costs involved if official policy were to whirly-gig once more. But just as plausibly, the reluctance points to a greater degree of clarity on the part of

[66]   Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 553–5.

[67]   Marshall, *Religious Identities*, ch. 9; Peter Marshall, 'The Naming of Protestant England', *Past and Present*, 214 (2012): pp. 87–128.

[68]   Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, pp. 196–201.

ordinary people about the religious issues at stake in the furnishing of their church than had been the case in the 1530s and 1540s.[69]

Elizabethan state-confessionalization had thus in important respects been pre-empted already by 1560. Ironically, a series of abortive state Reformations had provided the contexts, rhetorics and imperatives for the English people, along the spectrum from godly Protestant to dissident Catholic, to begin confessionalizing themselves. This is not to say that any one outcome was inevitable as the final third of the century commenced, but it did mean that the goal of complete and sincere religious uniformity was always going to be highly unrealistic without the deployment of levels of coercive force which might have torn the country apart. We have come some way down from the classic contours of the Schilling-Reinhard confessionalization thesis at whose summit we started the discussion. But despite the particularities of the situation in the Tudor kingdom in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, a reinforced picture of English exceptionalism is probably the wrong lesson to draw. Much recent work in the field of confessionalization and confession-building in non-British contexts (France, the Netherlands, Eastern Europe, Anabaptism) has in fact been concerned precisely with 'self-confessionalization' and 'confessionalization from below', with community-based confessionalism, and with the building of confessional identities without the active support of the state power, and sometimes in direct opposition to it.[70] Here we can see potential for renewed and fruitful dialogue between the students of these important themes and historians of England's corkscrew Reformation.

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[69]   Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations', in Haigh (ed.), *English Reformation Revised*, pp. 134–5.

[70]   Lotz-Heuman, 'Confessionalization', pp. 146–51.

CHAPTER 3

Sacramental Realism: Relocating the Sacred

Ronald F. Thiemann

Re-telling the Secularity Story

Charles Taylor's recent book *A Secular Age*[1] has reinvigorated scholarly debate about the role of movements of reform within Western Christendom in creating the conditions that led to the rise of the modern secular world. In a wide-ranging, complex, and controversial argument Taylor has sought to give an account of how the "conditions of secularity" have come to shape both religious belief and unbelief in the modern age. Ever the philosopher, Taylor offers an historico-philosophical argument which seeks to identify the "social imaginary" within which we all live, breathe and have our being in modernity. By "social imaginary" Taylor means the basic framework within which ordinary people imagine the social world in which they live. An imaginary, Taylor suggests, "is carried in images, stories, and legends" and defines the "common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy."[2] Social imaginaries provide the common sense, the mores, the habits, the unspoken expectations of how people in a certain society, culture, or nation should behave.

Taylor calls the social imaginary of the modern world "the immanent frame,"[3] a term by which he seeks to account for the world shared by believer and unbeliever alike, a world in which religious belief is optional, more a personal choice than a social necessity. In addition the immanent frame shapes a new kind of person, which Taylor calls "a buffered self,"

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[1] Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007. Hereafter *SA*. For three excellent critical discussions of Taylor's work see *Varieties of Secularism in a Secular Age*, edited by Michael Warner, Jonathan Vanantwerpen, and Craig Calhoun; *The Religious Secular Divide: The US Case, Social Research: An International Quarterly*, 76:4 (Winter, 2009); and Peter E. Gordon, "The Place of the Sacred in the Absence of God: Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age*, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 69:4, 647–673.

[2] Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2004, 23.

[3] Not long after the publication of *A Secular Age* the Social Science Research Council established a blog entitled *The Immanent Frame: Secularism, Religion, and the Public Sphere* http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/. This blog has created a forum for continuing discussion of the important issues raised by Taylor's book.

one cut off from transcendent sources of meaning and fullness. All residents of modern Western democracies are, Taylor argues, inevitably formed within a social world that creates buffered, disciplined and instrumental citizens who seek to create societies designed for the mutual benefit of all. All members of modern societies, whether religious or not, are shaped by the powerful forces of this secular age. Taylor writes:

> I have been drawing a portrait of the world we have lost, one in which spiritual forces impinged on porous agents, in which the social was grounded in the sacred and secular time in higher times … and this human drama unfolded within a cosmos. All this has been dismantled and replaced by something quite different in the transformation we often roughly call disenchantment.[4]

He frames this project with a deceptively simple observation:

> The change I want to define and trace is one which takes us from a society in which it was virtually impossible not to believe in God, to one in which faith, even for the staunchest believer, is one possibility among others … One way to put the question that I want to answer here is this: why was it virtually impossible not to believe in God in, say, 1500 in our Western society, while in 2000 many of us find this not only easy, but even inescapable?[5]

Taylor's historical account of this fundamental change relies heavily on two sources: Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*[6] and Marcel Gauchet's *The Disenchantment of the World*.[7] Both these thinkers point to various movements of religious reform in the late medieval church as central culprits in the rise of modern secularity, and Taylor follows in their train:

> The Reformation as Reform is central to the story I want to tell – that of the abolition of the enchanted cosmos, and the eventual creation of a humanist alternative to faith. The first consequence seems evident enough: the Reformation is known as an engine of disenchantment. The second is less obvious and more indirect. It passes through the attempts to re-order whole societies which emerge in the radical, Calvinist wing of Protestantism … All branches of Reform push toward disenchantment and set forward an "ideal of living non-sacramentally."[8]

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[4] *SA*, 61.

[5] Ibid. 3, 25.

[6] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

[7] Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, translated by Oscar Burge, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

[8] *SA* 77, 266.

Weber famously pointed to Luther's notion of vocation as a central element in the emerging Protestant ethic of "worldly asceticism." "One thing was unquestionably new [in the Lutheran Reformation]: The valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume."[9] In an oft-quoted phrase Weber described the world-altering effect of Luther's doctrine of vocation. "Christian asceticism, at first fleeing from the world into solitude … now … strode into the market-place of life, slammed the door of the monastery behind it, and undertook to penetrate just that daily routine with its methodicalness, to fashion it into a life in the world."[10] But this new worldly asceticism, while unleashing powerful political and economic forces, had a melancholy underside, the consequences of the "disenchantment (*Entzauberung*, literally demagification) of the world." "The fate of our times," Weber opined, "is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world.' Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations."[11]

Taylor follows Weber's account to a great extent but adds an insight gleaned from Gauchet, namely that the movements of reform introduced new more stringent norms of ethical behavior into the lives of ordinary folk, thus creating the conditions that led to various modern forms of the "disciplinary society." Taylor's narrative goes roughly as follows. The world of medieval Latin Christianity was one in which ordinary folk participate in an enchanted world of magic, mystery, and mayhem. Spirits and demons lurk at every turn and lay people use charms, potions, and incantations to keep the spirits at bay. In addition, they engage in festive celebrations and magical rituals (think Mardi Gras or Carnival) that put people in touch with the uncanny, the extraordinary, and the chaotic. These ludic celebrations allowed the venting of energies that might otherwise undermine public order, but they were also characterized by drunkenness, sexual license, and occasional violence. Movements of reform within Latin Christianity beginning in the fourteenth century sought to bring such behavior under control by applying ethical standards previously limited to monks and religious to ordinary folk or lay Christians. These reforms favored ascetic forms of spiritual life and strongly discouraged the festive, playful, and anarchic aspects of medieval piety.

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[9]   Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 80.
[10]   Ibid., 154.
[11]   Max Weber, "Science as Vocation," *From Max Weber*, translated and edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 155.

There is much in Taylor's analysis that is rich and accurate, and he surely captures well some of the shifts that take place between the medieval and modern periods. He does, however, overstate the ways in which reform, especially Lutheran reform, becomes ascetic and iconoclastic in its aesthetic. When Taylor characterizes the reform aesthetic as non-sacramental and excarnational (rather than incarnational) he seriously misreads one important stream of reform spirituality, namely its sacramental realism. Indeed, I argue that the maintenance of a sacramental sensibility is fundamentally important to the notions of artistic realism that begins to emerge in both art and theology in the fifteenth century. In the limited time and space available to me I can only gesture to the larger argument that I will be making in my book project, so I will limit my remarks to Luther's understanding of sacrament and real presence and will show a few images that illustrate early artistic renditions of "sacramental realism."

Sacramental Realism

Martin Luther's sacramental understanding of "real presence" draws upon a long tradition of theological conceptions of God's hiddenness. Like Gregory of Nyssa in *The Life of Moses* Luther claims that we can only know God *sub contrario*, under God's opposite, for to see God face-to-face is to be overwhelmed by God's holiness. God graciously allows us to see "God's backside" (*posteriori dei*), the "visible and manifest things of God, seen through suffering and the cross."[12] In the Eucharist, Luther argues, we experience the genuine presence of Christ in the eating of the ordinary elements of bread and wine. Though Christ has ascended to the right hand of the Father he is nonetheless present, really present as he has promised to be, in these simple earthly elements.[13] Luther vigorously rejects any notion that bread and wine are merely "signs" that symbolize or memorialize the risen and ascended Christ. "Who in the world ever read in the Scriptures that 'body' means 'sign of the body' or 'is' means 'represent?' … For even if we put on all the glasses in the world, we would find none of the evangelists writing, 'Take, eat; this is a sign of my body,' or 'This represents my body.'

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[12] Martin Luther, "Heidelberg Disputation 1518, "*Luther's Works*, *Career of the Reformer I*, Volume 31, 52.

[13] While much of the Christian tradition has understood that the risen and ascended Christ dwells locally in heaven at God's right hand, Luther asserts – to the contrary – "the right hand of God is everywhere … The right hand of God is the almighty power of God which at the same time can be nowhere and yet must be everywhere." Quoted in Herman Sasse, *This Is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Fortress Press, 1959), 125.

But what we clearly find without the aid of any glasses, so that even young children can read it, is, 'Take, eat; this is my body.'"[14]

Thus for many of the Reformers, Luther and Calvin chief among them, Christ's presence is mediated through simple earthly things like water, words, wine, and bread. The ascended and thus "absent" Christ is present again through promise, word, and earthly elements in the sacraments. The notion of "sacramental realism," that Christ's mediated presence is "hidden" under the ordinary and everyday, is of fundamental significance to the theology and art that emerge from the movements of reform, including those earlier Catholic reforms of the fifteenth century. Thus Taylor is surely wrong when he characterizes these movements as "disenchanted" and "non-sacramental." Quite the contrary. While the reformist aesthetic eschews any direct depiction of the divine presence, it is deeply sacramental in the way in which it points to the divine always and only "in, with, and under" dimensions of ordinary experience.

One key feature of Luther's theology that Taylor fundamentally misunderstands is Luther's (and later Lutheranism's) emphasis upon the "communication of attributes" the *communicatio idiomatum*.[15] For Luther the divine and human natures share their attributes in the one person of Jesus Christ; thus the divine is always present though hidden in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, just as the Jesus' own bodiliness is taken up into the life of the Trinity. For Luther there is no presence of God that is not also the presence of the human Jesus. "One must attribute to the whole person whatever happens with either of the natures … because deity and humanity in Christ are one person."[16] For Luther the miracle of the incarnation demands that we reject the division between natural and supernatural in all matters Christological. Thus Christ's bodily presence in the Eucharist is neither a supernatural event (Roman Catholicism) nor a natural symbolic remembrance (Zwingli) but the "real presence" of the still-incarnate though resurrected Christ "in, with, and under" the ordinary elements of bread and wine. For Luther one need not *transcend* the natural in order to find the supernatural; rather the divine itself is hidden within

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[14]   Martin Luther, "That These Words of Christ, 'This is My Body," etc., Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics, 1527," *Luther's Works, Word and Sacrament III*, Volume 37, 32ff.

[15]   See Robert W. Jenson, "Luther's Contemporary Theological Significance," *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 272–88. Later Lutheranism developed Luther's position on the unity of the person of Christ in the doctrine of *genus maiestactum*, the belief that divine and human attributes are fully shared or communicated within the single person of Christ. See, Herman Sasse, *This Is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (Fortress Press, 1959), 118–28 and Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism: The Theology and Philosophy of Life of Lutheranism Especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 231–6.

[16]   WA 26, 322.

the mystery of the incarnate Christ. Christ's presence is mediated through "sacramental realism."

> Here you must take your stand and say, Where Christ is according to his divinity, there he is a natural divine person and is present in a natural and personal way, as his conception in his mother's womb shows. For if he was to be the Son of God, he had to be naturally and personally in the womb of his mother and had to become man. If he is present naturally and personally where he is now, he must be there also as man. For there are not two separate persons, but one single person. Where this person is, there he is as one, undivided person. And when you can say, Here is God, then you must also say, Christ, the man, is also here. If, however, you were to show me a place where the divine nature is, and the human nature is not, the person would be divided, because then I could say in truth, Here is God who is not man and never has become man. That is not my God. For it would follow from this that space and place would separate the two natures and divide the person, though neither death nor all devils could separate and divide them.[17]

Time does not permit a full presentation of the implications of "sacramental realism" for the rise of modernity, but one thing is clear (or so I want to argue): the movements of reform, especially as they develop through the art and theology of the Northern Renaissance and the Lutheran reformation, are neither "disenchanted" nor "non-sacramental." Let me illustrate this point with a few images from the visual arts of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.[18]

This first image is the crucifixion fresco painted by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua (roughly 1300). The crucifixion scene is one of a series of frescos illustrating the history of salvation. The crucifixion fresco is often identified by art historians as a key moment of transition toward greater realism in depictions of Christ's death, from the iconic to the realist. Christ's humanity and the reality of his death are vividly depicted in the portrayal of Jesus' body as is the grief of the mourners at the foot of the cross, who are also depicted in a more naturalistic fashion. Note, too, that the angels all have different faces, thus becoming individuated instead of merely being types. These "realist" dimensions serve to draw

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[17] WA 26, 333, quoted in Jenson 276–7.

[18] My argument in this section of paper is indebted to the following sources: Andrew Butterfield, "Sacred, Earthy, and Sublime," *The New York Review of Books*, January 15, 2009, 56:1 http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/jan/15/sacred-earthy-sublime/ ; Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004; Peter Matheson, *The Imaginative World of the Reformation*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001; Bonnie J. Noble, "The Wittenberg Altarpiece and the Image of Identity, *Reformation II,* 2006, 79–129; Richard Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance*, 2006; Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Art of the Everyday: Dutch Painting and the Realist Novel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

the viewer into a visual world different from our own, yet recognizably ours. This feature will become dramatically enhanced in the subsequent development of realist paintings. Even so many iconic dimensions remain – the "sorrowful meditative beauty" of the scene, the visual presence of the angels, the obvious use of halos for many of the figures including that of the centurion, the absence of any natural setting, the lack of background depth perspective, and the like.
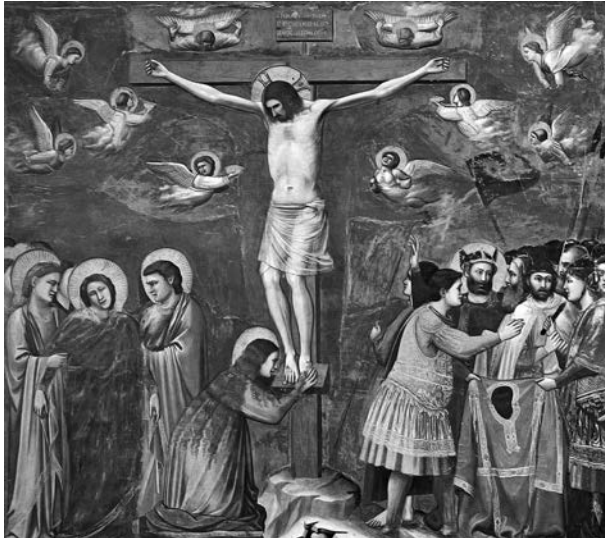

Figure 3.1   Giotto, crucifixion fresco painted in the Arena Chapel, Padua (c. 1300).

Bellini, the son of a great Venetian master, was the leading artist of Venice during his lifetime. Lucas Cranach the Elder identified Bellini as one of the most important influences on his own art. Bellini's use of oil paints allowed him to achieve a remarkable luminosity combined with precise depictions of persons, settings, and landscapes, a quality which art historians call "luminous realism." Andrew Butterfield writes of this painting:

> This is the source of the moral urgency in his art, and it is most evident in those images where a sacred being stares straight at the viewer. In the *Baptism of Christ*, we see the drop of water falling from Saint John's cup and we see the dove of the Holy Spirit descending from God the Father above. As the water touches Jesus' head, we see the radiance of divine illumination spread behind

His head … About the time Bellini made this picture a Venetian poet praised his ability to make Jesus look 'more human and more divine.' The capacity to combine the sacred with the earthly was the key to his art.[19]
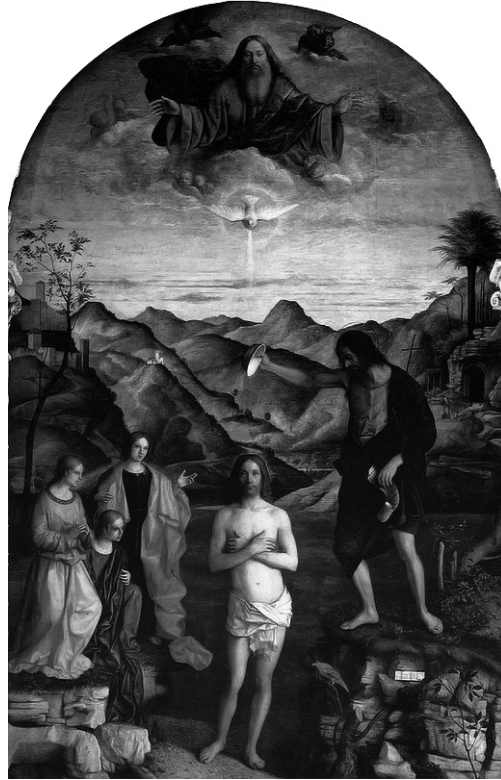
Figure 3.2   Giovanni Bellini, *Baptism of Christ* (1502).

The older brother-in-law of Bellini Mantegna is one of the most important realist painters of fifteenth-century Northern Italy. A poem written in praise of his work celebrates his ability to make figures appear "truly life-like and real."[20] In this crucifixion scene, Mantegna eschews the direct depiction of divine presence, preferring instead to allow the inner states of the figures around the cross to express the spiritual and theological meaning of scene. The grief of Mary and the wailing women is unmistakable, as is the indifference of the gambling soldiers and the mounted centurion.

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[19]   Butterfield, op.cit.
[20]   Ibid.

Mantegna uses these antithetical details to communicate the paradox that Luther will capture theologically nearly 60 years later – the coincidence of life and death; God's absence/presence signified by outstretched arms of the crucified Christ; the tormented apostle John imploring a hidden God. Writing in the fifteenth century, Leon Battista Alberti noted:

> A narrative will move the mind when the persons painted there show their own state of mind … so that we weep with those who weep, and laugh with those who laugh, and mourn with those who mourn. But these movements of the mind are known through the movements of the body.[21]

Figure 3.3   Andrea Mantegna, *The Crucifixion* (1457–1459).

Many of these same features are present in the crucifixion scene painted by Master Mathias or Mathias der Mahler for the Monastery of St. Anthony in Isenheim near Colmar in Alsace. The monks of St. Anthony's were renowned for their treatment of skin diseases, especially ergotism, or St. Anthony's Fire, a disfiguring ailment that caused blistering of the skin and gangrenous infections of hands and feet. Note the ulcers that cover the body of the crucified Christ and the exaggerated, almost grotesque, distention of his hands and feet. Clearly Mathias was depicting a Christ whose own wounds mirror those of the sufferers at the St. Anthony monastery, a remarkable testimony to Christ's role as co-sufferer with those he has come to redeem. The swooning figures of John and the two Marys depict a grief

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[21]   *Pittura Libri III*, book 2, ch. 41, 79. Quoted in Butterfield.

at once realist and stylized. This same technique is present in the figure of John the Baptist – lamb at his feet, open Bible in his hands – pointing to the crucified one, the "lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world." The full impact of suffering and death as vicarious and salvific has rarely been more powerfully depicted, as the hidden gracious meaning of this stark depiction of death becomes apparent only through the proclamation of the word of Gospel spoken by John. The viewer looks to the suffering Christ for healing, but it is only through the proclamation of the word that sufferers can be confident that healing can emerge from suffering, that life can overcome death. Without John's word of hope, our gaze must turn aside from this horrible scene. But if the viewer trusts God's word of promise spoken through John then this scene becomes a site of healing and salvation.

Figure 3.4   Mathias von Grünewald, Isenheimer Altar (1512–1515).

The Wittenberg Altarpiece was completed by Cranach in 1547 as a memorial to Martin Luther who had died a year earlier. The main paintings that dominate the altar are depictions of the three Lutheran sacraments: baptism, eucharist, and the ministry of forgiveness. Many of the figures in the paintings are Lutheran reformers, including Melchanchton, Bugenhagen, and Luther himself. These paintings have great importance for the history of painting in Northern Europe, but it is primarily the smaller predella painting to which I want to draw your attention.

This painting by the great sixteenth-century master shows the effects of Reformation austerity on the craft of painting beginning in the late sixteenth century. While realist elements still dominate, the sumptuous colors and powerful emotions of the earlier paintings give way here to a more controlled atmosphere. The crucifix is brought inside the sanctuary and the stonework markings indicate that Cranach has reproduced the very church in which the painting stands, thus mirroring the congregants gathered around word and sacrament. Instead of the mourners at the foot of the Jerusalem cross we have actual members of the Wittenberg congregation hearing and seeing the *viva vox evangelii*, the *solus Christus*. Note the prominence of lay women in the collection of the faithful members, defining the foreground of the congregation. The congregants are not mourning (he is risen) but serious and engaged hearers of the word. Note too that the cross casts a shadow across the floor of the chancel, a visual indication that Christ is truly present among the gathered faithful. The meaning of the painting is clear: the crucified Christ is present, here and now, in the preached word and sacramental practices of Christ's church, among the everyday people of the gathered congregation.

The theological and aesthetic worlds of these movements of reform are deeply sacramental and, while they eschew direct depiction of the divine, they represent an incarnational understanding of divine presence that has deep biblical, ancient, and medieval roots. To be sure, the ability to see and experience the divine "in, with, and under" the earthly elements requires the cultivation of certain spiritual disciplines, and it may well be the case that the failure of Protestantism to institutionalize those disciplines of seeing, feeling, tasting, and believing the divine may have contributed to the secularization of Western culture. But the aesthetic of "sacramental realism" survived nonetheless, not only in certain ecclesial practices but also in a literary tradition which, in the context of the horrors of the twentieth century, provided means of resistance, wonder, and hope in the most desperate of circumstances. It is that story that I seek to tell in the remainder of my book project.

Figure 3.5   Lucas Cranach the Elder, Predella of the Wittenberg Altar (1547).

Let me conclude with one final image. This is a painting by Rembrandt completed in 1640 and it holds an important but controversial role among historians of Dutch art, precisely on the question of whether there is a "spiritual" meaning in the painting. The controversy extends even to the name of the painting which is designated as either *The Holy Family* or *The Carpenter's Household*. Sacramental? Secular? Or both?

Figure 3.6   Rembrandt, *The Holy Family* or *The Carpenter's Household* (1640).

A Few Conclusions

- It has become fashionable in scholarly circles to claim that we have entered a new "post-secular" age, but Charles Taylor's work reminds us that despite the demise of the secular orthodoxy that dominated the academy for half a century, residents of post-industrial, culturally diverse, political democracies remain firmly located within an immanent frame. We need to avoid exaggerating the differences among the pre-secular, secular, and post-secular. While shifts in social

imaginaries clearly have taken place and will continue to do so, we must remember that continuities are as important as discontinuities in the narratives we seek to write about our own time. We may discover that the secular and sacred, the agnostic and faithful, lie closer to one another than we initially imagined.

- The narratives we tell about the rise of modernity must become considerably more complex and sophisticated than even the subtle story told by Taylor. Historians must cringe when philosophers and theologians seek to offer such broad interpretive frames for major cultural and social movements, but clearly the intellectual ground is shifting under our feet and the need to provide some account of the enduring power of public religion is acute. Understanding our current situation requires new insight into the origins of the modern secular age precisely as that age undergoes significant transformation.

- The task of "reforming reformation" will be crucial to the reconstruction of a new narrative about the origins of the modern, secular world. New insight into the practices, beliefs, artistic productions, and literary innovations of the late medieval/early modern period will not only yield more accurate knowledge of the past; it will also contribute to the critical re-thinking of the categories by which we describe our own times.

- Part of that reconstructive task is overtly theological. If we continue to think in simple binaries like divine/human, sacred/secular, transcendent/immanent we will miss the important theological innovations of the leaders of these movements of reform. The incarnational logic of Christianity resists a simple separation of divine and human, spirit and flesh, sacred and secular by focusing on the deep interpenetration of those apparent opposites. Charles Taylor's failure to understand that the "divine" is not necessarily "transcendent" but may lie deeply "hidden" behind and within the ordinary blinds him to the "sacramental" elements within the piety, practices, and productions of the late medieval and early modern movements of reform.

- Cultural theorists are currently giving much attention to sources of "enchantment" and "re-enchantment" within self-identified secular cultures. While such notions are clearly important for understanding the post-secular, the spiritual aesthetic I have called sacramental realism focuses rather on the awe, wonder, and amazement in discovering the sacred dimensions of our own everyday lives, the "sacred everyday." One of the enduring accomplishments of the movements of reform is the "sacralizing of the everyday," the insight that the sacred might be found not primarily in extraordinary

experiences of the magical and uncanny but in the depth experiences of our everyday and ordinary lives.

I think these points are best illustrated with a passage from Martin Luther's commentary on *The Magnificat*, the song of Mary in the Gospel of Luke. And with this I conclude.

> Behold Christ lying in the lap of his young mother. What can be sweeter than the Babe, what more lovely than the mother! Watch him springing in the lap of the maiden. Laugh with him. Look upon this Lord of Peace and your spirit will be at peace. I would not have you contemplate the deity of Christ, the majesty of Christ, but rather his flesh. Look upon Baby Jesus. Divinity may terrify us. Inexpressible majesty will crush us. That is why Christ took on our humanity that he should console and confirm. See how God invites you in many ways. He places before you a baby with whom you may take refuge. You cannot fear him for nothing is more appealing than a baby. Are you frightened? Then come to him, lying in the lap of the fairest and sweetest maid. You will see how great is the divine goodness, which seeks above all else that you should not despair. Trust him! Trust him! Here is the child in whom there is salvation. To me there is no greater consolation given to us than this, that God became human, a child, a baby, playing in the lap of his most gracious mother. Who is there whom this sight would not comfort? Now is overcome the power of sin, death, hell, conscience, and guilt, if you come to this gurgling Baby and believe that he is come, not to judge you, but to save.[22]

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[22]   Martin Luther, "The Magnificat," *Luther's Works*, *The Sermon on the Mount and the Magnficat*, Volume 21, 297–355. Translation by Roland Bainton and published in *Martin Luther Christmas Book* (Fortress Press, 1948) 39–40.

PART II
From the General to the Particular and Back

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"Local Knowledge" and Catholic Reform in Early Modern Spain

Lu Ann Homza

Ironically, given what I intend to say about historical sensibilities, this essay was inspired by the ways in which early modern religious authors, a modern critic, and historians of early modern Europe echo each other. A few years ago, I became aware that certain intellectuals in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain were voicing some striking priorities as to how they knew what they knew. Their preferences in turn led me to the phrase "local knowledge," an expression that anthropologist Clifford Geertz coined in 1983 to describe the approach that would best serve the study of alien legal systems. Geertz insisted (a) that the law is always local knowledge as well as placeless principle, and (b) that we cannot understand what our subjects thought they were doing if we only refract them through theory and prescription.[1] To discover cultural meaning *in situ*, Geertz told us to build from a specific context and the ground up.

Though he intended his advice for legal scholars and anthropologists, Geertz's recommendations would not strike Reformation historians as particularly startling. For a number of decades, we have preferred to base our investigations on personal stories rather than abstract social and economic forces; we have opted to study narrower frames, rather than structures. We already knew that our subjects' epistemologies could be different from our own, and we have been convinced that there are cultural implications in *what* our historical subjects thought they knew, and *how* they thought they knew it. Moreover, not only do we generally begin with induction rather than deduction in our own practice, but we have recognized for quite some time the importance of induction to

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1   Clifford Geertz, "Local Knowledge: Fact and Law in Comparative Perspective," in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 214, p. 218. Significantly, Geertz's objective was not simply to make alien legal values comprehensible: once cultural meaning was established, he intended it to be shared via translation, p. 234.

the Scientific Revolution. Finally, the centrality of the local for religious devotion has long been a cliché in the scholarly literature.[2]

Nevertheless, I was startled to realize that my subjects from sixteenth-century Spain seemed to be favoring exactly the methodological recommendations that Geertz prescribed and that many of us follow, but in a different arena, that of religious truth and persuasion. It turns out that there were figures in Spain who used an inductive process to assess the religious controversies around them, and who preferred to move from particular events to bigger principles. The knowledge these figures prized came not just from a sense of place, but from a specific point in historical time, through dialogue with human actors who were known in some familiar way. Their watchwords were individuality, charity, conversation, and history. I think their priorities amounted to a sensibility which has philosophical implications.

The rebel who led me to this line of inquiry was not a heretic, but an inquisitor: Alonso de Salazar Frías, one of three men who, as an inquisition team, investigated accusations of witchcraft in Navarre between 1609 and 1612.[3] The inquisitors started out united in their conviction that the Devil was sowing heresy in Navarrese villages; what they believed they knew conformed to many cultural stereotypes, some endemic to the region, and others in demonological theory. These witches practiced *maleficia* on crops and especially infants: they appeared to be enemies of fertility. The witches' Devil was a cunning liar, who would do anything to protect and enlarge his sect. The witches and the Devil came together at large parties called *sabbats*, which featured dancing, dining, sex, and explicit renunciations of Christian baptism. The witches' accusers were primarily children and teenagers, who usually claimed the witches abducted them while they were sleeping and flew them to demonic gatherings. Once accepted into the Devil's sect, the children guarded herds of toads which eventually became individual familiars, responsible for waking up their mistresses and masters in time for the sabbat, and providing the unguent that allowed them to fly there. By February 1609, the inquisitors had arrested 10 suspects; by the time they held their *auto-de-fe*, in November 1610, they ordered 11 witches burnt at the stake and reconciled 18 more to the Church who had confessed and repented.[4]

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[2]   William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

[3]   The classic study of this episode is Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1980).

[4]   Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*, pp. 189–93; for the *auto de fe*, pp. 193–7. The account published by printer Juan Mongastón can be found in Manuel Fernández Nieto,

But unfortunately, no matter how many witches these inquisitors formally condemned or reconciled, witchcraft in Navarre continued throughout the fall, winter, and spring of 1610–11, with increasing numbers of children claiming they were taken to the Devil's sabbat against their will.[5] Parents became desperate: they attacked and tortured suspects, while local, secular authorities begged the inquisitors for help. The General Council of the Inquisition, called the *Suprema*, whose members met in Madrid, began to write to the local inquisitors and demand that someone go out personally to investigate, armed with an edict of grace to reconcile those who voluntarily confessed. Inquisitors uniformly detested such trips and routinely gave them to the most junior members of tribunals: the new visitation thus fell to the newest member of the tribunal, Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías.

Salazar was gone for a long time, from May 1611 to January 1612. While on the road, he absolved more than 1,000 children from the heresy of witchcraft and received almost 300 adults back into the Church. He also heard many suspects revoke their original confessions. Once he returned to the tribunal, he began to argue with his colleagues about the witch prosecutions the trio had carried out. Salazar declared that confessions had been coerced and witnesses were unreliable; his colleagues replied that both were valid. Their clash continued for a year and a half, with written statements flying back and forth. Eventually the *Suprema* invited Salazar to come talk to them in the winter of 1613–14. Once in Madrid, Salazar drafted new instructions for witchcraft cases which emphasized eyewitness knowledge, charity, and consciousness.[6] He stipulated that inquisitors must try to ascertain whether supernatural events had really occurred, and whether witnesses to those events existed. He told authorities to look for signs of coercion, especially torture. Meanwhile, preachers and parish priests should not attribute misfortune to witchcraft alone, and persons who wished to retract their statements should be received with kindness. When it came to a plausible witchcraft confession, Salazar emphasized that suspects had to be awake, to commit apostasy with the Devil during the day, and to persevere in diabolical worship. The emphasis throughout was on receiving suspects with kindness and mercy, eliminating confessions

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Proceso a la brujería: en torno al auto de fe de los brujos de Zugarramurdi (Madrid: Tecnos, 1989), pp. 30–72.

[5]   Henningsen believed the witch-hunt shifted after the *auto de fe* to focus on dream panics and children, but evidence from Inquisition correspondence and the witches' lawsuits indicates such was not the case. *Archivo Historico Nacional* [hereafter AHN], *Seccion de la Inquisicion*, Libro 333, f. 27v, f. 37r, ff. 85v–87v. Also see *Archivo Real y General de Navarra* [hereafter AGN], Sign. Proceso 100796.

[6]   The irony of these instructions is that the Inquisition's role in witch-hunting had always been slight: Maria Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos: brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI* (Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando el Católico, 2000).

provoked by violence, and ascertaining whether defendants had intended to worship the Devil in the first place.[7] In 1614, the *Suprema* sent these new instructions to every inquisition tribunal. Modern historians believe they halted any further witch-hunting in Spain.[8]

Salazar's actions were dramatic, and so is the modern interpretation of him: he routinely is portrayed as having lived ahead of his time.[9] The standard version of these events has Salazar following a different epistemology from his peers; he allegedly worked from observation and induction alone, and paid no attention to literary or legal authorities. In contrast, his inquisition colleagues purportedly opted for a deductive approach: they interpreted the evidence according to what they already knew, and were enslaved by theology.[10]

Students of early modern Spain and Italy will recognize here the usual division of Catholic culture into squads of heroes and villains: whether we call them *spirituali* and *intransigenti*, or erasmians and scholastics, the study of these countries in these centuries almost always takes a Pauline turn into dichotomy.[11] Such divisions are hardly ever persuasive to me, since they inevitably are reductionistic and cannot accommodate change over time; and when I began to study Salazar, I found that the division posited between him and his peers was problematic.[12] In fact, he and his colleagues had much in common, from a deep concern with spiritual combat, to a fascination with wonder, to an understanding of literary effects. They also shared the same legal vocabulary and preoccupations with proof, though they came to emphasize different aspects of both. This was not a matter of one side following observation, the other, authority: far from it, since they all used legal traditions, written sources, and personal

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[7]   The Spanish Inquisition was always concerned that witches were actually dreaming or hallucinating their involvement with the Devil. Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), pp. 153–63.

[8]   Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*, pp. 366–77. The new instructions of August 29, 1614, are located in AHN, Inqu., Leg. 1679 (2) 29.

[9]   Julio Caro Baroja, *The World of the Witches* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), and Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*.

[10]   Gustav Henningsen, *The Salazar Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 82–3, 94. Though Henningsen at one point notes that Salazar should not be called a "rationalist," he also attributes a "proto-rationalist method" to that inquisitor, p. 95.

[11]   For the scholarship that gave early modern Spain this particular twist, Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y Espana* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1950), originally published in French in 1938. For challenges to this scholarly dichotomy for Italy, William V. Hudon, "Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy: Old Questions, New Insights," *The American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 783–804.

[12]   Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 1(1969):3–53.

experience for support. Instead, the difference among them seems to have been tied to their outlook on chronology and individuals.[13] For two of the inquisitors, the original testimony from 1609–10 was good enough, and whatever happened in 1611 was irrelevant; the fact that the Devil's crew continued to exist and even to grow simply proved the malice of the Devil and the vulnerability of his human servants. After 1610, then, Salazar's two colleagues froze precedents, procedures, observations, and even the approval of the *Suprema* into an interpretation which they championed, no matter what.[14]

As for Inquisitor Salazar, every sign indicates that he was on board with his colleagues' approach until he left the tribunal. But once on visitation, his thinking about the situation became more expansive and contextual. During his seven months in the field, he heard 81 persons revoke their original confessions to witchcraft and adduce circumstances—community violence and familial pressure—that had caused them to confess in the first place. He heard hundreds of individuals say they had no idea how they went to the Devil's sabbat because they were asleep; all too often, mothers watching their children saw nothing out of the ordinary; he never could find eyewitnesses who were not witches themselves.[15] To make matters worse, his deponents were often confused despite years of allegedly practicing witchcraft: he remarked, "many of the confessed are more than 50 years old and have no idea how all this [flying to the sabbat] happens; and if they don't know it after all this time, we certainly can't be expected to."[16] Even Salazar himself was unaware when witches tried to kill him: he never saw the 40 witches who entered his office and hovered above his desk in a threatening manner; he was equally oblivious when they dropped

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[13] Martin Gaskell, "Witchcraft and Evidence in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 198 (2008), p. 42, for the notion that skeptics and believers did not disagree about sources, but about interpretation.

[14] Gaskell's remarks about England—"In epistemological terms, the witchfinders were caught between two systems of reasoning: a priori, where the meaning of effects was deduced from causes established by tradition; and a posteriori, a more experimental, inductive procedure by which causes were arrived at from the accumulation of evidence."—could be applied to Salazar and his two colleagues, but with the caveat that the "tradition" the latter two were following was set up in a remarkably short period of time. "Witchcraft and Evidence," p. 67.

[15] On a theoretical level, Salazar's thoughts on demonic illusions could have so destabilized his investigations that witchcraft itself would become moot; see Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 173–4. But Salazar was much more interested in the legal ramifications of so much ambiguity: as he put it, it was impossible to find credible witnesses, whether accomplices or not, because no one could testify as they should, based on what they perceived with their senses: "…[no] puede atinar la verdad si responde como deve, solamente lo que percibio con sus sentidos." AHN, Inqu., Leg. 1679, n. 2 (21), f. 11r.

[16] AHN, Inqu., Leg. 1679, n. 2 (21) f. 3r.

poisonous dust into his mouth or set his chair on fire.[17] Finally, though he attempted to check the locations of the sabbats and the deadliness of the poisons, the results were fruitless. He finally decided that he was left with no tangible evidence, which in turn cast doubt on the prosecutions he and his colleagues had already carried out.

There's no doubt that these three inquisitors valued eyewitnessing and demonstration. They trumpeted the confessions or revocations that they had received; they used apothecaries and medical doctors to test allegedly poisonous substances; the excitement they revealed at the chance of getting the demonic toads into the tribunal practically jumps off the folio. They also shared a deep interest in the pastoral care of witch suspects, whether in terms of converting them back to Catholic Christianity, or releasing them from false confessions. In terms of *what* they knew, the three men had more in common than previous studies have allowed. Yet when I began to ask *how* they knew things, I started to see a division among them, though not nearly as blunt as the one posited by earlier scholarship. Salazar seems to have reacted one way to timelines, circumstances, and personal interaction, his colleagues, another. Salazar concluded that witch suspects had been coerced and were lying because he paid attention to what was being said in front of him in 1611, *viva voce*; he obviously was affected by personal interchanges in the field with suspects; he did not weigh the events of 1609–10 so heavily that nothing else mattered. He learned that confession, the "queen of proofs" [*regina probationum*] could be part of a process—such as physical coercion—that actually cast doubt on its legal weight. Accordingly, the instructions that Salazar put together for the Suprema in 1614 stressed duration, sensory observation, and circumstances.

In contrast, the other inquisitors—who very frequently had received their evidence from employees between 1609–10—had often been happy to eyewitness by proxy, as if there were no possibility of disruption between themselves and the men they had nominated to receive testimony. They also preferred to enshrine a sequence of single acts—the original confessions—as utterly authoritative, and then to overlook subsequent history, no matter what they heard. By 1611, the two had so agglomerated and abstracted their witches that personal details had no impact. They would only read individuals in terms of the group.

Of course, all these inquisitors were working to preserve their careers, but it is difficult to attribute their differences to rhetoric, because their mental boundaries were in play when they relayed what they thought had occurred. The two inquisitors who ended up opposing Salazar believed that people who wanted to retract their confessions simply demonstrated that the devil was up to his usual tricks; these inquisitors preferred not

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17   AHN, Inqu., Leg. 1679, n. 2 (21) f. 4r–v.

to think about later testimony; they just could not fathom that families might pressure their children into false confessions of witchcraft. In contrast, Salazar had a wider and longer vision of process, and remained imaginative when it came to human interactions. If it is impossible to make him as proto-modern as previous scholars have wished—for he valued hierarchical and written authority as much as his own observations—it also is impossible to deny that "local knowledge" played a powerful role in the formation of his opinions. In the end, Salazar embodies the classic Renaissance paradox of balancing personal experience against textual authority.[18] We know from recent work on natural history that there was an epistemological dance going on in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which intellectuals were measuring their own discoveries against the statements of learned, written authorities. What Salazar discovered in 1611 was a match between the two: he found that the knowledge he acquired on visitation could complement less prominent aspects of inquisition legal procedure.[19]

After studying Salazar, I wanted to investigate whether such a balancing act between personal experience and *legal* truth could have an analogue in personal experience and *religious* truth in Spanish Catholicism. (This was not such an analytical leap, since Salazar himself often wrote about saving souls, as did his inquisition colleagues.) Face-to-face dialogue and a sympathy for history clearly mattered for many early modern Catholics. Erasmus's "primitive church," fraternal correction, the circle around Juan de Valdés in Naples, and the relationship between confessor and penitent prove it, while Jesuit practices such as "fishing" were awash in conversational values. The evidence suggests that some Spanish Catholics put supreme importance on personal conversance in their estimation of holiness and their understanding of religious persuasion. Much as I have spurned structural divisions in my own writing of history, what I have seen lately is a divide between Spanish Catholics who relied upon a kind

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[18] Salazar was respectful of personal authority as well. There is a strong possibility that his outlook was greatly affected by a direct conversation with an authority figure: the bishop of Pamplona, Alonso de Venegas. The bishop had written to the *Suprema* about his doubts on the witchcraft cases before Salazar ever visited the territory; Venegas was a former member of the *Suprema* who knew how the Inquisition was supposed to work; we know he and Salazar met in Pamplona.

[19] The Inquisition's theorists stated that persons who revoked confessions that originally were made under oath were perjurers, and that whatever anyone said after a revocation was probably suborned. But the same writers also argued that a deponent who wanted to alter testimony for a just reason could go on to make credible statements. Diego de Simancas, *Enchiridion iudicum violatae religionis*, Venice 1573, tit. 36, "De retractione testium," ff. 51v–52r.

of *conocimiento* to know they were right, and ones who trusted abstract or traditional authority more.[20]

The Spanish noun *conocimiento* comes from the Latin verb *cognoscere*, which means to become thoroughly acquainted with, and to learn by inquiring. Today, the Spanish verbs *conocer* and *saber* are always distinguished from each other, because the first means personal knowledge or acquaintance, the second a more removed, abstract knowledge of facts. What is so provocative is that my sixteenth-century Spaniards who elevated "local knowledge" pushed one meaning into the other, so that what they knew through personal acquaintance became factual: they were inductive readers. They based their understanding of the true, the good, and the sinful on people, conversations, and duration, rather than institutions and traditions. This sort of knowledge does not have the same contours as the *conocimiento* pursued by Hernán Cortés, Francisco Hernández, or the maritime engineers of Philip II: those figures were chasing and then attesting the possession of operative knowledge, which they could put to use for the state's benefit as well as their own.[21] Their aim was much more encyclopedic, their ambitions thoroughly secular. In contrast, my subjects' frame of reference was particularistic, dialogical, and spiritual; it was imagined as benefitting a smaller community of religious companions.

For example, one radical proponent of local knowledge was Francisco Ortiz, a Franciscan friar who became a heretic on April 6, 1529, when he entered the pulpit of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo and denounced the Spanish Inquisition for having recently seized Francisca Hernandez, a notorious holy woman and Ortiz's own spiritual director, on suspicion of heresy. Until that moment, Ortiz had a wonderful reputation: he was a successful preacher within his Franciscan order, and claimed friendship with courtiers and prelates. Ortiz's converso status seemingly had made no difference to his career; in 1529, at age 32, he should have been looking forward to more positive celebrity. Instead, the arrest of Francisca Hernandez provoked him into a verbal assault on inquisitors: he publically proclaimed her arrest a sin, and lambasted in particular the Inquisitor-General, Alonso Manrique, for "grinding down the servants of God." The repercussions were immediate: Ortiz was yanked from the pulpit and taken to the Toledo tribunal of the Inquisition. His trial lasted until 1532. The verdict suspended him from preaching for five years, and enclosed

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[20]   I would admit that both intellectual options were always available, and that figures could flip from one emphasis to the other.

[21]   Eric H. Ash, "Introduction: Expertise and the Early Modern State," *Osiris* 25 (2010):1–24; Maria Portuondo, *Secret Science*: *Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

him for two in a Franciscan monastery. He refused to leave that monastery after completing his penance, and died there around 1545.

To modern eyes, Ortiz is as admirable as Salazar, and not surprisingly, he too was made into a hero of conscience in the classic study of him, published in 1968.[22] In that analysis, Ortiz's real importance lay in his refusal to give up his opinions. When he finally admitted in 1532 that he had been wrong about Francisca Hernandez, he framed his retraction as a denial of self in honor of God; scholars decided he had consequently preserved his autonomy.[23] It is true that *conciencia* was one of Ortiz's favorite nouns, and he protested magnificently against the Inquisition for nearly three years after his arrest. But any vision of Ortiz as a consistent dissident overlooks his earlier history in favor of his later rebellion. In this respect, previous scholars fell into the trap of what Mercedes García-Arenal has recently called "romantic ideas of authenticity."[24] I didn't know that phrase in 2002, but I understood the concept, which is what originally spurred me to work on Ortiz's trial. Given Ortiz's professional success in clerical and court circles, I found it far-fetched that he spoke an utterly different language from his interrogators. His dissidence was clear, but I was interested at first in what he and his persecutors might have had in common.

What I discovered in that early research was that Ortiz employed concepts against his interrogators that they would have recognized.[25] Rather than inhabiting a different mental universe from the prosecution, he understood the importance of confession, witnesses, and lies, and he tried to use capital enmity and inconsistency to undermine the Inquisition's case against Francisca and himself. Most importantly, he grasped a key idea in inquisitorial and bureaucratic practice—the notion of *diligencia*—and repeatedly charged Inquisitor-General Manrique with its opposite, *negligencia*, because of Manrique's trust in untrustworthy deponents.[26]

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[22] Angela Selke, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición: Proceso de Dr. Francisco Ortiz 1529–1532)* (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1968).

[23] Selke, *El Santo Oficio*, pp. 295–9. For the bickering over the retraction, July–August 1531, see *Proceso contra Fray Francisco Ortiz … 1529–1532* Sign. Yc 2, 20 (2), *Sondersammlungen*, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle, Germany, ff. 304r–325r. Ortíz's February recantation occurs on ff. 342v–343v; his April statement is on f. 346v.

[24] Mercedes García-Arenal, "Religious Dissent and Minorities: the Morisco Age," *Journal of Modern History* 81 (2009):888–920.

[25] Lu Ann Homza, "How to Harass an Inquisitor-General: the Polyphonic Law of Friar Francisco Ortiz," in *A Renaissance of Conflicts: Visions and Revisions of Law and Society in Italy and Spain*, (eds) John A. Marino and Thomas Kuehn. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 297–334.

[26] I think this was more than just rhetorical redescription; Quentin Skinner, "Moral ambiguity and the art of persuasion in the Renaissance," in *Proof and Persuasion*, (eds) Suzanne Marchand and Elizabeth Lunbeck (Princeton, NJ: Brepols, 1996), pp. 25–42.

When I first explored his trial, I thought Ortiz shifted easily between biblical analogies and secular law. He seemed to be sensitive to history and incapable of theory. He was a rebel, but also more intellectually flexible than we had imagined. Yet just as in the Salazar case, here too time has altered my original interpretation. With both Ortiz and Salazar, I have shifted from wanting to make them part of a crowd, to seeing more clearly their subtle differences from their peers.

When the Inquisition attacked Ortiz, its prosecutor focused on his lack of legal training, Francisca Hernandez's lack of religious status, the Inquisition's own honor, and the rule of secrecy that theoretically kept outsiders from the evidence.[27] Interrogators deliberately called up Inquisitor-General Manrique's position as archbishop of Sevilla, as if to underline his integrity. They said Manrique would not have arrested Hernandez without cause. They noted that he never had said the testimony against Hernandez was insufficient, nor could Ortiz know about new witnesses who might have appeared. The Inquisition concluded that Ortiz was ignorant of the facts, trusted too much to his own judgment, and behaved recklessly when he denounced the Inquisitor-General in public.

