

HISTORICAL
DICTIONARY
OF THE

REFORMATION AND Counter-Reformation



MICHAEL MULLETT

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Michael Mullett

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For Alice and Natasha

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Editor's Foreword

Exceedingly few historical periods have had religions rise to the highest position in the concerns of nations and peoples, but the Reformation and Counter-Reformation during the 16th century is one such period. It began as an effort to reform the Catholic Church and, for some, carried over into a rejection of that institution and the formation of numerous Protestant churches and sects under different names—sometimes of their founders, such as Lutheranism and Calvinism, and sometimes of their creeds or objectives, such as the Anabaptists. The reaction of the Catholic Church, from the popes down through new church orders, was equally varied. Some tried merely to refute and quell the deviants; others attempted to address the issues they raised by reforming the church itself. Naturally, the religious concerns were influenced by economic, social, and other issues and were drawn into the tangled and often bloody politics of the time. Thus there is no neat linear story here, rather one with countless twists and turns. The only clear conclusion is that this critical period—more so than almost any before or after—generated not only a different Europe but a different world.

It is no mean feat merely to trace and describe the historical course of the 16th century, let alone to make sense of it, so this new *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* is a welcome addition to the series on religions, philosophies, and movements (all of which it embodies). The chronology covers more than a century and a vast geographical area, and the introduction helps make sense of the period as a whole. But hundreds of dictionary entries provide a wealth of details that, while sometimes complicated, help elucidate the motives and actions of a vast and impressive cast of characters: popes, bishops and preachers, emperors, kings and princes, the reformers themselves, and others whose role was significant, including more women and commoners than one would expect. Other entries deal with main issues, crucial institutions, bitter wars, and—quite important in its

own right—terminology. Naturally, everything cannot be tied up neatly here, so further views and reading can be accessed via the extensive bibliography.

This volume was written by Michael Mullett, who has devoted a long, distinguished, and fruitful career to teaching and writing about this topic. He recently retired as professor of cultural and religious history at the University of Lancaster, where he specialized in the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation, and the Catholic Reformation, as well as popular culture and protest in these areas. This *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* is and will long remain an excellent starting point for those interested in a historical period that, although it was five hundred years ago, still affects us in many ways.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

Three years ago, at Jon Woronoff's invitation, I began work on this historical dictionary, the writing of which spanned the period between my full-time teaching at the University of Lancaster and my retirement to England's lovely Lake District.

Throughout my career at Lancaster, as with this project, I received encouragement from colleagues and my beloved university—constant support as well as freedom to research and write in the directions I chose. As a university teacher, I strove over the years to explain to generations of students the abstrusities of the Reformation and the early modern period of European history, and any success this book might have as an expository work is largely due to my students' positive responses to my efforts.

Jon Woronoff has been a constant source of advice in the writing of this quite complex book, which could hardly have been undertaken without the companionship, counsel, and technical help from my beloved wife, Lorna. In the vital early stages of the preparation for this book, my friend Anthony Cornwell once more put his great erudition generously at my disposal and saved me from several errors.

The introduction apart, this is not necessarily a work of interpretation but an attempt to draw on the riches of modern Reformation scholarship. The book's chief goal is accuracy of information, but it is a work by a human being so it might not completely achieve the goal set out in Daniel 6:4.

Editorial principles are largely self-explanatory. For cities and towns, but not for countries, I provide alternative-language versions where these exist or are sensible to use. For individuals, where these can be tracked, I provide life dates, and sobriquets where these were used.

Guidelines for citations in the main text are that abbreviated references are given for works that appear in the bibliography, and full references for books and articles not included there.

Chronology

1483 10 November: Birth of Martin Luther.

1484 1 January: Birth of Huldrych Zwingli.

1491 24 December: Birth of Ignatius Loyola.

1492 11 August: Election of Pope Alexander VI. **12 October:** Columbus lands in America.

1500 20 February: Birth of Charles of Habsburg.