It is important to note that once in prison, Ortiz wrote numerous, lengthy statements in holograph to Manrique and the prosecutor which were not the result of interrogation. With these texts, he created "out of order" moments in which he said why he believed in Hernandez and had protested against her arrest. His rationale was remarkably consistent. When faith in institutional authority was hurled at Ortiz, he always replied with memories of human communication and the possibility of change over time. He argued on the basis of acquaintance and conversational experiences: for him, *conocimiento* implied familiarity; external, visible circumstances, and duration. It is true that the most dramatic aspect of his defense lay in his claim that God had illuminated his spirit, but the sequence of his reasoning usually moved from human interactions to divine inspiration. For example, in 1529, he had known Francisca Hernandez for six years, and by his own account, he had spent that time bearing witness to the spiritual gifts he had received from her.[28] When she was arrested, their long acquaintance told him that the charges must be false; then he saw that he needed to act like the prophet Jeremiah and denounce the Inquisitor-General. He summoned in the same way the Old Testament account of Susanna and the prophet Daniel, and the New Testament saga

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[27]   Ortiz, *Proceso*, ff. 96r–122r.

[28]   Ortiz's role with Hernandez matches the role that Ysabel Ortiz played with the nun Isabel de Baena. See Angela Muñoz Fernández, "Hablando cosas del espiritu en voz muy baja," *Acciones e intenciones de mujeres: vida religiosa de las madrile as (ss XV-XVI)*. (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1995).

of Herod and John the Baptist, because those scriptural passages matched his experiences with lying witnesses on the one hand and the Inquisitor-General on the other. He looked for scriptural analogues to reinforce what he had witnessed first-hand.

I once argued that Ortiz moved easily between synchronic time and its diachronic counterpart, but now I am convinced that his sense of human history was predominant, and that it lay behind his presentation of his own case. Ortiz was a converso, perhaps of relatively recent origin, and he exhibited a strong awareness that religious standards could change. For instance, in a polemic to the Inquisition, he wrote "once, Jewish ceremonies were necessary and holy for the *pueblo* of Israel, and persons who didn't keep those ceremonies were viewed as profane; and then there came an era in which those ceremonies were licit but not necessary ... and then there came a time, which is now, in which those ceremonies are deadly and abominable and worthy of being persecuted with terrible fire and blood." He went on to note that examples of spiritual advancement shifted in the earlier Church from martyrs to hermits to preachers against heresy, which revealed how the "signs of sanctity varied in the Church depending upon the diversity of the moment."[29]

Ortiz intended this historical outlook to defend his discipleship with Francisca Hernandez; Inquisitor-General Manrique had charged that she was not holy because she was not obeying an abbess or following a monastic routine. Consequently, Ortiz denied that spiritual excellence belonged only to the religious clergy, and engaged in a sweeping overview of Christian history to prove that opinions about such excellence had altered over time. Notably, he did not think change was necessarily over, since he told the Inquisition that God even now could be depositing other, even holier women in the corners of His churches. Should Ortiz's remarks here be interpreted as merely practical, the result of exigent circumstances and the need to construct a defense at any cost? Or can we see epistemological implications in his appeal to history? A persuasive interpretation surely would include both angles: he was thinking practically and rhetorically about how to defend his spiritual director; he chose to go in a particular direction about what he knew, and how he knew it. As was the case for Salazar, the argument would not have been possible if certain cognitive boundaries had not already been there.

Because Ortiz expected flux rather than stasis, individuals in specific contexts were more meaningful to him than timeless formulas or traditions. He was not going to tolerate slander against Francisca Hernandez because she was not a nun. Similarly, he was not going to be dragged into a suspicious class because of his converso ancestry. In the genealogy he

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[29]   Ortiz, *Proceso*, ff. 232v–233r.

had to recite to the inquisitors, he noted that his parents had never been touched by the Inquisition. When asked if his grandparents had dealings with inquisitors, Ortiz said he didn't know, but "I heard my father give thanks to God many times because the inquisition had nothing to do with him."[30] A month later, Ortiz rejected the need to even talk about his converso ancestry:

> how [ironic] that they will not allow me to speak an idle word, but they don't view it as idle to ask me endless genealogical questions that are completely unnecessary, because I always have held flesh and blood in little esteem, thanks to the mercy of God … and if anything seems frivolous, it's the writing they put down about fathers and grandfathers and their wives and sons and daughters, and husbands of daughters and wives of sons, and so on, which I think as unimportant as possible, as will be clear from my response … what occupies my soul instead is the hour of my death, when only my works will accompany me, and old family trees will neither condemn nor save me.[31]

Ortiz denied that lineage or religious orders could dictate character or behavior.[32] If history uncovered models of sanctity, such as Catherine of Siena, it also proved the creativity of God, and no one knew for certain how holiness might appear next. Because history was full of transformation, individuals could not be confined to precedent or reduced to a category. Beatas could be as spiritually good as nuns, and conversos could walk away from their ancestry without a backward glance. In neither case were authorities justified in overlooking the individual in favor of abstract prescriptions or communities.

Ortiz knew that his impression about Hernandez's spiritual gifts was accurate because conversations with friends had reconfirmed it. Significantly, one of his favorite charges against Inquisitor-General Manrique was that he did not "know" [conocía] Hernandez, and by that, Ortiz meant that Manrique had not spent any time conversing with her.[33] In fact, it is amazing to see the number of times Ortiz raises conversation in his depositions and diatribes: he constantly recapitulates verbal interchanges, whether they had occurred five years or five days earlier. He believed that if proof against Hernandez had existed, Manrique would have tried to

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[30]   Ortiz, *Proceso*, ff. 86r–88v.

[31]   Ortiz, *Proceso*, f. 207r.

[32]   Erasmus pursued a similar line in his critique of monastic orders, and incurred a similar wrath from certain religious authorities.

[33]   Ortiz, *Proceso*, f. 36v.

persuade him of it through conversation. And he was hugely offended that Manrique appeared not to have read his letters from prison.[34]

Ortiz firmly believed that through speech, he could sway even the highest prelates in the Church. In all his holograph writings, he pursued a sense of equality among Christians as well as the need for love and salvation within the community. When he gave his genealogy to the inquisitors, he remarked, "in our souls, we are all of God's lineage." He advised the Inquisitor-General to write to Francisca Hernandez with honor and reverence, and to put his worries into her hands. He complained to the Inquisitor-General with first-person, plural verbs, as if they were in this mess together ["*en el negocio que traemos …*"]. And he told the Inquisitor-General repeatedly that he was misusing his power, mistreating the Christian pueblo, and endangering his salvation as a result. The Inquisitor-General's job was for edification, not destruction; his actions against Francisca had made the inquisition ungodly rather than holy; the wolf could not be allowed to eat the sheep.[35] Ortiz himself might be a miserable worm [*gusano*], but he had insights into the secret judgment of God. The prosecutor recognized this drive to equalize and presented Ortiz as creating new and perverse inversions. Ortiz in turn charged the prosecutor with violating the principle of charity by not giving people the benefit of the doubt over the semiotics of holiness.

This Franciscan friar knew what he knew through individuality, conversation, and history, as well as scripture. Of course he accepted traditional Church authority, texts, and exegesis, just as Inquisitor Salazar respected the *Suprema* and cited the Inquisition's written instructions. But neither of these men was comfortable when abstract claims contradicted their personal experience. It's not as if Ortiz and Salazar wanted to make their readings binding on everyone around them; they were not that autocratic. Instead, they noticed contradictions and circumstances: they were more like nominalists than realists, because they understood that words and attributes were historically grounded in terms of their meanings. They refused to let traditions dictate interpretations. They made claims to expertise, but in combination with a willingness to believe the best, not the worse, of their neighbors.[36] They paid attention to details in time and judged accordingly, but with a tendency toward optimism rather than the reverse.

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[34] Ortiz, *Proceso*, f. 209r.

[35] It's provocative to see Ortiz use such pastoral imagery at such an early date. His comments could have come directly from Domingo de Valtanás or Juan Bernal Diaz de Luco, both of whom were affected by Trent and wrote in the 1540s and 1550s.

[36] All of the religious figures surveyed here either openly or implicitly recognized a hierarchy of spiritual gifts. The rhetoric of religious expertise has yet to be investigated for

These individuals were not unique. We can espy the same values in other men and women in Spanish religious life, who run the gamut in terms of literary output and dealings with the Inquisition.[37] What follows is not a comprehensive review in any way, but a sampling; I think of all these characters as reformers who recognized historical change, knew their scriptural texts, shared the same critical outlook on clerical malfeasance, and venerated to some degree or other the primitive church. Of course, using the very term "reformer" in this way raises old arguments about whether these figures belonged to the Catholic or Counter-Reformation, but I would suggest that such a distinction is moot. Clean, swift breaks in history rarely occur; the individuals examined below had a great deal of success moving between so-called Catholic and Counter-Reformation values. All of them approached reform on a more individualistic, more conversational, and more historical scale, versus the encyclopedic and theoretical efforts of someone like Martín Pérez de Ayala, the bishop of Valencia, who wrote *De divinis, apostolicis, atque ecclesiasticis traditionibus*.

For example, there is Bartolome Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo and the most famous prisoner of the Inquisition. If you sweep through Carranza's *Commentary on the Christian Catechism*, and then through defense testimony on his behalf, you will see the values endorsed by Ortiz and Salazar expressed over and over again. For instance, when Carranza explained why the Bible could not circulate generally in Spanish, he displayed a sense of change over time. He wrote that once, Bibles were translated into the vernacular by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, when the Moors and Jews agreed to live among Christians.[38] After the Jews were expelled from Spain, the judges of religion [bishops and inquisitors?] found that some converts to Christianity were instructing their children in Judaism, teaching them Mosaic ceremonies through vernacular Bibles. For this reason, vernacular Bibles were prohibited in Spain, but exemptions were always extended to universities, monasteries, and the nobility, who were outside suspicion and thus allowed to have such books. Then, after the rise of Lutheranism in Germany, it was understood that one of the heretics' tricks was to write their false teachings in vernacular languages, and to translate Holy Scripture into German and French, and afterwards into Italian and English, so that the *pueblo* became its own religious

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early modern Spain, and it surely was contested; in Ortiz's case, it appears he was setting up his spiritual knowledge against the inquisitors' legal variety.

[37]   Whether there were other inquisitors who shared Salazar's priorities, I cannot say. But Sara T. Nalle's work implies that the possibility is not far-fetched. *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

[38]   Here, Carranza indulges in a rather hilarious re-writing of history.

judge. Experience had shown that in Germany and England, vernacular translations of Scripture divided families, with each person choosing whatever passages best supported his or her opinion.[39]

Up to this point, Carranza's historical sensibility is obvious, but so is his apparent endorsement of censorship. Yet immediately thereafter, he explained that all men and women *should* read the parts of vernacular Scripture which contained devotional and consolatory wisdom. Then, he wrote that there were persons out there with such sense, composed judgment [*juicio tan reposado*], goodness, and devotion, that they could be given *all* of Scripture in the vernacular, a possibility that applied to women as well, "if I have some discretion in this matter, thanks to the kindness of God."[40] Carranza thus moved from a historical explanation of biblical censorship, to charitable optimism about scriptural access. Here we see the same willingness to gauge individual talents that occurred in Ortiz, along with the implication that Carranza came to this judgment because he *knew* such exceptional men and women.

Notably, this combination of history, generosity, and optimism occurred more than once in Carranza's *Comentarios*. Like Ortiz's comments on holiness, Carranza too proposed that the understanding of divine mysteries depended upon the epoch and changed over time: those closest temporally to Jesus' death understood more about it and were more enlightened [*alumbrados*]; the further away someone was from the Incarnation and Passion, the less light [sic] that individual had about such mysteries. Likewise, the style of belief in Jesus altered according to the historical moment: before Jesus became man and His Incarnation was known publically, a confused and general expectation sufficed, in which people hoped for a Redeemer to come and forgive their sins. The apostles' belief was different because Jesus had been incarnated in their lifetime.[41] Crucially, though, Carranza's vision of sacred history was not entirely foreordained: instead, he allowed divine creativity to interrupt his historical portraits. He argued that God could bestow extraordinary infusions of grace on persons who were living centuries after Jesus' death, and thereby make them more enlightened than individuals who had lived in Jesus' own age.[42] He denied that divine miracles were finished: instead, God could infuse faith and make people more certain of what they believed than what they saw.[43] Like Ortiz, Bartolomé Carranza saw religion through a historical lens but

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[39] Carranza, *Comentarios sobre el catechismo christiano*, (ed.) José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras (Madrid: BAE, 1972), 2 vols, 1:110–11.

[40] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1:111.

[41] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1:163, 165.

[42] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1:165.

[43] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1:135.

refused to allow it to be predetermined. And just as Ortiz recognized a hierarchy of spiritual gifts but also could pursue equality, Carranza noted that every possible class of person, male and female, was involved in Jesus' suffering and death.[44] Carranza never singled out Jews as playing a special role in the Passion, but grouped Jews and Gentiles together in culpability.

At the same time, Carranza had a keen sense of individual personality and relied on *conocimiento* to substantiate it, with a historical edge. His ability to recall details over time helped to recuse Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés from his trial, because he and his character witnesses were able to recall the talks, or lack thereof, that occurred between the two men and their supporters. When Carranza gave inquisitors a detailed description of his interactions with Carlos de Seso, the Italian official who spearheaded the justification-by-faith movement around Valladolid, Carranza insisted he did not know him, having met him only once. He mentioned his anti-heretical work in England and the Low Countries as part of his history and proof of his orthodoxy. So did Friar Ambrosio de Salazar, who began his statement with the assertion that Carranza was "very Catholic and Christian and is held as such, because he is very zealous in the faith and because he is a man who had many heretics burned in England with his counsel …"[45]

The same kind of deep knowledge was in play when deponents argued that Carranza's phrases were not similar to Luther's even if they did sound alike, because Carranza and Luther had never shared the same purpose; moreover, the expressions could be found elsewhere in Carranza's commentaries on the Christian catechism, where he had explained them clearly and in an orthodox manner. Of course, this was smart defensive strategy, but it also illustrates an awareness that interpretation should depend upon the details of a particular historical moment, peopled with individuals. A person's intention mattered more than the words themselves. Ortiz had argued that a kiss was a neutral sign; Carranza and his defenders contended that words were similarly neutral until context and intention were taken into account. For either kisses or words to be interpreted properly, the interpreter had to be paying attention to the persons kissing or speaking. When it came to the construction of meaning, these religious

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[44]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1:238. In terms of human connections, Carranza's comments on the Last Judgment are also noteworthy: his description of friends, spouses, parents, and children being torn from each other and consigned to a fate in Heaven or Hell was profoundly emotional. *Comentarios*, 1:323.

[45]   "E porque este padre es muy catholico e christiano e lo tiene por tal, e por muy zeloso de la fee e por hombre que en Inglaterra con su consejo a hecho quemar muchos hereges …" José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras. *Fray Bartolomé Carranza: documentos históricos*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962). II: *Testificaciones de cargo*, p. 154.

figures were thinking about human beings in concrete circumstances, just as Geertz would have recommended.

The supporters of Carranza were consistent: if his actions and statements could be contextualized and rendered innocent, so could his single interchange with Carlos de Seso, especially if one expected the best rather than the worst. Juan de la Peña, a Dominican and theology professor in Valladolid, used an early conversation with Carranza to try to prove to inquisitors that neither of them realized at the time that Seso was a heretic, and that Carranza had acted with good intentions.[46] As Peña described it, in the single colloquy that Seso and Carranza had about purgatory, Seso "did not look like an apostate, but like someone who erred; and because Seso humiliated and subjected himself so much, it seemed as if one could hope for his reformation, since the times in Spain were more secure."[47] Here, what was relevant was the way Seso appeared at a specific moment in time: it was not Carranza's fault if Seso became worse later. Furthermore, Peña said there were two ways to look at Carranza's talk with Seso: either Carranza was a heretic at that moment, or he wasn't. If he *were*, why would he have wanted to cure Seso? And if he were *not* a heretic when he spoke to Seso, how could Seso have converted him to heresy in a single conversation?[48] Peña understood that there was a relationship between dialogical duration and persuasion. He also evinced generosity. He knew that the Inquisition would not have arrested Carranza without very strong evidence … but he had always held the opinion that it was not right to condemn lightly the statements and deeds of his neighbors. Instead, one should turn the evidence toward a better interpretation, if possible.

Such priorities reverberate through Spanish religious history in the early modern era. To point out only a few examples, Ignatius of Loyola constantly stressed *conocimiento* and positive interpretations in his letters: in 1551, he wrote, "the superior should be wholly informed about everything, even of things past, always taking for granted one's good will, and with every precaution for the due observance of charity toward neighbors."[49] He also thought that personal interchanges could have persuasive effects: in 1553,

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[46]   *Carranza: documentos historicos*, II: *Testificaciones de cargo*, p. 281.

[47]   "aparecio por hombre que errava que no hereticava; e como se le humillo e subjeto tanto, paresciole por entonces, que los tiempos en Espana estaban mas seguros, que podia esperar la enmiendo …" *Carranza: documentos históricos, II: Testificaciones de cargo*, p. 279. Dominican Ambrosio de Salazar said basically the same thing about suspects Domingo de Rojas and Juan Sanchez: when he heard them speak, their opinions seemed heretical, but he thought they were merely ignorant and didn't know how to explain what they meant except via heretical rhetoric: pp. 154–5.

[48]   *Carranza: documentos históricos, II: Testificaciones de cargo*, p. 281.

[49]   *Letters of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, transl. William J. Young, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959), p. 242.

he told Francis Xavier that he needed to come to Europe, because the King of Portugal wanted to support the Jesuit mission in India, and no one could explain it as well as Francis himself, who would move the king "to do many things for the service of God and the good of those lands from the suggestions you could make."[50]

About the same time, Domingo de Valtanás, a Dominican preacher and friend of Juan de Ávila, published an "apology for certain moral matters that are controversial," part of which used history and personal experience to challenge directly anti-Jewish prejudice.[51] Valtanás explained that Jews and Gentiles had experienced conflicts from the earliest moments of Christianity, and insisted that neither group was free from blame (a sentiment that recalls Carranza's); he went on to relay how he had baptized the unconverted without informing the Inquisition, because he saw them afflicted so unjustly. He dismissed the notion that anti-Jewish sentiment was really religious zeal: instead, men who promoted such prejudices were following tradition and thereby wrecking the mandate of God (Matthew 15:6).[52] That critique echoes Ortiz's comment that the Inquisition's rigor was grinding down divine servants; it also calls up Salazar's objection to a codification of evidence that ignored later testimony.

As he did with conversos, Valtanás defended through personal experience as well his endorsement of the Society of Jesu: "I saw in them much charity with their neighbors, much prayer, and much deprecation of the world … I praise the good that I see in them, and beg God to give them perseverance and to preserve them in His service."[53] So long as *he* saw nothing else, he would decline to change his opinion. Exactly the same notion had been voiced by Maria de Cazalla some 30 years earlier, when she was on trial for *alumbradismo*: in 1532, she told the Toledo inquisitors, "I have held Erasmus as good and have praised his works (the ones I've read in Spanish). I've said that I would hold him as good until the Catholic Church tells us something different."[54] Certainly her remarks

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[50] *Letters of Saint Ignatius*, p. 299.

[51] See the modern edition edited by Álvaro Huerga and Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez: *Fray Domingo de Valtanás, O.P., Apologia sobre ciertas materias morales en que hay opinión* (Barcelona: Juan Flors, 1963).

[52] Valtanás, *Apologia sobre ciertas materias morales*, pp. 151–4, 156–7. Significantly, Valtanás also revealed a historical outlook on the Inquisition itself: he wrote that Juan de Torquemada, fellow Dominican and the first Inquisitor-General of Spain, pursued only a "mediocre inquisición, y no la exactísima que ahora se hace."

[53] Valtanás, *Apologia sobre ciertas materias morales*, pp. 169–71.

[54] "A Erasmo y lo he tenido por bueno y he loado sus obras, esas que he oydo en romance y asi he dicho que lo terne por bueno hasta en tanto que la Yglesia Catholica nos denuncie otra cosa." *Proceso de la inquisición contra Maria de Cazalla*, (ed.) Milagros Ortega Costa (Madrid: FUE, 1978), p. 137.

imply a veneration for the Catholic hierarchy, but they also demand, tacitly, obedience to a decision made by individuals, rather than being bossed around by a specter of authority.

Examples could be multiplied. Pedro Ciruelo, one of Francisco Ortiz's instructors at the University of Alcalá, exhibited a real sense of shifting religious history in his prefaces to his translations of the Old Testament. Ironically for someone who taught Thomistic theology, Ciruelo also argued in the 1530s that phrases which occurred in both the Old and New Testaments could have different meanings depending upon textual circumstances and their human authors' intentions; contrary to Nicholas de Lyra, Ciruelo declined to elevate the weight of the New Testament meaning or to read it backwards in time.[55] The same preferences ran through the scriptural hermeneutics of every one of the Hebraists tried by the Inquisition for judaizing in the 1570s.[56] Attendees at the 1527 Valladolid Assembly on Erasmus's orthodoxy could be divided between those who knew Erasmus's textual history and those who did not: the ones who did could re-situate phrases ripped out of context and offer arguments about intention, because they had a wider historical and textual gaze, and because they read from the particular to the large.[57] Juan de Vergara — episcopal secretary, Greek scholar, and subverter of the Holy Office — knew exactly the moment at which Martin Luther had become a heretic, and shrugged off any blame for reading Luther's works before 1521, much as Archbishop Carranza's defenders knew when Carlos de Seso had been labeled a Lutheran. Maria de Cazalla reacted in a similar way to Juan de Valdés's changing reputation. Later in the century, Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco, bishop of Calahorra, wrote that he was positive there were more holy bishops in history than just the commonplace ones, but their lives and examples probably had been lost because of the harshness of the epochs in which they lived; he was determined to try and find them.[58] Such a remark recalls Ortiz's sentiment that God could be placing holy women in the dark corners of His churches, who were simply waiting to be noticed. All these figures were resisting the imposition of supposedly timeless categories that really had been created by men.

Conversation, a positive outlook on human beings, a focus on individuals acting in discrete historical moments, epistemology arising from experience

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[55] Homza, *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chap. 3.

[56] As an example, see the trial of Alonso Gudiel, who taught at the University of Osuna. *Causa criminal contra el biblista Alonso Gudiel*, (ed.) Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, OSA (Madrid: CSIC, 1942).

[57] Homza, *Religious Authority*, chap. 2.

[58] Homza, *Religious Authority*, pp. 147–9.

as well as authoritative texts, an acceptance of flux: these emphases seem poignant, given the customary portrait of the Church Militant which dominates the writing of Spanish history. True, much of the evidence adduced here has been taken from highly dangerous contexts, namely, Inquisition trials, but there is no reason to think my subjects made their arguments on a purely practical basis, because there was no reason for them to have expected that reasoning from personal, historical knowledge was going to win the day against a more abstract and timeless outlook.[59] As for the possibility that everyone in early modern Spain was interested in history, the relevant question is, to what end? There are large differences between writing history for propagandistic purposes or to prove the cyclical and eternal nature of time—such as substantiating Spain's Latin founders or verifying perpetual heresies—and turning to history as a more intimate source of knowledge about individuals in a community. One angle is deductive: Rome was great, so it would be to Spain's advantage to be Roman; heresy was always a test of the Christian faithful, certain heresies recurred, therefore Erasmus could be an Arian. The other approach is inductive: the conversos around me are now suffering, though once Judaic rituals were venerated; the moriscos of Granada are under siege, so let us create a [false] history that gives Islam a respectful place in ancient Spanish Christianity.[60]

It may be that one of the great balancing acts of early modern European religion lay in negotiating the relationship between induction and deduction when it came to religious truths. One figure who brings this dilemma into sharp relief is Augustín Cazalla, the renowned court preacher who was convicted of Lutheranism and died at the stake in Valladolid in 1559. In the accounts of his final hours, as he was being taken out of town for execution, Franciscan friars reported that Cazalla spoke to crowds along the way. We can see what he formerly endorsed through what he now rejected:

> out of reverence for God, use me as an example so you do not perish; do not trust in your reason or in human prudence; subject your understanding to the faith of Jesus Christ and the obedience of His Church, which is the road on

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[59]   For example, Inquisition trials for judaizing often involved a similar dynamic. The inquisitors relied upon signs, such as not eating pork, which they treated as having only one possible meaning. A defendant could try to shift the discussion in a more nominalist and historical direction by attributing other intentions behind not eating pork, such as illness or the instruction of an elder. But there was no guarantee that the inquisitors were going to be convinced by that reasoning.

[60]   For this poignant situation with the moriscos of Granada, see Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los plomos de Granada: invención y tesoro* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2006), and A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

which men shall not be lost ... Understand and believe that there is no invisible Church on earth, but a visible one, and this is the Catholic, Roman, and universal Church that Christ left, founded in his blood and suffering, whose vicar is the Roman pontiff in Christ's place. Understand that in Rome, even if it has all the sins of the world, the vicar of Jesus Christ resides there, who is our very holy father; and there the Holy Spirit attends, who presides over the Church without fail. And do not pay attention to who the ministers are, but to the place they occupy and in whose name they exist; and know that, however wicked they may be, God will not leave off working marvels through the power of the sacraments that He left founded in His Church, no matter how wicked the ministers may be ...[61]

On his way to execution, Cazalla abandoned induction. It's hard to imagine more heartfelt, choking testimony to the potential conflict between the Church Universal, and the religious institution before one's eyes.

The values described here enhance our appreciation for the complexity of Spanish Catholicism in the Reformation age. As for causation, some of these reformers' priorities—such as charity toward one's neighbor, and a preference for fraternal correction—have been tied to an emphasis on the Pauline Epistles.[62] It has been theorized that religious dissidents in the Spanish sixteenth century followed a path in their thinking, moving from mechanical, Old Testament ceremonies, to the divinely illuminated interiority of Paul's *Letter to Romans,* for example, at which point they realized that all Spaniards were equal and could co-exist. Yet this paradigm not only seems structurally fixed, with inquisitors inevitably aligned against bishops and dissidents, and vice versa; it also overlooks the manifest invocation of history upon which many Spanish religious writers relied.

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[61] "...por reverencia de Dios, que tomeis enjemplo en mi para que no os perdais, no confieis en vuestra razon ni en la prudencia humana, sujetad vuestros entendimientos a la fe de JC y a la obediencia de su iglesia, que este es el camino para no perderse los hombres ... Entended y creed que en la tierra no hay iglesia invisible, sino visible, y esta es la catolica, romana universal, que Christo dexo fundada en su sangre y pasion, cuyo vicario en su lugar es el romano pontifice; y entended que en aquella Roma, aunque hubiese todos los pecados del mundo, residiendo alli el vicario de Jesucristo, que es nuestro muy santo padre, alli asiste el Espiritu Santo, que preside a su iglesia y asiste siempre en ella sin faltar: y no tengais cuenta de quien son los ministros, sino del lugar que tienen y en cuyo nombre estan; y sabed desto que, por malos que sean, no dexa Dios, por la malicia de los ministros, de obrar maravillas en virtud de los sacramentos que dexo fundados en su iglesia." Cited in Jose Luis G. Novalin, *El inquisidor-general Fernando de Valdés* (1483–1568), 2 vols. (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1968), 2:237–8.

[62] Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada: l'inquisizione di Castiglio e i suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome: Edizione di storia e letteratura, 2003), and Stefania Pastore, *Un'eresia spagnole: spiritualitá conversa, alumbradismo e inquisizione (1449–1559),* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2004).

I consequently wonder whether this trajectory from physical ritual to inner spirituality can tell the whole story. Important as Paul's letters were, I don't think they were the only route to a vision of tolerance and fraternal love. It is stunning to consider what these Spaniards witnessed in terms of historical flux. The fortunes of a Jewish population—once the chosen people of God—declined to the point that it was expelled, baptized under pressure, harassed, and monitored. An Islamic kingdom in southern Spain was conquered and converted. An Augustinian monk in Germany, highly placed in his religious order, became Europe's chief heresiarch. The papal palace in Rome was sacked by the troops of the Holy Roman Emperor. These were dramatic examples of change over time, and we haven't even raised the discoveries of the New World. When taken in conjunction with Renaissance humanism's resurrection of antiquity, which came with a recognition that the present was not the past, I think the general effect was to heighten tremendously historical sensitivity, and to illuminate sharply that "traditions" were created by men. If our subjects were powerful and successful figures, such as Inquisitor Salazar and Archbishop Carranza, they could move from a sense of contingency to a consciousness that they could remake their environments, which in their case meant rewriting inquisition instructions, visiting the Toledo diocese, and trying to impose personal residence on bishops who acted like courtiers.[63] If they were more vulnerable conversos, such as Francisco Ortiz, the same awareness that things could change might lead in a slightly different direction: to more faith in personal experiences with God and men and women, less concern with conventions handed down by large and largely anonymous institutions, and a recognition that masters might alter. In either scenario, historical awareness encouraged both religious optimism and local religious knowledge.

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[63]   Francisco Rico, *El sueño del humanismo: de Petrarca a Erasmo* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993).

First Friar, Problematic Founder: John of the Cross in His Earliest Biographies[1]

Jodi Bilinkoff

Historians have long identified the foundation of new religious orders or the reform of already-existing ones as hallmarks of the movement for Catholic renewal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was the assessment of H. Outram Evenett in his pioneering study, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, and many subsequent scholars have shared this view.[2] Consequently, the founders of religious orders have been lionized as "heroes" or "heroines" of the Counter-Reformation. Contemporaries apparently shared this evaluation. As Peter Burke points out, founders or reformers of religious orders were among the most likely candidates for canonization as saints in the early modern period.[3]

Among these iconic figures one might expect to find John of the Cross (1542–1591). Esteemed in modern times as a sublime mystic, valued spiritual guide, and one of the finest poets in the Spanish language, he is also widely regarded as the co-founder of the Discalced Carmelite Order, along with Teresa of Avila (1515–1582). John's reputation as a founder brings

[2] H. Outram Evenett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968). This book is based upon Evenett's Birkbeck Lectures of 1951. Recent studies include R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999); Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999). For a collection of essays on the subject contributors were asked to provide portraits of each order's founder or founders. *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, (ed.) Richard L. DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994).

[3] Peter Burke, "How to Be a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe*, (ed.) Kaspar van Greyerz (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984) pp. 45–55.

with it certain assumptions. Perhaps he was simply the male counterpart to Teresa, a person imbued with extraordinary spiritual gifts but also the capacity for charismatic leadership; a mystic with a healthy dose of down-to-earth practicality? One may also think of the figure so often held up as the very model of a Counter-Reformation founder, Ignatius Loyola, and the style of muscular clerical activism he exemplified in establishing and leading the Society of Jesus.[4]

Unlike these two famous contemporaries, however, John of the Cross never composed an autobiography, and only a limited number of his letters have survived.[5] Scholars must therefore turn to early biographical treatments for information about his life and work. Using biographies, or more precisely in the case of saintly persons, hagiographies, as sources for historical study of course carries with it certain risks. The authors of such texts were invariably admirers of their subjects. Their goal was to publicize their subjects' qualities and hold them up as exemplars to the Christian community, not the achievement of some sort of journalistic "objectivity." Nevertheless, as I have argued elsewhere, hagiographies can offer the historian significant insights, providing a fascinating window into the values, aspirations, and preoccupations of a given culture. Read critically and with care these texts can shed light not only on individuals regarded as holy, but also their promoters and devotees. Moreover, even biographical accounts by apologists often reveal information that complicates conventional histories. In order to defend their subjects, hagiographers needed to detail the complaints made against them by detractors. Thus within these narratives of heroic deeds and saintly virtues one can find evidence of conflict and contention.[6]

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[4] For a stimulating analysis of Loyola as model reformer see Ulrike Strasser, "'The First Form and Grace': Ignatius of Loyola and the Reformation of Masculinity," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, (eds) Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008) pp. 45–70.

[5] Scholars have identified thirty-three extant letters, some in fragmentary form. For John's letters and their fate see the comments of E. Allison Peers in his edition of *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross, Doctor of the Church*, (London: Burns and Oates, 1964) pp. 237–40 [hereafter, Peers] and of Kieran Kavanaugh to his edition of *The Collected Works of St. John of the Cross*, (Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 1991) p. 735. See also *God Speaks in the Night: The Life, Times, and Teaching of St. John of the Cross* (Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 1991) pp. 342–5.

[6] Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005) pp. 9–10. See also Catherine M. Mooney, "Voice, Gender, and the Portrayal of Sanctity," in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, (ed.) Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) pp. 1–15. For the use of various genres of life-writing as historical sources see the editors' introduction to *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV*, (eds) Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995) pp. 1–37.

Between 1616 and 1675 six Carmelite historians produced accounts of varying lengths of the life of John of the Cross. Interestingly, the first, published in 1616 by José de Velasco, was written by a member of the older, Calced Carmelite order; the five other authors were all Discalced Carmelites. Velasco dedicated six chapters to the "Life, Virtues and Miracles" of John of the Cross within a longer biography of the friar's pious brother, Francisco de Yepes.[7] In 1618 José de Jesús María (Quiroga) prepared a brief summary of the author's life to accompany the first edition of John's works; ten years later he published a full-length biography.[8] Alonso de la Madre de Dios, the only author to have personally met John of the Cross, published a short account in 1625. He also completed a lengthy biography around 1630, which, while remaining unpublished, was well-known and used by subsequent Carmelite scholars.[9] Like his predecessor José de Jesús María, Jerónimo de San José (Ezquerra) first composed a brief "sketch" to accompany the 1629 edition of John's works then published a book some 12 years later, in 1641.[10] Francisco de Santa María did not write a conventional biography but dedicated large portions of the two-volume history of the Discalced Carmelite reform he

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[7]   José de Velasco, *Vida, Virtudes y Muerte del Venerable Varón Francisco de Yepes* (Valladolid, 1617, first ed. 1616). Book II, chs. 1–6, "Vida, Virtudes y Milagros del S. P. Fr. Juan de la Cruz, Camelita Descalzo" is included as an appendix in Pablo María Garrido, *San Juan de la Cruz y Francisco de Yepes: En torno a la biografía de los dos hermanos* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1989) pp. 165–98 [hereafter, Velasco].

[8]   José de Jesús María (Quiroga), "Relación Sumaria de la Vida y Virtudes del Venerable Padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz," in *Obras Espirituales que en caminan una alma a la perfección de Dios* (Alcalá de Henares, 1618). This text is included in *Primeras Biografías y Apologías de San Juan de la Cruz*, (ed.) Fortunato Antolín (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1991) pp. 23–46. [hereafter, Quiroga "Relación"] José de Jesús María (Quiroga), *Historia de la vida y virtudes del Venerable P. F. Juan de la Cruz*, (ed.) Fortunato Antolín (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992; orig. Brussels, 1628) [hereafter, Quiroga *Historia*].

[9]   Alonso de la Madre de Dios, *Summa de la Vida y Milagros del Venerable Padre Fray Juan de la Cruz Primer Descalzo de la Reforma de Nuestra Señora del Carmen* (Antwerp, 1625). It is included in *Primeras Biografías* pp. 51–79. [hereafter, Alonso *Summa*] Alonso de la Madre de Dios, *Vida, virtudes y milagros del santo padre Fray Juan de la Cruz, maestro y padre de la Reforma de la Orden de los Descalzos de Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo*, (ed.) Fortunato Antolín (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 1989; orig. ca.1630) [hereafter, Alonso *Vida*]. This is the first published version of this book.

[10]   Jerónimo de San José (Ezquerra), "Dibujo del Venerable Varon Frai Iuan de la Cruz," in *Obras del Venerable i Mistico Dotor F. Joan de la Cruz, Primer Descalço, i Padre de la Reforma de N. S. del Carmen* (Madrid, 1629). It is included in *Primeras Biografías* pp. 85–121. [hereafter, Ezquerra "Dibujo"] Jerónimo de San José (Ezquerra), *Historia del Venerable Padre Fr. Iuan de la Cruz Primero Descalzo Carmelita, Compañero, y Coadutor de Santa Teresa de Iesus en la Fundación de su Reforma*, (ed.) José Vicente Rodríguez (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1993; orig. Madrid, 1641) [hereafter, Ezquerra *Historia*].

published in 1644 and 1645 to the life of John of the Cross.[11] Finally, José
de Santa Teresa produced a concise biography on the occasion of John's
beatification in 1675.[12]

In this essay, I explore how the six earliest biographers of John of the
Cross negotiated the challenge of portraying a man who was actually a
rather controversial and divisive figure. Unlike either Teresa of Avila or
Ignatius Loyola, John was not universally acclaimed as a founder of the
Discalced Carmelites. For this reason, perhaps, the first account of his life
was not published until almost thirty years after his death. (By contrast,
Teresa's works, along with a short biography, were published six years after
her death.) These authors were among John's admirers, and their accounts
reflect their devotion to the memory of the Santo Padre, expressed in the
pious sensibilities of the times. They frequently echo the assertion made by
Alonso de la Madre de Dios that John's colleagues "never saw him commit
any imperfect act" and had "never seen nor had dealings in all their lives
with a soul of greater purity."[13] They compared John's life with that of
Christ, detailing their subject's many sufferings and travails as the victim
of countless persecutions.

A close reading, however, reveals that these authors shared considerable
anxiety about John of the Cross as a leader among the Discalced Carmelite
friars. Woven within these hagiographical accounts are serious questions
about John's personality and administrative style. They pointed to
sometimes acrimonious disputes over policy and competing visions of the
order's future in which John was a vocal and passionate protagonist, not
merely a passive victim. They acknowledged that this mystic and poet,
beloved by so many, deeply alienated others, provoking envy, resentment,
and even hatred among some of his fellow friars. The seventeenth-century
biographers of John of the Cross, several of whom served as official
chroniclers of the Discalced Carmelite order, worked hard to establish
the heroic virtues of their subject and advance his cause for canonization.

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[11] Francisco de Santa María, *Reforma de los Descalzos de N. S. del Carmen* 2 vols.
(Madrid, 1644–45) [hereafter, FSM].

[12] José de Santa Teresa, *Resunta de la Vida de N. Bienaventurado P. San Iuan de la
Cruz, Doctor Mystico, Primer Descalço, y fiel Coadjutor de nuestra Madre Santa Teresa
en la Fundación de su Reforma* (Madrid, 1675). [hereafter, JST] I have used the facsimile
edition published by Ediciones Simbad, Madrid, ca. 1995. For helpful information on the
composition and publication histories of these early biographies see José Vicente Rodríguez,
"Historiografía sanjuanista: Inercias y revisiones," in *Aspectos históricos de San Juan de la
Cruz*, (ed.) Comisión Provincial del IV Centenario de la muerte de San Juan de la Cruz (Avila:
Institución "Gran Duque de Alba," 1990) pp. 7–24. See also the introductions provided by
the editors of the modern editions of the works cited above.

[13] "Gran número de testigos … testifican que jamás le vieron hacer alguna imperfección
… Y anaden no haber visto ni tratado en sus vidas alma de mayor pureza." Alonso *Vida* pp.
66–7. See also Alonso *Summa* pp. 59, 63–4.

In the process, however, they displayed a perhaps surprising degree of frankness in discussing the untidy first decades of their order, including its problematic first friar. Their accounts of the life of John of the Cross form part of a sadder, more conflictive history than one might expect in this age of Baroque triumphalism.

John's problems with status and authority began almost as soon as he agreed to join the new movement in 1567. That year its founder, the Castilian nun Teresa of Jesus, began to make inquiries about men who could serve as friars in the monastic reform she had started among nuns five years earlier. While visiting the city of Medina del Campo, she stopped to talk with the prior of the Carmelite friary there. Antonio de Heredia expressed a strong interest in joining the movement himself. Teresa had reservations about Antonio's ability to adapt to a life of contemplation and ascetic denial, but saw much more potential in one of his colleagues, a young friar called Juan de San Matías (he would soon change his religious name to John of the Cross). Nevertheless, she accepted both. "When I saw that I already had two friars to begin with, it seemed to me the matter was taken care of," Teresa later recalled.[14]

Left ambiguous, however, was the question of precedence. A pious supporter of Teresa's donated a house in the tiny hamlet of Duruelo, near Avila. While Antonio finished up his commitments in Medina del Campo, John moved into the house and lived there for two months in accordance with the primitive rule, making him, in effect, the first Discalced Carmelite friar. But at the official opening of the friary on 28 November, 1568, Antonio was named prior, placed in charge of John and a lay brother. Was John, then, or Antonio to be considered the founder of the male branch of the reform?

Over the years, as John matured in years and experience, he eventually came to hold a number of supervisory positions in the Discalced Reform, including some rather important ones.[15] But this hand-picked protegé of

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[14] *The Book of Her Foundations* 3:17. In *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, vol. III, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodríguez (Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 1985). I use here the standard method of citing Teresa's work, by chapter and paragraph.

[15] One reason for a delay in John's rise through the ranks was the period he spent imprisoned by the Calced Carmelites, briefly in 1575–76, then for some nine months in 1577–78. This is perhaps the best-known episode in his life, an experience that led to the composition of some of his most famous poems, including "The Dark Night." As this material is well covered in standard studies of John's life and writings, I omit discussion here and focus on the lesser-known disputes among Discalced Carmelites. For the conflicts between the Calced and Discalced friars and John's brutal treatment see, for example Gerald Brenan, *St John of the Cross: His Life and Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) ch.3; Crisógono de Jesús, *Vida y obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, 10th edition revised and expanded by Matías del Niño Jesús (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1978; orig. 1946) chs.8–9; *God Speaks in the Night* ch.6; Colin Thompson, *St John of the Cross: Songs in the Night* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003) pp. 45–50.

Madre Teresa was never elected to highest office. Even more shocking was a series of events that led to John being completely deprived of office in June, 1591. He died six months later with the same subordinate status with which he began his journey, a simple friar.

The early biographers of John of the Cross struggled to make sense of this apparent contradiction, to reconcile the tension between their subject's saintly virtues and his relative lack of authority. They returned, for example, to those early days at Duruelo. Here they provided a fairly simple answer to the question of why the first friar was not also the first prior by stressing John's youth and lack of monastic experience. When Teresa met him in the late summer or fall of 1567, the future saint was a twenty-five-year-old university student in his third year as a Carmelite friar. Antonio de Heredia, by contrast, was a mature fifty-seven, had spent decades in the monastic life, and had served as prior of several houses before joining the Discalced Reform. José de Jesús María presented the situation as a matter of both seniority and exemplary deference on John's part. While Teresa had been deeply impressed by the young friar's spirit, "she gave the authority as superior and head to Friar Antonio, because of his age and white hairs, [an authority] that Friar John of the Cross could not accept because of his humility and being so young."[16] Jerónimo de San José imagined John engaged in an anxious inner dialogue about joining Teresa's movement, asking himself, "What white hairs do I have? What authority? What name?" He too asserted that Antonio received the post of prior because of "his white hairs, his experience, authority, and the offices that he had held within the Order." Jerónimo acknowledged that John of the Cross was the younger man, but proclaimed him "more accomplished in virtue."[17]

Even after more than two decades as a Discalced Carmelite, however, John never rose to the rank of highest authority (provincial). Jerónimo de San José wondered why John, who "initiated the Discalced Reform, being the Captain, leader, guide, and teacher of all the friars, for having

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[16]   "se dio la autoridad de prelado y cabeza al padre fray Antonio, por su antiguedad y canas, la cual no admitiera por su humildad el padre Fray Juan de la Cruz siendo tan mozo." Quiroga "Relación" p. 26. Intriguingly, this author also asserts here that at the time of his first meeting with Teresa John had not yet been ordained a priest. An examination of the original edition of this book in Madrid's National Library shows that this statement was crossed out by censors. Ten years later, however, Quiroga repeated this claim, *Historia* p. 90. All the other seventeenth-century biographers, as well as modern scholars, agree that John was already a priest when he met Teresa, although documents giving the exact date of his ordination have not survived. By most estimates, he had been a priest for two or three months, at the most, certainly another factor contributing to his lack of credentials.

[17]   "'¿Que canas tengo yo? ¿Que autoridad? ¿Que nombre?'" "Nombró el provincial … por vicario y prior del convento … el padre fray Antonio de Jesús, teniendo atención a sus canas, a su experiencia, autoridad y oficios que había tenido en la orden … Juan de la Cruz, que era más mozo, aunque en la virtud más consumado." Ezquerra *Historia* pp. 172–3, 203.

been the first to take the Discalced habit, was not the first superior over all [the friars]." He answered his own question: "the main [reason], as I understand it, was that this most humble man had obtained from Our Lord [the favor] of remaining in a subordinate state, as he always desired."[18]

José de Jesús María also fretted that John "never occupied the supreme position in the Reform," and was "not powerful enough to establish his views" in the order. He maintained, however, that this situation had been ordained by God, "because He had conceded to our mother Saint Teresa the dignity of having been the founder of both the nuns and friars," and "did not want to give her a competitor in this preeminent position, as it would appear if the excellence of the life and spirit of our venerable Father [John] were known during his lifetime, as God makes known now, after his death …"[19]

Beneath the surface of such pious and providential sentiments, however, lurked some troubling questions. Did John of the Cross really have the temperament for leadership? When he exercised authority, was he fair and effective? How did his subordinates respond to his direction? John's biographers recognized that his passionate commitment to the contemplative, as opposed to active life, and insistence that others meet his often high ascetic standards could inspire resentment as well as reverence.

They described, for example, John's great love of solitude. This predilection undoubtedly reflected the friar's own personality, but also his embrace of his order's earliest traditions. Carmelites trace their origins to a group of hermits who, inspired by the prophet Elijah, lived along the slopes of Mount Carmel in the Holy Land.[20] John's chroniclers noted that he seemed most at peace when he lived at one of the small, isolated friaries known as "desert houses," such as El Calvario. "In that eremitic and contemplative monastery," Francisco de Santa María exclaimed, "Father

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[18] "dio principio a la Descalcez y Reforma, siendo el Capitán, caudillo, guía y maestro de todos los Descalzos, por haberse descalzado el primero, no sea el primer Prelado, y Provincial de todos … la principal [causa] entiendo yo que fue haber alcanzado de nuestro señor este humildísimo varón le dejase en el estado de súbdito, que siempre deseaba." Ezquerra *Historia* pp. 485–6.

[19] "que como nunca ocupó el lugar supremo de esta Reforma, no era tan poderoso para asentar en ella su sentimiento … Lo cual y el lucir menos el Venerable Padre en su vida, ordenó Nuestro Señor con particular providencia, porque como había concedido la dignidad de fundadora así de monjas como de frailes a nuestra madre Santa Teresa … no quiso darle competidor en esta primacia, como parece que se le diera si las excelencias de vida y espíritú de nuestro Venerable Padre fueron conocidas en vida como las va Dios dando a conocer después de muerto …" Quiroga *Historia* pp. 80–81. See also Quiroga "Relación" pp. 26–7.

[20] The classic English-language history of the Carmelite Order is Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel* 4 vols. (Darien, IL: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1975). For the order's origins see Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006) pp. 7–14.

[John] could not hope or wish for a place more appropriate or suited to his desires and celestial conversations."[21] During those first two months at Duruelo John lived as a "hermit," apparently quite content to keep up the house's rules and rituals by himself. Alonso de la Madre de Dios claimed that "In those two months that he was there alone … he prepared to spend his whole life according to the primitive rule of his Order … he kept the fasts, hours of silence, he was continuous in his prayer, punctual in [saying] the Hours of the Divine Office … a life, then, in imitation of the ancient way, restoring by his own actions the primitive life, withdrawn and fervent as our elders had done in ancient times …"[22]

But John's preference for solitude, regarded as evidence of saintly detachment from the world by some, could be seen by others as an antisocial refusal to participate in a community. Alonso de la Madre de Dios reported that when Antonio de Heredia moved into the house at Duruelo, "he was not happy with the sight of that Man of God, Friar John, rather it saddened him to see that [John] had not waited for him in order to keep him company in entering the reform," adding that Antonio "often complained about this …"[23] Juan may have believed that God showed him the true way of restoring the primitive Carmelite life, but others shared doubts, choosing to follow "another, different path."[24]

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[21]   "en aquel Hermitico, i contemplativo Monasterio, no podia esperar Padre mas a proposito ni el podia desear lugar mas acomodado para sus deseos, i tratos celestiales." FSM II:31. Jerónimo de San José commented that El Calvario was "una casa de Desierto, y por esto también muy a propósito para su espiritú …" Ezquerra *Historia* p. 227. See also Ibid. p. 156, where he comments on John's "natural afecto al retiro y soledad." For a modern view see Brenan, who suggests that "the eight months that Juan de la Cruz spent in [El Calvario] were among the happiest in his life." p. 42. See also *God Speaks in the Night* pp. 193–5.

[22]   "En los dos meses que aquí estuvo solo desde que llegó y se vistió de Descalzo entabló del todo su vida según la regla primitiva de su Orden … guardaba sus ayunos, silencio a sus horas, era continuo en la oración, puntual en las Horas del Oficio Divino … al fin, una vida imitadora de la Antigua, resucitando en sí la vida primitiva retirada y fervorosa que nuestros mayores habían hecho en los siglos antiguos …" Alonso *Vida* p. 82. See also Ezquerra *Historia* p. 200, where the author refers to John at Duruelo as an "ermitaño." Juan Evangelista testified that John "was extremely fond of solitude and in it consisted his greatest pleasure." Peers p. 337.

[23]   "Vino también con el padre Provincial el padre fray Antonio de Heredia, el cual no se alegró con la vista del Varón de Dios, el padre fray Juan, antes se entristeció por ver no le había esperado para hacerle compañía en el descalzarse, queja que muchas veces en el discurso de su vida …" Alonso *Vida* p. 85.

[24]   "Porque así en el principio de la vida primitiva, cuando se asentó en Duruelo y Mancera … tuvo ilustraciones de Dios de los medios por donde se había de encaminar, y vio que así el padre Fray Antonio de Jesús … como otros … tomaban otro camino diferente y no proporcionado con su fin …" Quiroga *Historia* pp. 256–7. For John's convictions amid conflicting interpretations of the primitive Carmelite rule see Otger Steggink, "Fray Juan de la Cruz, Carmelita contemplativo: Vida y magisterio," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional*

John's understanding of the reformed Carmelite life, his biographers maintained, led him to follow an extremely ascetic regime, a quality they highly praised. They admiringly described his denial of food and other comforts and his use of self-flagellation as a form of penitence. José de Jesús María marveled at John's "extraordinary mortifications" and ability to combine "corporal austerities with the spiritual mortification of the appetites and passions."[25] On at least one occasion, according to Alonso de la Madre de Dios, one of his friars became so concerned by the "extraordinary rigor of his penitence," that he begged the older man to moderate his behavior and conserve his bodily strength.[26]

John quickly refused, however. After "gently reprehending" his spiritual son, he urged that he too take up the penitent life. John's earliest biographers presented this uncompromising stance on matters of eremitic and ascetic practice as quite characteristic of their subject, and noted that his rebukes were not always gentle. His strict adherence to a certain vision of the monastic life influenced his actions as a superior, and colored the way some of his subordinates reacted to his leadership.

John believed, for example, that friars should spend most of their time within their friaries, even in their individual cells, engaged in prayer, work, and penitence, leaving only to say mass, hear confessions, and attend to other necessary pastoral and charitable duties. In this he was profoundly influenced by Teresa of Avila, who had instituted strict enclosure in the convents she founded for her nuns. John's insistence on something resembling male enclosure was controversial, another point of contention between himself and Antonio de Heredia in those early days in Duruelo.[27]

Sanjuanista (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1993) II:251–69. For an overview of these issues in English see Thompson pp. 33–9.

[25]   "Cuán provechosa ordenaba la aspereza corporal a la mortificación espiritual de apetitos y pasiones." Quiroga *Historia* pp. 232–3; also p. 116. Similar sentiments are expressed in FSM II:11; Velasco p. 169.

[26]   "un año antes de su muerte, uno de sus hijos … habiendo entendido el extraordinario rigor de su penitencia le escribió a Segovia, suplicándole la moderase y no acabase de perder y consumir su cuerpo y las pocas fuerzas que tenía … mansamente le reprehendió, o por major decir, con amor le enseño y animó a la vida penitente …" Alonso *Summa* p. 66. Interestingly, early in his career John had been sent to moderate penitential practices regarded as even more extreme, and, significantly, too public at a friary in Pastrana. Alonso *Vida* pp. 164–5. See also *God Speaks in the Night* pp. 120–21. For a discussion of John's attitudes toward ascetic practices see José Luis Sánchez Lora, *El Diseño de la santidad: La Desfiguración de San Juan de la Cruz* (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2004) pp. 80–82, 93.

[27]   [At Duruelo John wants to extend to the friars] "la vida que … Teresa había introducido entre sus monjas por moción divina." When appointed prior Antonio de Heredia made changes because, among other reasons, "temió que había de ser mal recibido en la Provincia, que en cosa tan grave como asentar vida religiosa se governase por una mujer …" Quiroga *Historia* pp. 79–81, 91. Jerónimo de San José reported that before making the decision to join the reform John visited the convent that Teresa had founded in Medina

Later, he would vociferously oppose sending Discalced Carmelite friars on a mission to convert non-Christians in Africa. In his *Spiritual Canticle* he proclaimed "Let those, then, that are great actives, that think to girdle the world with their outward works and their preachings, take note here that they would bring far more profit to the Church and be far more pleasing to God … if they spent only half as much time in abiding with God in prayer …"[28] John's stance here as a militant contemplative, a stark contrast to the model represented by Ignatius Loyola, put him on a collision course with his order's most powerful leaders.[29]

Between 1579 and 1591, when he served as prior of several houses as well as regional supervisor (vicar provincial) for Andalusia, John clamped down on perceived abuses. According to Jerónimo de San José, he was shocked by the "ostentation and richness" of the ornaments used within friary churches, as well as the manner of celebrating religious festivals, "with more noise and pomp than was appropriate to our [monastic] estate." Concerned that these external displays were leaving the friars "distracted," he ordered them to procure sacred ornaments that were "less costly, although decent" in keeping with "the poverty of our profession."[30] When a friar dared to exchange the austere Discalced Carmelite habit for a somewhat finer, more comfortable garment, John responded "with burning zeal." In the presence of the entire community the prior "rebuked him and pulled off the [offending habit], commanding him to put on one that was, "very coarse and despised."[31]

In keeping with his eremitic bent, John took steps to curtail what he regarded as excessive or unjustified absences from the friary. To a friar who once returned late and pleaded that he was unprepared to say mass John testily replied, "What! Isn't a Discalced friar always supposed to

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del Campo to talk to the nuns: "Consultábalas pues el venerable padre informándose de su modo de proceder en los actos de comunidad, las observancias y costumbres primitivos …" Ezquerra *Historia* p. 176. For a fascinating discussion of the gender anxieties experienced by Discalced Carmelite friars as members of an order founded by a woman, see Christopher C. Wilson, "Masculinity Restored: The Visual Shaping of St. John of the Cross," *Archive for Reformation History* 98(2007) pp. 134–66.

[28]   *Spiritual Canticle* Stanza 29. Peers pp. 328–9.

[29]   The dispute over missions to Africa, which came up at the chapter meeting held at Almodóvar in 1583, revealed tensions between John, Jerónimo Gracián, and the man who would eclipse them both in power, Nicolás Doria. See, for example, Quiroga *Historia* pp. 413–16; Ezquerra *Historia* pp. 525–9.

[30]   "Puso también remedio en otro exceso que había, en celebrar las festividades de la iglesia, con más ruido y aparato que convenía a nuestro estado … [with too much] ostentación y riqueza … [friars might be] distraídos … [John wants] ornamentos sagrados, procurando fuesen menos costosos, aunque decentes … [for] la pobreza de nuestra profesión." Ezquerra *Historia* pp. 550.

[31]   "Comenzó con un ardiente y vivo celo a reprenderle … con … palabras graves, llenas de sentimiento le reprendió, y quitó allí luego la capilla, mandándole traer otra muy aspera y despreciada." Ibid. pp. 558–9.

be prepared and attentive to God?"[32] Even when the Granada house ran out of food, its prior refused to give permission to the friar in charge of provisions to leave the house in search of donations. In one version of a much-repeated anecdote, John responded quite sarcastically to the worried *procurador*: "Oh, my God! We go without for only one day and we don't have enough patience?" After the friar asked again, appealing on behalf of the ill members of the community, his prior abruptly sent him off, saying "Go, my son … and you will see how soon God confounds you and your scant faith." Predictably, just as the *procurador* was leaving the monastery a messenger arrived from the city with alms, leaving him "ashamed and chastened."[33] In another version, John reproved the Granada friars as a group for their lack of faith in God, scolding that in "the time they spent in the city's streets tiring out their benefactors and showing a bad example to its citizens by their lack of spiritual detachment, they could be spending in a corner of their cells praying to God for their necessary sustenance … since it was He who moved benefactors to give us alms."[34]

John seems to have reserved his greatest ire, however, for friars who spent time away from the monastery preaching. Jerónimo de San José described one who had gained a reputation as an "outstanding preacher" in the city of Ubeda. After being greeted "with great applause," the friar agreed to return the next day and give another sermon, although he had not secured John's permission. When the prior found out he refused to give his consent, "instead he issued a severe rebuke, saying that whoever preached because of his own will, it was better that he not preach at all." John used this incident to teach the whole community "how dependent subordinates ought to be in all their actions, especially public ones, on the will and opinion of their superiors."[35] Even worse in his eyes was a

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[32]   "Aquí encontrando ya tarde a un padre que no había dicho misa, le preguntó cómo no la había dicho. El se excusó diciendo que por no estar preparado. Le dijo: '¡Cómo! ¿Y un fraile descalzo no ha de andar siempre preparado y atento a Dios?'" Alonso *Vida* p. 387.

[33]   "En otra occasion le dijo un religioso a cuyo cargo estaba la provisión de la casa que no había qué comer … El venerable Padre le dijo: ¡Oh, válame Dios! ¿Y un día siquiera que nos falta, no tendremos paciencia? … Vaya, hijo, tome la capa y verá cuán presto le confunde Dios, con esa poca fe que ha tenido … volvióse avergonzado y corregido …" Quiroga *Relación* p. 29.

[34]   "que del mucho tiempo que solían gastar por las calles cansando a los bienhechores y desedificación a los ciudadanos con su poco recogimiento, gastasen alguno en el rincón de las celdas pidiendo a Dios el sustento necesario … y era el que había de mover a los bienhechores a hacemos limosnas." The chronicler adds that it took much effort for John to teach this principle to the friars who were "más acostumbrados a gobernar esto con su industria, y no con tanta fe …" Quiroga *Historia* p. 365. See also JST pp. 67–8; Alonso *Vida* pp. 391–2. The *procurador* in question was John's friend Juan Evangelista, who testified about his "embarrassment" on this occasion. Peers p. 338.

[35]   "un lucido predicador [is received in Ubeda] con gran aplauso [when John finds out] no consentía le predicase el súbdito que la había ofrecido: antes le dio una severa

situation in which "confessors and preachers spent all of Lent and Advent, and other times of the year out and about, not returning to the friary for days at a time." John, determined to repair these "ruptures in religious observance" and "abuses" that "gave rise to much harm and disharmony, and [were] totally opposed to the contemplative spirituality of our profession," quickly put an end to this practice.[36] Undoubtedly concerned that the acclaim these friars received for their preaching could lead to excessive pride, as well as provide an excuse for leaving the monastery, the vehemence of John's response may also indicate an element of envy. Even his close friend Juan Evangelista testified that John preached only "seldom" to his friars, and his biographers never listed a talent for preaching among their subject's spiritual gifts.[37]

How, then, did the friars under John's jurisdiction respond to his leadership? His seventeenth-century biographers worked to construct a narrative of effective governance and contented subordinates. José de Santa Teresa, for example, maintained that John was "sweet-tempered and just … and thus the rules he imposed did not cause fear, only respect." His friars were left "happy, peaceful, and fervent, giving thanks to God because He gave them such a prior."[38] This conclusion is not surprising given that he and the other chroniclers based much of their accounts on the testimonies gathered for John's beatification, that is, on the words of his devotees. But, as we have seen, they also described occasions on which John became irritated and impatient with those who did not share his interpretation of the Carmelite rule or live up to his exacting standards. What others may have regarded as a praiseworthy desire to venture out and preach the word of God, John saw as a pretext for absenteeism and a threat to a contemplative life within friary walls. His techniques for enforcing strict observance apparently included sarcasm and public

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reprehensión, diciendo, que quien predicaba por propia voluntad, valía más que no predicase … cuan dependientes deben estar los súbditos en todas sus acciones, especialmente públicas, de la voluntad, y parecer de sus mayores." Ezquerra *Historia* pp. 460–61.

[36] John set out "reparar algunos quiebras que halló en la observancia y quitar los abusos que se iban introduciendo contra ella. Particularmente moderó el exceso que había de acudir fuera de nuestras casas a los prójimos, estando los confesores y predicadores toda la Cuaresma y Adviento, y otros tiempos del año por los lugares, sin volver en muchos días al convento, lo cual como seminario de muchos daños y desconciertos, y totalmente contrario al recogimiento de nuestra profesión, procuró con muchas veras atajar." Ibid. p. 550.

[37] Peers p. 337.

[38] "Era dulce, y recto, segun la condicion de Dios, y assi las leyes que imponia, no les causavan temor, sino respeto..y las Comunidades, las dexava alegres, pacificas, y fervorosas, dando gracias à Dios porque les diò tal Prelado." JST pp. 77–8. "En todos estos cargos de prelacía fue maravilloso el acierto, edificación y prudencia con que los ejercitó, dejando siempre en los conventos y ciudades donde era prelado, admiración de su rara virtud … y una constante y universal opinión de su probada santidad." Ezquerra "Dibujo" p. 95.

humiliation. Those friars who suffered a tongue-lashing, or even an actual discipline from John of the Cross may have come to see him as rigid, self-righteous, arrogant. They and their supporters formed a discontented minority. Some of these friars had long memories.

In June 1591, Discalced Carmelite leaders gathered in Madrid to discuss policy and elect friars to various positions of authority. By the end of the meeting, John of the Cross, the reform's first friar, was left without office. The clash of politics and personalities leading to this state of affairs has been well studied by modern biographers and Carmelite historians. Scholars have detailed the ways in which John became implicated in the power struggles between Jerónimo Gracián and Nicolás Doria and the dispute over male control of female monastic communities that came to be known as the Nun's Revolt. A vocal supporter of Gracián and spiritual director of many of the protesting nuns, John found himself on the losing side in both conflicts. The resulting atmosphere of bitterness and mistrust would certainly be enough to explain his fall from grace.[39]

It is also quite possible that Discalced Carmelite officials had by then received complaints about John's exercise of authority in the various posts he had held during the previous decade. Perhaps not only his loyalty but also his suitability as a monastic superior was being called into question. In this context, the order's leaders may have deemed it prudent to remove John from office, at least for a time, until tensions died down. They could not have known, of course, that within six months he would be dead.

Now Vulnerable, John faced his final "persecutions." Significantly, his main antagonists were two friars with whom he had locked horns over the issue of preaching. One biographer described Diego Evangelista and Francisco Crisóstomo as "illustrious preachers," who tended "to revel too much in this [accomplishment]." In 1585, as vicar provincial of Andalusia, John had severely "mortified" them and prohibited them from leaving their Granada friary to give sermons.[40] The two responded "bitterly" to this reprimand and since that time had harbored "a great loathing toward the

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[39] For the 1591 Madrid chapter meeting and the last six months of John's life see Brenan ch. 7. Crisógono chs. 19–20. *God Speaks in the Night* ch.12.

[40] "predicadores muy lucidos con inclinación a divertirse demasiadamente a esto, (porque el uno faltaba meses enteros de su convento por estas ocupaciones)." Quiroga *Historia* p. 467. Diego Evangelista (1560–1594) and Francisco Crisóstomo (1558–1608) were both natives of Seville and had professed together in the Discalced Carmelite friary of that city. *Diccionario de San Juan de la Cruz*, (ed.) Eulogio Pacho (Burgos: Monte Carmelo, 2000) pp. 435–6, 651–3. These friars may have also felt a certain antipathy toward John as a northern "outsider" from Castile. If so, their regional biases were reciprocated. In a letter of 23–24 March, 1581, Teresa conveyed to Gracián John's wish for a transfer due to "the suffering he endures living in Andalusia," adding "he cannot bear those people …" *The Collected Letters of St. Teresa of Avila*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh (Washington, DC: ICS Publications, 2007) II:411 (Letter #384). John himself alluded to his sense of displacement in

Servant of God." [41] They and their sympathizers now saw an opportunity to settle old scores.

Diego Evangelista and Francisco Crisóstomo's harsh treatment of John shocked many contemporaries, and makes for disturbing reading even today. But re-imagining persecution as payback enables one to see a logical (if distasteful) outcome to events, to register a certain symmetry. John had objected to the public preaching of these two friars, thereby casting aspersions on an activity in which they excelled. His own great strength was as a spiritual director, especially to nuns, as Teresa of Avila had recognized from the beginning of their collaboration. During the summer of 1591, Diego Evangelista, now an elected member of the order's governing council began an investigation into the conduct of his former superior. He alleged that John had engaged in inappropriate sexual behavior with his many female penitents, thereby casting aspersions on an activity in which he excelled.[42]

At the end of September serious illness compelled John to move from La Peñuela, one of his beloved desert houses, to the city of Ubeda in search of better medical treatment. The prior of the Ubeda friary was none other than Francisco Crisóstomo. Years before, in Granada, John had curtailed his preaching and travels outside the friary in an effort to enforce strict observance of the Carmelite rule. John's biographers indignantly reported how Francisco refused to allow the patient visitors and forced the sick man to leave his cell to attend group devotions and meals in the refectory. That is, he enforced strict observance of the Carmelite rule. One can only

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a letter written several months later: "… I am in exile … and am alone down here …" Peers p. 241 (Letter #1, 6 July, 1581).

[41]   "sintiéronlo agriamente algunos predicadores, ya muy hechas a aquella libertad, y cobrando desde entonces gran repugnancia al Siervo de Dios …" Ezquerra *Historia* p. 550. John and Francisco Crisóstomo apparently had personal baggage going back many years. Soon after being elected vicar provincial of Andalusia in 1585 John tried to have Francisco transferred from Granada to another friary. José Vicente Rodríguez, "Pequeñeces teresiano-sanjuanistas," *Revista de Espiritualidad* 38(1979) pp. 427–30. In 1614, one of John's spiritual daughters, María del Sacramento, relayed oral testimony that he had tried to prevent Francisco's profession as a Discalced Carmelite. Peers p. 334.

[42]   It was at this point that John's supporters, especially among the nuns, began burning his letters in order to keep them from falling into Diego Evangelista's possession. In a note José Vicente Rodríguez quotes from the poignant testimony of Agustina de San José: "Hiciéronme a mi guardiana de muchas cartas que tenían las monjas como epístolas de San Pablo … una talega llena … me mandaron lo quemara todo, porque no fueran a manos de este Visitador [Diego Evangelista]…" Ezquerra *Historia* p. 706. The allegation of sexual impropriety with female penitents was an occupational hazard for confessors in early modern Catholic Europe. John may have been especially vulnerable because of the amount of time he devoted to the spiritual direction of nuns (and some lay women) and his willingness to share with them his mystical poetry, some of which contained erotic metaphors. I review the literature on this subject in *Related Lives* ch. 4.

speculate whether this treatment hastened John's death from an acute skin infection (erysipelas) on 14 December 1591, at the age of forty-nine.

The early biographers of John of the Cross deployed a narrative strategy that allowed them to present these events as evidence not of failure but of sanctity. Nearly every chronicler described a mystical encounter between John and the crucified Christ. Their accounts vary somewhat but contain several common elements. Shortly before leaving for the 1591 chapter meeting in Madrid, John prayed before an image in the Segovia friary. Christ then began to speak, asking, "Friar John, what do you want for all the service you have rendered to me?" John made three requests: that he suffer trials, that he end his life in a place where he was unknown, and that he die without holding office.[43]

This anecdote reveals John of the Cross in a poignant moment of self-awareness. While his stated desire to endure suffering and oblivion falls squarely within the time-honored tradition of the *Imitatio Christi*, his third request seems rather more unusual and specific. As we have seen, this man, in many ways a hermit at heart, struggled with issues of authority his entire monastic career. John's petition to Christ to relieve him of office suggests that he recognized that he was simply not cut out for administration. Alonso de la Madre de Dios reported that in 1587, when John learned that he had been re-elected prior of the Granada friary, he "fell on his knees … with emotion and tears … [and] humbly begged the provincial and council members to give that office to someone else, that he renounced it … and begged that they allow him to take care of himself alone … ." "They saw him act that way here and at other chapter meetings," Alonso added, "because he feared being a superior."[44]

The simple but powerful narrative of John's dialogue with Christ offered his biographers a way to deflect the question of his aptitude for leadership. In this formulation, their subject's loss of office in 1591 was not an act of deprivation, but the fulfillment of his deepest desires. As José de Jesús María proclaimed, he had been granted "the favor that he had so many times begged from God."[45] Recasting events in providential terms,

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[43] This is a paraphrase based on Alonso *Summa* p. 64; Alonso *Vida* p. 40; Ezquerra "Dibujo" pp. 95–96; Ezquerra *Historia* p. 679; Quiroga *Relación* pp. 41–42; Quiroga *Historia* pp. 255–6; FSM II:570. The locution from Christ to John of the Cross was the frequent subject of visual representations of the saint; a number of paintings are reproduced in *God Speaks in the Night* pp. 338–9.

[44] "el cual luego se publicó su elección se puso de rodillas en el Capítulo, adonde con sentimiento y lágrimas, confesando ser insuficiente para aquel ministerio, con humildad suplicó al padre Provincial y Capitulares se sirviesen de dar aquel oficio, que él renunciaba, a otro, y le dejesen cuidar a solas de sí por haberlo mucho menester. Esto le vieron hacer aquí y en otros Capítulos, porque temía el ser prelado." Alonso *Vida p. 450*.

[45] "la merced que tantas veces le [God] había suplicado …" Quiroga *Historia* p. 255.

the first biographers of John of the Cross transformed a tale of disgrace, demotion, and death in lonely exile into manifest proof of divine election.

During the course of the seventeenth century a group of Discalced Carmelite chroniclers interpreted the life, and afterlife of John of the Cross, their exalted but controversial founder. Their accounts contributed to the long process of having John beatified (1675) and then canonized as a saint (1726).[46] Working toward this happy ending, however, did not mean obscuring their order's difficult beginnings. The foundation of a new religious order had produced some remarkable individuals and writings, but also ugly personality conflicts and fundamental disagreements over policy and mission. The earliest biographies of John of the Cross, at once traditional hagiography and painstaking institutional history, stand as testimonies to the struggle for religious reform in early modern Catholic Europe, in all its drama and complexity.

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[46] Sánchez Lora examines the testimonies of witnesses at John's beatification hearings, especially reports of post-mortem miracles, pp. 119–208.

CHAPTER 6

Soul Talk and Reformation in England

Anne Overell

We have evidence of Luther's soul talk, even in the confessional: 'Sometimes my confessor said to me when I repeatedly discussed silly sins with him, "You are a fool … God is not angry with you, but you are angry with God."' This comes from Luther's 'Table Talk', published long after the conversation took place and uncorroborated because confessors are not allowed to put the record straight.[1] Here the priest, too often given a bit-part, appears to have been doing a careful job, offering perceptive advice outside the discussion of specific sins. He may have tipped the balance because Luther went on probing – and the rest is history. But the story is about soul talk: the actors are the diligent, perhaps irritated, confessor and intense young man Luther. Its form is reported *dialogue*, a Renaissance favourite.

People had expected to receive advice during confession for centuries: in November 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council had confirmed earlier practice when it enjoined annual confession 'to their own priest', who was himself required to maintain absolute secrecy and to make intelligent choices about 'what sort of advice he ought to give'.[2] The difficulty of confessing to local priests and the advent of friars gradually brought in unknown or itinerant confessors who would hear the worst and then, thankfully, *go away*.[3] The young nobleman Gasparo Contarini chose a stranger for his Easter confession in Venice in 1511: 'I spoke for quite a while with a monk full of sanctity who, among other topics began to tell me that the way of salvation is broader than many people think. And, not knowing who I was, he spoke to me at length.' Thereafter Contarini could 'sleep securely in the midst of the city'.[4] Meanwhile, near the city

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[1]   *Luther's Works*, (ed.) Jaroslav Pelikan (55 vols, St Louis, MO, 1958–86), vol. 54, p. 15.

[2]   Canon 21, quoted by Alexander Murray, 'Counselling in Medieval Confession', in Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (eds), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (York, 1998), pp. 65–77, at p. 66.

[3]   John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005; repr. London, 2010), pp. 169–78, especially p. 177.

[4]   Contarini to Giustiniani, 24 April 1511, in Hubert Jedin, *Contarini und Camaldoli* (Rome, 1953), pp. 12–15, cited by Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 14.

of London, the confessionals of Syon Abbey were suffering traffic jams, causing complaints from overworked priest-brethren and later from suspicious observers, like Thomas Bedyll, who feared that so much extra-parochial secret talk might cause 'muche evyl', 'much treson'.[5]

Reformatio, often defined by contemporaries as reformation of institutions, also conveyed to the pious ideas of personal reformation.[6] Confession and/or seeking spiritual advice were seen as necessary way-marks on that long, hard road. The role of the 'sacrament of penance' in the European Reformation has been the subject of many studies in the last thirty years. These confirm that priests were often teaching the faith during confession and also that the pious and spiritually privileged were 'using the confessional as a form of spiritual direction.'[7] Such soul talk was a notable survivor of reformation change all over Europe. Although, finally, many Protestants rubbished the sacrament of penance, they, too, went on talking to individuals, teaching, admonishing and advising them, whilst studies of Catholic reformations, especially in Spain and Italy, show how spiritual direction, in the confessional and outside it, became more widespread, more professional and sometimes more inquisitorial.[8] This chapter, however, turns to England – supposedly the Land of the Reticent.

It focuses on both Catholics and Protestants in the years from approximately 1540 to 1560, a period of tempestuous politico-religious change. Henry VIII, wanting a different marriage bed and a son, willed the events that began the process in the 1530s. Subsequent radical reforms, introduced by Edward VI and Mary I, were similarly driven from the centre: the population was persuaded, educated and forced into new beliefs and mores. As Peter Marshall suggests elsewhere in this volume, these successive English reformations *could* be seen as 'confessionalizing' movements.[9] This chapter will show that, amidst so much politically driven

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[5]   Alexandra da Costa and Ann M. Hutchison, 'The Brethren of Syon Abbey and Pastoral Care', in Ronald J. Stansbury (ed.), *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 235–60, at pp. 244–5.

[6]   Thomas F. Mayer, 'Cardinal Pole's Concept of *reformatio*, the *Reformatio Angliae*, and Bartolomé Carranza', in John Edwards and Ronald Truman (eds), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 65–80.

[7]   Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, c. 1977), p. 21; Katharine Jackson Lualdi and Anne Thayer (eds), *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Aldershot, 2000); Anne Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching, and the Coming of the Reformation* (Aldershot, 2002); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c.1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 60–62, at p. 60.

[8]   For instance, Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Torino, 2009), pp. 219–43, 485–507; Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and their Female Penitents, 1450–1750* (Ithaca and New York, 2005).

[9]   I am grateful to Peter Marshall for comments which helped much in the preparation of this paper.

change, individuals nonetheless achieved and valued spiritual dialogue. At times they did so with the encouragement of governments: at others, secret soul talk was a means of gathering courage to oppose the mighty.

One English source reveals that confessional conversations were so normal and regular that they could be used as a cloak for imparting radical ideas. This account was included in a sermon written years later by Bishop Hugh Latimer: he was the confessor, but also the dupe. When the scene took place, the unregenerate Latimer had just argued publicly *against* the writings of the reformer Philip Melanchthon.

> Master Bilney or rather Saint Bilney … came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so; and, to say truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. From that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries.[10]

'Little Bilney' was a skilful persuader using the secrecy of the confessional to convert his confessor to a faith that was then forbidden.[11] The dialogue shows that confession was so much part of the normal way of things that it could become a device for purposes other than the one intended. It could, as it did in Latimer's case, change minds and alter attitudes – of either confessors, or penitents, or both. This tradition was a synthesis to which *three* parties contributed: individuals seeking forgiveness and 'consolation', confessors and pastors dispensing it and, hovering in the background, the governments of church and state permitting, or at least not preventing, such secret conversations.[12]

Contemporaries knew that confession and spiritual advice could serve or resist the purposes of government. Curates in Yorkshire after the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace were instructed to exhort their parishioners to obedience to the King 'both in confession and otherwise'. This study is concerned principally with one aspect of that dangerous 'otherwise' – talk.[13] Its effects were unpredictable, as historians of Mediterranean cultures have

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[10]   'The First Sermon on the Lord's Prayer', in Hugh Latimer, *Sermons*, (ed.) George Elwes Corrie, Parker Society [hereafter PS] (2 vols, Cambridge, 1844–5), vol. 1, pp. 334–5.

[11]   John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (Sheffield, 2011) [hereafter Foxe, *AM*], 1583 edition, Book 11, p. 1754; Greg Walker, *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 16; Susan Wabuda, 'Latimer, Hugh (*c*.1485–1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, May 2009 [hereafter ODNB].

[12]   This develops a theme drawn from Murray, 'Counselling', p. 77. On consolation, see John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 19–20, 41–3, 82–4 and Latimer, *Sermons*, 1, pp. 13, 180.

[13]   Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, D/CMisc, cited by Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), p. 28.

suggested. Jodi Bilinkoff reveals the mutuality of spiritual dialogue, showing how some confessors revered and learned from their penitents.[14] In another chapter in this volume, Lu Ann Homza shows how one confessor's diligent and open-minded listening changed his own understanding of witchcraft and influenced that of his generation: other prominent Spanish clergy weighed the dictates of Church and state against their own memories of personal human communications. Moreover, many of the laity could read confession manuals, state their views and answer back, showing themselves to be 'rational sheep'.[15] English needs for intelligent exchange were just as great, because of the trauma of capricious reformations. English people, too, knew the rules, especially about priests keeping confessional dialogues secret and being prudent: they, too, valued the chance to talk, and yet could answer back.[16]

This 'secret' subject presents problems of evidence. Many accounts come from clergy – like Luther, Contarini, Latimer and Bilney – and lay participants were usually sensitive and spiritually privileged, and therefore unrepresentative. Only the educated could access and read spiritual books inspired by and inspiring soul talk. Governmental directives about confession and spiritual counsel, which we shall examine later, permeated further down society, but non-compliance was widespread. Moreover, accounts of such dialogues are often later recollections, constructed according to the norms of the time of writing, not the time of happening: add to this the complexities of 'Renaissance self-fashioning' and the 'rhetorics of life-writing' and most soul talk remembered, recorded or recounted is at best half-true.[17] Yet constructed evidence is better than no evidence and, even if the detail is unreliable, we can learn much from 'unwitting testimony'– what witnesses did not mean to say and the assumptions they did not bother to spell out: for instance, the fact that Luther, Contarini and Bilney all seem to have thought it perfectly normal to have profound, time-consuming conversations in the confessional – no short shrift for them. Many early modern people had *learned* the habits and skills of religious dialogue. Its *dramatis personae*, lost soul and wiser father-figure, would have been recognized by the generation which was ageing in the mid-sixteenth century because, when they were younger, they had kept (or at the very least known about) the universal rules which enjoined annual confession. While it is possible to overstate

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[14] Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, passim.

[15] See above, Chapter 4, Lu Ann Homza, '"Local Knowledge" and Catholic Reform in Early Modern Spain' and the same author's *Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2000), pp. 150–75, 212–13.

[16] Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, pp. 20–22, 33–4.

[17] Thomas F. Mayer and D.R. Woolf (eds), *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor, 1995); S. Greenblatt *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago, 1980).

its pervasiveness and effectiveness, confession was a widespread ideal. Therefore, to some extent, talk was imprinted.[18]

The European Background

Soul talk in England has to be set in the context of the history of penitence in mainland Europe. Medieval and early modern historians alike stress the importance of the sacrament of penance for the whole culture, noting that it brought 'discipline' and 'consolation' to an anxious age.[19] But, according to Jean Delumeau, the conviction of sin and the fear of damnation remained part of the mind-set, fostered, not modified, by the teachings of reformers on both sides.[20] Modern developments of Delumeau's themes include studies of the effects of anti-Nicodemite books and pamphlets, emerging from about 1540, which said 'In face of persecution, you must not desert your faith; if you do, you will be damned'. Intended to promote courage, they, too, gave rise to terror.[21] So did the practice of sacramental confession – according to Stephen Ozment's controversial 'anxiety thesis'. Ozment maintained that it engendered resentment which contributed greatly to the success of reformation in Nuremberg and elsewhere.[22] Other scholars have challenged this view, arguing that confession was too spasmodic and confessors too busy, slack or stupid to present such a major threat.[23]

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[18]   Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation*, pp. 187–91; on such themes, see Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York, 1995), p. 425.

[19]   Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. xxi; Ronald Rittgers, 'Anxious Penitents and the Appeal of the Reformation: Ozment and the Historiography of Confession', in Marc Forster and Benjamin Kaplan (eds), *Piety and Family in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Steven Ozment* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 50–69, especially p. 52.

[20]   Jean Delumeau, *Le Péché et la Peur* (Paris, 1983); Peter Marshall, 'Fear, Purgatory and Polemic', in William Naphy and Penny Roberts (eds), *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, 1997), reprinted in Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 43–60; Peter Marshall, 'The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England, c.1560–1640', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* [hereafter JEH], 61/2 (2010), pp. 279–98; Carlos Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory* (Cambridge, 1995).

[21]   Michael MacDonald, '"The Fearful Estate of Francis Spira"': Narrative, Identity and Emotion in Early Modern England,' *Journal of British History*, 31/1 (1992), pp. 32–61; M. A. Overell, 'Recantation and Retribution: "Remembering Francis Spira", 1548–1638', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Retribution, Repentance and Reconciliation* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 159–68.

[22]   Stephen Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: the Appeal of Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, 1975), pp. 16–17 and 28.

[23]   For instance, W. David Myers, 'Poor Sinning Folk': Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany (Ithaca, 1996), pp. 59–60; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling; Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 8–9.

Significant regional variations between 'rigorist' and 'absolutionist' areas have produced conflicting evidence; this explains, at least in part, the extreme diversity of interpretations.[24]

The advent of reformation in Europe engendered a miscellany of penitential teaching and practice – most of it known and discussed in England. Catholics maintained that sacramental confession worked '*ex opere operato*', by the action being done; Lutherans stressed the importance of the faith of the person confessing, a faith *pre-existing* their action in confessing. Luther made explicit a paradox: 'on one hand "private confession is a cure without equal for distressed consciences"; on the other it lacks direct divine authority'. Nonetheless, he kept up the practice himself.[25] A popular training manual for young Lutheran clergy suggested ordinary folk too 'should confess always to God and frequently to a minister of the word'.[26] Although John Calvin described sacramental confession as '*carnificina*' – butchery – he set up his own Genevan variant whereby, before the Lord's Supper, people 'present themselves to me first', for teaching and admonition, and so that 'if there are any who are tormented by some disquiet of conscience, they may receive consolation'.[27] Later, in the Kirk Sessions of Reformation Scotland, the lay elders conducted similar moral examinations before admitting people to communion – an experience which, as Alec Ryrie points out, 'must have felt somewhat like confession to those on the receiving end.'[28] Thus the English church, always disposed to borrow from its neighbours, was offered multiple models but little clarity in the era when it too began the significant cultural shift away from sacramental confession.[29]

Soul Talk and English Reformations

An oft-printed English primer included a translation of a popular, if exhausting, French devotional text which advised that frequent confession,

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[24]   Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching*, pp. 187–91.

[25]   David Bagchi, 'Luther and the Sacramentality of Penance', in Cooper and Gregory, *Retribution, Repentance and Reconciliation*, pp. 119–27, at p. 127; Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, p. 349.

[26]   *Preaching the Reformation: The Homiletical Handbook of Urbanus Rhegius*, (ed.) Scott Hendrix (Milwaukee, 2003), pp. 7 and 43.

[27]   Jean Calvin, *Reformation contre Antoine Cathelan*, quoted in Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, pp. 350–51.

[28]   Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 91–3; Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485–1603* (Harlow, 2009), p. 259.

[29]   For practice on the eve of these changes, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 54–5, 58–62 and Plate 19.

ideally weekly, should be topped up with extra soul talk: 'Seke a god and fayth full frende of god conuersacyon to whome ye may dyscouer your mynde secretes. Enquere & proue hym well or ye trust in hym. And whan ye haue well proued hym do all by his counsell.'[30] This was perfect piety, but an optimistic report of 1539 suggested that most people kept up confession and communion at Easter, at the least.[31] Confession was feared at times of unrest: for instance, a ballad produced during the West Country rebellions of 1549 claimed: 'Under confession these priests do bind/ The simple people most earnest of all/ On pain of damnation to follow their mind.'[32] Others paraded their absolute contempt – like Richard Carder of St Iver, Buckinghamshire who declared that it was possible to 'confesse himselfe to a post or to the alter'.[33]

Nonetheless, a surprising number of voices on the evangelical side commended the practice. For instance, the radical John Bale thought going to confession was desirable if the confessor was 'learned'. The two texts called Anne Askew's *First Examination* and *Lattre Examination* were published in 1546 and 1547, with an 'elucidation' by Bale, her publicist and determined interpreter. On the subject of confession there is a marked contrast between these two. In the first, Askew cites the epistle of James and says that 'euerye man ought to acknowlege hys fautes to other, & the one to praye for the other.'[34] In the later examination, she changes her position saying 'they wylled me to have a prest. Than I smyled' [and said] 'I wolde confesse my fawtes to God. For I was sure that he wolde heare me with fauer.' However, Bale weighed in at this point: 'Prestes of godlye knowlege she ded not refuse. For she knewe that they are the massengers of the lorde ... *Of them* she instantlye desired to be instructed'.[35] Bale was glossing for all he was worth. Between them, he and Askew convey the impression that, in the dangerous late Henrician years, evangelicals were becoming distinctly choosey: confession and dialogue might continue, so

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[30] 'The preface and maner to lyue well' attributed to Johan Quentin, a doctor of divinity at Paris. Here taken from *Thys prymer in Englyshe and in Laten is newly translatyd after the Laten texte*, ('Paris' [Rouen]: N. le Roux for F. Regnault?, 1538), STC 16008.5, fol. 16ᵛ. I thank Alec Ryrie for his most generous help with this reference and several others in this essay. See also, for instance, *This prymer of Salysbury use*, STC 15980; 15985 and 15985a.

[31] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47*, (ed.) J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, 21 vols and 2 vols addenda (HMSO, 1862–1932), 14/1, 402, pp. 153–4.

[32] Cited by Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 230.

[33] Foxe, *AM* (1583), book 7, p. 852.

[34] James, 4:16–17; *The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde, with the elucydacyon of J. Bale* ([Marpurg [i.e. Wesel: D. van der Straten]], 1546), STC 848, sig. 5ʳ.

[35] *The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe, with the elucydacyon of J. Bale* ([Wesel: D.van der Straten] 1547), STC 850, sigs 32ʳ⁻ᵛ.

long as the adviser was 'of godly knowledge'. That stance, however, created a fault line – for the efficacy of the sacrament ceased to be independent of the moral and intellectual standing of the priest.

Thomas Becon's religious best-sellers were often presented in the form of seminars: a small-group activity reflecting the reformers' theology of the priesthood of all believers. Becon's chief interlocutor in his *Potation for Lent* says: 'why auriculare confession should be condemned and exiled from the boundes of christianite, I see no cause.' He points out 'that confession hath been greatly abused it cannot be denied: yet ought it not therefore to be rejected and cast away but rather to be restored to its old purity'.[36]

Bickering about confession was widespread, as Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and his colleagues acknowledged when they advised

> such as shall be satisfied with the general Confession, not to be offended with them that doth use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret Confession to the Priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient for the quietness of their own consciences particularly to open their sins to the Priest, to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Church.[37]

The 1549 Prayer Book advised any 'person whose conscience is troubled', 'to confess and open his sin and grief secretly that he may receive such ghostly counsel advice and comfort that his conscience may be relieved, and that … he may receive comfort and absolution'. The 1552 version – the furthest the Church of England's liturgy ever went in an evangelical direction – watered down this advice so that the penitent was to open, not his 'sin and grief', but just 'his grief'. This was proof of significant change; what tends to be overlooked is the fact that at an important moment – preparing for communion – people were still being directed to *talk*. The rite for the Visitation of the Sick (used at another supremely important moment) retained the traditional phrase '*ego te absolvo*' for the very ill.[38] The ancient tradition had been changed but not entirely taken away.[39]

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[36]   Thomas Becon, *A potacion or drinkynge for this holi time of lent* (1542), STC 1749, printed in *Early Works of Thomas Becon*, (ed.) John Ayre, PS (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 86–122, at pp. 100–101.

[37]   Exhortation from the Order of the Communion, 1548, printed in *The Two Liturgies … in the Reign of Edward VI*, (ed.) Joseph Ketley, PS (Cambridge, 1844), p. 4.

[38]   Ibid., pp. 82, 138, 274, 314; Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 238–41.

[39]   Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, p. 33. A similar pattern of changing but not abandoning the practice is evident throughout Europe, see Tentler, 'Postscript', in Lualdi and Thayer (eds) *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 240–59, especially p. 245.

Although the catechism, included in the *Book of Common Prayer* from 1549 onwards, highlighted a different, specifically *teaching* function for ministers, senior clergy continued to find ways of promoting 'right and true confession', as opposed to the wrong sacramental sort. 'I would to God it were kept in England; for it is a good thing', Hugh Latimer wrote shortly before Edward VI's death. His next sentence qualified that statement. 'And those which find themselves grieved in conscience might go to a learned man, and there fetch of him comfort of the word of God, and so come to a quiet conscience.' Latimer was proposing that people should be given 'comfort of the word of God' – different from sacramental absolution.[40] In hindsight it is arguable that English reformers were contributing to a long-term process of 'confessionalization', retaining a role for a newly purged, learned and reliable clergy who would, in confidential talks with their flock, ensure obedience to the government, greater social discipline and a 'triumph of Lent'.[41] Yet their exhortations addressed personal not social objectives, prioritizing 'quietness of conscience' and 'comfort'. There were still provisions for soul talk when Mary Tudor came to the throne of England in 1553.

Meanwhile, expansion of the printing industry supplied religious texts which showed how deeply spiritual dialogue was embedded in ancient Christian tradition. The Renaissance looked back – *ad fontes* – to the Bible. And there, of course, was soul talk. The New Testament has several instances: the rich young man pleading 'what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life'; the disciples asking 'teach us to pray' and probing the reasons for their own inability to heal a sick child.[42] Patristic texts, too, revealed a culture permeated by talk, not least in the works of St Augustine: 'Let me speak for behold it is thy mercy to which I speak'.[43] Other masters of spiritual dialogue became cross-party best sellers, loved and translated by Catholic and Protestant alike: the pre-eminent case is Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471).[44] His *Imitation of Christ*, sometimes known as *The Folowynge of Christ*, dates from the very early fifteenth century and was first published in 1471. Initially English interest in the text was confined to an élite, but during the Reformation era the *Imitation* became widely

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[40]   Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechising in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 20–21; Latimer, *Sermons*, vol. 2, pp. 13 and 180.

[41]   Peter Burke, 'The Triumph of Lent: the Reform of Popular Culture' in his *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), pp. 207–43.

[42]   Matthew 19:16 (see also, Luke 18:18); Luke 11: 1–4; Matthew 17:19. Quotations are taken from the Authorised Version.

[43]   Known in the sixteenth century in several editions in Latin; quotation taken from the first English translation, *The Confessions of … S. Augustine*, trans. Sir Tobie Matthew (St Omer, 1620), STC 910, Book I, Chapter 6, p. 10.

[44]   Maximilian von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant translations of the Imitatio Christi, 1425–1650: from Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (Farnham, 2011).

available and crossed confessional barriers (though Protestant editions deleted Book 4 on the Eucharist).[45] The *Imitation* exerted considerable influence on mid-Tudor humanist culture: when regular dialogue in the confessional was beginning to fade, the text became a spiritual handbook – a 'Teach yourself Consolation'. Most of the time the reader is allowed to listen to only one side of an imagined conversation, and even that voice is not stable. Throughout the first two books, we hear the humane spiritual director overseeing this journey, this 'following' of Christ. He appears to be a senior monk addressing a junior, who is nonetheless 'my dear friend, from how great a peril mayst thou make thyself free' and 'my dear brother', 'O my dear friend'. While engaged in spiritual dialogue, he advises yet more of the same: 'ofttimes ask counsel'. Book 3, the longest section and perhaps the best-known in mid-Tudor England, replaces the voice of the director with that of Christ himself: 'Son, hear my words …' This classic is based on infectious belief in the validity of talking and listening.[46]

The *Imitation*, translated into English in 1504, was published for a second time in 1531, in a popular version often wrongly ascribed to Richard Whitford.[47] In 1532 Thomas More recommended the text among three works suitable for 'the people unlearned'.[48] It became fashionable at court and Queen Catherine Parr's *Prayers and Meditations* of 1545, presented as excerpts 'Collected out of Holy Works', was partly gathered from the *Imitation*, in the 1531 edition.[49] The Princess Elizabeth translated Catherine's work into Latin, French and Italian and presented it to Henry VIII at the end of 1545. Thereafter, this monastic dialogue reached well beyond the court, into the households of both Protestants and Catholics.[50]

Equally popular was the *Enchiridion* or *Manual of a Christian Knight*, written in 1503 by Erasmus, intended mostly for lay people. Though not written in dialogue form, its declared purpose is the spiritual direction of

[45]   Roger Lovatt, 'The "Imitation of Christ" in Late Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series 5, 18 (1968), 97–121, at p. 114.

[46]   Quotations are taken from Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (Letchworth, 1910; reprinted 1947), pp. 1, 48, 93; on careful listening, see Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge, 2010).

[47]   *A boke newely translated out of Laten in to Englysshe, called The folowynge of Cryste* ([London]: Robert Wyer, 1531), STC 23961.

[48]   Thomas More, *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer in Thomas More, Works (1557)*, pp. 356–7, quoted in Lovatt, '"Imitation of Christ"', p. 97; like many in his generation, More attributed this text to Jean Gerson (1363–1429).

[49]   Queen Catherine Parr, *Prayers or Meditations* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1545), STC 4818.5; James McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 228–30.

[50]   BL MS Royal 7. D. X. sigs 2r –5r; Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, (ed.) Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago, 2002), 3, p. 9; von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations*, pp. 145-8, 176-7, 227-8, 243-6.

a friend 'for the changing of whose manners principally I took upon me this labour and travail'.[51] The *Enchiridion* is a 'stern practical guide to pious living in the world'; the first translation into English appeared in 1533 and there were more than 10 editions before Elizabeth's accession: Myles Coverdale's shortened and adapted version appeared in 1545.[52] The publications of the *Imitation* and the *Enchiridion,* continuing through all the religious changes of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, kept alive an instinct already deep-seated; they provided a model and a script for those dealing with trouble, especially a troubled conscience.

Soul Talk and Problems of Conformity

There was much to haunt sensitive consciences in the late 1540s and early 1550s, because English religious change resembled a switchback ride: hectic, unpredictable, dangerous. Revisionists have shown that reformations taking place up to Queen Mary's accession in 1553 were not easily achieved or widely popular.[53] Ending the 'schism', however, brought renewed anguish for many and a need for spiritual talk, literally on a national scale. The whole country needed to be 'reconciled'.

For this purpose, the Pope's legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole, arrived at the end of 1554. He had been based in Italy since 1532: there his household at Viterbo became a spiritual hothouse where regular confession was held dear and the poet Marcantonio Flaminio led evening meditations based on themes which partially echoed Lutheran theology and brought 'consolation' for the Cardinal and his friends.[54] When Pole returned to England, he faced more mundane needs: English society was at a spiritual standstill until every minister had confessed having officiated in 'heretical' rites, every clergy wife had been renounced (or hidden) and every confused soul absolved. It has been remarked that Pole and his officials spent an inordinate amount of time on such individual dispensations. Thomas

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[51]   Prefatory letter to Paul Volz, printed in edition of 1518. Between 1515 and 1523 there were at least 23 editions from European presses.

[52]   *A booke called in latyn Enchiridion militis christiani, and in englysshe the manuell of the christen knyght* (London: Wynyn de Worde, 1533), STC 10479, see also STC 10480–10488; *Enchiridion militis christiani: an English Version*, (ed.) Anne M. O'Donnell, Early English Text Society (Oxford, 1981), esp. p. 282; Douglas H. Parker, 'The English *Enchiridion militis christiani* and Reformation Politics', *Erasmus in English*, 5 (1972) 16–21; McConica, *English Humanists*, pp. 21–3.

[53]   See Christopher Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', in his *The English Reformation Revised* (Oxford, 1987, reprinted 1988), pp. 19–33, especially pp. 30–33; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 478–503.

[54]   M. Anne Overell, 'Pole's Piety? The Devotional Reading of Reginald Pole and his Friends', *JEH*, 63/3 (2012), 458-74.

Mayer's calendar of Pole's *Correspondence* contains hundreds of them – often Pole notes that recipients must first confess and be absolved, sometimes that they had *already* 'shown true repentance' (presumably by talking to a priest). Finally, he acknowledged himself beaten by this Herculean task and deputed it to Stephen Gardiner, instructing him to reconcile anyone, of whatever status, if they were sorry, humbly accepted 'orthodox faith' and did penance.[55] Ending the schism in England was an energetic process of fast-track confessionalization, which included hours of diligent soul talk.