1503 1 November: Election of Pope Julius II.

1505 17 July: Luther enters the monastery in Erfurt.

1507 April: Luther ordained priest.

1509 22 April: Accession of Henry VIII of England. **11 June:** His marriage to Catherine of Aragon. **10 July:** Birth of John Calvin.

1510–11: Luther visits Rome.

1512 3 May: Opening of the Lateran Council by Julius II. **18 October:** Luther awarded doctorate in Sacred Scripture.

1513 11 March: Election of Pope Leo X. **August:** Perhaps Luther begins his lectures on the Psalms.

1515 1 January: Francis I becomes king of France. **Spring:** Luther begins his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans.

1516 Publication of Erasmus's Greek New Testament. **18 February:** Birth of Princess Mary, future Catholic queen of England. **13 March:** Charles of Habsburg proclaimed king of Spain. **16 March:** Closure of Fifth Lateran Council. **September:** Concordat of Bologna between France and the Holy See.

1517 31 October: Luther issues the Ninety-Five Theses.

1518 April–May: Luther’s Heidelberg disputation. **12–14 October:** Luther’s interviews with Cardinal Cajetan. **27 November:** Daniel Bomberg’s “Rabbinic Bible” completed in Venice. **December:** Huldrych Zwingli appointed as “people’s preacher” in Zürich.

1519 28 June: Charles of Habsburg becomes Holy Roman Emperor, as Charles V. **4–14 July:** Luther’s disputation with Eck at Leipzig. **16 September:** Death of John Colet, English Christian humanist.

1520 15 June: Publication in Rome of the papal bull of provisional excommunication of Luther, *Exsurge Domine*. **August:** Publication of Luther’s “Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.” **6 October:** Publication of Luther’s “Babylonian Captivity of the Church.” **10 December:** Luther burns *Exsurge Domine*.

1521 Publication of Melanchthon’s *Loci Communes rerum theologicarum* (“Memoranda on Theological Issues”). **16–26 April:** Luther at the Diet of Worms. **4 May:** Luther enters the Wartburg Castle. **6 May:** Definitive publication of the bull *Decet Romanum* excommunicating Luther. **26 May:** The Edict of Worms condemns Luther. **June:** Ignatius Loyola wounded at Pamplona. **December:** Serious religious disturbances in Wittenberg; Luther visits Wittenberg.

1522 9 January: Election of Pope Hadrian VI. **6 March:** Luther returns to Wittenberg. **August:** Beginning of the Knights’ War in Germany. **25 September:** Luther publishes the New Testament in German.

1523 John Calvin enters the University of Paris. **January:** First Zürich Disputation approves Zwingli’s 67 Theses. **7 June:** Election of Gustav Vasa as king of Sweden. **October:** Second Zürich Disputation leads to alterations in Church services and removal of images. **19 November:** Election of Pope Clement VII.

1524 June–December: Formation of the Congregation of the Theatines. **August:** Beginning of German Peasants’ Revolt. **September:** Erasmus publishes “The Freedom of the Will.”

1525 First Reformation adult baptisms, near Zürich. **24 February:** Defeat of Francis I by Charles V at Pavia. **March:** Printing of the Twelve Articles of Memmingen of the German Peasants’ Revolt. **April:** Abolition of the Mass in Zürich. **c. May:** Publication of Luther’s

“Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants.” **15 May:** Death of Thomas Müntzer at the Battle of Frankenhausen: end of German Peasants’ Revolt. **13 June:** Luther marries Katharina von Bora. **December:** Publication of Luther’s “On the Bondage of the Will.”

1526 June–July: First Diet, and Recess, of Speyer, allowing each German state to decide whether or not to execute the Edict of Worms. **29 August:** Victory of the Turks against the Hungarians at Mohács.

1527 Henry VIII appeals to Rome for an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. **May:** The Sack of Rome by Charles V’s mercenaries. **June:** The *Rigsdag* of Västerås begins the Swedish Reformation.