Pole's character was once famously described as 'lukewarm', not the stuff of great spiritual directors, but he took on a taxing semi-pastoral role.[56] He believed that heretics should be brought to repentance, then forgiven, and restored to the community. He faced a group of often highly educated men and women who were reluctant to repent of beliefs they cherished and had already passed on to others. Hours of advice, persuasion and wrangling ensued in studies and prison cells. Pole usually deputed this work to others, but some small windows open on to his own behind-the-scene efforts at spiritual advice. John Foxe referred to Pole's 'solicitous writings' to Thomas Cranmer, ex-Archbishop of Canterbury.[57] In fact, Pole's last letter of November 1555 deals severely with Cranmer's supposed failings, but some phrases sound like the words of a compassionate spiritual adviser speaking from the heart: '[I] would do anything to bring you the benefit of salvation, rather than gain the greatest benefit to myself.' Pole sent a last passionate warning, probably knowing the Marian government's deadly intentions: 'I say if you be not plucked out by the ear, you be utterly undone both body and soul.'[58] Mistakes made during Cranmer's recantations led to changes in official tactics in the case of John Cheke, once King Edward VI's tutor and prominent at his evangelical court. Cheke was kidnapped near Antwerp and imprisoned by Mary Tudor's government. Finally, worn down, he recanted twice, telling Pole, 'I yield under your direction', and suggesting that the Cardinal's 'virtue, piety and learning' had been part of the process, though there is no

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[55]   *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole: a Calendar*, (ed.) Thomas F. Mayer, 4 vols (Aldershot, 2002–2008) [hereafter cited as CRP with document numbers], vol. 3, 1054, 1229, 1285, 1286, 1593.

[56]   Count Feria to Father Ribadeneyra, 22 March 1558, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, 1554–58*, (ed.) G. A. Bergenroth and others (13 vols in 20, HMSO, 1862–1954), vol. 13, 415, p. 370.

[57]   Foxe, *AM*, 1583, Book 12, p. 1973.

[58]   Pole to Cranmer, 6 November 1555, CRP 1421; John Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* (2 vols, London, 1853), vol. 2, 972–88. For a summary, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 579–83, at p. 583. The manuscript of Pole's letter is now so badly damaged that just assessment is impossible.

evidence that they talked face-to-face.[59] Pole's record was not first-class (he was walking on eggshells), but at least the English Cardinal tried to stand in the great tradition of spiritual counsel.

Even in the narrow span of Queen Mary's five-year reign much was achieved towards connecting England to the booming market for Catholic religious books in mainland Europe. It is likely that many of the Marian publications of texts of spiritual dialogue were due largely to the long arm of the Cardinal. But the publication of one work fundamental to English spirituality preceded Pole's arrival: Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort*, was completely ready for press when Mary Tudor ascended the throne and it appeared in November 1553.[60] This dialogue between the wise Anthony and his nephew, Vincent, was depicted as having taken place in Hungary where a cruel invasion by the Turks was feared but for Hungary read England, and for Turks read King Henry VIII and all persecutors of faithful souls. *Dialogue of Comfort* became one of More's best loved works and the steady voice of Anthony advised and consoled frightened people for centuries to come.

Meanwhile the European popularity of the *Imitation of Christ* had been boosted by another great exponent of spiritual talk, Ignatius Loyola. He had found personal solace in the *Imitation* and the Jesuits played a large part in making that book famous and literally sold out in some major Catholic cities.[61] Its dialogue of consolation became an integral part of the Jesuit objective 'to help souls'.[62] The *Imitation* had also been important for Cardinal Pole and his friend, Flaminio, who wrote: 'I can't recommend any book – setting aside the scriptures – that could be more useful to you'.[63] Another of Pole's close associates, the Observant Franciscan, William Peto, was responsible for the next English publication of the *Imitation* in 1556.[64] In a manuscript note found in a copy of this edition, now in the British Library, Peto advised Lady Elizabeth Pope that if she could read one chapter a day she would find 'gret spirituale comfort of your sowle'; and in that note he also made it clear that it was he who had written

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[59]   Michieli to the Doge and Senate, 21 July 1556, *Calendar of State Papers … Venice*, (ed.) Rawdon Brown (38 vols, London, 1864–1947), vol 6/1 (1555–56), 554, p. 536; Cheke to Pole, 15 July 1556, CRP 1616. On Cheke's recantations, see John McDiarmid, '"To content God quietlie": the Troubles of Sir John Cheke under Queen Mary', in Elizabeth Evenden (ed.), *1556–57: the Crucible of English Confessional Conflict*, forthcoming.

[60]   *A dialoge of comfort against tribulacion* (London: Richard Tottel, 1553), STC 18082.

[61]   O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, pp. 43, 83 and 264–6.

[62]   Ibid., pp. 19–20, 41–3, 82–4.

[63]   Flaminio to Carlo Gualteruzzi, Naples, 28 February 1542, Flaminio, *Lettere*, 42, p. 121; see also 49, p. 145.

[64]   *The folowinge of Chryste, translated oute of Latyn into Englysh, newly corrected and amended. Wherevnto also is added the golden epystell of Saynt Barnarde* [London: John Cawood, 1556], STC 23966.

the preface to the Marian edition.[65] The *Imitation* continued to sell and to comfort all through the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in translations by Edward Hake and Thomas Rogers.[66]

The Marian regime's printers also brought out William Peryn's *Spirituall exercyses* in 1557. Like the *Imitation,* this owed much to the Rheno-Flemish mystical tradition. Peryn's two sources were the contemporary Flemish writer Nicolaus van Ess's *Exercitia theologiae mysticae* and part of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual exercises.* Both these sources promoted soul talk: Loyola's famous 'Exercises' had been written specifically to be used by a spiritual director, leading the exercitant through this demanding inward journey: this text 'presupposed that individuals needed somebody with whom to converse'.[67] All the main Marian devotional publications had talk as their model and objective.

Some of the most passionate soul talk of Queen Mary's reign came not from Pole and the returning Catholics, but from those at odds with the regime, tormented in conscience and consequently both needing and dispensing help and advice. They presented a huge pastoral problem. At first reformation leaders advised easygoing 'Nicodemite' solutions: 'Let not vainglory overcome you in a matter that men deserve not to die', Latimer wrote to James Bainham in 1532.[68] In the forties and early fifties, however, spiritual advice shifted into a darker anti-Nicodemite mode, insisting on courage, refusal, resistance, flight, imprisonment, even death and martyrdom – battle cries soon to be made famous by John Foxe. Such awesome themes seem to dwarf the anxieties about individual salvation echoing through earlier soul talk, like Luther's or Contarini's. Yet the choice between conformity and resistance was a matter of conscience, just as certainty of salvation had been. The issues were intertwined: if you 'denied Christ', you could not be among the saved. So anxieties about personal salvation continued unabated and duly recorded, even as storms of religious persecution began to rage in England.

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[65]   James P. Carley, 'William Peto O.F.M. Obs. and the 1556 Edition of "The folowinge of Christ"', forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Carley for his generosity in sending this paper.

[66]   See the two popular Elizabethan translations of Edward Hake STC 23969 and Thomas Rogers STC 23973–7. David Crane, 'English Translations of the *Imitatio Christi* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Recusant History*, 13 (1975), 79–100; von Habsburg, *Catholic and Protestant Translations*, pp.118-121.

[67]   STC 19784 and 19785; William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 34–7; L. E. C. Wooding, 'Peryn, William (*d.* 1558)', ODNB; John O'Malley, 'The Ministry to Outsiders', in G. R. Evans (ed.), A *History of Pastoral Care* (London, 2000), pp. 252–61, at pp. 260–61.

[68]   Latimer to Bainham, 1532, BL Ms Harley, 422 f. 90 r–v, cited by Susan Wabuda, 'Equivocation and Recantation during the English Reformation: the Subtle Shadows of Dr. Edward Crome', *JEH*, 44/2 (1993), 224–42, at p. 240.

Imprisonment of reformation leaders, like Thomas Cranmer and
Hugh Latimer, displaced many deeply personal dialogues from face-
to-face encounter to spiritual correspondence. Letters were already an
established mode of encouraging or publicizing holiness, especially where
circumstances did not permit face-to-face conversations. A facet of the
increasing popularity of the epistolary form in the sixteenth century, such
letters could be fictional or 'real', or real but heavily edited, and they
were often written with an eye to future publication in order to help co-
religionists. The correspondence of the Marian martyrs was no exception:
written in gaol, carefully preserved, often sent abroad into the care of
Protestants in exile and then published after Elizabeth's accession, notably
in Miles Coverdale's *Certain letters of such true saints and holy martyrs of
God*.[69] Among the prisoners, John Bradford had a special talent for soul
talk and he 'left materials which enabled Foxe to present him as a prototype
of all the physicians of the soul who would presently be undertaking the
spiritual direction of more and more of Elizabeth's subjects'.[70] In prison, he
acted as spiritual director-by-post to both sexes, but most famously to Mrs
Joyce Hales, then enduring a deep spiritual crisis; the subjects of Bradford's
letters were confessional stuff – bereavement and fears about salvation and
election. Bradford wrote to her that he would 'carry your cross which you
have promised not to hide from me' (as in all good confessions, she must
be candid). He encouraged her to 'be less covetous or rather impatient'
to know about her own salvation: 'Many have some sight, but none this
sobbing and sighing, none this seeking, which you have, I know, but
such as are married to him in his mercies … therefore, my dear heart, be
thankful … how should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ – I mean
in joy – if in sorrow you sobbed not with him?'[71]

Bradford was probably writing with one eye on the wider reading
public who would eventually benefit from his letters, but nonetheless they
contained some of the most personal spiritual writing of the reformation era
– intended, above all, to console: 'If he have chosen you – as doubtless, dear
heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before
me and to me you could not deny it …' [72] In Bradford's unguarded affection

[69] Adriano Prosperi, 'Spiritual Letters', in Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (eds),
Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present
(Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 113–28, at pp. 122–4; Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, p. 24; Susan
Wabuda, 'Henry Bull, Miles Coverdale, and the Making of Foxe's Book of Martyrs', in Diana
Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 245–58, especially pp. 249–50;
STC 5886.
[70] William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963), p. 207.
[71] *The Writings of John Bradford*, (ed.) Aubrey Townsend, PS (Cambridge, 1853), pp.
108–17, especially pp. 109–10.
[72] Ibid., p. 113.

there are echoes of Thomas à Kempis – 'dear brother', 'my dear heart'. The martyr-to-be sounded arrestingly like the humane director of the *Imitation*.

The Bradford–Hales relationship is gendered, like Catholic penitential culture of the same era. Yet influence and support ran in both directions.[73] Spiritual directors who were also prisoners relied on women to be their 'sustainers': it behoved them to be gentle and encouraging. Moreover, gender was not always decisive and some women took against Bradford – the lot of many confessors. He noted 'half a suspicion' that Robert Harrington's wife had 'a loathing of my advice, that too much has been given'. Then he advised the Harrington couple and their family *not* to go to confession at a time when the Marian government was requiring them to do so. Bradford gave eight reasons but the last is phrased as a 'standard' confessional question: are you acting for God, for others, or just for yourself?': 'Because the end and purpose why we go thither is for the avoiding of the cross, that is for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause or for our brethren's commodity'. Once the spiritual director's script ran 'you're failing to go to confession out of fear', but for Protestants in the reign of Queen Mary, that was turned on its head: 'you are going out of fear'.[74] Yet, despite this seismic shift on the specific subject of sacramental confession, the stream of spiritual dialogue ran on.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, too, crafted memorable spiritual advice in his prison cell, offering help and consolation to those in a dilemma about whether to flee the country or stay and be persecuted, perhaps burned alive, for failure to conform. He wrote to Mrs Joan Wilkinson, one of the most prominent women supporters of the Marian martyrs, advising her to choose exile. 'What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's true religion? If you be loath to part from your kin and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers that do his Father's will.' Here the academic archbishop was reverting to the confessor that he may once have been, employing the well-worn method of searching for the lesser evil: 'the apostles flying [fleeing] came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good'.[75] Such letters are no less moving for their obvious debt to the conventions of spiritual dialogues, either experienced personally or absorbed subliminally from published texts. All generations and all religious groups work with the templates they have been given.

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[73] Anne Schutte, 'Little Women, Great Heroines: Simulated and Genuine Female Holiness in Early Modern Italy', in Scaraffia and Zarri, *Women and Faith*, pp. 144–58; Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, p. 17.

[74] Bradford, *Writings*, pp. 119–20.

[75] Thomas Cranmer, *Works*, (ed.) J. E. Cox, PS (2 vols, Cambridge, 1846), vol. 2, pp. 444–5.

Soul Talk and Anti-Nicodemite Literature

Latimer's published account of Bilney's visit, quoted above, is an instance of the complex relation between spiritual talk and the texts which record it. It is arguable that spiritual conversations which were represented as having 'really' taken place should never have been recorded at all – on the side of the confessor/adviser they were, for Catholics, under 'the seal of confession' and many Protestants retained expectations of complete confidentiality. The all-out battle against 'heresy' made secrecy in the confessional especially vulnerable in these years.[76] On the other hand, fictional accounts of spiritual talks were allowable, but many reported dialogues printed in the sixteenth century inhabit a grey area, pretending to verisimilitude and purporting to have 'really' taken place between identifiable speakers, but containing giveaway signs of authorial construction.[77] Such 'confidential' conversations, recorded in print, became popular: readers were given the illusion of eavesdropping on some deeply personal dialogues which addressed important public issues.

This private–public form was used widely in anti-Nicodemite polemical literature, which purported to be spiritual, but its message was abundantly clear: Christians must not deny their faith when faced by persecution. The characters were traditional – the wavering soul and wise director, or the anxious man (never a woman) in discussion with a group of spiritual friends. These stories travelled well and lasted well, becoming relevant in different parts of Europe at different times, according to levels of persecution.[78] In the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor, several of them were issued in English, both by printers in London and by presses in mainland Europe serving the Marian exiles.

Wolfgang Musculus's *Temporisour* was clearly fictional – the eponymous temporiser was a type, not a person. Written in Latin in 1549, a French language version was printed in London in 1550, and the work was then translated into English and printed at least twice in 1555 by English exiles, probably in Wesel.[79] The *Temporisour* addressed issues of compliance with 'papistical superstitions' like attendance at Catholic services, and

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[76] Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza*, pp. 219–28.

[77] Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 9–12.

[78] On anti–Nicodemite literature, see Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 36–49, 53; Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 153–62, 263–4.

[79] *Proscaerus* (Basel: J. Kundig, 1549); *Le Temporiseur*, trans. Vallérand Poullain (London; Stephen Mierdman, 1550), STC 18311; *The Temporysour* trans. into French Vallérand Poullain and into English R.P. (Wesel?: [H.Singleton?], 1555), STC 18312 and 18313.

examined alternative choices, like exile or death. The problems were aired
in the form of a *group* dialogue, but at the crucial moment of decision
for the worried 'Temporisour', the conversation narrows, focusing on the
weak and anxious soul, and the main spiritual adviser, called Eusebius. An
obvious dependence upon this minister figure develops and 'Temporisour',
having decided to take the valiant path, says 'I praye thee do not leave
often to come and visit me to assist my infirmity'.[80] Despite the clear
polemical purpose, there is still the age-old expression of a need to talk
and the hope of consolation.

The most famous of all anti-Nicodemite stories pretended to record a
real conversation between recognizable characters, some of whom were still
alive, although Francesco Spiera, its anti-hero, was assumed to have died in
despair shortly after the events took place. Italian in origin, but published
in several languages, the story became especially popular in England,
where the first translation was published in 1550, only a few months after
the Italian original.[81] Readers learned that Spiera, a small town notary,
recanted his incipient evangelical faith and then sank into despair, thinking
that his denial would lead to damnation. That much was based on fact,
but propagandists decorated it with extras, like the details of a dramatic
group dialogue taking place at Spiera's bedside.[82] As in *Temporisour*, the
crucial parts happen between leading advisers, like Pier Paolo Vergerio, the
Catholic bishop in attendance, and Francesco, in deepest woe. Six months
later Vergerio fled to Switzerland and his account of Spiera became the
source of several other publications dealing with the same event.[83]

What was going on in this deathbed scene was a re-run of spiritual father-
to-son literature. 'Bishop Vergerio' is at the bedside, Spiera's one-time parish
priest also intervenes, and both try the usual comforting phrases – repent,
trust in Christ, 'let's say the Lord's Prayer together' and so forth.[84] But this
soul talk ended negatively. The subject came out of it worse, finally trying to
kill himself: all accounts implied he was certain to be damned. Vergerio and
subsequent narrators distorted the ancient model, thereby warning readers
that being a Nicodemite and 'denying Christ' made consolatory dialogue
utterly futile. In an England, torn apart by religious dissent, those perceived
to be in danger of back-sliding or weakly conforming were reminded with
grim regularity of Spiera's terrible end. Writing from his own prison cell,

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[80] STC 18313, sig. G vii.

[81] Matteo Gribaldi, *A notable and marvailous epistle*, tr. E. A. [Edward Aglionby]
(Worcester: John Oswen, 1550), STC 12365.

[82] M. A. Overell, 'The Reformation of Death in Italy and England: circa 1550',
Renaissance and Reformation, 23/4 (1999), 5–21, at pp. 7–8.

[83] P. P. Vergerio, *La historia di M.F. Spiera, il quale per havere in varii modi negata la
conosciuta verita dell'Evangelio casco in una misera desperatione* ((?Basel), n. pub., 1551).

[84] Gribaldi, *Notable and marvailous epistle*, sigs. Bix–Ci.

John Bradford made use of the tale when he warned Francis Russell, then also in custody: 'Remember Lot's wife which looked back; remember Francis Spira'. Thus, a reported dialogue from Italy entered the literature of England and was quoted regularly for centuries.[85]

Conclusion

Soul talk was learned behaviour, with biblical and patristic precedents, imprinted by the confessional and the publication of religious literature which either used dialogue form or advised frequent 'counsel'. Catholic and Protestant alike knew the cast: the anxious soul and the wiser director(s); also, they knew the outline script: tell all, be blunt. During the terrible mid-century crisis of conscience about conforming to the religion of the prince or suffering for your faith, it is reasonable to assume that thousands of such conversations took place. Spiritual letters written by directors in prison became part of English martyrological literature. At about the same time, anti-Nicodemite propaganda began to be presented in the form of recorded soul talk, either fictional or 'real'. The characteristic figure was still the lonely soul needing help: the script too was similar, but there was an opposite outcome, desperation not consolation. Such distortions showed the extent to which spiritual talk had become a convention, to be used and abused, but nonetheless a meme of European religious life – not least that of mid-sixteenth century England.

This talk had a significant impact on all three of the competing interests involved: troubled people, confessors or advisers, and governments. First, the effect on individuals was one of unintended consequences: it was meant to make sinners be better, but failed, like most other expressions of reformation. There was no obvious surge of goodness, based on imitation of real or printed spiritual dialogues of devout men and women. Moreover, the widespread anxiety did not abate very much either.[86] There is no evidence – and no likelihood – that Reformed Christians awaiting spiritual examination before communion, or English evangelicals warned to 'remember Francis Spiera', felt a blissful release from anxiety about their chances of salvation. Yet historians of very different eras of religious reform have connected such spiritual 'work' as self-examination and the discussion of sins to people's awareness of themselves as individuals. For the twelfth and thirteenth century, John Arnold wrote that confession

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[85]   Bradford, *Writings*, vol. 2, p. 80; M. A. Overell, 'The Exploitation of Francesco Spiera', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26/3 (1995), pp. 619–37 and *Italian Reform and English Reformations*, c.1535–c.1585 (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 145–8, 211.

[86]   Marshall, 'Fear, Purgatory and Polemic', p. 59.

was one of 'a growing number of ways in which individual selves were pulled into focus and smoothed into shape'. John Bossy claimed that the transition from medieval Christianity to modern Catholicism 'turned collective Christians into individual ones'.[87] The evidence considered here suggests that something similar was happening during the several sixteenth-century English reformations, not just the Catholic one. The process of making 'individual Christians' was aided in these mid-reformation years by spiritual talk, real and fictional, focused on one needy subject: a penitent sinner, a woman doubting her salvation or a terrified would-be Nicodemite. Individuals were being placed in the spotlight. That claim, however, needs to have cautions attached to it. It is not the same as arguing for 'individualism' or 'the discovery of the self' supposedly achieved during the Renaissance – nebulous concepts, based on records left by Western, élite and triumphalist males.[88] Soul talk in *all* confessional groups was intended to turn souls to God – an objective different from, even opposed to, 'the discovery of the self'. Whether purporting to be 'real' or obviously fictional, these were spiritual not psychological dialogues.

What of the confessor or adviser, ever present in these records? After the end of Queen Mary's reign, his script changed again. In a Tudor world which had seen 'a steady disengagement and distancing of priests and laity', what was left to him was a shadow of his former defined and sacramental role.[89] The Church of England's catechism classes, slow to take root, had a markedly different purpose from confession and continuities should not be exaggerated; the minister became 'drill sergeant' and 'chief examiner' of a (usually) youthful group, meeting individuals in private much more rarely than his priestly predecessors had done.[90] Several contemporaries thought the end of regular confession was a religious, moral and professional loss – and some eminent historians have come to similar conclusions.[91] Yet soul

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[87]   Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, pp. 186–7; Tentler, '*Postscript*', p. 255; John Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe', *Past and Present*, 47/1 (1970), pp. 51–70, at p. 62.

[88]   John Martin, 'Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: the Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe', *American Historical Review*, 102/5 (1997), pp. 1309–42 and 'The Myth of Renaissance Individualism', in Guido Ruggiero (ed.), *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance* (Malden, MA, 2002), pp. 208–33.

[89]   Marshall, *Catholic Priesthood*, pp. 232–35.

[90]   Green, *The Christian's ABC*, pp. 98–142, especially pp. 99, 136; Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England: Holding their Peace* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 79–86.

[91]   Kenneth Parker and Eric J. Carlson, '*Practical Divinity*': the Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 63–5; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 186–8; Patrick Collinson, 'Shepherds, Sheepdogs and Hirelings', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 216–20.

talk continued into the different dispensation of Elizabethan Protestantism. In 1568, an anonymous treatise, sold to be a substitute for the controversial Eucharistic Book 4 of the *Imitation of Christ*, said that if people were troubled in conscience, 'then doe they repaire to their Curate or Minister: and whatsoeuer is a griefe or trouble vnto them, doe there open and disclose it without shamefastnesse or feare'.[92] Gradually, a new generation of spiritual advisers began to take over. Their most famous Elizabethan representative, the Cambridgeshire minister, Richard Greenham (1535–94) wrote: 'it is easy to dissuade men from popish shrifts; it is hard to bring them to a Christian confession of sinnes'. Nonetheless he thought the Lord's ministers retained biblical authority for 'the private consolation of his children'.[93] Because the tradition of soul talk had not died, Greenham and his many disciples still had a point of entry, a foot in the door.

Last, hopefully out of earshot, but rarely out of mind, were powerful governments: reformation all over Europe would have been a complete failure without princes, power politics and profit motives. In England, through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, religious life could not have been changed so radically and so often without the brutal action of those with power. Set beside this march of force, spiritual dialogue seems a puny sideshow, another opiate for the people. Its availability was patchy and unequal, often confined to clergy, or devout and well-off laypeople. Yet those stars of soul dialogues represented precisely the most important segment of the body politic for any government managing reformation. Political reformation could only succeed if these serious Christians were in some way sustained and consoled. The official encouragement and provision of soul-talk – by Edwardian Prayer Books, then by Cardinal Pole and his colleagues – was meant to help people comply and cope with harsh realities, to bring them onside, but also to ensure that they remained devout. From Edwardian exhortations to 'open' sin or grief, to Marian directives to 'confess and do penance', no reformation government of any theological flavour dared do other than suggest that talking was a Good Thing. Such dialogues can be viewed as obvious tools of confessionalization, contributing to social and religious discipline, state-sponsored and state-controlled. As Wolfgang Reinhard pointed out, 'purely religious actions might also serve political purposes.'[94]

Yet this study has suggested a contrary effect. Religious talk might also undermine, even scupper, political purposes: it was multivalent. Several

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[92] Anon., *A short and pretie treatise touching the perpetuall reioyce of the godly, euen in this lyfe* (London: Henry Denham, 1568), STC 24230), sig. C3ʳ.

[93] *The workes of … Richard Greenham*, (ed.) H.H. (London: Ralph Jacson, 1601), STC 12316, pp. 244 and 315.

[94] Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment', *Catholic Historical Review*, 75/3 (1989), pp. 383–404, at p. 402.

of the dialogues examined here, both real and fictional, set out to inspire people to stand up to authority or to flee from its power. Nonetheless, successive sixteenth-century English governments appeared willing to take the risk; private spiritual dialogue was certainly feared but it was never rationed. While political reformations came and went, the impulse to seek personal advice was ratified and recorded in liturgies, sermons, biographies, letters, spiritual literature and anti-Nicodemite polemic. English folk in the mid-sixteenth century had an extraordinary religious experience – a circus of new monarchs and new beliefs. The instinctive mental habits of the first generation to abandon Catholicism combined with the psychological and spiritual pressures of conformity to produce a unique and creative moment for soul talk.

Fray Bartolomé Carranza's Blueprint for a Reformed Catholic Church in England

John Edwards

By the time Queen Mary died, on 17 November 1558, many English people might reasonably have come to the conclusion that 'reform' in religion was at best a mixed blessing. Under Henry VIII and Edward VI, not only had the look of churches and the services which took place within them been drastically altered, but all the religious orders and their houses had been removed from the landscape. Then, from July 1553, Mary had forcefully put these changes into reverse, at all levels, from the renewal of England's ties with the papacy to the restoration of the Mass and Catholic discipline. At the end of 1558, yet another upheaval was being initiated by Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth. The word 'reform' had always implied that something in the existing situation was wrong and had to be corrected. In the early Church, such transformation or conversion had generally been viewed as a matter for individuals rather than institutions, but that had changed, for the Western Catholic Church, in the eleventh century. During its last three decades, the popes themselves, and in particular Gregory VII (1073–85), had actively fomented upheaval with the announced aim of returning the Church to the supposed standards of the earlier centuries, as enshrined in the decrees and rulings, some of them conveniently forged, of councils and popes. The result was a 'top-down' model which refused to go away in the later medieval centuries, and was further developed on a spectacular scale in the mid-sixteenth century. Of this version of the Renaissance return *ad fontes* (back to the sources), the subject of the present study was a prominent example.

When Philip, Prince of Spain, arrived in England in July 1554 to marry Queen Mary I, he brought with him a high-powered team of Spanish churchmen, who were to advise him on how to restore the English Church to Catholic belief and practice, as well as full communion with the See of Rome. For him and his father, the Emperor Charles V, this was as important a project as marrying Mary and incorporating England, as far as possible, into the Habsburg group of European territories. With the powerful personal motivation of the Queen, significant progress had been

made in that direction since her seizure of the English throne in July of the previous year, which her supporters regarded as a direct action of Divine providence. From the very beginning of Mary's reign, the traditional Catholic services of the Sarum (Salisbury) use, which had prevailed in much of England and Wales for centuries before Edward VI's accession, co-existed uneasily and sometimes violently, in a state of legal limbo, with the English Prayer Book of 1552. This was still the situation during the first few months spent by Philip and his Spanish entourage in England, but would change once Cardinal Reginald Pole returned to his native land, in November 1554 and, as legate for Pope Julius III, formally reconciled Philip and Mary's kingdoms to the Roman obedience.

In recent years, the process of Catholic restoration in Mary's reign, which lasted only five years and four months, has stimulated a large amount of scholarly discussion. During the centuries between Mary's death, on 17 November 1558, and the present day, it has been traditional to see religious events of her reign as a largely or wholly English affair, with controversy focusing mainly on the death by burning, between February 1555 and November 1558, of over 280 of Philip and Mary's subjects, who professed their refusal to accept Catholic teaching and the authority of the Pope. The identity of the mainstream English Church was in question at the time, and has been since. The English Church established by Mary's successor Elizabeth, in the Act of Supremacy passed in 1559, remains separated from the Western, Roman, Catholic Church, and this hindsight is effectively unavoidable when scholars confront the nature of the restoration of 1553–8. Only since the year 2000, and in large part due to the work of Professor Thomas Mayer, not least in initiating and editing the 'Catholic Christendom' series published by Ashgate, has the attention of Anglophone historians turned to the Continental influence and impetus in all this. Thus it has begun to be possible to incorporate Italian and Spanish developments into the discussion of English Tudor religion, and what follows will add to this process in the case of Spain.

From the 1940s almost until his death in 2008, and largely unknown outside the realm of Hispanic studies, a Basque priest, José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, laboured indefatigably and meticulously in the archives of Spain and Rome to shed light on the Spanish role in the formation of modern Catholicism, in the middle years of the sixteenth century. The bulk of his resulting output, in the form of numerous books and dozens of articles and documentary transcriptions, centred on one Spaniard in particular. Bartolomé Carranza, also known as Bartolomé de Miranda, was born, very probably in 1503, in the small town of Miranda de Arga, in Spanish Navarre. His surname, Carranza, indicates that his family originated in the Basque country, and he appears to have been of lesser-noble (*hidalgo*) status. As a boy, he was greatly helped by his uncle, Sancho Carranza de

Miranda, at whose instance he matriculated, in 1515, at the College of San Eugenio, part of the then new university of Alcalá de Henares. There the young Bartolomé studied the customary arts subjects, acquiring a bachelor's degree in 1520. In the following year, he apparently shocked his uncle, and others, by announcing his intention to enter the Dominican order. Sancho Carranza, who was then both a canon of Calahorra cathedral and a professor of theology at Alcalá, opposed this move strongly, but unsuccessfully. The young Bartolomé duly made his profession as a member of the Order of Preachers in that same year, and by 1525 he was a member of the prestigious Dominican college of San Gregorio, in the university town of Valladolid, which was also a centre of Castilian government. Thus Sancho's nephew partly satisfied him, by pursuing a career in academic theology, even though he did so within a religious order. In 1533, Bartolomé became a tutor in theology at San Gregorio, having previously taught for the arts degree, and during the 1530s he was engaged, like many other academic theologians in the Spanish universities of the period, as a consultant on possibly heretical books for the Inquisition, in this case working with its local tribunal in Valladolid. The Dominicans clearly regarded Carranza as an academic high-flyer, since in 1539 he was invited to Rome, to receive the Order's own, highly prestigious, degree of Master of Theology, which was conferred in its convent church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where the recipient would be laid to rest 37 years later. After this ceremony, Carranza returned to San Gregorio in Valladolid, where he continued to teach, and to advise the Inquisition. He also seems to have attracted the attention of royalty at this time, and in 1542 he was invited by Charles V to accept nomination to the Peruvian bishopric of Cuzco. This he declined, citing his existing duties. In 1545, on the other hand, he did accept nomination to the Imperial delegation to the first sessions of the Council of Trent, during which he rapidly achieved prominence. In 1548, with the council suspended, he returned to his former duties in Valladolid, not only declining the bishopric of the Canary Islands at that time but also refusing, perhaps riskily, the post of confessor to Prince Philip of Spain. Nevertheless, the Navarrese friar was once more a member of Charles V's delegation to the second phase of the Council of Trent, in 1551–2, and in 1553, he became a royal chaplain and Court preacher in Valladolid. He was thus in a perfect place to be invited to join Philip's expedition from there to England, in the following year.[1]

In the translated words of Ignacio Tellechea,

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[1]   John Edwards, 'Introduction: Carranza in England', in John Edwards and Ronald Truman (eds), *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor. The achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 6–10.

Fray Bartolomé Carranza, taken to England by Philip II [I of England], appears as a highly-placed figure in Court circles, enjoying particular esteem on the part of the King and Queen and the Papal Legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole. Carranza had an active role in preparing the way for the arrival of Pole in England and would recall that the King personally gave him the news of the Cardinal's imminent arrival in Whitehall.[2]

On the basis of all the known writings of Carranza, as well as documents concerning him, Tellechea has rightly concluded that the friar's role in religious developments in England, between 1554 and 1557, was far greater than has commonly been thought by modern scholars of that period. In sum, Carranza was, according to this extensive evidence, centrally involved in the main issues of Mary and Philip's religious policy, including the crucial questions of alienated Church property and the treatment of those who had or still adhered to the religious ordinances of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He also preached at Court, and helped to restore the liturgical ceremonies which had previously surrounded the eucharistic feast of Corpus Christi.[3] In the longer term, Carranza's most significant contribution to the Catholic Church at large, if not, as a result of the accession of Elizabeth, directly to the subsequent *ecclesia anglicana*, was a commission which he received from Pole's London legatine synod of 1555–6. In Tellechea's phrase, the result of this, Carranza's *Commentaries on the Christian Catechism* 'was born in the heat of the English synod begun at the end of 1555'.[4] For this scholar, the London, or Westminster, synod was 'the most positive factor in the great attempt to restore Roman Catholicism'. Indeed, the records of Carranza's subsequent trial by the Inquisition, held in Spain and then Rome between 1559 and 1576, during which he was charged with belief in 'Lutheran' teachings, clearly indicate that he was present in and around the Synod's deliberations, acting, on the direct orders of King Philip, who was then in the Netherlands, as his eyes and ears during this crucial phase in the development of Habsburg and Tudor religious policies. Three of the questions which Carranza asked to be put to witnesses on his behalf concerned his involvement in the English Synod. He first asked them to confirm (q. 51) that the synodal decrees had been drawn up with his agreement and in accordance with his

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[2] Tellechea, 'Fray Bartolomé Carranza: a Spanish Dominican in the England of Mary Tudor', in Edwards and Truman, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 21–31, at p. 23 (trans. Ronald Truman).

[3] Tellechea, 'Carranza: a Spanish Dominican', p. 23; Edwards, 'Corpus Christi at Kingston upon Thames: Bartolomé Carranza and the Eucharist in Marian England', in Edwards and Truman, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 139–51.

[4] Tellechea, in Bartolomé Carranza, *Comentarios sobre el catechismo christiano*, 2 vols (Madrid: Editorial Católica, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1972), i, 51.

views (*acuerdo y parescer*). One of his closest Spanish collaborators while in England, the royal chaplain Cristóbal Becerra, duly testified that this was true, and that Carranza was always present (*asistió siempre*) at the Synod. More specifically, in the next question (q. 52) Carranza asked for confirmation that he had drawn up the Synod's decrees in a form suitable for submission to Rome, and King Philip himself duly confirmed that Carranza had been involved in this. The third question about the Synod (q. 53) asked for confirmation that Carranza had been involved in the decision to suspend proceedings, in February 1556, to permit episcopal visitations of the English dioceses, and also in the ordering of legatine visitations of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[5]

One of the English Synod's decisions was to commission a new catechism, which would comprehensively set out Christian doctrine, initially for the clergy, in order to counteract the teachings of the reformers, and renew the Catholic Church in England. Existing English catechisms, notably that composed by Bishop Edmund Bonner of London, would continue to be used until Pole's trusted friend Carranza had completed his work, which according to the Spaniard's own testimony was intended for translation from its original Castilian, first into Latin and then into English. In subsequent correspondence with the Spanish inquisitors, before and after his arrest in August 1559, Carranza stated that he had composed his catechism while still in England, had revised it for publication in the Netherlands in 1557–58, and had corrected a published copy while returning to Spain in the summer of 1558. In November 1558 he confirmed that he was working on a Latin version, which he had not been able to finish because of other commitments.[6]

As indicated by his title, Carranza divided his work into four parts, which respectively treat the beliefs of the Church, as stated in the forms known as the Apostles' and Nicene 'Creeds', the Ten Commandments of the Law of Moses, the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church, as defined at the Council of Florence in 1439, and a final section entitled 'The Christian life'. Part 1

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[5]   Tellechea (ed.), *Fray Bartolomé Carranza. Documentos históricos*, 7 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962–94), iii, p. 25; Tellechea, 'Bartolomé Carranza y la restauración católica inglesa (1554–1558)', in Tellechea, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el cardenal Pole. Un navarro en la restauración católica de Inglaterra (1554–1558)* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1977), pp. 94, 99, 102, 113.

[6]   Edmund Bonner, *A profitable and necessarye doctryne* […] (London, 1555); Tellechea, 'Carranza: a Spanish Dominican', p. 24; Thomas F. Mayer, 'Cardinal Pole's concept of *Reformatio*: the *Reformatio Angliae* and Bartolomé Carranza', in Edwards and Truman, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 65–80, at p. 74; William Wizeman, SJ, *The theology and spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 25–8; Carranza, *Comentarios*, i, 107; Tellechea, in introduction to Carranza, *Comentarios sobre el Catechismo christiano*, iii, *Obra corregida y abreviada por el autor en las cárceles inquisitoriales* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1999), pp. xiii–xvi, xxix–xxx.

is divided into 12 'articles of faith', based on the sentences of the Creeds, and successively treating belief in God (article 1), Jesus Christ the Son, his incarnation and birth, his suffering (passion) and death, his descent into hell and subsequent resurrection from the tomb, his ascension to heaven, and the last judgment of the world by God (articles 2–7), then the Holy Spirit (art. 8), the Catholic Church (art. 9), the forgiveness of sins (art. 10), the resurrection of the flesh (art. 11) and eternal life (art. 12).[7] The Ten Commandments are treated in turn in Part 2, as are the seven sacraments, baptism, confirmation, communion, penance, anointing or 'unction', orders, and marriage, in Part 3.[8] The fourth and final part, on the Christian life, contains sections on prayer, including a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, and on fasting and on almsgiving.[9] The focus here will be on topics, both theological and ecclesiological, which were particularly contentious in Mary's England.[10]

The personal preoccupations of Martin Luther, whose name is alone in being specified as that of a 'heretic' in the *Commentaries*, has focused much subsequent study of the reform of the Western Church in the sixteenth century on the question of 'salvation'. The search of individual Christians for a sense of being in a 'right' relationship with God has often centred on whether or not the rich young man was asking the right question when he said to Jesus: 'What must I do to have eternal life?' [Matthew 19:16]. In large part as a result of Luther's personal and theological agonizing, the question became, for many, whether the Christian believer's actions were in any way relevant to his or her eventual fate at God's hands. From this perspective, it was faith that mattered, not deeds, or 'works' as theologians described them. Carranza had no difficulty in recognising the essential role of faith in the Christian life. His treatment of the Creeds contains, at an early stage, a passage entitled 'Of the two states that faith possesses (*De los dos estados que tiene la fe*)'. In it, he states that even bad Christians possess the one Christian faith, as long as they do not lose it by becoming heretics like Luther. Nevertheless, from the start, Carranza is anxious to stress the words of the epistle of James, that was so loathed by Luther, 'So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead' [2:17].[11] Carranza makes very extensive use of quotation from Scripture in his *Commentaries*, and in this case he supports his argument by citing Paul's epistle to the Galatians: 'For in Christ Jesus … the only thing that counts is faith working [or 'made effective'] through love [5:6]'. Carranza admits that 'St Paul sometimes says (*San Pablo algunas*

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[7]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 129–429.

[8]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 433–559, ii, 3–160 (part 2), 11, 163–351 (part 3).

[9]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 355–498.

[10]   This material will be considered more fully in Edwards, *Spanish reformation of religion, 1400–1600* (Oxford University Press), forthcoming.

[11]   All Bible quotations are in the New Revised Standard Version, Anglicized edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1989] 1995).

veces dice), "The one who is righteous will live by faith [Carranza has 'lives' (*vive*) in the present tense]"' [Galatians 3:11], but the overall argument of this prominent passage in the *Commentaries* is that there are two types, or states (*estados*) of faith. In the first state, faith exists on its own, without the other Christian virtues, hope and charity (love). Christians in this condition may potentially be in a state of mortal sin, so that their faith comes under the condemnation of the apostle James, as 'dead'. Those in the second state of faith, on the other hand, who possess hope and charity as well, are compared by Carranza to the good tree of which Jesus speaks in Matthew's gospel, which produces only good fruit, just as a bad tree produces only bad fruit [7:17]. For Carranza, then, as long as faith is not contaminated by evil and sin, other virtues will inevitably accompany it.[12] Luther's notion of 'faith alone' is thus rejected, but the question remained of how the 'justification' of which Paul speaks may be achieved.

In his commentary on the second article of the creed, which concerns the second person of the Trinity, Carranza is absolutely clear that Jesus is the very centre and heart of the Church: 'Here we confess, and profess, Jesus our redeemer, who freed us from the power of sin and death, from the devil and from hell'.[13] The catechist's subsequent statement of his 'theology of the Cross', on which Christ was 'crucified for us' according to the Creeds, has just as much fervour in it as anything that Luther wrote on the subject.

> This article ['He was crucified (*crucifixus*)'] is the whole foundation of our religion and of our faith and on this basis is founded all religion, because what causes the most difficulty to man's understanding and to natural reason is the Cross of Jesus Christ, and to understand that in this, and in what happened for us on that piece of wood, consists our salvation, and that there is no other remedy by which men can be saved than the remedy of the cross.[14]

Previously, Carranza had insisted that:

> 'No-one should think … that the passion that Jesus Christ suffered was absorbed and was diminished by the union which [his] human nature possessed

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[12] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 136–9.

[13] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 179: 'Aquí confesamos y profesamos a Jesús redentor nuestro, que nos libró del poder del pecado y de la muerte, del diablo y del infierno'.

[14] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 215: 'Este artículo es todo el fundamento de nuestra religión y de nuestra fe, y así, fundado éste, está fundada toda la religión, porque lo que hace más dificultad al sentido del hombre y a la razón natural es la cruz de Jesucristo, y entender el hombre que en ella y en el que se puso en aquel palo por nosotros consiste nuestra salvación, y que no hay otro remedio para salvarse los hombres que el remedio de la cruz'.

with the divine person; his suffering from this was no less than if he had lacked such a union.[15]

Thus the catechist gave the fullest possible emphasis to the humanity of Christ, as well as the unique saving power of his death on the cross. In addition, despite his concern, which has already been noted, to distance himself from the reformers' stress on the need for faith 'alone' to gain salvation, he nonetheless states firmly, in an adapted quotation from John's gospel, that '[n]o-one *through his natural forces* [Carranza's additions are in italics] can come to me *crucified* unless drawn by my father … [6:44]'.[16] Nevertheless, although the writer emphasises the essential nature of the divine role in personal salvation, he thinks that the believer has to make an effort as well. Yet even this can only happen if God provides the necessary 'light', which he does primarily through the cross. Thus, in Carranza's opinion, the article of the creed which concerns Christ's passion and crucifixion is 'what makes man a Christian in substance' (*que hace al hombre en sustancia cristiano*)'. Not only that, but 'this article is the whole of and the very nature of the faith, because human reason has no part in it. ([e]ste artículo es todo y propio de la fe, porque la razón humana no tiene parte en él).[17]

In chapter 3 of the section on the part of the first article of the creed which refers to Jesus' passion and death on the cross, Carranza discusses the significance of these events as a satisfaction for the sins of humankind.

If you ask what the passion of Christ is in substance, I say that it was a full, complete and entire satisfaction in every way, which Jesus Christ made to God, for the offences which he had received from our sins. In suffering and dying, Christ repaid and satisfied the injury which we had done to God by sinning, and what he paid, by offering his blood and his life for us, not only equalled, but exceeded by far what we owed for our sins, although our debt was very great.

Referring in this passage to the statement in John's first epistle that Christ is the sacrifice (*satisfación*) for sins [2:2], Carranza makes a strong statement of the theology of the atonement.

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[15]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 214: 'Nadie piense … que la pasión que Jesuchristo padeció fue absorpta o fue disminuida por la unión que [su] naturaleza humana tenía a la persona divina; no fue por esto menos su pasión que si estuviese sin la dicha unión'.

[16]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 215: 'Ninguno *por sus fuerzas naturales* puede venir a mí *crucijado* si mi padre no le trae'.

[17]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 216; for the parallel debate on this topic in Italy, see Anne Overell, *Italian reform and English Reformations, c.1535–c.1585* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), especially pp. 17–39.

I say that the passion of Christ is [an act of] justice executed upon the Son of God, for our sins, because by this work God was repaid according to the rigour of justice, for the debt which we incurred through sinning.[18]

Thus Christ's passion and death were a most acceptable sacrifice to God, which redeemed the entire human race (literally 'lineage', *el linaje humano*), and which entirely fulfilled the precepts of the Law of Moses. Christians should respond to Christ's sacrifice with 'feeling' (*sentimiento*) and weeping (*llanto*), 'as living stones built on this foundation (*como piedras vivas, edificadas sobre este fundamento*').[19] In his lengthy commentary on this article of the creed, Carranza says that Christians should react to the story of Christ's passion, as recounted by the evangelists and read in churches, by considering the extraordinary status of the man who thus suffered, the motives and actions of those who inflicted the passion, and the degree and nature of the suffering which it involved. The writer is clear that Jesus was fully human in his suffering.[20] In his ample commentary on the fifth article of the creed, which refers to Christ's resurrection, Carranza adds that the resurrection was wholly necessary for the achievement of the justification of humankind, as St Paul stated in the first epistle to the Corinthians: '… if Christ has not been raised, then our proclamation has been in vain and your faith has been in vain' [15:14]. Thus, while he determinedly asserts traditional Catholic teaching on the necessity for Christians to co-operate actively in the process of their own salvation, he proclaims as strongly as possible the all-justifying and unmerited sacrifice of Christ on the cross.[21] It remains to be seen how this interpretation was worked out in that other main battle-ground of Christians in Mary's reign, the Eucharist or Mass.

While it was possible to argue, as Carranza's enemies in Spain later did before the Inquisition, that the Dominican's views on justification had at least a Protestant tinge, the same cannot be said for his treatment of what he describes as the 'sacrament of Communion (*sacramento de la comunión*)'.[22] In this crucial case, Carranza comes down forcefully on the

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[18] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 226: 'Si preguntáis qué es en sustancia la pasión de Cristo, digo que fue una satisfación llana, cumplida, entera por todas partes, que hizo Jesucristo a Dios por las ofensas que había recibido de nuestros pecados. Recompensó Cristo y satisfizo, padeciendo y muriendo, la injuria que habíamos hecho los hombres a Dios pecando, y lo que él pagó ofreciendo su sangre y su vida por nosotros, no solamente iqualó pero sobró mucho a lo que debíamos por nuestros pecados, aunque la deuda nuestra era muy grande. … Digo que la pasión de Cristo es una justicia ejecutada en el Hijo de Dios, por nuestros pecados, porque fue con esta obra pagado Dios en rigor de justicia, por la deuda que hecimos pecando'.

[19] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 223.

[20] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 229–40.

[21] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 265–92, at 288.

[22] For Carranza's views on the Mass and its reception see also Edwards, 'Experiencing the Mass anew in Mary I's England: Bartolomé Carranza's "Little treatise", *Reformation*

side of the doctrine of transubstantiation, as the heart of the doctrine of the Mass, in which Christians are given:

> food to sustain and conserve the spiritual life which we receive in baptism. Because in this sacrament, which is administered on the altar, is contained really and truly the true body and the true blood of Jesus Christ under these figures of material bread and wine which we see with our corporal eyes. And the body of Jesus Christ contained under these figures is the same in substance as was born from the Virgin Mary, his mother, and the same that suffered for our redemption on the cross and rose again on the third day, and forty days later ascended to the heavens, and is now at the right side of God the Father.[23]

This statement leaves no room for doubt that Carranza fully shared in Queen Mary's heartfelt policy of restoring the traditional rite for celebrating the Eucharist, and its traditional ritual and doctrinal interpretation. In his *Commentaries*, he adds a series of passages containing details of how it should be celebrated.[24] Closely related, and at least as controversial, were the questions of penance, purgatory and indulgences.

Carranza broaches the subject of Christian confession and pardon in his discussion of the tenth article of the Apostles' Creed, '[I believe in] the forgiveness of sins'. He begins by stating that the Catholic Church on earth, governed by the Holy Spirit, has the power to forgive sins, through its properly designated ministers. He states equally clearly that this power of true pardon is wholly the work of God's omnipotence, and not of human clergy. In particular, Jesus himself bequeathed this full power of pardon to the Church, just as he himself had possessed it, and the method which the Church used to carry out this commission was sacramental. Firstly, baptism was instituted for the washing away of existing sins. Those who did not sin again, after baptism, had no need of further provision, but for most Christians, who did commit further sins in later life, it had been necessary to ordain the sacrament of penance and reconciliation.[25] This is the fourth of the seven sacraments, which Carranza treats more fully

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and Renaissance Review, 9.3 (2007), pp. 265–76, and 'Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda's "Little treatise on how to attend Mass (1555)": a translation', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 11.1 (2009), pp. 91–120.

[23] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 203: ' … manjar para sustentar y conservar la vida espiritual que recibimos en el baptismo. Porque este sacramento, que se administra en el altar, contiene real y verdaderamente el cuerpo verdadero y la sangre verdadera de Jesucristo debajo de aquellas figuras de pan material y vino que vemos con los ojos corporales. Y el cuerpo de Jesucristo contenido debajo de ellas es el mismo en sustancia que nació de la Virgen María, su madre, y el mismo que padeció por nuestra redención en la cruz, y y resucitó al tercero día, y despues a las cuarenta díassubió a los cielos, y agora está a la diestra de Dios Padre.'

[24] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 203–30.

[25] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 391–7.

in its proper place, giving it almost twice as much space as the preceding
sacrament of Holy Communion. For Carranza, the basic definition of
penitence (*penitencia*) is the 'conversion of man to God, from whom he
had separated himself by sin (*conversión del hombre a Dios, del cual se
había apartado por el pecado*)'.[26] He adds that such a conversion truly
occurs when we (Carranza frequently uses the first person plural in his
Commentaries) 'abhor [these] sins from the heart, as offences against God
(*de corazón aborrecemos los pecados por ser ofensas de Dios*)', grieve
at these sins and are determined not to sin again, and instead to lead a
better life in future: 'This the Church calls penitence (*Esto llama la Iglesia
penitencia*)'.[27] Having given his customary patristic references to support
these statements, Carranza goes on to detail the methods by which the
sacrament is administered, setting out the Catholic forms and their rationale.
He indicates that the sacrament was instituted by Jesus himself, when he
entrusted the keys of heaven and hell to St Peter [Matthew 16:19], and
continues with an outline of the modes of internal and external penitence
which a sinful Christian should display. In the traditional manner, he
affirms the authority of the priest in the administration of this sacrament,
and describes in detail the associated practices and ceremonies, which had
indeed been restored in Marian England.[28]

In the following five 'chapters' of his discussion of sacramental
penance, Carranza considers it from the perspective of the individual
penitent, successively treating the associated ceremonies, the effects and
benefits of penitence, the way in which Christians should approach this
sacrament, and the manner in which such reconciliation to God and the
Church should be administered, including the need for priests who hear
confession to be suitable for the task. Finally, three chapters examine
necessary and important aspects of the subject of penance: contrition, oral
confession, and satisfaction. 'Contrition' is defined as 'a pain which a man
has in his heart for all his past sins, with the purpose of confessing them
to the Church *(un dolor que tiene el hombre en el corazón de todos los
pecados pasados, con propósito de confesarlos a la Iglesia*)', the important
thing being that there should be a genuine intention on the sinner's part
to amend his or her life.[29] This 'pain' (*dolor*) is contrition, and is the
'highest' kind of pain, because it is offered to God and makes release
and reconciliation possible. The conditions for achieving this are hard,
however. Not only must the sinner's confession of sin be complete, and
without reservation, but there must also be forgiveness of all insult and

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[26] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 230.
[27] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 230–31.
[28] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 231–40.
[29] Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 253–4.

injury which the penitent had received from others. Men and women have to be judged by three 'tribunals', firstly that of conscience, which should be approached humbly, secondly spoken confession, in the form laid down by the Church, and thirdly satisfaction, which should be made to God, and also to those offended by the penitent.[30]

During his discussion of oral, or vocal, confession, Carranza confronts what he describes as two objections by 'heretics' against the Catholic practice of the sacrament of penance. The first is that it had been, and was being, abused on numerous occasions, which Carranza admits, though he argues that such ill deeds in no way detracted from the 'goodness and truth of the sacrament (*bondad y verdad del sacramento*)'. Whatever the reformers might say, confession should be made in the traditional form, though Christians should neither just save up their sins for the basic annual confession before Easter communion, nor make frequent confession of trivial matters: balance was everything. The second objection of the 'heretics', against which Carranza argues, is that the discipline is too severe, since Jesus said that his yoke was easy and his burden light [Matthew 11:30]. To this the Navarrese Dominican responds that it is true that vocal confession is troublesome (*molesta*) for some, but the problem here is not the confession itself but the sin that has led to it. This comment is typical of Carranza's robust pastoral approach, though he goes on to stress that Christ instituted this sacrament not only to remedy sins but also for the consolation of souls. In the case of the 'tribunal' of satisfaction by the sinner, the writer again confronts 'heretical' objections. According to him, 'modern' heretics argue against the Catholic discipline in this area, firstly on the grounds that the burden of sin is so great that ordinary human beings cannot make any satisfaction to God. Given his previously expressed position on faith and 'works', it is not surprising that Carranza here counters that our works are fully part of the satisfaction required by God, and therefore both valid and essential. From this it follows that he rejects the second objection of the 'heretics' which is that the sacrifice of Christ is all-sufficient, arguing that individual 'works' are as necessary as faith in such a case.[31]

The fate of the doctrine of purgatory, together with its attendant indulgences, in the sixteenth century has been much discussed in recent years, and attention is increasingly being given to the subject, in the context of the Marian restoration of Catholicism.[32] When William Wizeman considered Carranza's treatment of the subject in his *Commentaries*, he noted that although Catholic theologians in that reign 'wanted purgatory

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[30]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 257–66, 269–82.
[31]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 228–69, 83–287.
[32]   Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 114–23.

and prayer for the dead to have a significant place', there was none the less some ambiguity in the manner in which they presented these teachings. In particular, he remarked that: '[I]n his catechism, Carranza treated purgatory with equal brevity [to the works of Bishops Edmund Bonner and Thomas Watson], giving only a clear, succinct definition and remarking that the mass was beneficial for the dead.'[33]

Like most other Marian Catholic writers, Carranza nowhere provides, in his *Commentaries*, a detailed, let alone a lurid, description of purgatory, as had been customary earlier. He does, however, raise the subject in the context of the fifth article of the Creed, which refers to Christ's descent into hell. Having accepted, on the basis of patristic sources, that Christ, after his death on the cross, descended in person to hell, not as a prisoner but as a conqueror, Carranza does, however, admit that the gospel-writers make no reference to such an event. He finds support for the idea of purgatory in other parts of Scripture, and in particular in Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, in which he understands the apostle to say that Jesus descended into hell, before he ascended into heaven:

> When it says he ascended, what does it mean but that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth. He who descended is the same one who ascended far above all the heavens, so that he might fill all things [4:9–10].

At this point, Carranza makes no explicit reference to the 'intermediate' stage of purgatory, and neither does he discuss the subject in the second and third parts of the *Commentaries*, on the sacraments and the Lord's prayer respectively. In Part 4, however, he does consider the matter, firstly in the context of alms-giving, as a 'corporal work of mercy' and secondly as part of a consideration of memorials and 'perpetual' foundations, such as chantries.

In the first of these passages, Carranza begins by stating firmly that 'To bury the dead is a work approved as good in Holy Scripture (*Enterrar los muertos es obra aprobada por buena en la Escritura Santa*)'. He adds an interesting comment, in the context of sixteenth-century disputes over beliefs and practices concerning the dead:

> But, although this is so, there is no justification for the ambition which many have to build sumptuous tombs, who spend on covering the dead bones of their parents and relatives the money that they should have given so that the living bodies of the poor may be visited. For the dead body, the proper clothing is the earth. For the living bodies of the poor need the cloths, and the silks, and the

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[33]   Wizeman, *Theology and spirituality*, pp. 245, 246. See also Wizeman, 'The pope, the saints and the dead: uniformity of doctrine in Carranza's *Catechismo* and the printed works of the Marian theologians', in Edwards and Truman, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 115–37.

gold and the silver which those who are ambitious for the glory of the world spend on dressing dead bodies and their tombs.[34]

This point of view was clearly shared by many of the reformers who took an anti-Roman perspective, and it implicitly questions the system of suffrage Masses. This train of thought was developed in Carranza's discussion of memorials and pious foundations, which concludes the *Commentaries*.

He begins this section by affirming that 'The best and the most fruitful alms are those which are given in life (*La mejor y la más fructuosa limosna es la que se hace en vida*)'. Memorial endowments are acceptable from those who have failed to do charitable deeds in their lifetime, 'through weakness of faith or malice (*por flaqueza de fe o por malicia*)', but Carranza suspects that such people do good only because they realise that they cannot take their earthly wealth with them when they die. Thus although the endowment of pious foundations to give alms is 'praiseworthy, pious and religious (*loable y pía y religiosa*)', it should only be done when there are no social needs to be met among the living. So this writer prefers that the rich should give alms during their own lifetime, to those around them who are in need. The priority is to look after the poor of one's own day, rather than giving money to pay for prayers for ancestors, or one's own soul. Such anxieties may betray a lack of proper religious faith on the part of the donor.[35] This was radical talk, and opened the way to Carranza's subsequent prosecution by the Inquisition, in Spain and Rome.

Once his trial began, in Valladolid in August 1559, Friar Bartolomé based his defence not only on his doctrinal orthodoxy, but also on his record of opposition to 'heresy' during his time in England.[36] In his *Commentaries*, he naturally considers the question of heresy under the heading of the ninth article of the Creed, '[I believe] in one holy, Catholic and apostolic Church'. Carranza initially divides the Church into two, the 'Church Triumphant', which is 'that assembly of fortunate souls which reigns in heaven with Christ (*aquel ayuntamiento de almas bienaventuradas que reinan en el cielo con Cristo*)", and the 'Church Militant', which is 'the whole assembly of the faithful who are on earth (*todo el ayuntamiento de fieles que están en la tierra*)'. The triumphant Church in heaven is that of

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[34]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 474: 'Pero por ser esto así, no se justifica la ambición que muchos tienen de hacer suntuosos sepulcros, los cuales gastan en cubrir los cuerpos muertos de sus padres y los suyos lo que habían de dar para que se vistiesen los cuerpos vivos de los pobres. Para el cuerpo muerto, la propria vestidura es la tierra. Para los cuerpos vivos de los pobres, son menester los paños, y las sedas, y el oro y la plata que los ambiciosos de la gloria del mundo gastan en vestir los cuerpos muertos y sus sepulcros'.

[35]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 2, 496–8.

[36]   Tellechea, 'A Spanish Dominican in England', pp. 24–5; Wizeman, *Theology and spirituality*, pp. 148–57.

which the 'elder' says, in the book of Revelation (Apocalypse): '… and God will wipe away every tear from their eyes [7:17 pt 2]'. The militant Church, on the other hand, is so described because its members, who are the main concern of this article of the Creed, 'fight here [on earth] against the enemies whom we have mentioned [the 'heretics'] and against all the power of hell (*pelean aquí con los enemigos que habemos dicho y con toda la potencia del infierno*).[37] Within this militant, earthly Church, Carranza includes all who profess the Christian faith and practise the sacraments. Thus he rejects Protestant ideas of the Church as being restricted to the gathering of God's 'elect', and repeatedly affirms that it includes good and bad people alike. Until the last judgement by God, all these people, whatever their moral state, are and will be included in Christ's Church, which is 'a congregation of men which makes a mystical body, formed and governed by one spirit, which is the Holy Spirit (*una congregación de hombres que hacen un cuerpo místico, formado y gobernado por un espííritu, que es el Espíritu Santo*)'. For Carranza, it is inconceivable that there should be more than one Church, and that is why it must contain both 'good' and 'bad' people.

> This republic [of the faithful], and this Church, always had, and will have until the end of the world, many bad people mixed with the good, and all are parts and members of the mystical body, although differently. Just as in a man's natural body there are some good and healthy members, and other sick ones, and sometimes it happens that there are some rotten members, [and] others [which are] dried-up and completely dead, … sometimes it is fitting that they should be cut off, so that the whole body may not become sick and die, the illness passing from the sick members to the healthy ones; at other times they are suffered [to continue], because they cannot be cut off without endangering the whole body, and while they are tolerated without being cut off, they are still parts of that body [the Church].[38]

It is in the context of these 'dried-up' and 'dead' members of Christ's Body that the question arises of the identification and repression of heresy.

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[37]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 370–71.
[38]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 273, 274: 'Esta república y esta Iglesia tuvo siempre, y tendrá hasta el fin del mundo, con los buenos, mezclados muchos malos, y todos son partes y miembros del cuerpo místico, aunque diferentemente Así como en el cuerpo natural del hombre hay unos miembros buenos y sanos, otros enfermos, y algunas veces sucede que hay unos miembros podridos, otros secos y muertos del todo, a éstas unas veces conviene cortarlos, porque no enferme o muera todo el cuerpo, pasando el mal de los miembros enfermos a los sanos; otras veces se sufren, porque no se pueden cortar sin peligro de todo el cuerpo y mientras se toleran sin cortarlos, siempre son partes y miembros de aquel cuerpo … '

In the first preface to his *Commentaries*, addressed to King Philip, Carranza already alerts his sovereign to his duty to repress heresy in his many territories.[39] The subject is more fully discussed in the commentary on the article of the Creed concerning the Catholic Church. In the fourth chapter of this section, Carranza affirms that in the world there are in fact *two* churches (not apparently the militant and triumphant Churches mentioned above), the Catholic Church and the church of Satan, the devil. The first is of course the true one, under the authority of the See of Peter in Rome, while the other, false one may be seen in the heresies which luxuriate in the Europe of 1558.

> The Church of Christ is catholic and universal since its faith and religion are generally proclaimed throughout the world. It is universal in the ages, because our ancestors in the past held the same religion, and no other Church has antiquity like that of Christ. It has held continuous and uniform succession of doctrine and tradition, because it has come down from hand to hand since the time of the Apostles, until our times. There are none of these things in the other churches which Satan raises up … And we will not find them in the church of those who are called Lutherans, and less in the churches of the sacramentarians or anabaptists.[40]

Given this blanket rejection of the validity of several streams of reform, the fate which should, in Carranza's eyes, await 'heretics', in Mary's England as elsewhere, may be readily imagined and anticipated. In his commentary on the first commandment of the Mosaic law, 'You shall have no other gods before me' [Exodus 20:3], the Navarrese friar issues a warning to the 'heretics' of his day, for using the power of the devil to mislead the Christian people. To this former adviser to the Inquisition in Valladolid, only the repressive apparatus of the Catholic Church could properly deal with such people.[41]

It was noted above that Carranza defines the true church of Christ as being the one which owed obedience to the See of Rome. Given that a lively debate developed in recent years among Tudor historians, and particularly between Lucy Wooding and William Wizeman, over the extent to which Marian English writers were willing to support the claims of the Papacy

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[39]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 106–7.

[40]   Carranza, *Comentarios*,1, 389–90: 'La Iglesia de Cristo es católicy universal, que su fe y su religión generalmente se profesa en el mundo. Es universal en los tiempos, porque la misma religión tuvieron los pasados nuestros mayores, y ninguna otra Iglesia tiene antigüedad como la de Cristo. Ha contínua y uniforme sucesión de la doctrina y tradición, porque han venido de mano en mano desde el tiempo de los Apóstoles, hasta estos nuestros tiempos. Ninguna cosa de estas hay en las otras que levanta Satanás. … Y no las hallaremos en la iglesia de los que se llaman luteranos, y menos en las iglesias de los sacramentarios ni anabaptistas'.

[41]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 454.

to supremacy, it is interesting to examine the views of the Spaniard who was commissioned to write a standard catechism for the English Church.[42] In opposition to Wooding's view, that the Marian Catholics, influenced by the Henrician legacy, tended to downplay the spiritual importance of the restoration of papal authority, Wizeman rightly adduced Carranza's *Commentaries* in support of the contrary view. The synod of London, under Cardinal Pole's leadership, reaffirmed papal primacy, and it was natural that Carranza should do the same. For him, Christ had conferred on Peter the authority both to rule and to teach the Church.[43] In his discussion of the credal article on the Catholic Church, the Spanish friar states his position unequivocally:

> [The Church] is one and catholic; all of it has one head in heaven, who is Christ, and a vicar on earth. The first [such vicar] was Peter and afterwards his successors in the Church of Rome, and thus it is now, and it will be, until the end of the world, the bishop who is in Rome at the time.[44]

In this respect, there can be absolutely no doubt about the view of the man whom Pole and the rest of the English hierarchy had entrusted with the composition of the summary of the Christian faith and ecclesiastical practice which was meant to guide the kingdom's clergy and laity in future. This stout affirmation and defence of Papal primacy did not, however, mean that Carranza was uncritical of individual occupants of that office. Well before he began to compose his *Commentaries* on the catechism, he had preached on this subject before the King and Queen at Court in Westminster. The occasion was the feast of St Peter, 29 June 1555, with Pope Paul IV Carafa only recently elected, and no obvious sign as yet of what would prove to be a bitter conflict between this pope and the Habsburgs, in which England would inevitably become entangled. In this sermon, which would later be critically examined as part of his trial by the Inquisition, Carranza duly affirmed the office of Pope, as conferred by Christ Himself, but warned that if its occupant lacked the faith which Peter

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[42]   Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 127–33 and Wooding, 'The Marian restoration and the language of Catholic reform, in Edwards and Truman, *Reforming Catholicism*, pp. 49–64; Wizeman, *Theology and spirituality*, pp. 127–36.

[43]   Wizeman, *Theology and spirituality*, p. 129.

[44]   Carranza, *Commentaries*, 1, 389: '[La Iglesia] es una y católica; toda ella tiene una cabeza en el cielo, que es Cristo, y un vicario en la tierra. El primero fue S[an] Pedro, y después los sucesores suyos en la Iglesia de Roma, y así lo es agora, y lo será hasta la fin del mundo el obispo que por tiempo fuere de Roma'.

had confessed in Christ as Saviour, he would thereby lose this position in the Church.[45] Later in the sermon he added, strikingly:

> The Church is not of Peter but of Christ. Peter is not the lord of the Church but Christ. The Lord of this flock is Christ; Peter and the other bishops are the ministers and pastors … Whoever makes the prelates of the Churches into lords, and gives them dominion, when they are only ministers, has done as much damage to the Church with this error as one of the biggest errors of Luther. Only Christ has this dominion, it is part of His inheritance, no-one else can inherit it.[46]

In the process of outlining Christian doctrine in his catechism, Carranza pronounced, in passing, on several other topics which were controversial, among them clerical marriage, the requirement for clergy to reside in their livings, the use of vernacular scripture, and attitudes to religious images and relics of the saints. In the case of clerical celibacy, the friar Carranza, perhaps unsurprisingly, took a conservative view, while the not unprecedented demand that clerics should personally perform the duties for which they were paid was a particular hobby-horse of his. During the first phase of the Council of Trent, he had published a powerful treatise in Latin on this very subject, for the consideration of the assembled fathers.[47] Carranza's views on the use of vernacular scripture are pragmatic.[48] He approves the prohibition of the public distribution of such translations in Spain and England, on the grounds that they would spread heresy in those kingdoms. On the other hand, he was sympathetic to the application of the contrary policy in the Holy Roman Empire, because experience there, and even more in the Habsburg Netherlands, had shown him that it was sometimes necessary to counteract the publications of the reformers by allowing the bible to be read in the vernacular. While in the case of England he generally took a

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[45]   Tellechea, 'Cuatro sermones inéditos de Carranza en Inglaterra', in Tellechea, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole. Un navarro en la restauración católica de Inglaterra (1554–1558)* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, Institución Príncipe de Viana, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1977), pp. 353–88, at pp. 360, 383.

[46]   Tellechea, 'Cuatro sermones', p. 384: 'La Iglesia no es de Pedro, sino de Cristo. Pedro no es señor de la Iglesia, sino Cristo. El señor deste ganado es Cristo; los ministros y pastores son Pedro y los otros obispos. … Quien hace señores a los perlados de las Iglesias y les da dominio, no teniendo sino solo ministerio, ha hecho con este error tanto daño a la Iglesia como uno de los mayores errores de Lutero,' [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 12921, fols 160–66r].

[47]   Carranza, *Controversia de necessaria residenctia personali episcoporum et aliorum inferiorum pastorum …* (Venice: Ad Signum Spei, 1547), edited in facsimile, with a Spanish translation, by Tellechea as *Controversia sobre la necesaria residencia personal de los obispos y de los otros pastores inferiores* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española and Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1994).

[48]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 109–15; Edwards, 'Spanish religious influence in Marian England', in Duffy and Loades, *Church of Mary Tudor*, pp. 201–24, at p. 219.

view on vernacular scripture similar to Henry VIII's in his more conservative moments, when it came to religious images he was as zealous as Mary's father in urging bishops to crack down on the 'abuse' of such artefacts. At the same time, while condoning the veneration of relics, he says very little about them, and seems not to have regarded them as a high priority.[49]

As has already been noted, Carranza was never to see his *Commentaries* adopted by the English Church, though despite his lengthy trial (1559–76) and only partial rehabilitation, which was eventually ordered in the year of his death, by Pope Gregory XIII, his catechetical work offers interesting and important insights into a reformed Catholicism, which might in other circumstances have come to predominate in England, and was indeed adopted at Trent.[50] Carranza had brought to England, in 1554, a deep involvement in Catholic reform, always clerically led and based on tradition, which had begun for him in his native Spain and had been further developed by his active involvement in the first two periods of the Council of Trent.[51] The catechism which was commissioned from him by the English synod of 1555–6 came in a line of other such productions by his Spanish contemporaries, including Diego Ximénez, Felipe de Meneses, Domingo de Soto, Domingo de Valtanás and Luis de Granada, who were all friars.[52] At Trent, Carranza had met equivalent Italian currents of reform, coming to know Pole in this context, with the result that both men brought with them to England a deep and committed personal knowledge of what had already been decided there by 1554. Even though the relevant decrees – on scripture and tradition, original sin, justification, the sacraments, the Eucharist, penance and unction for the sick, and priestly orders – would not be formally promulgated for another 10 years, they clearly underlay what was done during the Catholic restoration

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[49]   Carranza, *Comentarios*, 1, 467–75; on this question, the Spanish Dominican's attitude appears to contrast with that of his friend Pole (see Mayer, 'Becket's bones burnt! Cardinal Pole and the invention and dissemination of an atrocity', in *Martyrs and martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700*, (eds) Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 126–43, although Thomas Becket was a specially polemical case because of his defiance of the Crown).

[50]   The Spanish role, and particularly that of Carranza, will be more fully considered in Edwards, *The Spanish reformation of religion, 1400–1600* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

[51]   Edwards, 'Spanish religious influence', p. 215.

[52]   Fray Diego Ximénez, *Enchiridion o manual de doctrina* (Lisbon, 1552; Antwerp 1554); Fray Felipe de Meneses, *Luz de alma christiana contra la ceguedad y ignorancia en lo que pertenece a la fe y ley de Dios* (Valladolid, 1554); Fray Domingo de Soto, *Summa de doctrina christiana* (Toledo, 1554); Fray Domingo de Valtanás, *Doctrina christiana* (Seville, 1555); Fray Luis de Granada, *Compendio de doctrina christiana*, in Portuguese (Lisbon, 1559); José-Ramón Guerrero, *Catecismos españoles del siglo XVI. La obra catequítica de Dr Constantino Ponce de la Fuente* (Madrid: Instituto Superior Pastoral, 1969), pp. 326–39.

under Mary.[53] A direct comparison, made years ago by Tellechea, between Pole's *Reformatio Angliae* in its 1562 version and Carranza's 'Formula' of 1558 for the visitation of the archdiocese of Toledo, shows close correspondence, including some identical, or almost identical, passages.[54] The Tridentine catechism, much of which was in fact written by him, would become Bartolomé Carranza's true memorial, also showing what might have been in the laboratory of Catholic reform which Mary's England almost became.[55] On 1 December 1554, the day after the absolution and reconciliation of the kingdom, Pole wrote a letter to his friend and sparring partner Gianpietro Carafa, who would soon be elected pope as Paul IV, expressing the view that Philip and Mary's kingdom provided a better prospect for the implementation of their reforming ideas than anywhere on the Continent.[56] Although Mary's premature death prevented this from happening, Carranza's ideas were shared by numerous English Catholic writers who published during her reign, and would influence for many years those who kept that faith alive abroad, and worked to restore it at home.[57] In Spain itself, on the other hand, Carranza's name and achievement could not be remembered and recognised until the late twentieth century, thanks to the shame of his trial, to which his king had abandoned him.

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[53]   Bernardino Llorca, 'Participación de España en el concilio de Trento', in *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, iii pt 1, *La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XV y XVI*, (ed.) Ricardo García-Villoslada (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1980), pp. 401–19, 437–46.

[54]   Tellechea, 'El formulario de visita pastoral de Bartolomé Carranza, arzobispo de Toledo', in Tellechea, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole*, pp. 303–51, including a transcription of Carranza's *Forma visitandi diocesim toletanam* at pp. 341–50.

[55]   On Carranza's influence over his native country, in this respect, see Pedro Rodríguez, *El catecismo romano ante Felipe II y la Inquisición española* (Madrid: Ediciones RIALP, 1998). The place of Mary's England in the mainstream Catholic reform of the mid to late sixteenth century is strongly asserted, at some length, in Wizeman, *Theology and spirituality*, and Duffy, *Fires of faith*, passim.

[56]   Mayer, *The correspondence of Reginald Pole*, ii, *A calendar, 1547–1554. A power in Rome* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 378 (no. 997).

[57]   For a full discussion of these English writers, see Wizeman, *Theology and spirituality*, passim.

PART III
Trent and its Impact

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German Catholics, Catholic Sermons, and Roman Catholicism in Reformation Germany: Reconfiguring Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire

John M. Frymire

Introduction

In narrative histories and textbooks of the German Reformation, as well as in those of the more broadly conceived European "Reformation Era," German Catholicism remains the ugly stepchild hidden beneath the stairs that no one wants to discuss—at least in the phases of its infancy and adolescence, before it grew up and flourished as the *ecclesia militans* of the counter-reformation Church during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only then, scholars concur, did German Catholics achieve successes parallel to those of English and German Protestant states, of Catholic polities such as Spain and France, and of the post-Tridentine Roman Church itself. Only then did German Catholic leaders, following more or less the dictates laid out at the Council of Trent and with the help of papal nuncios and others hailing primarily from Italy, The Netherlands, and Spain, manage to reform their ranks and produce a better educated and more disciplined clergy. This in turn fostered the eventual formation of a more pious, obedient, and consciously "Catholic" laity which, like their Protestant counterparts, slowly interiorized their faith and thus became better, more authentic, Christians.

Not that all was rosy when 1599 suddenly became 1600, or when Jesuits arrived, or when seminaries were erected, or when episcopal sees throughout the Empire began to be filled by educated, pious churchmen, many of whom were indoctrinated just a stone's throw from St. Peter's at the *Collegium Germanicum*. That German Catholics began to "achieve successes" refers not to an abrupt about-face but rather to the fact that they now had joined other territories and religious confessions in that slow

process of state-sponsored Christianization known as "confessionalization" (*Konfessionalisierung*).[1]

The confessionalization paradigm has dominated scholarship since the 1980s and as such has provided the galley-ships on which several generations of graduate students have labored in order to further and refine the theses of their mentors. What the captains of these vessels could not foresee, perhaps, was the inevitable mutiny that resulted when, as is the case with any historical paradigm, the broad theses developed in a few limited contexts were tested in increasingly detailed and nuanced circumstances.[2] Which is not to suggest that the fleet has been sunk. There is no doubt, however, that the one-sided, top-down model of confessional state formation and social discipline emphasized in the confessionalization thesis has been dealt a serious blow by increasing numbers of studies which emphasize both resistance "from below" and the constant process of negotiation between rulers and all ranks of their subjects, especially common women and men in the villages.[3] Indeed, one of the paradigm's major architects, Heinz Schilling, could not dare to speak as boldly today as he did several decades ago: "'Confessionalization' constitutes the most important historical process of the epoch."[4]

One could certainly claim, however, that in an age of secular and ecumenicist historians the paradigm has much to recommend itself, not least because it treats Catholic regions on equal terms with their Lutheran

[1]	The literature on this subject is massive. See (with bibliography) Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1992), esp. pp. 86–122. More recent (and the best discussion in English) are the essays in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor of Bodo Nischan*, (eds) John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas (Aldershot, 2004), esp. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., 'Confessionalization — The Career of a Concept', pp. 1–20.

[2]	Nor has it been limited to studies of the Empire. See for example Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Die doppelte Konfessionalisierung in Irland: Konflikt und Koexistenz im 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2000). See, too, the essay by Peter Marshall in this volume.

[3]	Critiques of the confessionalization thesis have come from many directions, e.g. Heinrich Richard Schmidt, 'Sozialdisziplinierung? Ein Plädoyer für das Ende des Etatismus in der Konfessionalisierungsforschung', *Historische Zeitschrift* 265 (1997): pp. 639–82. For German Catholic lands see Marc Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge, 2001). See, too, Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400–1650* (Cambridge, 2009), esp. pp. 258 and 317f. Perceptive as to why the methods of micro-historians produce critiques of the thesis is Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'The Concept of 'Confessionalization': A Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute', *Memoria y Civilización* 4 (2001): pp. 93–114. Many of the essays in *Confessionalization in Europe*, (ed.) Headley et al., offer and discuss criticisms as well.

[4]	Heinz Schilling, 'Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620', in Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society. Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 205–45; here p. 207.

and Reformed antagonists, i.e., regardless of religious confession, polities within the Empire all underwent the same historical process. From a Catholic perspective, equal treatment was especially welcome given the traditional contrast between Reformation and Counter-Reformation. "No longer marginalized as traditional and even reactionary, the Catholic Church became a confessionalizing institution and thus part of what many historians consider the essential development in the early modern period: the rise of the modern state."[5]

Equal treatment guaranteed that Catholic territories within the Empire were now the subjects of in-depth studies. At the same time, nearly all scholars have continued to focus on the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, as a result, reinforced an older tradition in which German Catholicism between Luther's advent (1517) and the "Baroque" or "Restoration" Church (ca. post-1600 or thereafter) has been neglected or marginalized or caricatured.[6] This period in Catholic Germany—from roughly 1520 to 1590—is precisely that which I wish to address in this essay. My concern is not for the Imperial Church as a whole, nor as an institution per se, for that topic has been covered enough and its failings could only be expected, given its state on the eve of the Reformation and due to the unique positioning of the Imperial Church's religious and political spheres relative to other European lands. I will touch on more mundane topics like preaching and genres of literature, i.e., the monotonous but regular work of parish priests as well as the theologically educated elites and the printers who provided them materials for preaching. Regardless of what Catholic princes and bishops were doing (or failing to do) at imperial diets or as administrators within their territories and dioceses, the routine business of parish life slogged on. Such business was less glamorous and is for the historian often without drama (or surviving documents for that matter), but without it no reform or doctrine ever could have had any impact. What I will argue, in fact, is that seen from the perspective of the sermons that priests regularly delivered to their congregations throughout this period, German Catholics responded to the Reformation in forceful ways while constantly hammering into their parishioners the basic contents of, and reasons for, their Catholic faith.

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[5] Forster, *Catholic Revival*, p. 14.

[6] *Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993*, (eds) Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (Münster, 1995); Thomas Paul Becker, *Konfessionalisierung in Kurköln: Untersuchungen zur Durchsetzung der katholischen Reform in den Dekanaten Ahrgau und Bonn anhand von Visitationsprotokollen 1583–1761* (Bonn, 1989); Marc R. Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages. Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca, 1992); numerous other studies listed in Schmidt, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 134–9.

At the same time, the very idea of what constituted this "Catholicism" in Germany has not been easy to pin down. The constitution of the idea—and thus the conclusions reached—has been contingent on the priorities and vantage points of historians who have studied the later medieval and reformation eras, which they did with vigor beginning in the nineteenth century. Since then they have debated the very terms one might employ to select, organize, and describe their sources. Did early modern Catholic Germany have a "Catholic Reformation," a "Counter Reformation," a "Catholic Restoration," "Catholic Renewal," or simply yet another one of the "reformations" that had sprung up within the "true (i.e., Roman Catholic) Church" since the eleventh century? My point is not to enter yet again the arena recently mocked by Simon Ditchfield as "the now hackneyed Punch-and-Judy show that is the Counter- versus Catholic Reformation debate."[7] I would insist, however, that when Ditchfield ridiculed that Punch-and-Judy show he also joined the cast of characters by employing a concept no less loaded, "Roman Catholicism in the early modern period." For what made "Catholicism" particularly "Roman" was a process no less historical than what had made most of Protestant Germany "Lutheran." In Germany, at least, there had been Catholics long before one finds many that identified themselves as specifically "Roman" ones.

This fact points to another problem, one that involves questions of terminology but only in order to get closer to a historical understanding of the historiographical conundrum that is "Catholic Germany" during most of the sixteenth century. We might do well to worry less about terms like "Catholic or Counter-Reformation" and "early modern Catholicism," and consider more seriously what is meant by "Catholic" when we talk about the Holy Roman Empire before the seventeenth century. When historians have done so, they have usually used Rome and/or Trent as a litmus test or frame of reference. This is especially unfortunate because, in the process, they have often forgotten an issue as fundamental to historical research as chronology and, as a result, evaluated the situation in Germany anachronistically. In most cases they have found so little that qualified as "Catholic" in Germany before 1600 that, in their treatments of "early modern Catholicism" (i.e., in Europe), they have ignored Germany almost

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[7]   Simon Ditchfield, 'Of Dancing Cardinals and Mistizo Madonnas: Reconfiguring the History of Roman Catholicism in the Early Modern Period', *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004): pp. 387–408; here p. 387. There are several newer discussions of the rise and use of these terms from Ranke through the recent past. The best is John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That. Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000). Also useful is Guy Bedouelle, *The Reform of Catholicism, 1480–1620* [Paris, 2002], trans. and annotated by James K. Farge (Toronto, 2008), pp. 4–13; because the French edition lacked any and all documentation, the footnotes added by Farge make his translation preferable to Bedouelle's original.

completely. There has been something of a renaissance in English-language scholarship on these themes, but none of the useful and recent overviews say much about Catholic Germany.[8] The same can be said of the basic reference works, textbooks, and studies of early modern preaching.[9] Finally, Robert Miola has just given us over 600 pages of translated documents on "early modern Catholicism," but not one of his sources comes from the Holy Roman Empire.[10] Had a similar collection been published around 1900, this would not have been the case. That is why a few historiographical observations are in order.

From German Catholics to Roman Catholicism

When learned Catholic and Protestant lexica that treated church history began to appear around 1850, their terminological preferences betrayed historical and confessional ones. Hence when referring to what we now call the sixteenth-century "reformations," the Catholic *Kirchenlexikon* (1847ff.) followed the lead of Luther's Catholic contemporaries by simply denying the term to anything and everything Protestant. The Augustinian preacher Johannes Hoffmeister (d. 1547) wielded what had become an old saw when he attacked the "new prophets" for "promising to reform the church and, in the process, *de*-forming it" (*deformieren*).[11] Catholic historians agreed. Thus in the first and subsequent editions of their *Kirchenlexikon*, the editors chose to omit an article titled *Gegenreformation* and instead included aspects of the Counter Reformation within the entry "Reformation of the Church," by which they meant the Roman Catholic Church. The whole point of the article was to cover "Catholic" reform from the medieval councils through Lateran V (1512–1517) and Trent (1545–1563), and to repossess the term "reformation" even while acknowledging a "Lutheran" and a "Calvinist"

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[8]   Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1600* (Washington D.C., 1999); Michael A. Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation* (London, 1999); R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770* (1998; 2nd edn Cambridge, 2005). To this group I would add the essays in the *Festschrift* for John W. O'Malley, S.J., which do indeed bring out the variety, vitality, and complexity of Catholicism in seemingly every land *except* those within the Empire: *Early Modern Catholicism*, (eds) Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto, 2001).

[9]   Examples and discussion in John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 45f. and nn. 127, 129, 130.

[10]   Robert S. Miola, *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Sources* (Oxford, 2007). The Netherlandish Erasmus, who was active in German and Swiss lands for many years, is the closest Miola gets.

[11]   Repeated twice in his popular collection of sermons, *Predig vber die Suntäglichen Euangelien des gantzen Jars* (Ingolstadt, 1549), pp. 138c and 217b.

one; it turns out, merely, that both were "false reformations" that started as legitimate complaints against abuses and turned heretical in their rejection of dogmas. Only Catholics and especially popes such as Adrian VI (d. 1523) sought a "true reformation of the Church" (*wahre Reformation der Kirche*), just as Trent was the only complete, legitimate, and thorough (*vollständige*) reformation of the Church. German Catholic historians had little use for the "Counter Reformation." When mentioned at all—which was rare—the term referred only to the most blatant instances of politico-military, aggressive *re*-Catholicization, and in Germany at that.[12] The second edition of this reference work (1882ff.) continued the trend with its lack of an article titled "Counter Reformation" and its infrequent inclusion in an expanded entry on "The Reformation of the Church." To the mix they now added occasional examples of "Catholic restoration," but only to describe (relatively) non-violent cases of reinstated episcopal administrations or bi-confessional areas.[13]

These German Catholic scholars may have thought that only the "true Church" could really be reformed, for which reason they referred to a "Counter Reformation" only rarely, but it could not have helped that *Gegenreformation* enjoyed a wide reception among Protestant historians after Ranke had enshrined the term. Likewise, if the only true church was the Catholic one, there was no need to speak of a "Catholic Reformation," a concept that had, alarmingly, been articulated most thoroughly by Ranke's student and fellow Protestant, Wilhelm Maurenbrecher. Like his mentor, Maurenbrecher saw a late medieval church in ruins and desperately in need of a fix, a situation acknowledged in the late medieval and sixteenth-century documents he studied.[14] Significantly he cast his net across Europe for sources and, as he interpreted them, found the real

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[12] *Kirchen-Lexikon oder Encyklopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften*, (ed.) Heinrich Joseph Wetzer and Benedikt Welte (13 vols, Freiburg i.B., 1847–1860). 'Gegenreformation' would have appeared (it did not) in vol. 4 (1850), p. 352. Relevant parts of the entry on 'Reformation der Kirche', ibid., vol. 9 (1852), pp. 81–4; quotations at pp. 81f. In the index volume (13; 1860), p. 178, immediately following the first entry for 'Reformation'—which is to the article 'Reformation der Kirche'—one finds simply "S. [=See] Trent, allg. Kirchenversammlung von." For a few instances of "Gegenreformation" in the contexts I've described, see ibid., vol. 7 (1851), pp. 721, 735, and 752.

[13] *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon oder Encyklopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften*, (ed.) Franz Kaulen (13 vols, Freiburg i.B., 1882–1902). 'Reformation der Kirche' appeared in vol. 10 (1897), pp. 881–91. Generally the use of the term *Gegenreformation* is, as in the first edition, limited to those areas of militant re-Catholicization, e.g. in Hungary or in Eichsfeld [vol. 12 (1901), pp. 268ff.; vol. 4 (1886), p. 240]. Examples of the return of episcopal jurisdiction and biconfessional areas are Augsburg [vol. 1 (1882), pp. 1618ff.] and Strasbourg [vol. 8 (1893), pp. 867ff.].

[14] Wilhelm Maurenbrecher, *Geschichte der katholischen Reformation*, vol. 1 (Nördlingen, 1880); vol. 2 never appeared.

font of Catholic reform in the spiritual and political leadership of Spain (followed by Italy), to which he added that particular kind of Christian humanism of which Erasmus was representative. Although his concept and presentation found little acceptance among his contemporaries, Catholic or Protestant,[15] Maurenbrecher's cobbling together of various bits of Catholic reform sound bites such as Savonarola, Ximenes, Cusa, Erasmus, Ignatius, the *Devotio moderna*, and Lateran V provided the standard *dramatis personae* for books on Catholic reform that began to appear much later, in the twentieth century.[16]

Most Catholic historians in Germany rejected Maurenbrecher's notions of a *katholische Reformation*, but they shared with the Protestant the tendency to think of sixteenth-century Catholicism in pan-European terms wherein the litmus was the reception and implementation of Tridentine reform. They, too, looked to Italy, Spain, and elsewhere in order to evaluate and explain Catholicism in the Empire: the Catholic Church, after all, was a universal institution that had long been engaged in reform. For which reason the more evidence of Tridentine conformism they found in Germany, the more willing they were to include her lands in their discussions of "the reformation of the Church." The result was that Catholic Germany appeared on the stage only in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the wake of the successful struggles of princes such as the Bavarian Dukes, aided by a cast of international characters who shared an absolute loyalty to the pope and to the Tridentine decrees. It is perhaps no surprise that the first revisions to this pan-European perspective came from Catholic, German historians less interested in the history of "Roman Catholicism" than in the history of Catholic Germany itself.

The revisions were carried out on two chronological fronts by two historians deeply affected by recent German politics (the *Kulturkampf*) and the First Vatican Council (1868–1870), Johannes Janssen and Moriz Ritter. It was the former that most influenced Janssen, whose historical work appeared in the context of the liberal, Prussian, Protestant Germany that celebrated Luther and the Reformation as its founders, especially

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[15]   In the Protestant lexika pre-Maurenbrecher, one finds loaded phrases such as "the so-called Catholic Reformation"; *Real-encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, (ed.) Johann Jakob Herzog (Stuttgart, 1854ff.); here vol. 7 (1857), p. 544. Subsequent editions referred regularly to a "Gegenreformation" while appearing to reject Maurenbrecher outright, e.g. in the second edition, vol. 16 (1885), p. 830; and in the third, vol. 22 (1909), p. 150. In the third edition, Walter Götz referred to a "Catholic Reformation that for a long time had [unsuccessfully] striven to come into being," some elements of which only came to fruition through forceful "Gegenformation": 'Albrecht V. und die Gegenreformation in Bayern', in vol. 1 (1896), pp. 303–7; here p. 303.

[16]   E.g. John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatious Loyola* (New York, 1969), reissued most recently as *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495–1563* (New York, 1990).

as articulated by Ranke. Janssen's answer was a thorough-going history of *Germany* both before and throughout the Reformation era in which Luther and his movement emerged not as modern liberators but as the tragic destroyers of a vibrant and flowering late medieval *German* culture.[17] The most notable manifestation of this culture was its religiosity, which Protestants destroyed with their "revolution" and Catholics would partially fix through "restoration." It was, indeed, "restoration" that best described incidents of forced, princely, territorial re-conversion even if Janssen occasionally used the term "Catholic Reformation."[18] What is sure, at least, is that Janssen was loathe to equate the Lutheran wrecking ball with the term "Reformation" even though his term for it (*Revolution*) travelled little further than the pages of his books. With his terminology, it is true, Janssen remained fairly close to the standard Catholic discourse of his day. But with his presentation of the particularly *German* scene without much reference to a universal church constantly engaged in reform, he made possible an analysis far more historical than those that evaluated the Empire on the basis of Trent.

Whereas for Protestant historians the inevitability—and thus legitimation—of Luther rested on the disastrous state of the pre-Reformation church, for Janssen the evidence showed that "religious practice among the faithful was vigorous and healthy" in ways, as John O'Malley puts it, "that sound amazingly similar to some studies published in the last few years."[19] Despite his glowing portrait of late medieval religiosity, Janssen made sure to mention the abuses of the late medieval church (in volume 1). Indeed, according to a contemporary Catholic critic, Janssen listed all of them but failed to bring them to the fore in such a way as to make clear their tremendous and negative impact.[20] Nevertheless in subsequent volumes he showed himself aware of specific ecclesiastical problems and shortcomings. What he avoided was any over-arching treatment of the Roman Catholic Church in terms of its universal or papal aspirations: he focused on religion and ecclesiastical politics *within Germany*, which allowed him distance from the contemporary hot-button issues regarding the papacy and Catholicism

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[17]   Johannes Jansen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (8 vols, Freiburg i.B., 1878–1894).

[18]   Ibid., vol. 5 (1886), p. 386 (the context is the testament of the dying Margrave Jacob of Baden, who in 1590 converted to Catholicism and did the same to his territory): "Die Kinder sollten an katholischen Orten in der katholischen Religion erzogen und … die katholische Reformation im Lande vollendet werden."

[19]   O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 29. I suspect that O'Malley had the work of Bernd Moeller in mind, which is discussed below.

[20]   Franz Dittrich in *Historisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1882), p. 674; cited by Hubert Jedin, *Die Erforschung der kirchlichen Reformationsgeschichte seit 1876: Leistungen und Aufgabe der deutschen Katholiken* (Münster i.W., 1931), p. 8.

during the years after Vatican I. When the work and influence of popes or Roman nuncios demanded attention, Janssen provided it just as he acknowledged that many German bishops were slow to pick up the pace of reform in the immediate wake of Trent. Again, however, he looked very little to Italy, Spain, or elsewhere in order to understand Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire. Betraying the major shift in research on reformation-era Catholicism between Janssen and his own time (on which see below), in 1931 Hubert Jedin complained specifically about this aspect of Janssen's work: "one of his weaknesses [in analyzing Germany after 1517] was that he paid too little attention to the situation in the curia and to the influence of papal politics in Germany … He could have improved upon this aspect of his work only by integrating sources found *in Rome*."[21] His massive history was and remains decidedly and unapologetically Catholic but not in the ultramontane sense that accurately describes Janssen himself.[22]

Equally important to this discussion is the mountain of articles and books on German Catholicism that Janssen inspired and which, in many instances, he (or his continuer, Pastor) incorporated into new editions of his work.[23] To give but two examples (both were, like Janssen, Catholic priests): Franz Falk and Nikolaus Paulus. Falk produced hundreds of articles intended to demonstrate, for example, that Catholics were actively preaching in the Empire from the first days of the Reformation, just as his monographs exploded popular myths such as the absence of translated Bibles in pre-Reformation Germany. Without worrying too much about terminology, he showed repeatedly that late medieval and reformation-era Catholic Germany were saturated with evidence of ongoing "Catholic Reform."[24]

Paulus was a better and more influential scholar, although like Falk he avoided historiographical discussions of terms and simply referred to "Catholic Reform." Following Janssen in his focus on *German* Catholicism

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[21]   Ibid., p. 10 (emphasis mine).

[22]   Good examples are his treatments of the re-opening of the Tridentine Council in 1562 and the issues it presented to Germans (including the problem of the princes' power over their churches), and internal Catholic reform attempts led by the likes of Canisius and German bishops and princes as well as the influence of Pope Gregory XIII and the Collegium Germanicum: Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, vol. 4 (1885), pp. 143–65, and vol. 5 (1886), pp. 178–206.

[23]   So far as I can see, this research impulse for Catholics in Janssen's wake has only been noted (and briefly) with reference to Franz Falk and Vinzenz Hasak by Jedin, *Die Erforschung der kirchlichen Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 8.

[24]   Franz Falk, 'Die deutsche Postillen-Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zur Germania* 8 (1909): pp. 57–61; Falk, *Die Bibel am Ausgang des Mittelalters. Ihre Kenntnis und ihre Verbreitung* (Cologne, 1905). Falk published hundreds of articles on relevant topics, all of which have been catalogued and xeroxed in the Institut für Mainzer Kirchengeschichte in Mainz; my thanks to its director, Prof. Friedhelm Jürgensmeier, and to StD Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger, for helping me with and giving me unfettered access to these materials.

before and after Luther, Paulus avoided sustained treatments of the papacy and Trent just as he demonstrated both the vigor of, and intense self- (and Roman curial-) critique within, German Catholic discourse throughout the era. By employing a method in which extensive quotations allowed the sources "to speak for themselves," monographs on outspoken, reform-minded preachers like Johann Wild OFM (d. 1554) allowed him to show that German Catholics in Luther's wake acknowledged German and Roman abuses, called for sweeping reforms, and of course refuted Protestant ideas in their pulpits; in this case Paulus would even explicitly criticize the Church for Wild's appearance on the Roman *Index of Forbidden Books* in 1596.[25]

Inspired by Janssen but able to avoid immersing themselves in contemporary cultural, religious, and political debates (at least in their historical articles and books), Catholic historians such as Paulus and Falk could contribute mightily to their generation's knowledge of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German Catholicism and establish — through case studies and raw data less than historiographical forays — the presence of sustained Catholic reform discourse and efforts throughout the Empire. Although Janssen is best known for his theses regarding piety on the eve of the Reformation, there can be no doubt that his massive work, and the studies it inspired, revealed substantial and ongoing German Catholic reform and pastoral efforts in the decades after 1517 and regardless of Trent.

Whereas Janssen's most valuable contributions pertained to the period before 1555, Moriz Ritter's three-volume *Germany in the Age of the Counter-Reformation and Thirty-Years' War* (1889ff.) covered the post-Tridentine Empire in terms beholden to neither Trent nor the papacy.[26] In his case the

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[25] Nikolaus Paulus, *Johann Wild: Ein Mainzer Domprediger des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1893). He followed up his treatment of Wild on the *Index* in this monograph two years later with 'Zur Revision des Index. Censurierte katholische Schriftsteller Deutschlands des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts', *Der Katholik* 75 (1895): pp. 193–213. Other examples of Paulus's scholarship in this area are: *Der Augustinermönch Johannes Hoffmeister. Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit* (Freiburg i.B., 1891); *Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther (1518–63)*, Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zur Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, 4,1–2 (Freiburg i.B., 1903); 'Conrad Kling, ein Erfurter Domprediger des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Der Katholik* 74 (1894): pp. 146–63; 'Gerhard Lorichius, ein Convertit des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Der Katholik* 74 (1894): pp. 503–28; 'Zur Geschichte der Predigt beim ausgehenden Mittelalter', *Der Katholik* 74 (1894): pp. 279–87; 'Johann Winzler, ein Franziskaner des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Der Katholik* 74 (1894): pp. 40–57; 'Michael Buchinger, ein Colmarer Schriftsteller und Prediger des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für elsässische Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1930): pp. 199ff.; 'Michael Buchinger. Ein Schriftsteller und Prediger aus der Reformationszeit', *Der Katholik* 72 (1892): pp. 203–21; and 'Michael Helding. Ein Prediger und Bischof des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Der Katholik* 74 (1894): pp. 410–30, and 481–502. The monographs on Hoffmeister, Wild, and the German Dominicans have not been superseded.

[26] Ritter, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des dreissigjährigen Krieges (1555–1648)* (3 vols, Stuttgart, 1889–1908). There is no study that

most relevant context was not the *Kulturkampf* but the First Vatican Council and its declaration of papal infallibility, which led Ritter to reject Roman claims and become one of the so-called "Old Catholics" (*Altkatholiken*), whose ranks included the greatest church historian of the age, Ignaz von Döllinger. On the one hand, Ritter was a devout *Tridentine* Catholic who both catalogued and revered the implementation of Tridentine reforms in the Empire. On the other, by the standards of his day he was no apologist, and as a political-legal historian he understood that an appreciation of Catholic Germany demanded far more than the measuring stick of Trent.