1528 G. M. Giberti takes up the reform of the diocese of Verona. **29 February:** Execution of Patrick Hamilton, Scottish Protestant martyr.

1529 First Chapter-General of the Capuchin Order. The Turks lay siege to Vienna. **February–April:** Second Diet, and Recess, of Speyer repealing the Recess of Speyer I; protest of the Lutheran estates. **1–4 October:** Marburg Colloquy between Luther, Zwingli, and others on the doctrine of the eucharist. **9–18 October:** Indictment and dismissal of England’s Cardinal Wolsey: appointment of Sir Thomas More as lord chancellor. **14 October:** Codification of Charles V’s “Placards” against heresy in the Low Countries. **3 November:** Henry VIII opens England’s “Reformation Parliament.”

1530 Formation of the Congregation of the Barnabites. **20 June–4 October:** Diet of Augsburg. **25 June:** Reading of the Augsburg Confession. **22 September:** Rejection by the Diet’s Catholic majority of the Confession. **19 November:** The Recess of Augsburg demands the restoration of Catholic ecclesiastical property and the closing of Lutheran presses. **29 November:** Death of Cardinal Wolsey.

1531 Formation of the Congregation of the Somaschi. **11 October:** Death in Battle at Kappel of Huldrych Zwingli.

1532 April: Calvin publishes an edition of Seneca’s *De Clementia*—“On Clemency.” **15 May:** Sir Thomas More resigns as lord chancellor. **August:** Beginning of the Reformation in Münster.

1533 January: Henry VIII secretly married to Anne Boleyn. **March:** The Reformation Parliament passes the Act in Restraint of Appeals

to Rome. **12 April:** Thomas Cromwell appointed chancellor of the exchequer. **23 May:** Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon declared invalid by Thomas Cranmer. **7 September:** Birth of Princess Elizabeth, England's future Protestant queen (r. 1558–1603). **November:** Calvin driven out of Paris.

1534 15 January: England's first Act of Supremacy. **February:** Beginning of the siege of Múnster. **4 April:** Death of Jan Matthijszoon of Múnster: succession as Anabaptist leader of Jan Beukelszoon. **May:** Beginning of Beukelszoon's dictatorship. **13 October:** Election of Pope Paul III. **17–18 October:** Posting of the "Placards" against the Mass, in Paris and other places.

1535 22 June: Execution of Bishop John Fisher. **25 June:** Capture of Múnster. **6 July:** Execution of Sir Thomas More. **4 October:** Completion of printing of new English Bible.

1536 Beginning of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in England. **7 January:** Death of Catherine of Aragon. **March:** First edition of Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion." **6 May:** The Bible in English ordered to be placed in English Churches. **19 May:** Execution of Anne Boleyn. **12 July:** Death of Erasmus. **August:** Calvin's first arrival in Geneva. **October:** Beginning of the Pilgrimage of Grace in England. **6 October:** Execution of the English Protestant Bible translator William Tyndale.

1537 January: End of the Pilgrimage of Grace in England. **12 October:** Birth of Prince Edward, England's future Protestant king (r. 1547–53).

1538 24 April: Expulsion of Calvin from Geneva.

1540 10 June: Arrest of Thomas Cromwell. **28 July:** Cromwell's execution. **27 September:** Pope Paul III authorizes the establishment of the Society of Jesus.

1541 13 September: Calvin returns to Geneva.

1542 7 December: Birth of Mary Queen of Scots.

1545 13 December: Opening of the Council of Trent.

1546 18 February: Death of Martin Luther.

1547 28 January: Death of Henry VIII, king of England. **31 March:** Death of Francis I of France. **24 April:** Charles V's victory over the Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg.

1548 Loyola completes the "Spiritual Exercises." **15 May:** Charles V publishes the Augsburg Interim.

1549 21 September: Death of Marguerite of Angoulême, queen of Navarre.