There was much in Ritter's history (not to mention his religion) that rankled contemporary Catholic historians. By terming German history in the era after 1555 as an age of Counter-Reformation, he broke with Catholic scholars' rejection of this dangerously Rankean term. He acknowledged too readily the abuses rampant within the German church. Many complained, as one put it, that "in his history of the Counter-Reformation Ritter displays a one-sidedly Protestant point of view."[27] The charge reflected more the heated atmosphere of the day than reserved critical judgment, for like Janssen, Ritter looked outward from the Holy Roman Empire in order to understand the era. Unlike Janssen, however, he was reserved in his assessments of Catholicism (German or Roman) from 1555 to 1648; put another way, he demonstrated a respect for early modern Protestants in his work that equaled that which he showed Catholics, and he was not gushing with praise for either.

This was because Ritter was first and foremost a scholar of the political and legal history of the Holy Roman Empire, and it was from this particularly *German* and *political* perspective that he wrote. Thus he used the term "Reform" not to characterize religion but rather changes in coinage, laws, or the calendar just as he referred to "the Reformation" as a Lutheran or Calvinist affair.[28] The first chapter of the whole work was "The Imperial Constitution" (*Die Reichsverfassung*). Whereas Janssen preferred the term "Restoration" to describe Catholic efforts in Germany post-1517,

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comes close to replacing it even today. On contemporary reception of the work see Thomas Brechenmacher, 'Ritter, Moriz', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 2003), vol. 21, p. 668. Despite Ritter's importance in the development of German Reformation and Counter Reformation historiography, he gets barely a mention from Jedin or O'Malley, the former making no comment about Ritter's confessional allegiance and the latter, as I read it, placing him among the Lutheran historians. Hubert Jedin, 'Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?' (German edn 1946), trans. David M. Luebke, in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, (ed.) Luebke (Oxford, 1999), pp. 19–46; here p. 23; O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 24.

[27]   Ludwig Pastor, noting a comment by Felix Stieve in a diary entry for February 17, 1896, in *Ludwig Frhr. von Pastor, 1854–1928. Tagebücher, Briefe, Erinnerungen*, (ed.) Wilhelm Wühr (Heidelberg, 1950), p. 291.

[28]   E.g. Ritter, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 78, 160, 378; vol. 3, p. 369.

Ritter applied it only to instances of returning clergy to canonical norms such as celibacy or reinstituting traditional liturgical practices among the laity.[29] His appreciation of the importance of the princes, as well as how they actually functioned, led him to discuss the Empire in ways similar to recent historians. He understood, for example, that already in the fifteenth century German princes began to encroach upon the Church and its traditional role as a regulator of behavior. "This trend fully developed, however, due to the effects of the Reformation and Counter Reformation," as princes transformed new "secular" laws and police forces into "Christian" ones, all of which represented a state-directed absorption of what was a traditional ecclesiastical sphere.[30] Thus Ritter formulated a process in a way that came very close to modern notions of confessionalization and social disciplining. As both the title and the contents of his work attested, what he really observed in the Empire after 1555 (often later) was a "Counter Reformation" by which he meant state-directed, sometimes militant and forced, re-Catholicization. "State-directed," of course, was the key, for according to Ritter everything turned on the actions of the princes. He certainly made regular reference to the papacy and the Church, but his emphasis on the Peace of Augsburg and especially its *Ius reformandi* (the right of the political arm to religious reform) made German princes the sine qua non of the Counter Reformation.

Moriz Ritter was a deeply religious scholar whose treatment of figures like St. Ignatius of Loyola abounded with admiration and bordered on hagiography.[31] He devoted a good portion of his chapter on "The Council of Trent and the Jesuits" to internal disputes at Trent as well as to the Germans' dismal presence there, not to mention their slow reception of its decrees. At the same time, he insisted, "one would err seriously if he allowed these problems to make him underestimate [Trent's] importance." However, he evaluated the Council from a *German* perspective with a view *towards* Rome. Trent's immediate significance, therefore, was that it ruined the hopes of many Catholics and guaranteed a permanent confessional division in Germany. Its "dogmatic clarification of the numerous teachings [of medieval theologians] that had come to be hotly contested" he found admirable and clearly formulated, but at the same time Rome totally ignored the situations in the Holy Roman Empire and France. Thereafter there were no reasons for Catholics to seek an understanding with the fallen sects, for their task was now to suppress them. Before such tasks could be undertaken, energies would focus on refashioning religious and moral life in the spirit of the newly formulated doctrines (n.b., he did not mean "new doctrines").[32]

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[29] Typical is his use of the term in Ritter, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 95.
[30] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 40ff. (fifteenth century) and vol. 2, pp. 478f. (quotation).
[31] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 183f.
[32] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 179 (including quotations).

It is not surprising, given his habit of thinking in terms of institutions, that Ritter understood Trent on another level as "the centralization of the Church both constitutionally and in terms of its leadership. This meant above everything else the papacy as the ruling and animating focal point of the hierarchy." This was not how everything was explicitly formulated, Ritter insisted, but indeed how things worked out. "As a result, under the banner of papal absolutism one sought to order and regulate the remaining levels of the hierarchy." This extended all the way down to basic pastoral care with the intent of better clerics molding better Christians. It negated the historical independence of the bishops. For this historian of imperial and territorial politics it meant in addition: "I've already said that the guiding principle that held all of this together was centralization. But we can say it better and thus clarify it: what the spirit of centralization really means, is *discipline* in the sense of *unconditional discipline* in both the moral and intellectual realms." What this required, the historian of the Empire clearly understood: decrees were as dead as any other laws if they simply lay there on paper. Spain accomplished the task by means of its powerful, centralized government; various parts of Italy by means of outstanding individuals and freely formed reformist associations. What the Empire required was monastic orders, by which Ritter meant the Jesuits.[33]

What Ritter did not mean, was that the Jesuits would go it alone, much less that they would have had any chances whatsoever if their efforts had depended solely on their own energies. Ritter ascribed to them a sort of militant zeal or spirit (*Geist*), an animating force that allowed them, once institutionally supported and unleashed, to fashion better Catholics and convert souls (their preaching, publications, schools, and colleges were perfect examples). But by themselves they were helpless. Ignatius may have thought in 1546 that he'd found his answer for the "unfruitful ground that is Germany" in Peter Canisius, Ritter noted with irony, but the Spanish saint was wrong, for the real answer then and in the future lay in the Society's coming under the good graces, and thus winning the vital support, of "Catholic princes and governments." The Society's members may have clung to medieval notions "of the lordship of the Church over Christian governments,"[34] but this historian of the Empire understood perfectly that the Counter Reformation in Catholic Germany would be a *Fürstengegenreformation*.

Better than any other Catholic historian of his era, Moriz Ritter knew that it was not until later in the seventeenth century that one could speak of Catholic Germany as a Roman Catholic one. In the long run, historical

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[33]   Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 180f. (including quotations—the italics are mine, but without them it would not be a proper translation).

[34]   Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 185–90 (quotations mixed throughout).

research has demonstrated the extent to which Ritter was right. As the history of history-writing in numerous subject areas attests, however, getting it right had nothing to do with whether or not he won the day.

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Although Ritter's work never found the reception enjoyed by Janssen's, subsequent scholarship would gradually silence both for many generations. That is why Ritter's case warrants the space given it here. Janssen's theses may be better known (and more recently, partially in vogue), but the researches he inspired by those such as Falk or Paulus have also fallen into neglect. The scholars most responsible for our forgetfulness are more familiar: the historian of the popes, Ludwig Pastor; the historian of Trent, Hubert Jedin; and the historian of Reformation Germany, Joseph Lortz. That being said, it is necessary to state up front what is often overlooked or lost in the details by those who discuss their works in various contexts: what these three historians of very different subjects shared was a perspective that evaluated early modern Catholicism on the basis of its becoming properly Tridentine and/or properly papalist, and therefore properly Roman Catholic.

Along with his obvious gifts as a historian, what made Ludwig Pastor famous was his unfettered access to the hitherto secret Vatican archives, which opened first in 1883.[35] Pastor had been Janssen's student, and just as the master had confronted Ranke on the subject of the German Reformation, so the apprentice decided early on to obliterate Ranke's work on papal history. This is what distinguished the teacher from the student: whereas Janssen could leave Trent, the papacy, and the Roman Curia on the margins of his study of *Germany*, in his history of the popes Pastor had to—in fact sought to—bring these topics front and center.

With his use of the term and discussion of "Catholic Reformation," what Pastor really meant was an institutional or disciplinary reform rather than a dogmatic one, for doctrine was of course unchanging—a position that would not change over the course of five decades.[36] What did change, however, was his reputation and thus influence. Although the first volumes of Pastor's *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (16 vols., 1886–1933),[37] whose thick tomes covered the papacies of Martin V (1417ff.) through Pius VI (d. 1799), were first denigrated as Catholic apologetics, everything changed after his breakthrough volume (3) in

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[35]   On Pastor and the archives see Owen Chadwick, *Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 110ff.

[36]   The institutional/disciplinary vs. dogmatic distinction was operative throughout his *History of the Popes*, as noted by O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 33.

[37]   The English translation appeared in 40 volumes, trans. F.I. Antrobus et al. (St. Louis, 1891–1953).

1895. There he treated the reign of the sodden Borgia Pope Alexander VI (d. 1503) with such frankness that now even Protestant reviewers applauded the objectivity of his work just as a number of conservative Catholics were appalled by it.[38]

By concentrating on the institutional and disciplinary aspects of the Roman Church, Pastor was able to reveal subtle currents of internal, Catholic reform that he located in Italy and centered around a succession of popes beginning with Leo X (d. 1521). "Of the greatest significance were the new orders … [including] the most important instrument of the Catholic Reformation and Restoration, the Society of Jesus." Pastor concluded, "Like so many truly great things, so too the Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century was preceded by small and unlikely beginnings. It [*katholische Reformation*] grew quietly and slowly at the feet of the curia and in the end reached even the popes themselves. Once it did that, it pressed triumphantly throughout increasingly widening circles, recovered a part of what the Church had lost, and purified and ennobled that part which had remained loyal to her."[39]

Pastor's papal history was and remains impressive, but with it came three important and (in the contexts discussed here) negative results. First, the Roman lens through which Pastor viewed the Catholicism of the era was less representative of the influence of the early modern Roman Catholic Church than it was of a curialism and/or ardent papalism that developed in the centuries thereafter (i.e., Pastor's ultramontanism). Second, his tendency to study Catholicism from this perspective became, in less blatantly papalist dress, the norm and thus influential in the hands of later scholars. Third and especially important for my purposes, Roman sources of the type Pastor used (such as nuncios' reports) often reveal more the hopes and concerns of popes and their (often foreign) agents than they do actual conditions on the ground. Thus Pastor's view of the Empire from a predominantly Roman perspective guaranteed that German Catholicism, in his narratives, would remain a shambles until submitting to the wise counsel and authority of the Roman See and its agents.

This could be easily demonstrated through a discussion of Pastor's treatments of specific German territories after the 1550s (he, like many German historians before him, saw little that was good on the Catholic side before then). One could point, for example, to his analysis of the many inadequate German bishops during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572–1585), which on the one hand properly revealed the problems with episcopal elections in the Imperial Church but, on the other, also told the story from the exclusive perspective of Gregory and his nuncios. One does

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[38]   Discussed by Chadwick, *Catholicism and History*, pp. 125–7.
[39]   Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg i.B., 1906), vol. 4,1, p. 8.

not need to, however, because Pastor stated his position in this context with such patent clarity as to have done the work for us:

> The salvation of the German Catholics could not, under these difficult circumstances, come from the bishops, but *only from the centre of the universal Church*, and nothing short of this extraordinary means of salvation seemed to hold out any real prospect of success. The evil, so states a report of about 1576, seems to be almost incurable, for the very reason that ecclesiastics and prelates are no longer willing to listen to the *mother and mistress of all the churches, the Roman Church*.[40]

For Ludwig Pastor it was not only a fact that the "Catholic Reformation" began *in* Rome, but a fact that in order to participate in this Catholic Reformation, one had to submit to the direction and authority *of* Rome. Thus his "Catholic Reformation" was geographically distinct from the Lutheran Maurenbrecher's, who had found its beginnings in Spain. Pastor's scholarship failed to seize upon the important differences that distinguished the Catholic Church to which he was loyal from what amounted to the Catholicism of places like fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Baden or Bavaria. His notion of a "Catholic Reformation" was absolutely Roman (it did not help that he was never offered an academic chair in Germany).[41]

With the fifth volume of his papal history (1909) he introduced the pontificate of Paul III (1534–1549) with the new subtitle "History of the Popes in the Age of the Catholic Reformation and Restoration," and for good reason: it was Paul's reign that saw the confirmation of the Jesuit order, the convocation of the Tridentine council, and the establishment of the Roman Inquisition. Four volumes later (vol. 9 in 1923) Pastor would shift that subtitle to "The Age of Catholic Restoration and the Thirty Years' War."[42] No less than Janssen, he was employing terms common in Catholic scholarship since at least the mid-nineteenth century, terms that some (especially Protestant) contemporaries would have abandoned in favor of simply "Counter Reformation" or, pace Maurenbrecher, "Catholic Reformation and Counter Reformation." Although he certainly chose his language with Protestant scholarship in mind, Pastor's selection of terms also reflected an internal dispute among German Catholics in the

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[40]   Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 20 (German edn 1923; trans. edn 1930), p. 32 (emphasis mine).

[41]   Hubert Jedin recognized that Pastor's view of early modern Germany was affected, in part, by his failure to obtain a chair in modern Germany: Jedin, *Die Erforschung der kirchlichen Reformationsgeschichte*, p. 10.

[42]   The addition of the subtitle and Paul's accomplishments have been noted by O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 33.

wake of Vatican I: he was going for the jugular, and the intended victim was that *Altkatholik* historian of the Empire, Moriz Ritter.[43]

As a student in Bonn, Pastor had attended the lectures and seminars of Ritter, who during this time became "the first history professor to hold a university lecture series on the Counter Reformation."[44] Pastor grasped the breadth of Ritter's learning and especially his mastery of late medieval and early modern political, legal, and diplomatic history. He admitted as much in a letter to Janssen but complained, at the same time, that Ritter's seminar was "extremely biased," by which he meant too much sympathy was shown to historical German Protestantism and, worse yet, too much emphasis and torrid detail were lavished — "with pleasure, it seems" — on the problems of the late medieval Church and on the "decline and collapse of the papacy; he never mentions the brighter aspects of the life of the Church back then."[45] As one who sought to rescue the popes by undertaking their history from a Roman perspective, Pastor found Ritter's lectures useful because they taught him, in excruciating detail, exactly who the enemy was: "Through Ritter's disgraceful and scandalous twisting of the truth I am learning precisely where I must thrust my knife."[46]

Moriz Ritter had found so many faults with the pre-Tridentine papacy and Church that he risked making Luther's reformation seem inevitable. Ritter's rejection of Vatican I would not have warmed him to Pastor, but it was his frank treatments of both curial history and Catholicism in Germany that set the papal historian against him. Indeed, in his *History of the Popes*, Pastor could (and should) have cited Ritter's German history repeatedly, for nothing available matched its depth and scope. The works of that other *Altkatholik*, von Döllinger, appeared often in Pastor's volumes whereas Ritter's did so infrequently, and then only following a reference to Janssen's *History of the German People*.[47]

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[43]   Examples of Pastor's dislike for the *Altkatholiken* in *Tagebücher, Briefe, Erinnerungen*, pp. 92, 100, and 384.

[44]   Noted by Hubert Jedin, whose discussion of Ritter goes barely beyond this: 'Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?', p. 23.

[45]   Letter to Janssen (December 2, 1875), in Pastor, *Tagebücher, Briefe, Erinnerungen*, pp. 68f.

[46]   "… wo man das Messer ansetzen muss," i.e., to separate forcefully the wheat from the chaff. Diary entry for December 10, 1875, ibid., p. 69.

[47]   E.g. Pastor already in vol. 1 of *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg i.B., 1889), p. xxx (part of the bibliography), where five of Döllinger's works are cited, as they are throughout the volume. Pastor should have especially made use of Ritter in vol. 11, on Clement VIII, but there it appears only three times (twice appended to the main reference, which is to Janssen): Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg i.B., 1927), vol. 11, pp. 236 n. 4, 244 n. 1, and 266 n. 1.

By the First World War historians of early modern Germany were still grappling with a number of issues, only some of which were de facto confessionally specific. Both Lutheran and Catholic scholars, for example, shared an interest—and had a stake—in the condition of the Church and the state of piety before 1517; this included theology and the question of the "inevitability" of Luther's movement. Most historians on both sides had come to accept "Counter Reformation" as a concept and a term just as Eberhard Gothein's 1895 *Ignatius Loyola and the Counter-Reformation* had firmly established "the Counter-Reformation's cultural and religious roots" in Spain.[48] Pastor's *History of the Popes* (which he continued to produce), and more importantly the opening of the Vatican Archives, inspired an explosion of research conducted in Rome and therefore led to an intensification of the Roman perspective that such documents naturally fostered (certainly in research concerned with Germany); there is no better example of this than the series of editions of papal nuncios' reports from the Holy Roman Empire that began to appear at this time—such a massive cache of documents that they continue to appear with no end in sight.[49] Finally, one of the most important factors arose in the immediate wake of the Great War: the *Una Sancta* movement, an ecumenical dialogue between Catholic and Evangelical theologians which could not but help to have an impact on the field of German reformation studies.[50] Why? Because among many Catholic scholars the dialogue led to a rehabilitation of that "arch-heretic" and "forerunner of Antichrist," Martin Luther.

The effects of these changes were all in place by the 1930s and would significantly impact interpretations of reformation-era German Catholicism up until the present. The field of "early modern Catholicism" was re-oriented such that Rome became the locus of its research, and its research was conducted from a perspective more subtle than Pastor's but which nevertheless echoed it: the successful implementation of Tridentine reforms, once they were promulgated, became the measuring stick of Catholicity, to which was added the recognition of papal primacy in varying degrees. The greatest Catholic historian of the twentieth century, Hubert Jedin, was both largely responsible for this and, in some ways, one of the victims of its development.[51] It was Jedin who wrote the first significant account of

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[48]   Discussed by Jedin, 'Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?', p. 23.

[49]   *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken*, now edited under the direction of the German Historical Institute in Rome.

[50]   For an overview, see Josef Höfer, 'Una-Sancta-Bewegung', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd edn (Freiburg i.B., 1965), vol. 10, pp. 463–6.

[51]   Although his concerns are different from mine (and thus some of his conclusions), John O'Malley provides the most perceptive and readable account of Jedin: *Trent and All That*, pp. 46–71.

Catholic scholarship on the Reformation[52] before going on to produce his justly famous history of the Council of Trent.[53] It was Jedin who summarized and provided the most influential contribution to the debate on the issue "'Catholic Reformation' or 'Counter Reformation'?" How he answered that question is well known: "Both." A Catholic Reformation arose in the fifteenth century that focused on the "self-reform" of the Church's members and that later was given its codification at Trent. In response to the Lutheran heresy a Counter Reformation arose and did battle on doctrinal, political, and military levels. These two reformations are often observable side-by-side, and sometimes independent of one another.[54] The piece is deservedly famous, but neglected is the organizing principle that led him to ask the question in the first place. He concluded the introduction to his essay with a shortlist of four issues he would investigate, the whole point of the exercise being "4. To make these insights useful for an interpretation of the Council of Trent and its place in church history."[55] Jedin's objective was not to *arrive* at terms and concepts that best captured the reality of early modern Catholicism, but rather to *derive* terms and concepts that best captured what he considered to be early modern Catholicism's essence, the Council of Trent. Put another way: instead of establishing a hierarchy of issues through a reading of disparate sources and arriving at Trent, Jedin began at the Council, presupposed its primacy as to what constituted early modern Catholicism, and read sources outwards from there. If Trent was to house what counted as Catholicism in the era, then Catholic Germany was destined to rot in its cellar. Moriz Ritter may have been right, but Ludwig Pastor had won the day.

Jedin of course did not limit himself to Trent. He considered two other agents equally irreplaceable: "the Jesuits (as well as other religious orders) and the beginnings of the 'renewed' papacy."[56] In this sense Jedin was again an heir to the perspective laid out by scholars in the nineteenth century. It meant that historians of the Empire inspired by Jedin would locate and study German Catholicism only in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and judge it in terms of the impact of these three agents.[57]

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[52] Jedin, *Die Erforschung der kirchlichen Reformationsgeschichte*.

[53] Jedin, *Die Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (4 vols. in 5, Freiburg i.B., 1949–1975).

[54] Jedin, 'Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?'.

[55] Ibid., p. 22.

[56] O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 52.

[57] There were of course those who began from this perspective and got beyond it, such as the forerunner to the confessionalization paradigm of Schilling and Reinhard, Ernst Walter Zeeden, although Zeeden, too, focused on the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Zeeden, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich, 1965); *Konfessionsbildung: Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform* (Stuttgart, 1985); *Die Visitation im Dienst der kirchlichen Reform*, (ed.) Zeeden and Hansgeorg Molitor (Münster i.W., 1967);

Just as Jedin's researches got underway, Martin Luther and his theology were radically revaluated by Catholic scholars. This was the result of the new ecumenical movement; it had a positive influence on inter-denominational relations; and it surely influenced the Catholic theologians who would dominate at Vatican II. But it was a disaster for German reformation history. Although it resulted in major revaluations along many fronts, the primary focus of this research was theological and found its most enduring formulation in the work of Joseph Lortz.[58] Lortz was surely not the first to suggest doctrinal and politico-ecclesiastical problems as factors in the development of Luther and his reformation. But he articulated most fully the thesis of "doctrinal confusion" (*Unklarheit*) that arose from a "dissolution of the basic medieval concepts" in the generations preceding Luther; theology was a muddled mess due to the degeneration of scholasticism and the dangerous, relativist, "half-catholic" humanism of Erasmus. From a doctrinal perspective, Luther's reformation "was practically a historical necessity."[59] Without endorsing all of Luther's theology, Lortz found in the reformer a true *homo religiosus* whose failure to re-discover the whole of Catholic truth lay embedded in his historical circumstances. Thus blame shifted from Luther to the theology of his time. What made the position so appealing in an ecumenical context was the fact that, along with extending an olive branch to Protestants, Lortz was also turning what made the *inevitability* of the Reformation into the *inevitability* of the Council of Trent, for it was there that doctrinal *Unklarheit* was clarified. The representation of late medieval theology as an utter wasteland provided the founding myth and thus legitimation for not only the Protestant Reformation but also for the Tridentine doctrinal Catholicism of which Lortz was a professing priest.

A parallel problem that also made Luther "practically a historical necessity" was the long list of abuses that plagued the Church and had a debilitating effect on piety. These abuses had long been acknowledged in Catholic scholarship (even if underplayed by Janssen or reinterpreted by Pastor). What made Lortz's "Catholic" presentation of the material so important was the thoroughness with which he catalogued the abuses and especially their disastrous consequences. No less than theology, the ruin of late medieval ecclesiastical life and lay piety provided another leg of

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Kirche und Visitation: Beiträge zur Erforschung des frühneuzeitlichen Visitationswesens in Europa, (eds) Zeeden and Peter T. Lang (Stuttgart, 1984).

[58]   Joseph Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (2 vols, 1939–40), 4th edn (1962; reprint Freiburg i.B., 1982); *How the Reformation Came* (Germ. 1950; 3rd edn 1955), trans. Otto M. Knab (New York, 1964), a shortened version of which had already appeared as 'Why Did the Reformation Happen?', in *The Reformation. Basic Interpretations*, (ed.) Lewis Spitz (1962; 2nd edn Lexington, Mass., 1972), pp. 119–38.

[59]   Lortz, *How the Reformation Came*, p. 110.

legitimation upon which Tridentine reform could stand, i.e., the structural and disciplinary reforms that accompanied its theological clarifications and insistence on better pastoral care. Again the solution was ingeniously ecumenical and, for Catholics such as Lortz, allowed Tridentine reforms to serve as the essence and measuring stick of early modern Catholicism. Armed with the canons and decrees of Trent and led by a renewed papacy, (primarily) Jesuits could now begin to effect Catholic Reform and Counter Reformation in the Empire. Jedin's three essential agents were at work again, and they could only work in the Empire of the later sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries.

The result was that the lion's share of the evidence that pointed to a robust late medieval German piety, as classically formulated by Janssen and filled in with exacting detail by others such as Paulus and Falk, slipped off the stage entirely. Although "entirely" may be overstated, there is no better demonstration of my point than the splash caused in 1965 by Bernd Moeller's positive assessment of "Piety in Germany around 1500":[60] virtually *every* one of Moeller's examples had been given, and with far more accompanying evidence, by Janssen and others in the 1880s. Furthermore, by marginalizing the manifestations of this piety and especially its reflection in the massive quantity of vernacular sermons and devotional literature produced by 1500, Lortz's interpretation also marginalized the uninterrupted production of these *Catholic* materials in Germany after 1517, throughout the sixteenth century, and beyond (which, again, had been amply demonstrated by Janssen, Paulus, and a host of others). Truly "Catholic" materials of this type were, de facto, not to be found (or even sought) before they became sufficiently Tridentine in flavor and predominately Jesuit in origin, and again that meant only in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Finally, Lortz's dominance in German Catholic reformation studies guaranteed that he, too, captained his own galley-ship. Many of the oarsmen were, like Lortz, historians who were also priests and trained extensively in theology and intellectual history. A significant number of them such as Irwin Iserloh devoted their researches to the doctrinal *Unklarheit* thesis as it played out in the works of Luther's most famous German Catholic antagonists ("The Controversialists") such as Johannes Eck (d. 1543).[61] The sum of their research reinforced Lortz's thesis because, in effect, they argued that the German Catholic controversialists showed themselves as doctrinally

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[60]   Bernd Moeller, 'Piety in Germany Around 1500', trans. Joyce Irwin, in *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective*, (ed.) Steven E. Ozment (Chicago, 1971), pp. 50–75.

[61]   Already with his dissertation: Iserloh, *Die Eucharistie in der Darstellung des Johannes Eck. Ein Beitrag zur vortridentinischen Kontroverstheologie über das Messopfer* (Münster i.W., 1950).

unklar in their responses to Luther as late medieval theology had been unclear. That is perhaps no surprise because, like Luther, until the moment they took up their pens against him they, too, were late medieval theologians. Significantly, Lortz's students were among the only active historians who were considering at least some aspect of German Catholicism *after* Luther erred and *before* Trent cleared things up for everyone. The implications and effects of their research proved crucial for broader presentations of German Catholicism then and now. No less than in the cases of institutions, clerical discipline, and liturgical practices, in the field of theology German Catholics had little to offer that was good until they became Tridentine theologians and, with that step, properly Roman Catholic.

German Sermons and German Catholics before Roman Catholicism

Despite the vastly different subjects they studied, the researches of Pastor, Jedin, and Lortz all presupposed the primacy of Trent as both a structural and doctrinal norm against which any claims to "Catholic" in early modern Europe must be measured. Scholarship since then may have progressed beyond these assumptions, but in the case of Germany it has not usually gone beyond the limits circumscribed by these earlier works. The confessionalization thesis discussed above, in the introduction, still relies on a top-down, administrative, political model in which the efforts of German Catholic princes or prince-bishops are evaluated in terms of the extent to which they became, essentially, Tridentine, and thus (Roman) Catholic rulers even if the process has now been subsumed under "state-building." For over two decades after the late 1960s, "City Reformation" was the focus of research on Germany, by which was meant Protestant cities almost exclusively. The few studies that attempted to place cities that remained Catholic within this context resorted to basic, sometimes crude, socio-economic determinative models that left little room for religion. There were certainly a number of cities that remained Catholic, but articles of faith had little to do with it just as, most certainly, the virulent writings of anti-Lutheran pamphleteers played no role whatsoever.[62] Likewise late medieval German piety has been the topic of a scholarly renaissance, the

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[62]   The widest ranging study remains Wilfried Enderle, 'Die katholischen Reichstädte im Zeitalter der Reformation und der Konfessionsbildung', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 106 (1989): pp. 228–69. For analyses more sensitive to religion (but not completely free of material determinism), see Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Gescheiterte Reformation. Frühreformatorische und protestantische Bewegungen in süd- und westdeutschen geistlichen Residenzen* (Stuttgart, 1978); and Robert W. Scribner, 'Why was there no Reformation at Cologne?', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48 (1975): pp. 217–41.

researches of which have been conducted with more sobriety than Janssen's but which, like his, point to a diverse and vibrant religiosity.[63] Even late medieval theology has had its revisionist historians who, in the wake of Heiko Oberman's work on Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), have left Joseph Lortz's thesis of doctrinal *Unklarheit* in ruins.[64]

None of this, however, has contributed much to a revision of the German theological response to Luther after 1517 that has come to characterize German Catholic theology and pastoral literature (or the lack thereof) before the later Confessional Age. The work of Lortz and especially his students on Luther's German Catholic opponents[65] has been improved upon tremendously by the work of David Bagchi, but he, too, offered an ultimately negative assessment of Catholic literary output. Like Lortz he noted that Luther's early German opponents wrote hopelessly in Latin, found little support from printers or princes, failed to debate the reformers on their own terms, and relied too much on authorities rather than scripture. Bagchi went beyond Lortz by providing a much better historical account and explanation of their failures that included, for example, the limits of the disputation model that structured Catholic pamphlets long after Luther had abandoned it, or the restrictions imposed by debating "heretics" in the vernacular, which could be interpreted as legitimizing lay involvement in these debates. And unlike Lortz, Bagchi was correct to insist that the theological diversity (*not* confusion) of Luther's opponents was less a sign of late medieval malaise than it was of European theology before more precise doctrines were formulated at Trent.[66]

Bagchi's analysis contained an especially important corrective to much of the scholarship on reformation-era Catholic theology: he reminded us that some protagonists, by virtue of the bum luck of chronology, could not possibly have thought with Tridentine clarity because they did their thinking before Trent. The dominant portrayals of Luther's Catholic opponents before Bagchi remind us, again, of the stubborn but misleading Tridentine perspective or litmus test long operative in the field. With or without Bagchi, the especially unfortunate result of the focus on German

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[63] See the first few pages and references of Brad S. Gregory's article, in this volume.

[64] Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Late Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). Some of the most important newer work here has been done by Berndt Hamm, some of whose essays are now available in translation: *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety*, (ed.) Robert J. Bast (Leiden, 2004).

[65] Representative and in English is Erwin Iserloh, 'The Catholic Literary Opponents of Luther and the Reformation', trans. John P. Dolan, in *The History of the Church*, vol. 5: *Reformation and Counter-Reformation*, (ed.) Erwin Iserloh (London, 1980), pp. 191–207.

[66] David V.N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents. Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis, 1991), esp. pp. 4–10 ('Consensus on the Controversialists' Failure').

controversialists has been that, lacking other significant treatments of
Catholic theological or pastoral activities in Luther's wake, his opponents
have come to represent nearly the whole of pre-Tridentine German
Catholicism. Even the rise of the confessionalization thesis, which has
accorded German Catholics equal treatment with their Protestant peers,
has not significantly changed our view of their situation before Catholic
confessionalization accelerated shortly before 1600.[67] This was not always
so. Janssen and those he inspired documented a wealth of other kinds
of sources and from them painted an entirely different picture. Among
those sources were German Catholic sermons in Luther's wake,[68] about
which Lortz knew but (perhaps inadvertently) silenced through his and his
students' focus on the pamphlet polemics of controversialist theologians.
Nor, after nearly 100 years and 48 volumes, has the only series of edited
sources dedicated to Catholic literature promoted a different perspective:
with the exception of a few volumes of correspondence, the *Corpus
Catholicorum* consists entirely of controversialist texts.[69]

* * *

When nineteenth-century German Catholic historians such as Nikolaus
Paulus wrote about Catholic preaching after 1517, they did so in the *Leben
und Werke* tradition that resulted in numerous, often short studies of various
individuals who preached and published sermons, but they produced no
sort of scholarship that could be considered systematic or analytical.[70] I
have recently attempted to do just this in a study of standardized sermon
collections known as *postils*, produced in the Holy Roman Empire ca. 1520–
1620, by Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist preachers, editors, compilers,
translators, and printers.[71] Although barely able to scratch the surface of
the multiple preaching topics covered in these sermon collections, I do think
the data presented within this study leave no doubt that, in the wake of

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[67]   A noteworthy exception is the first chapter of Marc R. Forster's excellent synthesis,
Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment (New York, 2007), although
he does not consider the sources discussed below.

[68]   It is telling that in the wake of Janssen, Paulus, and Falk, two separate volumes
on Johannes Eck's preaching and pastoral activities (as opposed to his controversialist
writings) appeared, and did so right before the major paradigm shifts that followed the
First World War: August Brandt, *Johann Ecks Predigttätigkeit an U. L. Frau zu Ingolstadt
(1525–1542)* (Münster i.W., 1914); and Joseph Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch für U.L.
Frau in Ingolstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der pfarrkirchlichen Verhältnisse im sechzehnten
Jahrhundert* (Münster i.W., 1908).

[69]   *Corpus Catholicorum. Werke Katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der
Glaubensspaltung* (Münster i.W., 1919ff.).

[70]   See for example the list of such studies that accompanies my discussion of Paulus above.

[71]   Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils*, passim.

their failed pamphlet campaign, German Catholics produced postils in such massive numbers—and long before one may speak of the impact of Trent or confessionalization—as to warrant a revision of two claims dominant in scholarship: the equation of preaching with Protestantism, and the notion that in their response to the Reformation and subsequent attempts at reform and counter-reform, German Catholics were in a muddle until the end of the sixteenth century or thereafter.[72]

Postils were designed to provide a preacher with a sermon (often sermons) for every Sunday and feast day of the year. Each sermon began with and was based on a brief Gospel or Epistle passage—a pericope—the content of which lent itself to a specific preaching theme, for example, on the second Sunday after Epiphany the pericope narrated the Wedding at Cana (John 2:1–11), because of which most sermons on this day addressed marriage. The pericopes were more or less in place by the Carolingian era, which ensured that by 1517 every pericope had been associated with a particular topic for centuries.[73] Although the exact process of their selection remains unclear, the evidence demonstrates that lists of pericopes were put together so as to allow preachers to cover any and all themes deemed relevant to the Christian's life, and to repeat those themes annually. This included everything from sacramental theology and justification to rituals, sickness, astrology, ecclesiology, and of course obedience to the state. As such, postils were the applied distillation of Christianity delivered by the clergy to the laity on a regular basis; their pedagogical method was *repetition*. Ordinary pastors were expected to follow these sermons closely in their pulpits if not simply read them aloud; contrary to our expectations, numerous congregations of ordinary Christians preferred the latter. Evidence indicates that the pericopes were part of common religious culture, not least because their texts were set to popular tunes, sung in the vernacular during and outside of church services, and so entrenched among the commoners that even German Calvinists might have to preach on them.[74] Luther understood the worth of these collections and, with

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[72]   Ibid. Rather than provide a long sequence of footnotes referring to this book over the course of the next several pages, I can refer the reader to the detailed table of contents and especially the appendices and tables, which include all of the relevant data on years of printings, numbers of editions, confessional affiliation, and the "nationality" of postillators Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed.

[73]   There continued to be regional variations well after the Reformation (including readings for locally important saints, for example), i.e., yet another example of Catholic unity in diversity; see Johann Baptist Schneyer, *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt* (Freiburg i.B., 1969), p. 101; detailed analysis in Herwarth von Schade, *Perikopen. Gestalt und Wandel des gottesdienstlichen Bibelgebrauchs* (Hamburg, 1978).

[74]   German Calvinist postils come as a surprise because, like Zwingli, Calvin and his most influential heirs flatly rejected the tradition of preaching based on the pericopes in favor of preaching through entire biblical books (*lectio continua* or *homiliae perpetuae*).

minor modifications, retained the Catholic order of pericopes. The use and reception of postils and pericopes were so much a part of the religious fabric that their transition from "late medieval" to "reformation" was seamless. Nor can there be any doubt that, like his catechisms, the appearance of the first complete edition of Luther's postils in 1527 needs to be understood in the context, after 1526, of the appropriation of "reformation" by the Saxon territorial state. Postils had long been understood as a means of shaping and controlling pulpit discourse, which became a top priority for Luther's prince as well as other Protestant and Catholic leaders after the *Wildwuchs* of the early 1520s and the resulting chaos and carnage of the Revolution of 1525.

What changed thereafter was that postils now had to perform their traditional duties in an entirely new context: that of reformation, Catholic reform and renewal, counter-reform (or whatever you will), and confessional formation, which in turn made them essential tools in the process of confessionalization (even if the importance of postils is in no way dependent on the endurance of the confessionalization paradigm). Catholic preachers and princes, no less than their Protestant counterparts, first demonstrated an appreciation of this in the immediate fallout of the Peasants' War. The printing data as well as the formats, structures, and contents of these sermon collections during the century after Luther allow a number of observations regarding German Catholic postils and preaching. I shall summarize the most important among them accordingly:

> Fresh from their unconditional defeat in the pamphlet battle that died out around 1525, several German Catholics issued short sermon collections, preachers' concordances and handbooks, and announced plans for complete German Catholic postils which, they insisted, were desperately needed for re-conversion as well as maintaining Catholic identity. In 1530 three separate editions of such postils first appeared, authored by Antonius Broickwy von Königstein OFM (recently cathedral preacher in Cologne, d. 1541), Friedrich Nausea (cathedral preacher in Mainz, d. 1552 in Trent as Bishop of Vienna), and Johannes Eck (virulent controversialist who, it is usually forgotten, preached constantly as a pastor in Ingolstadt, d. 1543). Although it is often unfruitful to compare numbers (because both sides produced so many), by 1535 Luther's contemporary Catholic opponents had put as many complete sets of postils into circulation as the Wittenberg reformer, who was also the only German Protestant postillator before then. When one adds the number of sets printed by 1535 which had been authored before 1500 and were now "accommodated" to meet the needs of the day, Catholic postil production nearly doubled that of Lutheran. Thereafter the floodgates opened and hundreds of authors from both camps added to the fray. German Catholic printers would put nearly 500,000 complete sets of postils into priests' hands by 1620.

1. The intimate relationship between Luther's postils and the Saxon territorial government signaled a rule rather than an exception: almost all Catholic and Protestant postils were issued under the auspices of local, territorial, or diocesan authorities and often, in fact, were funded and distributed by those authorities. Among German Catholics, the authorities involved — and *invoked* — were territorial princes, prince-bishops, emperors, and less often city councils. What was entirely missing, was the pope. Brief letters from Roman pontiffs congratulating an author might occasionally be included among prefatory materials, but prominent on or after title pages were imperial, ducal, or episcopal coats or arms with extensive letters of dedication and prefaces that placed these works squarely in German contexts for a German Catholic church. Artistically this point was driven home on title pages on which the emperor sat front and center, holding up sword, scepter, and *globus mundi* in order to represent his unique combination of ecclesiastical and secular power as well as his historical duty to guide and reform the church. Surrounding these emperors were the regalia of Germany's leading bishops and Catholic princes responsible for the same tasks in their lands. The busts of patristic bishop-theologians or distant emperors might round out the picture, but the contemporary Bishop of Rome was nowhere to be found. It may indeed be true that, in their controversialist polemics, Catholic authors were obsessed with the defense of papal authority, but when providing priests with materials to be passed on to ordinary Germans they were far less interested.

2. For most of the sixteenth century, German Catholic postillators attempted to meet Protestant sermon collections on their own terms, i.e., on the level of the scriptural text instead of constantly invoking standard theological and canonical authorities. Whether or not their sermons were "based solely on scripture," as they claimed, is less relevant than the fact that they were aware of the need to make them appear so. Therefore authorities appeared rarely (if at all) whereas the margins and bodies of these printed texts were nearly snowed under by biblical citations. Here they consciously responded to Luther and to the earlier pamphlet propaganda that had overwhelmed them. Where they did not, however, was in their preference for traditional homiletic forms, in which one demonstrated a few basic points, as opposed to Luther's patristic, line-by-line exegesis. The latter may have stuck more closely to the biblical text, but as some Lutherans observed the method risked dragging the listener off the beaten path and into a wilderness of confusion, for which reason the majority of Lutheran postillators after Luther would follow not his but the Catholic model.

3. Although Luther's postils contained sermons that were excessively long relative to those of anyone else, as a rule Catholics preferred to offer

shorter sermons in their collections than did Protestants. Again, the idea was to pound into the listener—thoroughly—a few basic points, but brevity created open spaces that many Catholics filled with additional sermons for each pericope, each treating a different theme specific to that pericope. Catholic collections also differed in their tendency to append numerous occasional sermons to the standard order of pericopic homilies. It was not uncommon to find, at the end of a Catholic postil, sermons to be used during burial, marriage, plague, famine, flooding, Turkish threats, processions, or any number of similar occasions. Other collections would point out, in their tables of contents, where such materials could be found within the standard pericopic sermons (e.g. "19th Sunday after Trinity, 3rd Sermon, to be used in times of plague"). This is especially significant given the (correct, I think) assumption that Lutherans printed far more topical sermon collections than Catholics ever would. Books of such sermons, however, were expensive for most preachers, Protestant or Catholic, who often lacked the cash for any volumes beyond the required minimum. There is an irony here: in terms of dissemination, this meant that poor Catholic priests may have been more likely to have some extra sermons on hand for hot-button issues like witchcraft or plague than did humbler Lutheran ministers, despite the fact that Lutherans printed far more volumes of sermons dedicated exclusively to either topic. One cannot simply count titles printed: one needs to open these books up, to ask how they were used and by whom.

4. As mentioned above, patristic and medieval postils might find a place (accommodated and corrected, of course), but this remained true for only a few decades. Furthermore the popular but often derided late medieval collections so in vogue around 1500 (e.g. Johannes von Werden's *Dormi secure*) disappeared completely from the Empire after 1520. Well aware of the current climate, even German Catholic postillators mocked these earlier collections. Instead they issued postils compiled before the thirteenth century, most often by earlier authors like Bede or Paul the Deacon, whose works were usually little more than compilations of patristic exegesis, i.e., the comments of those Church Fathers closest to the *fontes* of Christianity and certainly studied by Protestants as well as Catholics. If Calvinist postillators could acknowledge the legitimacy of Carolingian compilers like (pseudo-) Alcuin, Paul the Deacon, and Bede, then Catholic production of such materials after 1530 would seem to represent a reasoned, calculated response. Regardless, these pre-1200 postils were at best supplements to the first post-1530 collections: in the Empire their production dropped statistically to near-zero by 1545 and remained there for 60 years. Shortly after 1600, however, such collections began to appear again, including von Werden's *Dormi secure* and other late medieval postils that, in 1530, German Catholics had found embarrassing.

5. For nearly almost as long, the same statistical observation applies to postils printed in the Holy Roman Empire that had been authored by contemporaries who were indeed Catholic, but foreign to Germany itself. German Catholic postils were produced for specifically German contexts by Germans: the data make clear that, before 1590 at least, when it came to preaching to commoners they neither required nor wanted the help of foreigners.[75] The last thing priests needed to carry into their pulpits at this time were sermons authored by Spaniards or Italians and saturated with lengthy defenses of papal primacy. Thereafter the situation changed drastically such that, between 1591 and 1620, for example, 50 percent of the postils printed in Germany had been written by contemporary foreigners (79 of 160 editions).

6. Much that had made German Catholic postils so useful before the end of the sixteenth century would also render them dangerous thereafter. Despite its beginning in 1545, the Council of Trent would not issue its canons and decrees in their final form until decades later. Just as earlier Catholic controversialists were insufficiently Tridentine due to no reason other than chronology, many of the most gifted and influential German Catholic postillators preached and published their sermons before the 1560s. The fiery Mainz cathedral preacher Johann Wild OFM (d. 1554) is a perfect example, not least because he was considered the most gifted among the German postillators and, in terms of dissemination, without question among the most influential (as discussed above, Nikolaus Paulus demonstrated as much in 1893 with far less available data). In 1550 Wild's sermons went out from presses in Mainz at the order of Archbishop von Heusenstamm (d. 1555), who had made them the standard for preaching in his lands. Within months Wild had been condemned by theologians at the Sorbonne, whose efforts were followed up in short order by Catholic authorities throughout Europe and, eventually, in Rome itself. His doctrine of justification was attacked as "Lutheran" (it was perfectly late medieval but certainly not Tridentine) and, worse yet, his diatribes against clerical (and especially Roman) abuses were among the most violent and thorough-going to be found in Catholic print. The immediate response of Wild's archbishop, as well as of Catholic bishops and printers in Germany for the next several decades, was to ignore these foreign denunciations entirely. They needed well-written, simple sermons that explained the basics of Catholic doctrines and rituals, acknowledged (as did these bishops) the need for reform on all levels, and refuted Protestant teaching as non-violently as possible. Simply put, they needed postils that worked in specifically

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[75]   The issue was not one of language, given that German Catholics eagerly translated into German a number of Latin and vernacular foreign texts—some of them more substantial in size than postils—during the sixteenth century.

German contexts. Peter Canisius (d. 1597) counted among those Jesuits in the Empire who for many years warned of the popularity of errant postils by Wild and others, but they could do nothing to change things until more German rulers followed the dictates of their counsel more closely.

7. Canisius and his brethren *could* have done something almost immediately upon their arrival in Germany at mid-century: they could have authored their own postils, adapted to German contexts, and sought to replace the popular collections they denounced. In this respect the Jesuits failed miserably, for it was only in 1590 that the semi-retired Canisius issued a postil himself, and it was only in Georg Scherer (d. 1605) that German Jesuits had a postillator whose work enjoyed significant reception—only, however, after the first printing of 1603. As foreign-authored postils began to appear more frequently, more Jesuit collections found their German printers, but between 1590 and 1620 the Society accounted for less than ten percent of total print production. Put another way: in terms of the most normative, authorized discourse that ordinary Catholics heard regarding their religion on a regular basis, the influence of the Jesuits was minimal, as was, incidentally, that of Italians or Spaniards of any stripe. Despite understandable scholarly tendencies to emphasize the efforts of the religious orders (old and new) in counter-reformation Germany, the majority of the sermons read from pulpits came from authors with no such institutional affiliation whatsoever. They were mere priests.

8. Finally, the rough approximation "the 1590s" has appeared repeatedly above in order to signal significant changes in German Catholic postil production: the reappearance of once-scorned scholastic sermons, the decline of home-grown postillators and the rise of foreign authors, the first Jesuit postils, and the demise of earlier giants such as Johann Wild who now failed to pass post-Tridentine muster. One could add that vernacular collections, once dominant, appeared less frequently as Latin versions became more popular; that Catholics were more and more willing to list, at great length, traditional authorities and Tridentine decrees alongside their biblical citations; and that, after a long silence, Catholic postillators could now praise a renewed papacy which, only after considerable time, was no longer a bad word, all of which accords reasonably well with the general consensus regarding the chronology of the gradual transformation of Catholicism in early modern Germany. Nothing happened overnight, but something was indeed happening—so much so that German Catholic prince-bishops could now join the ranks of those early modern, state-building confessionalizers so emphasized in recent scholarship.

Conclusion

Where does this leave German Catholicism before then? Despite a series of paradigm shifts through which we have steadily increased our knowledge of Germany in the reformation era, we have suffered from a sort of scholarly amnesia regarding important aspects of sixteenth-century German Catholicism that were documented and discussed, albeit unsystematically, already in the nineteenth century. I hope to have shown that there are reasons for this neglect, the most significant being the persistent use of Trent and/or the recognition of papal primacy as a measuring stick of early modern Catholicity as well as, in Germany, the tendency of intellectual and religious historians to focus on the pamphlets of Luther's early Catholic opponents and, among political and social historians, the more recent influence of the confessionalization thesis.

Also discussed above was the extent to which Catholic Germany—let alone German Catholic sermon collections—remain absent in recent overviews of early modern European Catholicism. If one should expect as much given the state of the field, it is nevertheless telling that a new work of some 600 pages of primary sources dedicated *exclusively* to early modern German Catholicism employs none of these sermon collections whatsoever. Albrecht Luttenberger has given us an invaluable collection of documents, but postils appear only twice. In his introduction Luttenberger mentions them as an example of late medieval pastoralia that "anticipated a central aspect of *post-Tridentine* reform," as though there were no Catholic postils in Germany between Luther and the end of the sixteenth century. Another document attests to the circulation of postils, but in this case heretical ones that authorities feared commoners might read in their homes. Of the nearly half a million German Catholic copies of postils that circulated during the century after 1520, one reads not a word.[76]

We are well aware of the numerous manifestations of anti-Roman sentiment that were awash in the Empire before and after 1517. The lists of charges laid against pope and curia in the *gravamina* issued by every Imperial Diet were extensive, just as reform discourse and contemporary satire were laden with the same. Luther and early reformation propagandists did not create these perceptions, but they harnessed them to their advantage and took them to new heights. Even more revealing is the rarely mentioned vote taken at the Diet of Speyer in 1524.[77] There German princes and prince-bishops, both Catholic and (proto-) Protestant, voted unanimously in favor

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[76]   Albrecht Luttenberger, *Katholische Reform und Konfessionalisierung* (Darmstadt, 2006), pp. 29 (emphasis mine) and 529.

[77]   On which see Horst Rabe, *Reich und Glaubensspaltung. Deutschland 1500–1600* (Munich, 1989), pp. 164–71.

of the formation of a distinct *German* Church (*ecclesia teutonica*). Were it not for the veto of Charles V, the consequences of this vote might have marginalized Luther's movement considerably, just as it most certainly would have had changed completely what became pre- and post-Tridentine German Catholic history. Better than most evidence that may come to mind, the votes cast at Speyer reveal the extent to which, in Germany, "Roman" was not always a prerequisite adjective for "Catholic." Given the saturation of anti-Roman sentiments among even those otherwise loyal to the teachings of the established church, this should hardly surprise us.

Despite the pro-papal, aggressive, and reactionary polemics that German Catholic controversialists poured out in their pamphlets, their tone and methods were as short-lived as they were successful. When a number of them began preaching and publishing their sermons, they took another approach, not least because instead of addressing a well educated cadre of allies and enemies both local and international, they now found themselves before an entirely different public in entirely new contexts among which the chaos of 1525 loomed large. They were soon joined by reform-minded Catholic preachers who arrived too late for the early pamphlet wars and who, anyway, would never adopt the tenor or content of those earlier polemical works. Their printed postils were disseminated in Catholic Germany in such massive numbers as to suggest an alternative level of analysis. The primarily structural, political, institutional level at which scholars have conducted their research has taught us, with exacting detail, the extent to which most German bishops before 1600 deserve terrible marks as carriers of Catholic- and counter-reform. No pope or council could dismantle the Imperial Church, which guaranteed the continued presence of some prince-bishops who were princes much more consciously than they were bishops, and whose world-view was as much formed by imperial politics as anything else. Trent did not end that. Napoleon did.[78]

Nevertheless, during the century in which their efforts have appeared either bungled, incompetent, or non-existent to historians, these same bishops joined Catholic princes by sponsoring, mandating, and often subsidizing the distribution of sermon collections which, like those of the Lutherans, represent the closest we can get to what a majority of commoners heard about religion and many other topics on a regular basis. Catholic postils might have differed from one another in certain details of doctrine (as censors constantly pointed out), but that does not diminish their role as *Catholic* sermons written by *Catholic* preachers so that *Catholic* priests could deliver them to *Catholic* audiences. What made them "Catholic" was simple: they were explicitly *not* Protestant and in fact *anti*-Protestant

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[78] Useful here is Gottfried Maron, 'Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin, 2000), vol. 18, pp. 45–72.

just as all those involved partook of the Catholic sacraments, attended Catholic services, and identified themselves as Catholic.

As an alternative set of sources that provide an alternative level of analysis, German Catholic postils demonstrate that, with or without Tridentine clarity, there was a truly *pastoral* type of discourse circulating among congregations long thought to have lacked one. The numbers leave no doubt about that. The contents of the sermons are another matter, and one that will require the work of many scholars before they are understood. Of course these homilies contained defenses of the seven sacraments and challenged Protestant doctrines just as the earlier pamphlets had, albeit usually with less bile. But they contained far more than what one found in the pamphlets, including presentations of matters much more pressing in the minds of ordinary men and women such as an extensive Catholic "ritual theory" intended to explain and defend each aspect of virtually every Catholic ceremony in ways that were relevant and non-technical (e.g. not just the ritual of the mass but the reasons for plague processions, traditional burial, blessing candles, and the Rogation Days).[79]

During this earlier phase in Catholic Germany, instruction and indoctrination intended, for example, to instill respect for the Holy See would not have been welcome just as it was not as urgently needed as that which defined basic, traditional belief and praxis over and against the sects. It was more important to defend rituals than Rome. It was only later that it became a priority to defend both. These were two different reformations. It seems to me that reforming the first of them in our scholarship is long overdue, and that pre-Tridentine German Catholic postils are among those sources that will be essential for doing so.

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[79]   Further observations regarding ritual and Catholic postils in John M. Frymire, '*Demonstrationes catholicae*: Defining Communities through Counter-Reformation Rituals', in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, (ed.) Michael J. Halverson and Karen E. Spierling (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 163–82.

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Re-Writing Trent, or What Happened to Italian Literature in the Wake of the First Indexes of Prohibited Books?[1]

Abigail Brundin

In the final chapter of his important book, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, Paul Grendler addressed the question of how far Italian intellectual life was damaged by the Inquisition and the Index. His conclusions are generally balanced. While he accepts that censorship had a negative impact on the publishing industry and on freedom of expression, he also suggests that the greatest potency of the machines of the Index and Inquisition was limited to the period during which the threat of Protestantism was felt most profoundly, that is to a few decades in the later Cinquecento. By the second half of the following century, Grendler argues, the power of these church authorities was clearly on the wane.[2] But while Grendler is more circumspect than many scholars who preceded him in assessing the long-term duration of a period of 'Counter Reformation', his consideration of the impact of censorship on Italian literature is decisive: 'Italian literature lost much of its vitality when vernacular authors accustomed to writing in free, mocking and even slanderous ways during the epoch of Aretino shifted to safer topics in the 1560s. All authors became careful self-censors.'[3]

Since the publication of Grendler's study in 1977, the lines of inquiry he convincingly set in motion have been extended in new ways by the opening to scholars of the archives of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith in Rome in 1998. This has led to a spate of research into the workings of

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[2] See Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 286–93.

[3] Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, p. 287.

the Roman Congregations of the Inquisition and the Index, informed by new documentary evidence for centres other than Venice.[4] Such research has been extremely valuable in opening out the field, and a large amount of helpful information has been uncovered about the practice of official censorship in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the same time there has been a lack of sufficient correlated research in recent years examining the same period from different perspectives, those outside the official machinery of the church authorities. Thus the official viewpoint of effective repression has become unnaturally dominant.[5] This is particularly true for research into the production of popular vernacular literature in the decades after Trent. The assumption has persisted that the majority of popular literature from the late Cinquecento was nothing more than a necessary response to the Tridentine curbing of intellectual freedoms, a devotional outpouring designed to contain nothing challenging to official orthodoxy. The view that 'Italian literature lost much of its vitality' still needs to be effectively challenged and nuanced, as a corrective to a tendency to overstate the effectiveness of censorship practices.[6]

This essay thus forms part of a broader attempt to challenge the negative view of 'post-renaissance' popular Italian literature, and to resituate it in a context in which literary innovation and vitality can be seen to be still very much at work. I use the term 'post-renaissance' in a deliberate nod to the long-standing tendency to measure Italian literary production post-1560 against the period of the high renaissance and find it lacking, as the new classicising and reformed literary aesthetics of the later period failed to chime with the literary sensibilities of subsequent historical eras.[7] Proper attention to vernacular texts from the late Cinquecento across a range of genres helps to demonstrate, rather, the burgeoning of what Virginia Cox

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[4]   See for example Gigliola Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), and the bibliography contained therein. See also the following more recent works: Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); Elisa Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti: Gli indici dei libri proibiti da Clemente VIII a Benedetto XIV* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2008); Ugo Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli 'Indici' del Cinquecento* (Udine: Forum, 2005); and for a broad survey of the field, Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), especially the chapter on 'Censorship', pp. 158–207.

[5]   See, for a useful account of the shortfalls of the 'disciplining' theory used by many early modern scholars, William V. Hudon, 'Religion and Society in Early Modern Italy: Old Questions, New Insights', *The American Historical Review*, 101 (1996), 783–804.

[6]   Scholars before me have made the point that the Counter Reformation was in many ways a popularising movement: see for example Mary Laven, 'Encountering the Counter Reformation', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006), 706–20.

[7]   Marcia Hall's recent book makes similar arguments for the need to 'reclaim' devotional art of the period: see Marcia B. Hall, *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011).

has fittingly described as a '"new model literature" for a reevangelized age, transforming past models to contemporary ends'.[8] Equally, attention to the variety of modes in which texts circulated and reached new audiences in the period helps to alert us to the continued energy that writers and readers invested in their products, Indexes and Inquisition notwithstanding.

Notably, some of the most popular literary genres of the late sixteenth century have been the most neglected by subsequent scholarship, including in particular vernacular devotional poetry and hagiographic works in poetry and prose, which poured from the presses in great numbers. The tendency has been to assume that such texts, because they appear to be wholly orthodox, or because there are so many of them, are lacking in any literary merit or scholarly interest. Such a view fails to allow for the possibility of 'heterodox' content within seemingly standard genres, nor, conversely, does it concede that 'orthodox' literature can also be interesting or creative in its own right. Matthew Treherne has recently argued for the need for a reappraisal of Tasso's late works: 'modern scholars have largely neglected the possibility that the orthodoxy of the later works might represent not intellectual inhibition, but the discovery of new theological and poetic resources.'[9] As with Tasso (who has always anyway been set apart from other writers as an exception), so too with other, far less famous writers of the period. Faced by a new religious and literary climate, good writers do not simply cease to exist, just as astute readers do not cease to seek out interesting and challenging texts. Rather authors find different means of expression to suit the new age and readers respond accordingly. Our task as twenty-first-century readers, by no means straightforward, is to learn how to be up to the work of reading such texts with nuance and appropriate historical understanding, in order to reclaim them from the literary backwater where they have been languishing.

A challenge to the charge of a 'lack of vitality' in late-century Italian literature has a further aim, which chimes with the broader theme of 'reforming reformation' that informs all the essays in this volume. By locating the energy and vitality of late-Cinquecento popular devotional works I hope also in due course to be able to build up the case for the continuation of the kind of reformed devotional currents that shaped literary, poetic texts in the earlier century. In previous research I argued, following the lead of historians such as Thomas Mayer, that an Italian experience of reform extended well beyond the traditional cut-off point in the 1540s, with the

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[8]   Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy 1400–1650* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 136.

[9]   Matthew Treherne, 'Liturgy as a Mode of Theological Discourse in Tasso's Late Works', in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, (eds) Abigail Brundin and Matthew Treherne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 233–53 (p. 233).

establishment of the Roman Inquisition, into the late century and probably beyond.[10] The context for my own argument was the production of lyric poetry in manuscript and print, specifically the reformed spiritual sonnets of the highly acclaimed Petrarchist Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547). By examining Colonna's long poetic influence in the later sixteenth century and the continued circulation of her works into the 1580s, I suggested that 'a new periodisation of Italian reform in the widest sense of the word offers itself, one that pushes well beyond Trent and touches, not theologians or ecclesiastics, but simply readers of vernacular poetry.'[11] A full examination of late-century poetic works, of which the analysis of Gabriel Fiamma in this essay offers the briefest of foretastes, will allow for a clearer understanding of the manner in which currents of reform were transformed and transmitted to audiences reading vernacular poetry after Trent.

Lyric Poetry on the Index

How far the various Indexes of Prohibited Books issued in the second half of the sixteenth century concerned themselves with vernacular literary texts is a question that has attracted useful attention from scholars in recent years.[12] Not very much, would seem to be the straight answer, nor in any clearly systematic way. Of the 3,094 individual works by named or anonymous authors listed on the various sixteenth-century Indexes known to us to date, only 215 are works in the vernacular rather than Latin, that is just under 7 per cent.[13] Of these 215 banned works, approximately 40 are poetic texts by Italian authors, including collections of *rime*, satirical and burlesque poetry, and madrigals.[14] A large proportion of poetic texts

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[10]   See for a summary of arguments about the longevity of Italian evangelism, Elisabeth G. Gleason, 'On the Nature of Sixteenth-Century Italian Evangelism: Scholarship, 1953–1978', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9 (1978), 3–26. More recent contributions to this ongoing debate include Thomas F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 11–26; and idem, 'What to Call the *Spirituali*', in *Chiesa cattolica e mondo moderno: Scritti in onore di Paolo Prodi*, (ed.) Gianpaolo Brizzi, Adriano Prosperi and Gabriella Zarri (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007), pp. 11–26.

[11]   Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 192.

[12]   See for example Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana*. More generally on the mechanics of censorship on the Indexes, see Gigliola Fragnito, 'The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship', in *Church, Censorship and Culture*, pp. 13–49.

[13]   *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite au XVIe siècle. Auteurs, ouvrages, éditions avec Addenda et corrigenda*, (ed.) J. M. De Bujanda (Sherbrooke-Geneva: Éditions de l'Université de Sherbrooke-Librarie Droz, 1996), p. 32.

[14]   I say approximately, because it is not possible in every case to identify an author or a work. I have also counted once each the three anthologies of vernacular poetry (containing works by numerous authors).

included on the Indexes can be deemed to fall into the category of morally
suspect or lascivious works (official attempts to limit the damage of this
kind of offensive literature were nothing new).[15] A smaller number of
works, however, fall outside this category, and in some cases the reasons
for their censoring are difficult to identify.

With the help of De Bujanda's invaluable *Thesaurus de la littérature
interdite au XVIe siècle*, a rapid survey of *Rime* and other poetic works on
the sixteenth-century Indexes immediately reveals one significant result:
the majority of poetic works first appear on the 1580 Index issued in
Parma, in other words not on the centrally promulgated official Indexes of
1559 or 1564, but rather on a local, supplementary list of works instigated
and circulated at a regional level with regional implementation.[16] Notably,
a number of works that were included for the first time on the Parma
Index then made it onto later Roman Indexes, in an interesting case of
censorial rigour flowing from the periphery to the centre, rather than in
the opposite direction. The direct lifting of such works from the Parma list
to subsequent Roman Indexes is made clear by the retention of spelling
oddities and inaccuracies introduced on the Parma Index, which is in the
main a somewhat inconsistent and error-ridden document.[17]

The question of why the Parma Index was seemingly concerned with the
censorship of literary, poetic texts is an intriguing one. Church authorities in
Parma were behaving just as instructed by Rome in seeking to supplement
the Tridentine Index with their own local list of banned books: the emphasis
on poetry, however, is entirely their own. The zealously reforming Bishop
of Parma in 1580, Ferrante Farnese (1543–1606), caused great local
consternation with his determined and indefatigable work to apply Tridentine
directives in the territory, and it seems likely that the impetus behind the Parma
Index was his.[18] It is not known, however, who was appointed to compile the
list, nor what drove the choice of works for inclusion. Indeed, it is very hard,
surveying the list of 20 poetic works included for the first time, to identify
any clear method or system behind their selection for censure. Contained in
the Parma list are poets clearly deemed to be immoral as well as heretical,

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[15]   On earlier attempts to censor licentious literature see Ugo Rozzo, 'Italian Literature
on the Index', in *Church, Censorship and Culture*, pp. 194–222 (pp. 194–8).

[16]   *Index Librorum Prohibitorum. Apud Erasmum Viotum. Parmae. 1580. Concessu
Superiorum*. See George Haven Putnam, *Censorship of the Church of Rome and Its Influence
Upon the Production and Distribution of Literature, Part 1* (New York and London: G. P.
Putnam's sons, 1906), pp. 234–5.

[17]   Putnam, *Censorship*, p. 234.

[18]   On Ferrante Farnese, see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (henceforth *DBI*), 45
(1995), pp. 84–7.

such as Nicolò Franco (c.1515–1570), whose *opera omnia* is prohibited.[19] It also includes illustrious names such as the Venetians Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) (whose *Rime* were banned until they had been adequately expurgated) and Gabriel Fiamma (1533–85), alongside the now almost entirely unknown Bolognese poet Vitale Papazzoni (c.1530–after 1600), whose *Rime* were published once only, in Venice in 1572.[20] Rather surprisingly, three volumes of collected Petrarchism make an appearance on the list, one by a group of Tuscan authors, one addressed to the gentlewomen of Rome, and the second volume only of Gabriel Giolito's famous series of Petrarchan anthologies.[21] To give an idea of how unusual the Parma Index's concern with poetry is, 12 of the 20 poetic works censured in Parma in 1580 were subsequently included on the Roman Indexes of 1590 and 1593, and only four new poetic works were added to the Index in 1590. The Clementine Index of 1596 includes none of the poetic works previously cited.

Whatever the reasons for a certain paranoia about poetic texts in Parma in 1580, what is clear is that a total of 20 banned poetic texts is a laughably small number when we consider the production of the Italian presses throughout the sixteenth century to meet a continuing public demand for vernacular poetry.[22] A sense of tokenism cannot be avoided. And while one might expect, given the very small numbers, a list consisting purely of 'big names' like Bembo – as a way to send a message to the wider public about the kinds of popular poetry that were no longer deemed acceptable – instead the list includes a number of minor poets whose fame

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[19] Franco's *Rime contro Pietro Aretino* had already appeared on the Indexes of 1559 and 1564: see *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p. 189. The author was beheaded in 1570 for writing satirical verses against the pope: for more information see Paul F. Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World, 1530–1560: Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco, and Ortensio Lando* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969); Carlo Simiani, *La vita e le opere di Nicolò Franco* (Turin-Rome: L. Roux, 1894).

[20] On Bembo's *Rime* see Brian Richardson, 'From Scribal Publication to Print Publication: Pietro Bembo's *Rime*, 1529–1535', *Modern Language Review*, 95 (2000), 684–95. On Fiamma's *Rime Spirituali* and other works, see Carlo Ossola, 'Il "queto travaglio" di Gabriele Fiamma', in *Letteratura e critica: studi in onore di Natalino Sapegno* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1976), III, pp. 239–86. On Papazzoni's *Rime* see Walter L. Bullock, 'Vitale Papazzoni: A Whimsical Petrarchista of the Cinquecento', *Italica*, 12 (1935), 51–65.

[21] *Primo volume della scielta di stanze di diversi autori toscani, raccolte da M. Agostino Ferentelli* (Venice: Gli eredi di Melchiorre Sessa ad instantia dei Giunti di Firenze, 1571); *Per donne romane. Rime di diversi raccolte et dedicate al Signor Giacomo Buoncompagni da Muzio Manfredi* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1575); *Rime di diversi nobili huomini et eccellenti poeti nella lingua thoscana. Libro secondo …* (Venice: Giolito, 1547).

[22] For general trends in the period, see Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). It has been pointed out that certain Venetian printers increased their productivity precisely during the period of strictest censorship in the decades after Trent: see Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: Lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988).

and influence must have been limited. The case of Vitale Papazzoni is emblematic. He had published only one volume of verses in 1572. There had been no subsequent editions by 1580, and the poet did not produce a further volume of poetry, so why, eight years later and given the scarce impact of his work, did his name appear on the Parma Index?[23]

Papazzoni's case might in fact provide a clue to the decisions governing inclusion on the Parma list. He spent the majority of his life in service as secretary to Monsignor Michele della Torre (who became a cardinal in 1583). In this role he attended the Council of Trent, and accompanied della Torre in his role as papal nunzio on an ill-starred visit to the French court in 1566. On this occasion, the pope's nunzio failed to achieve any of his stated aims, and on his return to Italy della Torre retired to his diocese of Ceneda in disgrace.[24] Papazzoni was appointed Archdeacon of Ceneda in 1569, so we can assume he at some stage took minor orders.[25] These biographical glimpses indicate that he was engaged at some level with the religious issues of the day and known to some of the powerful figures in the Vatican. Although his poetic output was not great, we might assume therefore that it would have attracted more than its fair share of censorial rigour, given his connections and potentially his association with della Torre's disgrace in France. And while the content of his collection of verse is entirely in line with the Petrarchan fashions of his day (or even old fashioned, in its adherence to a Bembist model from the earlier Cinquecento), and contains large numbers of harmless occasional verses documenting events and meetings in the poet's life, the stress on an unrequited love for a woman named Laura was perhaps not deemed a sensible literary ploy for a man in his position.[26] The compiler of the Parma Index, we might imagine, used his task as an opportunity to take action against colleagues who were not sufficiently serious about their roles as ambassadors for the church. The inclusion of Bembo alongside Papazzoni on the list reinforces the sense that the censure was directed at amorous Petrarchism penned by men of the cloth.[27] Notably, Papazzoni in his verses is careful to make clear the chaste and platonic nature of his passion for Laura: seemingly even a sublimated passion was too much for the Parma censors, however.

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[23] Papazzoni did contribute a few verses to anthologies after 1572: see Bullock, 'Vitale Papazzoni', p. 54.

[24] See the online DBI, at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-della-torre_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

[25] See Bullock, 'Vitale Papazzoni', pp. 52–4.

[26] A detailed account of the contents of Papazzoni's *Rime* is provided by Bullock, cit.

[27] Clearly aware of a new need for decorum after becoming a Cardinal, Bembo himself tried to prevent publication of youthful *lettere amorose* and poems in 1544: see Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers*, p. 74.

The anthologies of lyric poetry included on the Parma list suggest similar concerns with amorous Petrarchism at play, although not in this case written by clerics. Giolito's banned 1547 volume contains a single verse by Anton Francesco Doni, an author who was banned outright on the Parma Index, as well as a number of poems by Luigi Alamanni and Ludovico Domenichi, both censured on the Parma Index for their salacious verses (although the sonnets in the Giolito anthology are not of this type). Likewise the collected volume of Tuscan authors contains two sonnets by Luigi Tansillo and a single poem by Giovanni Della Casa, both authors already placed on the Index in 1559. The third anthology of verse censured in Parma, *Per donne romane*, contains no banned poets but the subject matter fits the general picture of the banning of amorous Petrarchism, particularly of a collection that purports to glorify the city of Rome on account of its beautiful and virtuous ladies. Once again, given the large numbers of Petrarchan anthologies in print in the sixteenth century, the selection of a random three for inclusion on the Parma Index seems tokenistic and somewhat haphazard at best. To underline this, the first Giolito anthology, published in 1545, opens with a sequence of (unexpurgated) sonnets by Bembo, and includes poems by Pietro Aretino, Luigi Alamanni, Giovanni Della Casa, Anton Francesco Doni and Ludovico Domenichi, all banned authors, yet it does not make it onto the Parma list.[28] One is tempted to imagine a case of a local censor making do with the books he had access to, without worrying overly much about how representative they were.

Alongside amorous Petrarchan poetry by clerics and others, licentious verses and satires by authors such as Ludovico Ariosto and Luigi Alamanni, a final category of poetry on the Parma Index, and a noticeably tiny one, is devotional poetry. The Parma Index includes only five works that fall into this category: Gabriel Fiamma's *Rime spirituali*, a somewhat hybrid work crossing genre boundaries;[29] a work entitled *Figure del Vecchio Testamento* by Damian Maraffi, printed in France;[30] *Stanze in lode de Maria Vergine* by Gabriele Ranieri;[31] Marco Rosiglia, *La conversione di santa Maria Magdalena*;[32] and finally a work listed as *Stanze spirituali in*

[28]   *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss[imi] auttori nuovamente raccolte. Libro primo* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito di Ferrarii, 1545).

[29]   Gabriel Fiamma, *Rime spirituali del R. D. Gabriel Fiamma … esposte da lui medesimo …* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1570).

[30]   *Figure del Vecchio Testamento, con versi toscani per Damian Maraffi nuovamente composti, illustrate* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1554).

[31]   *Stanze in lode di Maria Vergine, raccolte da M. Gabriel Ranieri, Academico Romito* (Viterbo: per Agostino Colaldi , 1571).

[32]   This work went through numerous sixteenth-century editions. The earliest appears to be Marco Rosiglia, *La divotissima conversione di santa Maria Magdalena* (Perugia: Cosimo Bianchini, 1513).

contemplatione di Specchio di virtù.[33] Notably, none of these works was recent, and the ongoing impact of some by 1580 seems negligible.

Gabriel Fiamma's case is rather particular, situated as his text is on the boundary between courtly Petrarchism and devotional poetry. Fiamma was a noted preacher, who became Bishop of Chioggia in 1584, that is after the appearance of his *Rime spirituali* on the Parma Index.[34] Notably his work appeared on no subsequent Index, suggesting that the particular concern with spiritualised Petrarchism in Parma was not shared more widely. Equally his other published texts (sermons and a substantial work of lives of the saints) never came in for censure. Fiamma's collection of spiritualised lyric poetry, with accompanying self-commentary, is consciously modelled on the earlier example of Vittoria Colonna, whom he cites as the first and best to have turned the lyric muse to matters of the soul:

> Certainly everyone knows that the most illustrious Lady Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa of Pescara, was the first who began to write with dignity in lyric verse of spiritual matters, paving the way and opening the path for me to follow and reach wherever it pleased God to lead me.[35]

Fiamma shares with Colonna a belief in the evangelical power of poetry, as a tool to reach and bring to God as many souls as possible. He also derives from Colonna's model an essential Christocentric optimism founded in the wonder of salvation.[36]

A fundamental aspect of the poetic task that Fiamma sets himself is to refine the most polished poetic style, one that fully matches the beauty of Petrarch's fourteenth-century model, but supersedes it in the embracing of newly spiritual subject matter. Only a truly perfect style drawing on the model of the Psalms, the poet believes, will allow him adequately to allude to the mysteries of faith.[37] This concern with poetic style is shared

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[33]   It has not been possible to identify this work. The *Specchio di virtù* itself is a prose work by Nicolao Granucci in praise of friendship, marriage and female chastity: Nicolau Granucci, *Specchio di virtù* (Lucca: Busdrago, 1556). The work cited seems to be in some way a response to it.

[34]   On Fiamma see *DBI*, 47 (1997), pp. 330–31. An earlier accusation of heresy was levelled at him in Naples in 1562, but the charges were later dropped. On his preaching, see Emily Michelson, 'Preaching Scripture under Pressure in Tridentine Italy: a Case Study of Gabriele Fiamma', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 85 (2005), 257–68.

[35]   'Et certamente che, essendo noto a ciascuno che l'Illust[rissima] Signora Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara, è stata la prima, che ha cominciato a scrivere con dignità in Rime le cose spirituali, e m'ha fatta la strada, e aperto il camino di penetrare, e giungere ove è piacuto a Dio di condurmi': Fiamma, *Rime spirituali*, dedicatory letter [unpaginated].

[36]   On these aspects see Ossola, 'Il "queto travaglio" di Gabriele Fiamma', pp. 258–9.

[37]   For a discussion of Fiamma's 'poetics of conversion' as offering a particularly suitable model for women writers of this period, see Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women's*

by Fiamma's contemporaries, who devoted much thought to the best style in which to write of matters of the spirit. Antonio Minturno (1500–74), a bishop who attended the Council of Trent as well as a practising poet and theorist, stated in his *L'arte poetica* that 'poetry … is certainly God's own art form'.[38] In his theoretical texts he too was deeply aware of the need in the wake of the Reformation to clarify vernacular poetic practice, in order to assure its doctrinal purity and moral integrity.[39]

Fiamma's deep engagement with the work of Vittoria Colonna as a poetic model for his own *Rime* may have contributed to his inclusion on the Parma Index (although notably the earlier poet does not appear on the list, despite her clear engagement with by now heretical doctrine). While he does not express the belief in *sola fide* that profoundly marked Colonna's work, the shared resonance is striking. Perhaps the only sign that some insecurity may have dogged Fiamma's evangelical poetic enterprise is the inclusion, in all published editions of the *Rime spirituali*, of an accompanying commentary by the author (although expressed in the third person), essentially shoring up and explaining the poetic texts.[40] It is almost as if, in a post-Tridentine context in which the clarity of the message is paramount, Fiamma cannot risk leaving too much of the work of interpretation to the reader's discretion. Nonetheless his work constitutes compelling evidence for the persistence of 'reformed' Petrarchism into the late Cinquecento, understood as lyric poetry in the high courtly style deployed for evangelical ends, in a highly personalised, Christocentric frame. His inclusion on the Parma Index demonstrates an awareness on the part of readers that such an approach is problematic. But his exclusion from subsequent Indexes points to a spirit of tolerance that is also noteworthy.

The second of the devotional poetic volumes on the Parma Index, Maraffi's *Figure*, containing large numbers of illustrations, has presumably fallen foul of the censors for its inclusion of poetic paraphrasing and explication of Biblical texts, a practice that was frequently cited for condemnation by the Church and is explicitly condemned elsewhere on

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Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2011), pp. 32–6.

[38] 'La poesia, com'è cosa divina, così è certamente arte d'Iddio': Antonio Minturno, *L'arte poetica del Sig. Antonio Minturno …* (Venice: Gio. Andrea Valuassori, 1564), dedicatory letter [unpaginated].

[39] Other theorists of the period point similarly to Scripture as the 'first poetry': see Erminia Ardissino, 'Poetiche sacre tra Cinquecento e Seicento', in *Poesia e retorica del sacro tra cinque e seicento*, (eds) Erminia Ardissino and Elisabetta Selmi (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009), pp. 367–81.

[40] On the status of poetic 'auto-commentaries', relating to the work of Luca Contile, see Amedeo Quondam, 'Le *Rime cristiane* di Luca Contile', in *Il naso di Laura*: *Lingua e poesia lirica nella tradizione del Classicismo* (Ferrara: Panini, 1991), pp. 263–82.

the Parma Index.[41] Its publication in Lyon rather than with an Italian press suggests that the author was already well aware of the possibility of censure. How the Parma censors came to possess the work is an intriguing question: they seemingly had to hand a copy, or at least knew the work well enough to cite a specific poem for censure, a work listed as 'la stanza felice Chiesa povera dell'oro'.[42] The third work on the list, Ranieri's *Stanze in lode di Maria Vergine*, was perhaps guilty of a blurring of genre boundaries which upset the Parma censors. Collections of *Stanze in lode di …* were more often directed at living men and women, were encomiastic in nature, and could often be playful and irreverent.[43] Thus the introduction of the Virgin Mary into such a courtly and amorous poetic context may have been deemed unseemly, although Ranieri was by no means the first or only author to do this. Marco Rosiglia's work on Mary Magdalene presumably came in for condemnation for similar reasons to Maraffi's *Figure*. While the poem in *ottava rima* on the Magdalene's conversion seems conventional enough, later editions of the work also contain vernacular translations of the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* and other free interpretations of liturgical texts which may well have attracted the censor's condemnation.[44] What seems clear, however, is that this very short list of devotional poetic works is like a drop in the ocean when set in the context of the numbers of similar works being printed by Italian presses in the period.[45] Again one gets a sense of a censor who happened to have to hand certain books, and acted unsystematically based on available material.

Certainly more insidious than the individually banned volumes and authors, given their tiny numbers, were the blanket prohibitions of various kinds of literary practice that appeared on the Parma Index as well as on other Indexes over the course of the later sixteenth century. The Parma

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[41] See *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p.86. More generally on the prohibition of biblical citations, see Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura, 1471–1605* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997).

[42] *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p. 273.

[43] An example of a more standard use of the genre would be Adriano Valerini, *Stanze in lode del molto illustre signore il signor Tullo Guerrieri. E della signora Giulia Brambati sua consorte* (Verona: Sebastiano dalle Donne, e fratelli, 1577). A more playful text is Ludovico Martelli, *Stanze in lode delle donne* (Florence: Bernardo di Giunta, il vecchio, 1548).

[44] The titlepage to the 1546 edition (Venice: Giovanni Padovano), for example, reads 'Aggiontovi il Pater noster l'Ave Maria volgare, & il Credo esposto in terzetti, Con uno priego devotissimo a Maria vergine per impetrar gratia essendo infermo'. The author is cited as 'Marco Rasilia da Foligno'.

[45] For a sense of production of devotional literature in the period, see Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books, 1465–1550: A Finding List* (Geneva: Droz, 1983); and for the later period, Lorenzo Baldacchini, *Bibliografia delle stampe popolari religiose del XVI – XVII secolo. Biblioteche Vaticana, Alessandrina, Estense* (Florence: Olschki, 1980).

Index, for example, as mentioned previously specifies the prohibition of the citing of biblical texts in verse in Latin or the vernacular.[46] This general prohibition is included as part of the list of banned works and authors, and is easy to miss as one leafs through, thus underplaying its potentially enormous ramifications for poetic genres that used New Testament language and images as a fundamental poetic tool. Other blanket prohibitions on sixteenth-century Indexes included lascivious or 'dishonest' *canzoni*, comedies, and madrigals as well as *lettere amorose*.[47] Clearly the vigour with which such vast and vague pronouncements were enacted would depend on the zeal and efficiency of local inquisitors. The largest number of banned works on the Indexes generally were published in the period 1541–50 (1,405 works) and 1551–60 (1,143 works), suggesting that after 1560 fewer problematic texts were printed as authors responded to new prohibitions.[48] However the majority of these works were theological, and large numbers were written by foreign authors. Thus the pattern of censorship tallies with Grendler's hypothesis that the Inquisition and Index were at their most potent in defending against the immediate threat of Protestantism, rather than policing other kinds of literary production.[49]

The paucity of literary titles on successive sixteenth-century Indexes suggests that in practice, despite blanket bans that implicated huge numbers of works already in circulation, individual works were rarely prosecuted on these grounds, including works from earlier in the century that now fell foul of new censorship rules. Compelling examples in support of this argument are the cases of Vittoria Colonna and, later, the Florentine poet Laura Battiferra degli Ammanati (1523–89). When readers in the late century read the spiritualised Petrarchism of these two authors with an eye on the Index, they clearly uncovered much that was deemed suspect. Thus Colonna's verses were impounded in Ancona in 1599, Battiferra's in Rome, Foligno, Perugia and Spoleto in the early seventeenth century.[50] Neither author was ever included on an Index, however, nor were their poems seemingly ever expurgated. Yet the work of both clearly flouted the prohibitions on vernacular paraphrasing of biblical texts, as well as betraying an engagement with heretical doctrines.[51] Their examples suggest a situation in the late

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[46]   *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p.86. See also Ossola, 'Il "queto travaglio" di Gabriele Fiamma', p. 246.
[47]   Rozzo, 'Italian Literature on the Index', p. 205.
[48]   See *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p. 41.
[49]   Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition*, p. 293.
[50]   Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, p. 305. See also *Laura Battiferra and her Literary Circle*, (ed. and trans.) Victoria Kirkham (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
[51]   On both poets' engagement with reformed doctrine, see Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*. On Battiferra see also Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati, *Il primo libro delle opere toscane*, (ed.) Enrico Maria Guidi (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 2000), Introduction.

century in which confusion reigned about what was permitted, and much that might be deemed suspect continued to circulate freely.

Harder to gauge is how far writers may have responded pro-actively to the blanket prohibitions introduced by various Indexes, by censoring their own works during the act of composition. There has been a tendency to assume that such authorial self-censorship must have been rife: Grendler's statement in the opening section of this essay is emblematic. Collecting evidence to substantiate such a claim is almost impossible, however. It seems relevant to ask ourselves how far the wider public was well informed about the contents of the Indexes, thus how far such proactive self-censorship was even possible.[52]

The evidence from Parma and the other sixteenth-century Indexes creates a picture of partial and random censure at best, of only a tiny proportion of the available poetic texts from the period. More insidious, and far harder to track, is the practice of expurgating literary works both pre- and post-publication. Of the poetic works featured on sixteenth-century Indexes, only Bembo, Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556), Marco Pagani (1526–89) and Luigi Tansillo (1510–68) are singled out for future expurgation. Numerous other works, however, had expurgations imposed by keen local censors, and it is difficult to account for the machinations of this process. Careful sifting of the available evidence by scholars has suggested that anyone could take it upon themselves to become an expurgator of texts; that the same text might be expurgated by different individuals in different locations, producing numerous competing 'clean' editions; and that the process was so lengthy and onerous that on occasion publication was hugely delayed or abandoned as a result.[53] Censors had little care for the integrity of the original text, and while a prose text might survive a censorial battering with some shreds of its original character intact (Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano* is an interesting case here),[54] a poetic text would inevitably be much more vulnerable to wrecking. Thus expurgation remains a thorny issue and one that scholars have not to date managed adequately to take account of. The existence of sources such as,

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[52]   An intriguing case study into the gulf between official prohibitions and actual practice is provided by Wietse de Boer's study of late-century Milan under Cardinal Borromeo. Tellingly, de Boer deliberately divides his book into two sections, the first dealing with the official picture of the Borromean programme of reform, the second with the programme's actual (complex and partial) implementation and results. See Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

[53]   See Fragnito, 'Central and Peripheral Organization', pp. 36–49.

[54]   On the censoring of the *Libro del cortegiano*, see Vittorio Cian, 'Un episodio della storia della censura in Italia nel secolo XVI. L'edizione spurgata del *Cortegiano*', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 14 (1887), 661–727; Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of* The Courtier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 102–6.

for example, a large archive of expurgated and unpublished works in the Archivio Arcivescovile in Florence, helps to illustrate the widespread nature of a practice that was seemingly scarcely documented or controlled.[55]

Given the time wasting and nit picking that could be undergone as a text moved slowly towards print publication through the various censorial mechanisms, a reasonably problem-free solution was to eschew print publication altogether, and opt instead for other means of dissemination. While there has been a tendency in the past to assume that after the advent of print scribal culture was effectively swept to one side in Italy, recent work has shown definitively that this was not the case.[56] An important new avenue for scribal publication and oral dissemination grew up within the burgeoning academies in the later sixteenth century, which did not cater solely to social elites but reached a relatively wide cross-section of society, and provided an ideal forum for sharing and passing on literary works without undue meddling by the church authorities.[57] The members of the Accademia degli Alterati in Florence, as one example, were very engaged with the dissemination of texts, receiving them from members and also from outsiders to read and discuss.[58] While this may to some extent have functioned as a form of pre-print vetting by a trusted peer group on the part of authors, it was not only this, as many authors did not aspire to eventual print publication. Likewise academic discussions and lectures, both public and private, provided a forum for oral dissemination that could potentially reach wide audiences, as is the case with the public lectures on poetry organised by the Accademia Fiorentina, for example.[59] As Brian Richardson has made clear in his recent study, such scribal and oral dissemination in academic

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[55]   On this archive, see Michel Plaisance, 'Littérature et censure à Florence à la fin du XVIe siècle: le retour du censuré', in *Le pouvoir et la plume. Incitation, contrôle et répression dans l'italie du XVIe siècle*. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance italienne et l'Institut Culturel Italien de Marseille: Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, 14–16 mai 1981 (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1982), pp. 233–52.

[56]   Most recently, Brian Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also Antonio Corsaro, 'Manuscript Collections of Spiritual Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Forms of Faith*, pp. 33–56; and on the English context, Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[57]   Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, pp. 48–52.

[58]   On the Alterati see Bernard Weinberg, 'Argomenti di discussione letteraria nell'Accademia degli Alterati (1570–1600)', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 131 (1954), 175–94; and idem, 'The Accademia degli Alterati and Literary Taste from 1570 to 1600', *Italica*, 31 (1954), 207–14.

[59]   See Michel Plaisance, 'Les leçons publiques et privées de l'Academie Florentine (1541–1552), in *Les commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire. France/Italie (XIVe–XVIe siècles)*. Actes du colloque international sur le commentaire, Paris, mai 1988, (ed.) Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani and Michel Plaisance (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990),

contexts allowed for the open-ended transmission of texts from network to network (from one academy to another via individuals, for example) across surprisingly large geographical areas. Sometimes the endpoint of the journey was a printing press, whether with or without the author's permission, but it also frequently led to further manuscript dissemination, operating at one remove from the Indexes and from print censorship.[60]

The scribal dissemination of poetic texts was common practice at all stages of the composition process, operating both inside and outside the context of the Academies. Poets shared their texts for various reasons, seeking feedback from fellow practitioners on work-in-progress, or releasing texts to carefully circumscribed audiences, sometimes allowing them to be copied and recirculated further afield or presented as gifts to friends or patrons. Currents of scribal communication informed the practice of lyric poetry throughout the sixteenth century, indeed were fundamental to its development and vitality. Scribal dissemination was also a means by which fellow poets could debate the contours of their craft, including, in a post-Tridentine context, the onus to produce a poetry that was sufficiently 'pure', both in terms of content and style, to meet the demands of the Tridentine age. And poetry also had a particularly vital role to play in relation to the oral transmission of texts, both through recitation in public places and private houses, and also through sung performance.[61] We might note, by way of a compelling example, that the spiritual Petrarchism of both Vittoria Colonna and Gabriel Fiamma was a very popular choice for musical settings in the late sixteenth century, adding a performance context to the circulation of their poetry that print censorship could never hope to combat.[62] Thus while the problem of the Indexes cannot be ignored, there are myriad ways in which literary culture continued to flourish at one remove from censorship throughout the later sixteenth century and beyond.

Side-stepping the Censors: The Gender Question

The relation of the issue of gender to the presence of Italian literature on the Indexes is a fascinating one, that has recently been opened up in some useful ways by Virginia Cox's two monumental studies of women

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pp. 113–21; Judith Bryce, 'The oral world of the early Accademia Fiorentina', *Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1995), 77–103.

[60]   Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, pp. 46–52.

[61]   See the relevant chapter, 'Orality, manuscript and the circulation of verse', in Richardson, *Manuscript Culture*, pp. 226–58.

[62]   See Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Il Cinquecento e il Seicento', in *Letteratura italiana*, vol.6, *Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici*, (ed.) Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1986), pp. 319–63.

writers in the early modern period.[63] Cox's encyclopaedic work allows us to chart the rapid increase in the number of published women in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet intriguingly, there are almost no women writers on the sixteenth-century Indexes. Of the three Italian women writers to be found in De Bujanda's thesaurus of sixteenth-century Indexes, one (Veronica Franco, 1546–91) was a courtesan, one (Olympia Morata, 1526–55) a Protestant and exile, and finally the 'activist' nun Paola Antonia Negri (1508–55) was closely associated with certain high profile reformers, including Bernardino Ochino.[64] Thus all three are condemned for reasons not specifically related to their literary production. Only two of the three Italians mentioned might be deemed to write 'professionally', one in the vernacular (Franco) and one in Latin (Morata).[65] The third, Negri, was condemned for her published letters, written during the course of her life to a wide variety of recipients.[66] Compare this to the total number of published works by women writers in Italy in the sixteenth century (approximately 216 editions, compared to Italy's nearest rival France, with some 30 editions),[67] and one gets a sense of how completely the censors were missing the boat in controlling the many new and potentially troubling avenues of literary production by women.

Nor should we assume that female authored texts escaped censorship because they remained essentially conservative and unproblematically orthodox over the course of the late century. The obvious case in point

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[63] Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, cit., and more recently, Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, cit. (the latter arriving as this article went to press). See also Diana Robin, *Publishing Women: Salons, the Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[64] On Franco see Margaret F. Rosenthal, *The Honest Courtesan. Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); on Morata see Olimpia Morata, *The Complete Writings of an Italian Heretic*, (ed. and trans.) Holt N. Parker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); on Negri see Rita Bacchiddu, '"Hanno per capo et maestra una monaca giovane": l'ascesa e il declino di Paola Antonia Negri', in *Religioni e Società*, 51 (2005), 58–77, and M. Firpo, 'Paola Antonia Negri da "divina madre Maestra" a "Spirito Diabolico"', in *Barnabiti Studi*, 7 (1990), 7–66.

[65] Franco's poetry was first published as *Terze rime di Veronica Franca al serenissimo signor Duca di Mantova et di Monferrato* (n.p.: n.pub., [1575]). Morata's Latin works were first published posthumously as *Olympiae Fulviae Moratae mulieris omnium eruditissimae Latina et Graeca, quae haberi potuerunt, monumenta*, (ed.) Caius Secundus Curio (Basel: Petrum Pernam, 1558).

[66] Negri's letters were published as Paola Antonia Negri, *Lettere Spirituali della devota religiosa Angelica Paola Antonia de Negri milanese* (Rome: in aedibus Populi Romani, 1576).

[67] The most up-to-date list for Italy is in Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, pp. 236–41. See also (for a less comprehensive list), Axel Erdmann, *My Gracious Silence: Women in the Mirror of Sixteenth-Century Printing in Western Europe* (Lucerne: Gilhofer and Rauschberg, 1999), pp. 206–23 (the list for France is on pp. 201–04). The figure cited above includes works of uncertain authorship, anthologies with multiple female authors (counted only once), and works published posthumously.

here is Vittoria Colonna, of course, whose poetry clearly strayed into doctrinal positions that, after Trent, were wholly untenable, yet continued to be published into the 1580s.[68] Colonna may have been protected from censorship by her aristocratic pedigree and reputation for impeccable piety, or perhaps simply because works by women circulated below the censors' radar. Readers were more astute, as the impounding of her works at the end of the century makes clear. Other female writers similarly continued to operate with great freedom in surprising ways right into the late century. Eleonora Carinci has identified highly unorthodox interpretations of scripture and apocrypha in Marian works by Maddalena Campiglia (1553–95), Chiara Matraini (1515–1604) and Lucrezia Marinella (1571–1653), including overt borrowings from and citations of Pietro Aretino, who had long been on the Index.[69] Her findings suggest that, precisely in the period of the early Indexes, women writers could with impunity write experimentally, including on devotional topics. They also raise the interesting issue of the potential for the most seemingly 'orthodox' devotional genres (in this case, lives of the Virgin Mary) to express unexpected views and even highly creative interpretations of scripture. These were of course the genres that were most insistently aimed at women readers, considered to be suitable reading matter for weaker minds that needed protecting from potential heterodoxy.[70]

Not only as writers, but also as readers, the official picture of female literary activity in the late century, as one confined to carefully orthodox devotional texts, fails to match recent discoveries about actual lived experience. The case of convent reading matter is particularly interesting, and relatively easy to track thanks to late-century inventories of convent books. Even as the Vatican sought to render convents increasingly impregnable in the post-Tridentine period, exchanges with the outside world continued. Convents were important political and economic institutions in local communities, maintaining ties to wealthy local families, and goods and services, including books, necessarily trafficked

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[68] The two late editions are: *Quattordeci sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna D'Avalos de Aquino Marchesa di Pescara* (Venice: Scotto, 1580) (a musical setting for five voices); and *Rime spirituali della S. Vittoria Colonna, Marchesana Illustrissima di Pescara* (Verona: Discepoli, 1586).

[69] Eleonora Carinci, *'Lives of the Virgin Mary' by Women Writers in post-Tridentine Italy*. University of Cambridge, November 2009 (unpublished doctoral thesis). See also Quinto Marini, *'Pietro Aretino nel Seicento: una presenza inquietante'*, in *Pietro Aretino nel Cinquecentenario della nascita*, Atti del Convegno di Roma-Viterbo-Arezzo-Toronto-Los Angeles, ottobre 1992 (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1995), I, pp. 479–99.

[70] Fragnito, *Proibito capire*, pp. 9–10. For a full discussion of specific genres and their treatment by women writers in the period, see Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*.

in and out in a number of ways.[71] Alongside the small number of books that girls from good families might be permitted to bring with them from the paternal home, books were purchased by nuns from local book-sellers with the funds provided by their families and held in the safe keeping of the abbess.[72] The precious records of such purchases demonstrate that nuns were reading more widely than might be expected from the official pronouncements on their activities, including in the field of vernacular poetry. Inventories of convent books also illustrate that, while convent libraries might contain only the narrow range of officially condoned texts that nuns were permitted, individual nuns continued to keep their own collections of books, which were often not officially sanctioned.[73] The existence of copies of Petrarch's *Rime sparse* (as well as Girolamo Malipiero's 'spiritualised' rewriting of Petrarch),[74] of works by Vittoria

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[71]   On the political centrality of convents in the period, see Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). More generally, as a way into the large amount of literature on renaissance nuns and their contexts, a good starting point is the survey essay by Gabriella Zarri, Francesca Medioli and Paola Vismara Chiappa, 'De Monialibus (Secoli XVI – XVII – XVIII)', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 33 (1997), 643–715. Useful studies subsequent to the survey date include: Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life 1450–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Broken Vows and Cloistered Lives in the Renaissance Convent* (London: Viking, 2002); K. J. P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Gianna Pomata and Gabriella Zarri (eds), *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura fra rinascimento e barocco. Atti del convegno storico internazionale Bologna, 8–10 dicembre 2000* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005); Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Gabriella Zarri, *Recinti. Donne, clausura e matrimonio nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Mulino, 2000).

[72]   Evidence for nuns' book-buying habits is provided in Paul F. Gehl, 'Libri per donne. Le monache clienti del libraio fiorentino Piero Morosi (1588–1607)', in Gabriella Zarri (ed.), *Donna, disciplina e creanza cristiana dal XV al XVII secolo: studi e testi a stampa* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1996), pp. 67–80; and Danilo Zardin, 'Mercato librario e letture devote nella svolta del Cinquecento tridentino. Note in margine ad un inventario Milanese di libri di monache', in *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, (eds) Nicola Raponi and Angelo Turchini (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992), pp. 135–246. See also, on the cultural achievements of an autodidact nun, Prospera Corona Bascapè, and the consumption of books in the early modern convent, Danilo Zardin, *Donna e religiosa di rara eccellenza: Prospera Corona Bascapè, i libri e la cultura nei monasteri milanesi del Cinque e Seicento* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), especially pp. 201–48. Zardin notes in particular the practice of loaning books within the convent.

[73]   See Carmela Compare, 'Inventari di biblioteche monastiche femminili alla fine del XVI secolo', *Genesis: Rivista della Società Italiana delle Storiche*, II/2 (2003), 220–32.