1550 8 February: Election of Pope Julius III.

1552 22 December: Death of Francis Xavier, Jesuit missionary to Asia.

1553 6 July: Death of Edward VI, king of England. **10 July:** Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley) as queen of England. **3 August:** Accession of Mary I, queen of England. **27 October:** Execution in Geneva of the unitarian Michael Servetus.

1554 12 February: Executions of England's Protestant royal claimants Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley) and Lord Guildford Dudley.

1555 16 May: Calvin's victory over rivals in Geneva. **23 May:** Election of Pope Paul IV. **25 September:** The Peace of Augsburg allows German states to decide between Catholicism and Lutheranism. **16 October:** Executions of the English Protestants Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley.

1556 16 January: Abdication of Charles V; succession of Philip II in Spain and the Low Countries. **21 March:** Execution of Thomas Cranmer. **31 July:** Death of Ignatius Loyola.

1557 3 December: Formation of the Scots Protestant Lords of the Congregation.

1558 17 November: Death of Mary I of England and accession of Elizabeth I.

1559 Issue of Philip II's plan for the reorganization of the Church in the Low Countries: widespread opposition. **2 April:** Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis between France and Spain. **May:** Religious disturbances in Scottish towns. **8 May:** The Act of Uniformity receives the royal assent from Elizabeth I. **5 June:** Inauguration of the Geneva Academy. **22**

June: Issue of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. **10 July:** Death of Henry II king of France. **August:** Edition of Calvin's "Institutes." **25 December:** Election of Pope Pius IV.

1560 March: Elizabeth I sends troops to assist the Scots Protestants. **17 March:** Conspiracy of Amboise in France. **19 April:** Death of Philipp Melanchthon. **6 July:** Signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh between England and Scotland. **August:** Meeting of the Scots Reformation Parliament. **29 September:** Death of Gustav Vasa, king of Sweden.

1561 Publication of the "Belgic Confession of Faith" of the Reformed Church of the Low Countries. **19 August:** Return of Mary Queen of Scots to Scotland from France. **9 September–9 October:** French Catholic-Protestant Colloquy of Poissy.

1562 Opening of Teresa of Ávila's Reformed Carmelite convent. Open Protestant religious worship in the Low Countries. **17 January:** First Edict of Saint-Germain-des-Prés grants liberty of worship to French Protestants. **18 January:** Reconvening of the Council of Trent. **1 March:** Massacre of French Protestants at Vassy, inaugurating the first French War of Religion. **20 September:** Signing of the Treaty of Hampton Court between England and Scotland. **5 December:** Death of Francis II, king of France.

1563 19 January: Publication of the German Calvinist Heidelberg Catechism. **19 March:** Edict of Amboise ends first French War of Religion. **4 December:** Closure of the Council of Trent.

1564 26 January: Confirmation of the Decrees of the Council of Trent by Pope Pius IV. **27 May:** Death of John Calvin. **13 November:** Promulgation of the *Professio Fidei Tridentinae*—"The Profession of the Faith of Trent"—by Pope Pius IV.

1565 8 September: Lifting of the Siege of Malta by the Turks.

1566 7 January: Election of Pope Pius V. **20–21 August:** Outbreak of Protestant iconoclasm in the Low Countries.

1567 Philip II sends the Duke of Alba to the Low Countries with an army of 20,000. **24 July:** Mary Queen of Scots abdicates and retires to England.

1568 March: Second French War of Religion **September:** Outbreak of third French War of Religion.

1569 Revolt of the Northern Earls in England.

1570 25 February: Excommunication and purported deposition of Elizabeth I by Pope Pius V. **August:** Close of the third French War of Religion.

1571 7 October: Naval Battle of Lepanto between Catholic forces and the Turks.