[74]   On the presence of Malipiero in a convent inventory, see Carmela Compare, 'I libri delle clarisse osservanti nella *Provincia seraphica S. Francisci* di fine '500', *Franciscana*, IV (2002), 169–372 (p. 337). The work (reprinted seven times before 1600) is Girolamo Malipiero, *Il Petrarca Spirituale* (Venice: Marcolini, 1536). See also Amedeo Quondam,

Colonna, Francesca Turina Bufalini, Benedetto Varchi, Gabriel Fiamma, and Luigi Tansillo, among others, points to a widespread appreciation of Petrarchan culture within Italian convents both before and after the Council of Trent.[75] What is more, the presence of both Gabriel Fiamma and Luigi Tansillo on various of the post-Tridentine Indexes of Prohibited Books increases the sense of a considerable gap between 'official' and actual reading matter for nuns, as for female readers more generally, in the Tridentine period.[76] It also reinforces my suspicion, expressed earlier, that confusion or ignorance reigned among the wider population about what was or was not banned. The convents that willingly compiled these inventories of books and submitted them to the authorities seem to have made no attempt to disguise the presence of banned books within their walls, including in many cases multiple copies of vernacular Bibles.[77] It was almost as if the Indexes had had little impact within the convent walls.

What might be the reasons for this seeming freedom experienced by women writers and women readers, including nuns, precisely during a period traditionally viewed as one of clamp-down and paranoia? How might we account for it given the church's seeming concern with policing the minds and book collections of women in particular? Virginia Cox has categorised the period 1580–1620 as one of 'affirmation' for women writers, who were established as a considerable presence on the literary scene precisely during the first years of the Counter Reformation, building on the success of earlier writers such as Vittoria Colonna and Veronica Gambara.[78] During the last decades of the sixteenth century, what is more, women wrote in a far wider range of genres than had ever been seen previously, including straying into determinedly masculine genres such as tragedy and epic. Cox convincingly argues that precisely the new moralising impetus of the age allowed for the more comprehensive integration of women within Italian literary culture: 'the reborn literature of the post-Tridentine period … was far more easily morally consonant

'Riscrittura – Citazione – Parodia del codice: Il *Petrarca spirituale* di Girolamo Malipiero', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 17 (1978), 77–128.

[75]   Gehl mentions a copy of 'Petrarca' purchased for a Florentine nun ('Libri per donne', p. 74); Zardin notes that Gabriel Fiamma's *Rime spirituali* and Vittoria Colonna's *Pianto sopra la passione di Cristo* were owned by nuns in Milan ('Mercato librario', p. 57, p. 203); Compare cites Benedetto Varchi's *Sonetti spirituali* ('Inventari di biblioteche', p. 228); the same author notes ownership by Franciscan nuns of poetry by Tansillo, Fiamma and Francesca Turina Bufalini ('I libri delle clarisse osservanti', p. 224, pp. 232–3, p. 293, p. 300, p. 311, p. 340, p. 344, p. 350).

[76]   See *Thesaurus de la littérature interdite*, p. 183, p. 381.

[77]   See Compare, 'Inventari di biblioteche monastiche femminili', and 'I libri delle clarisse osservanti'.

[78]   Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, pp. 131–65.

with a female authorial persona.'[79] This seeming paradox, the increasing participation of women in literary culture in a period of increasing control and paranoia, acts as a vital corrective to a tendency to view the machinations of censorship as universally successful and debilitating.

A Future for Post-Tridentine Literature?

The preceding discussion has highlighted some fundamental ways in which our understanding of late sixteenth-century literary production needs to be revised and reworked. Firstly, it is clear that the inclusion of poetry on sixteenth-century Indexes was partial and tokenistic at best: there was seemingly no clear method to works selected. In addition, the sources reveal that the centrally promulgated Roman Indexes were less concerned with literature than the local Parma Index of 1580, which seems to have been anomalous. The long-term impact of expurgation and blanket prohibitions is harder to account for, however there is no hard evidence that blanket prohibitions were enacted with particular force, nor can we really know how far authors proactively self-censored their own works in response to them. Certainly the evidence of nuns' reading habits in Italian convents in 1600 points to a situation in which knowledge of what was prohibited was failing to reach readers on the periphery, and we can assume that writers too remained in many cases blissfully unaware of, or pragmatically unconcerned by, potential transgressions.[80] The second point is straightforward, but worth repeating: that scribal and oral cultures are important avenues for future research, in locating the vibrancy and energy of literary culture in the period, which effectively sidestepped any squeeze on the publishing industry.[81] Finally, the large number, range and experimental qualities of published works by women from the post-

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[79] Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, p. 136.

[80] Poets in seventeenth-century Bologna adopted a highly pragmatic solution to the risk that they were failing to respect rules for appropriate literary language. In the numerous poems written for new nuns 'nell'atto di monacarsi', authors include a prefatory statement defending the use of ambiguous vocabulary: 'What is more, words such as *fato*, *fortuna*, *Deità*, and other similar ones, should be taken to be poetic devices and nothing more' ('Del resto poi, le parole FATO, FORTUNA, Deità, & altri sensi simili, stimale vivezze poetiche, non altro.') See *Nel monacarsi l'illustrissima Sig. Co. Francesca Teresa Castelli nel Nobilissimo Monastero di S. Orsola, detto di S. Leonardo, Pigliando il nome di D. Maria Prospera Orsina Vittoria Clarice. Applausi Poetici dedicati all'Illustrissima Sig. Co. Orsina Leoni Castelli Sua dignissima Madre* (Bologna: Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1668), p. 5.

[81] A major four-year research project under the direction of Brian Richardson at the University of Leeds, beginning in June 2011 with the aim of investigating 'Oral Culture, manuscript and print in early modern Italy, 1450–1700', promises rich findings in this area.

Tridentine period are also an indicator of the potential for literary vibrancy that does not tally with a picture of repression and a climate of fear.

All of these factors contribute to the argument that the impact of Trent and the first Indexes on the perceived vitality of Italian literary culture has been generally overstated. Literary culture certainly changed in Italy from the mid-sixteenth into the seventeenth centuries, but it is reductive to see these changes only as a reaction to church initiatives, and to view them independently from progressive changes in literary tastes and culture across Europe in the same era. The influence of Italian models on other European centres continued to be profound in the early modern period, despite religious differences. Likewise innovation at home continued apace. And while print culture was certainly depressed by censorship and expurgation, costly processes that caused delays and burdened printers, the burgeoning academies opened up a new space for scribal and oral dissemination of literary texts to new audiences.

It remains the case that most students of Italian literature in United Kingdom institutions of higher education (or at least the few students that remain) study works from the renaissance period, perhaps take account of Tasso after Trent, and then vault easily over the following two centuries before continuing their literary investigations.[82] Reintroducing them to the forgotten period in between is made more difficult by the lack of appropriate and user friendly secondary bibliography, as well as by the difficulty posed by teaching any period in which what is of interest is not a canon of 'greats', but the development of subtle new trends and directions. The recent scholarly attention to women writers has been very helpful in this regard, as the increasing availability of modern editions and translations of works by seventeenth-century Italian women has drawn students into a new literary context almost accidentally.[83] The problem of terminology remains: what to call the period after Trent, when all existing terms carry a host of negative assumptions, or else fall from the tongue (or pen) with an awkward lack of grace ('early modern Catholic literature', for example).[84] Perhaps for the time being, it is sufficient to carry on working at the textual coalface, in order to flesh out and add substance to our understanding of what authors wrote and readers enjoyed in the decades

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[82] In a 2006 review commissioned by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the future of modern languages research in the United Kingdom, everything from 1600–1800 was referred to as 'the Cinderella centuries', and research in these areas was highlighted as being at imminent risk of disappearing: see http://www.sis.ac.uk/modern_languages_review.pdf.

[83] Particularly useful are the books published in the *Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* series, first by Chicago University Press, and now by Toronto University Press.

[84] On the problem of terminology, see Hudon, 'Religion and Society', Mayer, 'What to Call the *Spirituali*', and John W. O'Malley, *Trent and all that: renaming Catholicism in the early modern era* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2000).

after Trent. In this context, 'post-Tridentine' may even prove to be a useful periodisation, in alerting us to precisely the fruitful cross-fertilisation of religious and lay traditions in the wake of Trent, which engendered a literature that sought to re-engage with its earliest modes to capture the mood of a reformed age.

After Trent:
The Catholic Reform of Paintings

Marcia B. Hall

When Pius IV's oration was read at the closing ceremony of the Council of Trent, on 4 December 1563, barely a week after what had been feared to be his terminal illness, he made it clear that the council had been convened 18 years earlier to address the issues raised by the Protestants and to seek reconciliation with them: "This most happy day has dawned for the Christian people; the day in which the temple of the Lord, often shattered and destroyed, is restored and completed, and this one ship, laden with every blessing and buffeted by the worst and most relentless storms and waves, is brought safely into port. Oh, that those for whose sake this voyage was chiefly undertaken had decided to board it with us; that those who caused us to take this work in hand had participated in the erection of this edifice! Then indeed we would now have reason for greater rejoicing."[1] Pius's remark indicates that the Catholic Church had undertaken a reformation of its own—or what some have preferred to call a restoration—culminating in the Decrees of the Council of Trent.[2]

Well before that closing session of Trent the Counter-Reformation had begun with efforts to eliminate abuses and to institute practices to restore the devotion of the laity, but the clarifications provided by the decrees of the council inaugurated a new era. When Pius IV actually died some two years later, he was succeeded by a pope so different in style of life and commitment from his predecessors that it was apparent to everyone that the days of the Renaissance papacy were over.[3] The conclave electing this pope made it clear that a new order was being ushered in: the powerful Cardinal Carlo Borromeo rallied his adherents to support a candidate not from the worldly

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[1]   *Canons and Decrees* (1545–63/1941), 259. The oration is available online at http://www.a2z.org/acts/docs/TRENT/trentora.htm (accessed 10 March 2010).

[2]   On the history of the decree on images, see now John O'Malley, 'Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous', in Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper (eds), *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (New York and London, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

[3]   Two exceptions among his predecessors anticipated Pius's austerity: the Flemish Adrian VI, elected in 1521 at the first outbreak of the Lutheran Reformation, and Paul IV, the former Inquisitor General, 1555–59.

noble houses, like Este or Farnese, but one of holy life who would put the reform of the Church as his first priority. Michele Ghislieri, who took the name Pius V, was a Dominican from a poor and obscure family who had risen through the Church through his hard work, unassailable virtue, and blameless life.

The ascetic example set by the new pope made it difficult for cardinals and other prelates to continue their accustomed luxurious life style. He emphatically rejected nepotism. (Before he was elected pope he had even rebuked his predecessor Pius IV for elevating the thirteen-year-old son of Cosimo de' Medici, a distant relative, to a cardinalate.) He astonished the papal court and all Rome with his devoutness. For the procession of the feast of Corpus Christi he went on foot, bareheaded and carrying the Eucharist, whereas previous popes had traveled in the papal litter and worn the tiara. "With eyes fixed on the Blessed Sacrament, and with unceasing prayer, Pius V, in spite of the great heat, made the whole procession, which passed through the Borgo, which was all decorated for the feast; men noticed his compunction, as well as the fact that he frequently broke into tears."[4] Ambassadors reporting during his pontificate repeatedly remarked: "The pope is a saint."[5] (He was in fact canonized in 1712, a process introduced already by Sixtus V in the decade following his death).

The sophisticated Giorgio Vasari, called to the papal court in 1567 to consult about matters of art, sent back a different kind of report to his patron in Florence, Prince Francesco de' Medici. There was no work going on in Rome: carpenters, stonecutters, masons, painters, and sculptors were all idle.[6] There were no buyers for antique statues and the bottom had fallen out of the market. "If this pope lives long there can be no doubt that statues will go begging in Rome."[7] In fact Pius, determined to rid the Vatican of pagan statues, had given 127 pieces to the Capitoline for the people of Rome and had intended to give away the treasures of the Belvedere Statue Court, which included the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, the pride of his sixteenth-century predecessors beginning with Julius II.[8] He was dissuaded by the cardinals only when it was agreed that the statue court would be closed to the public. Pius took the position that it was inappropriate to adorn the residence of the head of Christendom with relics of paganism, but he did not oppose their being collected by the secular princes or being enjoyed in a

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[4]   Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *History of the Popes. From the Close of the Middle Ages* 5th edition (London: Kegan, Paul, 1923–53), vol. 17, p. 51, p. 61.

[5]   Ibid., p. 62.

[6]   Karl Frey and Herman Walther Frey, *Der Literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1923–30), vol. 2, p. 324; p. 322.

[7]   Ibid., p. 318.

[8]   On the Belvedere Statue Court, see H. H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970).

secular setting. In fact from among the antiquities that he stripped from the papal villas, Villa Giulia and the Casino of Pius IV, he had gifts presented to the Medici, the Este, to the emperor, and others.[9]

All this is to say that the post-Tridentine Church, through the example of the pope, launched itself on a course of reform of morals and discipline that would be difficult to reverse. Pius V was determined to enforce rigorously the decrees of the council. He insisted on the residency of bishops, for example, repeatedly exhorting them to leave Rome and return to their sees.[10] He worked tirelessly to see to the establishment of seminaries, so that parishes could be supplied with educated priests.[11] He sought to regularize the liturgy of the mass and had the Roman Missal published in 1570 as the mandatory form of the mass, which remained in place until after Vatican II.[12]

Not surprisingly for one who had worked in the Inquisition before his election, he reversed the mildness of Pius IV (r.1559–1565) and returned to the zealotry of Paul IV (r.1555–1559), who had been the supreme inquisitor. Pius believed absolutely that questions of orthodoxy should take precedence over all others. His papacy is remembered for the burning of Pietro Carnesecchi and other conscientious Christians who were judged heretics. By the time Pius died in 1572 he had restored to the Church its sense of mission and had laid a groundwork on which his successor could build. Gregory XIII (r. 1572–1585) was able to undertake the positive tasks of Catholic restoration.

In reflecting on developments in the world of art in these years, I see the period around the pontificate of Pius V (r. 1566–1572) as a necessary interval, but one in which timidity among patrons and artists ruled. The atmosphere of stringency that Vasari had recorded was registered by patrons, who followed the pope's lead in commissioning very little in the way of new art or architecture; certainly what they did commission was for churches, not for their palaces or villas.[13] Fear and insecurity can be

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[9] Pastor, pp. 113–15.

[10] Ibid., pp. 148.

[11] Ibid., pp. 211–14.

[12] Although the intention was to universalize the Roman rite, provision was made to except any diocese or religious community who could prove uninterrupted use of non-Roman rites for at least 200 years. See Simon Ditchfield, "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of the Saints," *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, *Reform and Expansion* 1500–1600, Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 203. The author points out that it is inappropriate to adopt "a crude top-down model of liturgical reform," an analogy to the point made in this paper about Trent and images.

[13] Cardinal Farnese's sponsorship of the construction of the mother church of the Jesuits, il Gesù, begun in 1568, was heartily approved, and may even have helped him gloss over his continuing to commission artists to decorate his country house, the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, begun in less sensitive times. On Farnese's patronage, see Clare Robertson, *"Il gran cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

seen in the sacred images produced during this period. Artists and patrons alike were uncertain how strictly to interpret the injunctions of the decree of the council on sacred images, "On the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints, and on sacred images," promulgated in the last days of the final session. Although the decree steadfastly upheld the use of images in churches in opposition to Protestant iconoclasm, it contained also provisions against abuse. Images were to be venerated but not worshiped, for they contained no divinity, only represented it. Images were to instruct the faithful in the articles of faith, but they should avoid false doctrine and any superstition. All lasciviousness should be avoided. This last was not a new concern for the painters, who had been witnessing the castigation of Michelangelo for the nudes in his *Last Judgment* fresco in the Sistine Chapel since its unveiling in 1541.[14] But how was the painter to distinguish between an acceptable beauty and a beauty that excited to lust?

The Church did not require that sacred images be works of art. That was the concern of patrons, who wanted the status of commissioning famous and sought-after artists to adorn their chapels. One possible interpretation of the painters' and patrons' duty—an extreme statement—had been made by the Catholic Hieronymus Emser at the outset of the controversy in Germany in the 1520s. Emser, acknowledging the danger inherent in beautiful, artistic images, remarked with a certain irony:

> The more beautiful the images are, the more they detain the viewer in the contemplation of art; however, we should turn such contemplation from the images to the dear saints themselves. Indeed so many fall in love with the images and are so struck by the art that they no longer think about the saints. Therefore it would be much better, if we followed the example of our forefathers and kept really bad images in the churches, in this manner much money would be saved and God and the beloved saints would be more honoured, than with these new "tarts," which we now have before our eyes.[15]

Many objects of veneration had no aesthetic value, relics for example, though they might be enveloped in a sumptuous reliquary that would provide an appropriate housing to express their holiness and enhance their appeal to the pilgrim. Icons were often not works of art by Renaissance standards. Especially if they were old they were likely to be in an old-fashioned style that was no longer considered "beautiful." Icons of the Madonna enjoyed

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[14]   For a review of the responses to the *Last Judgment*, see Marcia B. Hall, "Introduction," in Marcia B. Hall (ed.), *Michelangelo's Last Judgment* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 32–8.

[15]   Hieronymus Emser, *Das man der heyligen bilder in der kirchen nit abthon …* (1522). Quoted by Keith P. F. Moxey, *Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer, and the Rise of Secular Painting in the Context of the Reformation* (New York: Garland, 1977), p. 199 (trans. slightly amended).

a revival in the mid-sixteenth century in the wake of Protestant attacks on the Virgin. What was the painter to make of the new fashion of elevating these murky medieval images, which were certainly lacking in the qualities of grace and beauty and allure that patrons wanted and that artists had been refining throughout the Renaissance? These little pictures, which had always been venerated for their antiquity and—if they had allegedly been painted without human intervention, were thought to have mystical powers—had always been there, usually in some dark corner of the church where the faithful could hover before them. But recently, in 1565, just such a picture had been placed on the high altar of the great Franciscan church on the Capitoline, the Aracoeli, in substitution for Raphael's masterful *Madonna di Foligno*—the only altarpiece by that greatest master of the Renaissance in any Roman church.[16] What did this say about the esteem in which the artist was now being held? Surely he was not expected to emulate the awkward artlessness of such primitive images, forsaking his hard-earned facility at creating intellectually and aesthetically appealing sacred images?

Yet the critic Giovanni Andrea Gilio, whose treatise *Dialogue on the Errors and Abuses of the Painters … with many notations on the Last Judgment of Michelangelo …* had been published just months after the death of the great master in February 1564, seemed to be saying just that when he advised that the flagellated Christ should not be shown as noble and handsome, but "afflicted, bloody, covered with spit, pealing, scorched, deformed, livid and ugly" in order to focus the worshiper's attention on Christ's humiliation.[17] The painters would not have missed the implications of Gilio's subtitle either: *with clarification of how they should paint sacred images*. The Church was directing artists as to how they should paint sacred

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[16]   P. F. Casimiro Roman, *Memoria istoriche della chiesa e convento di S. Maria in Araceli di Roma* (1735; Rome: Tipografia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1845), pp. 51–8. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, "From Cult Image to the Cult of Images: The Case of Raphael's Altarpieces," in Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (eds), *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 165–89. esp. pp. 175–6, summarized the literature on the replacement of Raphael's painting with the icon. Raphael's Madonna was transferred to a convent in Foligno, where a member of the patron's family was cloistered, and remained in obscurity until it was looted by Napoleon and taken to Paris. The Vatican contract with the French government for the restitution of stolen works after Napoleon's fall brought the painting to the Vatican, where it can be seen today in the Pinacoteca.

[17]   Gilio (1564) in Paola Barocchi (ed.), *Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma*, vol. 2 (Bari: Laterza, 1962), p. 40, p. 87. Available online: http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/scritti_gilio.pdf, p. 19: "[yet] seeing him covered with blood and deformed would move [the viewer] to devotion much more than seeing him beautiful and delicate. The painter would show the power of art much more by making him afflicted, bloody, covered with spit, pealing, scorched, deformed, livid and ugly, so that he would no longer have the shape of a man. This would show the genius, that would be the strength and power of art." Translation by Giuseppe Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius*, Toronto Studies in Religion, no. 14 (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 96, slightly amended.

images, artists who only at this moment were attaining to the status they had been seeking throughout the course of the Renaissance as the equal to the poets as members of learned society.[18]

As Gilio's treatise makes clear, not only Michelangelo's fresco, but also the paintings of mid-century inspired by Michelangelo were found to be unsatisfactory as sacred images. Indeed, the Sistine chapel had become a kind of school where painters flocked to copy the *Last Judgment* figures and then reuse them out of context. Michelangelo himself had acknowledged the damage being done. He was reported to have remarked ruefully when visiting the chapel one day on business and seeing them, "Oh, how many men this work of mine wishes to destroy."[19] Gilio accused the painters of putting the display of the excellence of art above the concerns of the Church.

And what of the Tridentine directive to paint so as to remind people of the articles of faith and the miracles performed by saints and thus to set an example that they may imitate? Was the painter being exhorted to paint without artistry, purely illustrational depictions of scriptural texts or the lives of the saints? In the atmosphere induced by Pius V of rigorous enforcement of the decrees, what kind of oversight would the bishops exercise and what criteria would they be using to determine what was, in the words of the decree, "expedient for the unlettered people?" The pope instituted visitations of the churches in the dioceses of the Papal States in 1571. Even if local authorities had approved an image it was possible that the apostolic visitor (papal examiner) might find fault with it. (What the artists and patrons did not yet know was that the visitors were faced with much more pressing problems, such as a church roof that leaked, or a parish that had no missals and no resources, or priests and parishioners who did not even know the catechism, and in the event they had little energy left for examining the orthodoxy of the altarpieces.)

These uncertainties curbed the initiative to innovation among artists and led to a new conservatism and a literalism that makes this period immediately following the closing of the council one of the least interesting artistically of the sixteenth century, at least in Rome and its vicinity, where the papal

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[18]   Symbolic of the artists' success in rising from artisans to members of the learned community was the establishment in Florence in 1563 of the Accademia del Disegno under the sponsorship of Duke Cosimo de' Medici. On the Academy, see Rudolf Wittkower and Margot Wittkower (eds and trans.), *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on His Death in 1564 — A Facsimile Edition of "Esequie del Divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti," Florence, 1564* (London, Phaidon, 1964); and Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[19]   Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della Pittura*, Edward J. Olszewski (trans. and ed.), *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*. Renaissance Sources in Translation (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1977), bk. 1, chap. 8, p. 138.

influence was always most strongly felt. As Pope Gregory's new, more positive spirit took hold in the seventies, however, things improved on the art scene.

In the first year of his pontificate Gregory showed himself to be no less committed to reform than his predecessor but milder. Indicating his wish to mitigate the harshness of the Inquisition he visited the prisons of the Inquisition personally to ask each prisoner why and for how long he had been detained.[20] A jubilee was planned for 1575, requiring that the city be made ready for what turned out to be a huge influx of pilgrims, 400,000 by some counts, from not only Italy but all over Catholic Europe. Bridges and roads had to be restored and provisions accumulated.[21] These activities—like preparing for a big party—brightened the mood. A plenary indulgence was proclaimed—that is, remission of temporal punishment due for sins that have already been forgiven—to all who within a specified time (30 days for Romans, 15 for foreigners) visited the four Roman basilicas and confessed their sins with true repentance.

Gregory was the first pope to launch a visual response to the virulent anti-papal propaganda that had been issuing from Lutheran Germany since the early 1520s. He had the Tower of the Winds built in the Vatican and then decorated its papal apartment with subjects that not only celebrated his establishment of the new Gregorian calendar—something only a pope could do—but also depicted stories excluded from the Protestant Bible, such as Tobias. In the central chamber, the Meridian Room, the Winds are depicted as metaphor for the forces battering the Church. On a principal wall *Christ Stilling the Storm on the Lake of Tiberias* stands for the Church withstanding the storms of heresy.[22] The iconography returns to themes preferred in Early Christian decoration, but it also selects freely from antique art for the ornaments and on classical mythology in depicting the allegories of the Winds. Gregory showed himself here to be unafraid to draw upon the whole tradition of art both pagan and Christian for his imagery, thereby putting behind him the nervous prudery of the conservatives in the Church and setting an example of generous eclecticism that the future of Christian art would follow.

The spirit of rigorous reform instituted by Pius V, although it was mitigated by Gregory in Rome, continued to be vigorously enforced in Italy's largest and most important diocese of Milan by Carlo Borromeo (r. 1560–1584). The archbishop, determined to produce a new moral climate in Milan and make it the model of a reformed city, could not desist from punishing even the slightest transgression, even when asked by the papacy to slow down and

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[20] Pastor, *History of the Papacy*, vol. 19, p. 299.

[21] On Gregory's preparations for the Jubilee, see Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome. Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (New York and London, Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 22–3.

[22] Ibid., esp. chap. 4.

to be less rigorous.[23] To enhance the functionality and dignity of ecclesiastical structures, he sent out an army of Visitors to inspect all the church buildings in his diocese and report on their state of maintenance, furnishing, decoration, and general good order. What ultimately resulted was the *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*,[24] published in 1577, containing scrupulously detailed instructions on the proper shape, dimensions, and materials for the building, furnishings, and decorations of churches. The section on Sacred Images and pictures (Chap. 17) conveys the flavor:

> Not only must the bishop be attentive to the decree of the Council of Trent and the Provincial Constitutions, but also a heavy punishment or fine has been set for painters and sculptors so that their works do not depart from the prescribed rules. Penalties have also been determined in regard to pastors, who, contrary to the prescribed rules of the Tridentine decree, have permitted an unusual and offensive image to be painted or placed in their churches.[25]

A few writers of treatises about sacred images, particularly Gabriele Paleotti, bishop of Bologna and a close friend of Borromeo, struggled with the question of the usefulness of art and whether the piety of the artist affected the efficacy of the image he created. He called for painters, whom he regarded as God's instrument, to have the same purity and simplicity as Fra Angelico, who never took up his brushes without first praying, and instructed them to address themselves to all men and inspire them to intense devotion by means of instruction, edification, revelation, the arousing of emotion or terror.[26]

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[23]   John B. Tomaro, "San Carlo Borromeo and the Implementation of the Council of Trent," in John M. Headley and John B. Tomaro (eds), *San Carlo Borromeo, Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1988), pp. 67–84, on p. 75. On Borromeo's attempts to control the behavior of women in church, see Richard Schofield, "Carlo Borromeo and the Dangers of Lay-Women in Church," in Hall and Cooper, *The Sensuous and the Counter-Reformation Church*.

[24]   Milan, n.p. In Paola Barocchi (*Trattati D'Arte*, vol. 3 (1962): 1–113. Trans. Evelyn Carole Voelker, "Charles Borromeo's *Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae*, 1577, Book I: A translation with commentary and analysis." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1977. Books I and II are available online: http://evelynvoelker.com/ (consulted 8 August 2010).

[25]   Translated by Evelyn Carole Voelker, "Borromeo's Influence on Sacred Art and Architecture," in Headley, and Tomaro (see n. 21), pp. 172–87, on p. 176.

[26]   Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*. Bologna, 1582, in Barocchi, *Trattati d'Arte* vol. 2, chap. 8. Available online: http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/scritti_paleotti.pdf, p. 23. For summaries of Paleotti's treatise see Anton W.A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna: Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, trans. R.R. Symonds. (The Hague: Government Publishing Office, 1974) chap. 7; and Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images*, pp. 131–40.

Borromeo's unceasing pursuit of conformity to the letter of the Tridentine decree until his death in 1584 contrasts strikingly with the spirit of Gregory's papacy, perhaps best characterized by Filippo Neri, whose order of lay priests, the Oratorians, was approved in 1575 by Gregory. He allocated to them the Roman church of Santa Maria in Vallicella. Neri had it rebuilt, so that it has been called the Chiesa Nuova to this day. Neri's cheerful humor and joyfulness paired with humility characterizes the era of Gregory's rule as much as it contrasts with Borromeo's in Milan.[27] What is clear is that, contrary to Borromeo's wish and claim, there was no single, correct interpretation of the Tridentine decree on sacred images. No one except Borromeo attempted to enunciate and enforce in any systematic way what a sacred image should be.

Outside of Rome, where the impact of the papacy was diluted and there was often less pressure exerted to conform to the Tridentine decrees, one can find quite a different situation for artists. In Urbino, Federico Barocci worked not only for local patrons but was much in demand even in Rome. He was the favorite painter of Filippo Neri who would sit in front of the *Visitation* Barocci had painted for one of the chapels in the Chiesa Nuova and contemplate for hours until he would sometimes fall into ecstasy (see Fig. 10.1). This suggests that there is a quality in Barocci's painting that answers a further requirement of the decree on sacred images beyond that of didacticism—one that encouraged the best painters of the Counter-Reformation to creative and innovative work, I will argue. A further requirement of the decree was that the image should *excite the faithful to adore and love God and to cultivate piety*. This directive to make pictures that can move the emotions of the viewer revived the venerable exhortation of *excitatio*, which Gilio would articulate again: "Who will be so obstinate (unless he is a Lutheran) when, seeing the image of our Lord crucified, scorched and bloody, does not feel remorse in his conscience and does not try to honor and revere him?"[28] As Barocci shows, however, it is not only the depiction of pain and suffering that can move the worshiper.

Barocci studied the softening *sfumato* of Leonardo da Vinci, especially as Correggio had revised it, and found a way to make pictures with an extraordinary sensuous beauty, but not sensuality. His figures are always modestly covered but with draperies that delight the eye with their colors and appeal to the touch with their textures. Barocci creates an allure that is equivalent to that of mannerist paintings, but without a trace of the erotic.[29]

[27]   On Neri, see Costanza Barbieri, "'To be in heaven': Saint Filippo Neri between Aesthetic Emotion and Mystical Ecstasy," in Hall and Cooper, with bibliography.

[28]   Gilio, as in n.15, quoted by Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images*, p. 97, translation slightly amended.

[29]   On Barocci and his solution to the problem of creating paintings that are beautiful and alluring, but not erotic, see Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci: Allure and Devotion in Late*

Figure 10.1   Federico Barocci, *Visitation* (1583–1586). Oil on canvas. S.
              Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova), Rome. Photo Credit :
              Scala / Art Resource, NY.

The "excellence of art," criticized by Gilio as being put in competition with
devotional content, seems in Barocci to *serve* the devotional purpose.

    The Church was calling for images that were not merely accurate,
faithful renderings of the text. That kind of purely didactic image had been
tried out in the first phase of response to the decree in what I have called the
period of timidity. Some painters in Rome continued in this vein, adding a
tug of sentimentality to appeal to the emotions of the devout. These are the
painters who were dubbed by Federico Zeri in his influential book, *Pittura
e Controriforma* (1957) the painters of the Counter-Reformation: Scipione
Pulzone in particular (see Fig. 10.2).[30]

    Zeri called this an art outside of time (*senza tempo*), by which he
meant this quality of being extracted from the narrative sequence, so that
there is no implication of future, ongoing motion. We presume that what
Pulzone was seeking in such an altarpiece as this *Lamentation of the Dead
Christ* was a kind of perfected, iconic image that distilled the moment to

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Renaissance Painting (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2008).
    [30]   *Pittura e Controriforma: L'arte senza tempo di Scipione da Gaeta* (Turin, Einaudi, 1957).

Figure 10.2   Scipione Pulzone, *The Lamentation* (1593). Oil on canvas. Purchase, Anonymous Gift, in memory of Terence Cardinal Cooke, 1984 (1984.74). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY.

its eternal essence. For most of us, however, what remains is frozen into lifelessness and, despite the extreme emotion represented, has little or no power to move us. Zeri very nearly persuaded us that the period following the council was a retrogressive interlude that continued until the outbreak of the Baroque in the seventeenth century, devoid of artistic interest. While this is in some measure true for Rome, Zeri failed to recognize that what was going on outside of Rome was a very different story, not only in Urbino, but particularly in Venice. There is far more diversity and ferment in the last third of the century among painters of the sacred image than Zeri acknowledged.

No one has ever doubted the artistic greatness of Titian and Tintoretto and Veronese, those giants of the late sixteenth century in Venice, but their innovative use of their materials, their facture, has not been discussed in relation to the Counter-Reformation. What should have been recognized is that the paintings they were producing suited the requirements of the Church as enunciated in the decree on sacred images, particularly the

injunction to paint so as to arouse the devotion of the worshiper.[31] El Greco also acquired his signature style in Venice and brought what he had learned with him when he transferred to Rome in 1570. In keeping with the way I have characterized the Roman artistic scene, it is not surprising that he was not successful there, especially not successful as a painter of altarpieces. His experimental approach, the appearance of spontaneity, his highly dramatic chiaroscuro, would not have appealed to the conservative taste of the Roman patrons. Thus in 1577 El Greco abandoned Rome for Toledo in Spain where he remained the rest of his life and became a major painter of those altarpieces and devotional works that he was not given the opportunity to make in Rome.

Caravaggio is another highly innovative painter who came to Rome from another tradition. Born in Lombardy and trained there by a pupil of Titian, he forged a personal and unconventional style that had great appeal among a powerful group of churchmen around the turn of the century. Painting directly from his models who were often lowlife people from the streets, he captured an immediacy of gesture and expression and a lifelike quality, which is reinforced by the absence of any evident supernatural intervention. In Caravaggio's paintings we have the sense that we are witnessing unacknowledged miracles, taking place at this moment, to people we know or might know.[32]

What is distinctive about Venetian painting in the second half of the sixteenth century depends upon Titian's invention of a new kind of brushstroke that violated the prevailing expectations for a highly finished look (see Fig. 10.3). A kind of brushwork that we recognize today as characteristic particularly of French Impressionism, but also of mature and late Rembrandt and others, had never been seen before Titian. Sometimes the paint is applied so thinly that the texture of the canvas shows through. The unblended stroke, in which the gesture of the painter remains visible, was regarded in the sixteenth century as unfinished and therefore inappropriate. That Titian was able to persuade his patrons and a wider public to accept it is a miracle in itself.

What is the purpose and effect of unblended brushwork? The best explanation I have found was given by a seventeenth-century critic in Venice, Marco Boschini. He was the first to explain the psychology of painterly brushwork in terms that make clear what a revolutionary concept it is. As Vasari pointed out in his Life (published in 1568) Titian in his late style worked with bold strokes and blobs (macchie), which obtain their effect only

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[31]   Typical is the treatment of Veronese in the most recent monograph, Richard Cocke, *Paolo Veronese: Piety and Display in an Age of Religious Reform* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2001), where the painter's adherence to the Tridentine injunctions regarding subject and the appropriate iconography is what is meant by contextualizing him in "an Age of Religious Reform."

[32]   I have discussed late Titian, Tintoretto, Barocci, El Greco, and Caravaggio in these terms in *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art* (London and New York, Yale University Press, 2011).

Figure 10.3   Titian, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (detail) (1570). Oil on canvas. Prado, Madrid. Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

at a distance.[33] Boschini was describing the works of Tintoretto, who adapted Titian's brushwork, but his insight applies equally to Titian. Paintings like these offer two very different images up close and at an appropriate viewing distance. The spectators who move in close are presented with an abstract spectacle of the daubs of color and impasto; moving back, they see a plausible image, but not a finished one. Boschini understood and explained the significance of this experience in terms of the way it evokes the viewers' participation. He recognized that when the viewers move back to resolve the chaos, they engage, and in endeavoring to make sense of the daubs they partake in the creative act. As Philip Sohm has put it, Boschini "transposed the artist's experience of creation onto the viewer so the viewer, like the artist, experiences the thrilling metamorphosis of primordial disorder into meaningful form. The viewer who approaches the canvas and deciphers the markings becomes a participant in the creation of order."[34] Roger de Piles of the French Academy finally stated it

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[33]   Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* (ed. Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence: Sansoni, 1878–85, trans. A. B. Hinds, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects.* 8 vols. London: J. M. Dent, 1927; rev. ed. with intro. by William Gaunt. 4 vols. London: J. M. Dent and New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963), vol. 4, p. 209.

[34]   Philip Sohm, *Pittoresco: Marco Boschini, His Critics, and Their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge Studies in the History of Art. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 146.

explicitly at the end of the seventeenth century, though he was talking about drawings that are "just touched but not finished." They are more pleasing, he said, because "the imagination of the viewer provides all the parts that are missing there or that haven't been completed so that each person sees it according to his own taste."[35] Ernst Gombrich quoted the French critic Count Caylus, who explained his preference for the unfinished, rapid sketch as the pleasure derived from being "in the know."[36]

For Titian and Tintoretto—and, we should add, El Greco and Veronese—the experience was more than sheer pleasure. The painterly brushwork served to invite participation and even empathy. Titian initiated his use of this new technique in his mythological paintings in the early 1550s, but he soon recognized that it served well to engage the worshipers' emotions in a sacred image. I want to be clear that I am not proposing that the painters were responding specifically to the Tridentine decree, rather that they were painting in a manner that served the needs of the moment and opened the way to an effective affective sacred art. Tintoretto explored extreme contrast of light and dark and dramatic swoops of perspective into deep space to energize his paintings and to engage his viewers. El Greco perfected the appearance of spontaneity in his painting process, although in fact his surfaces were built up with painstaking care. Painters using these innovative techniques affected their viewers very differently from the mannerists who made their appeal through the intellect rather than the senses. A comparison between Salviati's *Doubting Thomas* (Fig. 10.4) and Titian's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Fig. 10.5) will make the point.

Salviati shows us beautiful bodies of Michelangelesque dimensions in poses carefully studied to embody grace. They are statuesque in a way that does not, it seems to me, make an immediate appeal to the senses: Instead our response is filtered through a mental process that acknowledges the resemblance to Michelangelo, to marble statuary, and that appreciates the poise and complexity of the figures. We are not moved by Thomas' emotion, which may seem closer to curiosity than to faith-threatening doubt; the bystanders, too, have taken up poses that are more self-consciously graceful than they are expressive of emotion.

Titian's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Fig. 10.5), admittedly an image designed for more intimate encounter than Salviati's altarpiece, sacrifices the perfect poise of Salviati's for a picture of suffering and humiliation that it is hard *not* to find stirring. Viewed very close up and pressed by the weight of

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[35]   Roger de Piles, *Abrégé de la vie des peintres … avec un traité du peintre parfait* (Paris, 1699), p. 70; cited in Sohm, *Pittoresco*, p. 149.

[36]   E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London, Phaidon, 1960), p. 199. I have borrowed this explanation of painterly brushstroke from my description in *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art*.

Figure 10.4   Francesco Salviati, *Doubting Thomas* (c.1547). Louvre,
Paris. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 10.5   Titian, *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1570). Oil on canvas.
Prado, Madrid. Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

the cross into the lower half of the picture, Christ turns his eyes directly on us with a look that could be felt to be accusation. Simon grasps the cross but hardly seems to be bearing any of the weight. The lack of finish in the brushwork deprives the picture of a distancing perfection and a resulting aesthetic appeal. The very rawness in the facture stands for the rawness of suffering depicted. We are not allowed to enjoy this picture in the same way that we enjoy Salviati's, but we are moved by it. Perhaps it was a picture such as this that led Gilio to recommend to painters that they show the flagellated Christ covered with blood and spittle.

I have discussed the Venetians, Titian and Tintoretto, in detail in *The Sacred Image*, where I remarked that I could have included Veronese equally well. I will therefore examine a few of Veronese's altarpieces here as another instance of the kind of innovation these painters were introducing and how it served the Church's need for sacred images that would inspire devotion in the worshiper.

Paolo Veronese (1528–1588) moved from Verona in 1553 to a Venice dominated by the internationally famous Titian. Tintoretto was struggling to compete by taking commissions often from local artisan groups, decorations for the chapels of confraternities or *scuole*. Veronese became known for the elaborate feast scenes he made for the refectories of Venetian and Veronese monasteries, for example, *The Marriage at Cana*, (Louvre, Paris), or the *Feast in the House of Levi* (Venice, Accademia), and for his splendid allegories of the Venetian state, but we will focus on his altarpieces. In these he adapted the style he used in other genres to establish a particular kind of intimacy with the viewer that goes almost unnoticed. We often regard his glittering pageantry as "mere decoration" and fail to think about how it actually affects us. We can readily understand how the darkness of Dostoyevsky or Ingmar Bergman is plumbing the depth of the soul; Veronese's unfailingly bright, color-drenched scenes appear untroubled and superficial in their interpretation of human life and suffering. How can violent death be adequately depicted in a picture like the *Martyrdom of St. George*, for example?[37] (Fig. 10.6)

But we need to give Veronese's intelligence a little more credit, I think. He has expended considerable effort to construct this elaborate scene. Kneeling at the very bottom of the frame, Saint George, one hand already bound, stripped of his armor and half naked, looks past the executioner who strides toward him with sword raised. He averts his attention from the priest who touches his shoulder and points urgently toward the statue of Apollo to which George is refusing to pay homage. How can this monumental architectural setting, these beautiful colors and sumptuous fabrics, be appropriate to a scene of execution? Wouldn't Gilio condemn this altarpiece, created only about two years after his

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[37]   Painted as the high altarpiece for San Giorgio in Braida, Verona in 1566. See Gabriele Naher, "Verona and Vicenza," p. 280, in Peter Humfrey (ed.), *Venice and the Veneto*. Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Figure 10.6   Paolo Veronese, *Martyrdom of Saint George* (1564). S. Giorgio
in Braida, Verona. Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Dialogue was written, if he were to see it, as concerned only with displaying
the excellence of art and not at all with inciting devotion? But Gilio was in
Rome, and Pius V's austere regime was very distant from Venice. If we attempt
a more sympathetic reading, we may find quite a profound Christian message
being delivered to the worshiper by means that art can deliver supremely well.
George's glance rises above the figures circling him, to the glorious explosion
in the heavens: the Virgin and Child, flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, and
Faith, Hope, and Charity and a rainbow-like burst of cherub-filled clouds.
Hope turns and looks down at him, echoing the Virgin's pose, giving a clue
to Veronese's meaning. George is rising spiritually above the whole earthly
zone, in anticipation of the martyr's palm and crown the angel holds above
him. He is constrained physically from all sides with figures in a dense mass
around him; horsemen loom threateningly above him on both sides. He is
pressed to the bottom edge of the space. If we consider the spectator's point of
view we recognize that we are below looking up, but Veronese has placed us
unnaturally close, impossibly close, in fact, to view a high altarpiece such as
this, which could be seen only at a distance from the nave. The painter has used
his skills at illusionism to close the spatial gap and zoom in. He has used his
skill with color and texture and light to attract viewers and to appeal to their

senses. The worshipers engage with the scene presented with such intimacy to them. What those critics like Gilio fail to acknowledge is that the image must be appealing before it can be moving: his bloody, spit-covered Christ might well repel the worshiper rather than awaken his devotion.

Veronese has used light here to signify meaning, as he does also in the *Consecration of St Nicholas* (Fig. 10.7), [38] a story based on Voragine's medieval book of legends of the saints, *The Golden Legend*. The bishop of Myra has recently died and the search is on for his successor. Three priests have had the same dream one night: the first worshiper to enter the cathedral next morning was to become the new bishop. Veronese represents the moment when the priest Nicholas, a stranger in Myra, is surrounded on the steps of the cathedral by the priests and a bishop who announce to him that he is to be consecrated the new bishop. The saint, like George, kneels humbly at the bottom but, unlike the enlightened George, he is in the dark and the angel with miter, crozier, and stole is behind him. We can see what he cannot, and we can feel his astonishment as if we are actual

Figure 10.7   Paolo Veronese, *The Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (1561–62). Oil on canvas. National Gallery, London. Photo Credit: © National Gallery, London / Art Resource, NY.

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[38]   One of three canvases for San Benedetto Po outside Mantua, it was painted in 1561–62 and is now in the National Gallery, London.

witnesses to this joyous miracle. Our participation is further invoked with the spontaneous brushstroke and the apparently unstudied gestures and poses of the painted witnesses.

It is true that the painter and his patrons were clearly mindful of the Counter-Reformation strictures on didacticism and decorum: These pictures conformed to the dictum that the lives of the saints should be depicted, for example. Martyrdom was becoming a popular subject for church decoration because the Protestants had rejected the cult of the saints; so also was the sacrament of Ordination because the Protestants had excluded it from the sacraments. The divine intervention that brings about Nicholas' selection points to the mystical nature of ordination. The painter and his patrons were careful to avoid the kinds of legends that challenged credulity, like George Slaying the Dragon, the subject most frequently associated with that saint. Veronese and his patrons were conforming, thus, to the requirements of the reform, but I would contend that the success of his images lies more importantly in the way they were painted than in the subjects that were painted.

Figure 10.8   Paolo Veronese, *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (1570s). Oil on canvas. Accademia, Venice. Photo Credit: Scala/ Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali / Art Resource, NY.

Veronese almost never tackled the representation of darker, painful subjects; he was a specialist in joy-filled pictures. His *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (Fig. 10.8) is a triumph in his mode. All the exuberance that is Venice is captured here, and brought into service of this vision-made-palpable: carved marble architecture, a musical choir, the heavens bursting with swooping cherubs, and above all an abundance of the most luxurious fabrics adorning not only the actors but wrapped extravagantly around the columns. The fair Catherine, receiving a cloak of gold, touches her breast beneath the glorious brocade of her gown as her hand is led to that of the Christ Child. Evidently Veronese and his patrons did not agree with Gilio that the way to stir devotion in the worshiper was to show Christ "afflicted, bloody, covered with spit, pealing, scorched, deformed, livid and ugly," or at least they did not believe that this was the only or best way to reach the worshipers' emotions.

Conclusion

What I believe comes clear is that first of all, the period after the Council of Trent, although it is characterized by reform, is by no means the kind of monolith with directives universally applied from the top down that the Counter-Reformation is often held to be. We have tracked the contrasting papacies of Pius V and Gregory XIII and the contrasting styles of saintly behavior in the contemporaries, Carlo Borromeo and Filippo Neri. In the realm of art, we see that contrary to the way the period has often been characterized, great innovation and diversity was allowed and very little in the way of censorship was enforced.

I have focused on works of art that were designed by their makers to move the spectator, but we have seen that objects of veneration, like relics and icons, that were not artworks were capable of spurring devotion. It is clear that the issues of the role of art and artist were under review, and some writers like Gilio and Paleotti, in the spirit of Carlo Borromeo, tried to control the interpretation that the painters gave to their images. Nevertheless they all agreed that the artist played an important role in instructing the public and stimulating devotion.

But we may still ask: Is art necessary? Does it improve the quality of religious devotion? Evidence from the sixteenth century is contradictory: as we have seen, Saint Philip Neri sat for hours in front of Barocci's *Visitation*. In the examination of witnesses for his canonization it was attested that Neri would be found there collapsed in a state of ecstasy. On the other hand,

Saint Teresa of Avila underwent a sudden and dramatic conversion when she saw a statue of "a much wounded Christ" of unidentified authorship.[39] I worry, as an advocate for art, that it was one of those pietistic vernacular carvings that were then and still are common in Spain.

If we ask whether art does a better job of inciting devotion than kitsch in our world today, the answer is clearly that kitsch is preferred. A Google search for the Face of Jesus will turn up only a handful of images by artists such as Giovanni Bellini and Antonello da Messina among hundreds of pretty, long-haired heads with soulful upturned eyes in garish colors but with an unembarrassed appeal to sentiment. If a head count is any indication then it is clear that at least in the contemporary world the pious prefer the sentimental to an artistic masterpiece.

The revival in the sixteenth century of the *acheiropoieta*, the icon not made by human hand, can be understood as a response to the dilemma of needing to entrust the sacred image to an artist. Some clearly preferred to rely on direct divine intervention than to rely on the interpretation of the all too human artist, but perhaps predictably Michelangelo was not among them. He insisted that only great art could inspire, but that it could truly inspire: "Often badly wrought images distract the attention and prevent devotion, while those which are divinely fashioned excite even those who have little devotion or sensibility to contemplation and tears and by their austere beauty inspire them with great reverence and fear."[40] The real contribution to religious art that came out of this period was a new freedom in the way painters used their materials to appeal to the viewers' senses, to engage their participation, and to evoke an emotional response.

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[39]   *Teresa of Avila. The book of Her life*, Kieran Kavanaugh and Otio Rodriguez trans., introduction by Jodi Bilinkoff (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 2008), chap 9, pp. 1–3, 48–9: "I saw a statue they had borrowed for a certain feast to be celebrated in the house. It represented the much wounded Christ and was very devotional, so that beholding it I was utterly distressed in seeing Him that way, for it well represented what He suffered for us. I felt so keenly aware of how poorly I thanked Him for those wounds that, it seemed to me, my heart broke. Beseeching Him to strengthen me once and for all that I might not offend Him, I threw myself down before him with the greatest outpouring of tears … I think I then said that I would not rise from there until He granted what I was begging Him for. I believe certainly this was beneficial to me, because from that time I went on improving." I am indebted to Jodi Bilinkoff for bringing Teresa's conversion before a statue into the discussion, and for this reference.

[40]   Francisco De Hollanda, quoting Michelangelo, *Four Dialogues on Painting* (Aubrey F. G. Bell, trans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), Third Dialogue, p. 65.

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