1572 1 April: The Low Countries Sea Beggars capture Brielle. **14 May:** Election of Pope Gregory XIII. **19 July:** Recognition of William of Orange as *stadhouder* of Holland. **23–24 August:** Assassination of the French Protestant leader Gaspard de Coligny; Massacre of St. Bartholomew; Opening of fourth French War of Religion. **24 November:** Death of John Knox, Scottish reformer.

1573 Recall of Alba from the Netherlands; appointment of Luis Requeséns de Zúñiga as Spanish governor general. **8 July:** Edict of Boulogne closes fourth French War of Religion.

1574 30 May: Death of Charles IX, king of France; accession of Henry III. **June:** outbreak of fifth French War of Religion. **3 October:** The relief of Leiden in the Revolt of the Netherlands.

1575 Pope Gregory XIII approves the Congregation of the Oratory.

1576 6 May: The Peace of Monsieur closes the fifth French War of Religion and grants extensive privileges to the Protestants; formation of the Catholic League. Death of Requeséns and appointment of Don John of Austria as governor general. **4 November:** Sack of Antwerp by mutinous Spanish troops. **8 November:** Pacification of Ghent unites Low Countries provinces to expel foreign troops.

1577 August: Beginning of Calvinist uprisings in Flemish cities.

1578 1 October: Death of Don John of Austria and succession of Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma.

1579 6 January: Union of Arras of the southern provinces of the Netherlands. **23 January:** Union of Utrecht of the northern provinces of the Netherlands.

1581 25 July: Declaration of the Netherlands' independence from Spain.

1582 15 October: Introduction of the "Gregorian" Calendar of Pope Gregory XIII.

1584 10 July: Assassination of William of Orange: succession of Maurits of Nassau as *stadhouder*. **31 December:** Treaty of Joinville commits Philip of Spain to the League cause.

1585 Fall of Antwerp to Parma. **24 April:** Election of Pope Sixtus V.

1587 8 February: Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

1588 12 May: The Parisian "Day of the Barricades" in support of the Catholic Henri de Lorraine, duc de Guise. **29 July:** Defeat of the Spanish Armada. **23 December:** Assassination of Henri, duc de Guise, and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine.

1589 5 January: Death of Catherine de' Medici, queen of France. **1 August:** Assassination of Henry III, King of France; the Protestant Henry of Navarre heir apparent (as Henry IV).

1590: 14 March: Victory of Henry of Navarre at the Battle of Ivry-la-Bataille.

1592 30 January: Election of Pope Clement VIII.

1593 25 July: Conversion to Catholicism of Henry of Navarre.

1594 27 February: Coronation of Henry IV at Chartres.

1595 4 August: Death of Queen Elizabeth's minister Lord Burghley (William Cecil).

1598 13 April: Issue of the Edict of Nantes, ending the French Wars of Religion. **2 May:** Treaty of Vervins between France and Spain. **13 September:** Death of Philip II of Spain.

1599 10 December: The Assembly of the Convention of States meets in Edinburgh.

1603 24 March: Death of Elizabeth I of England.

Introduction

The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in Context

The Protestant Reformation of the 16th century has traditionally been viewed as marking the onset of modernity in Europe. It finally broke up the federal Christendom of the Middle Ages, under the leadership of the papacy—a *corpus Christianorum*, or unitary body of all Christians—and substituted for it a continent of autonomous and national states, independent of Rome. Moreover, both as a cause and effect of religious change, several European kingdoms, such as England and Sweden, emerged with much stronger state apparatus than had previously been the case: the powerful, if not omniscient, modern state is in many ways the child and successor of the ambitious and reform-minded northern European monarchies of the 16th century. Yet, while the kingdoms of the 16th century were set on courses of development that would lead in the 17th and 18th centuries to the erection of the authoritarian royal system known as absolutism, both the Revolt of the Netherlands and the French Wars of Religion engendered ideologies and literatures of protest and dissent, stressing the rights of the citizen and the civil community over and against the claims of the state—the paving stones of modern Western political assumptions.

Medieval Europe took for granted the necessity of unity and unanimity of religion and set up bodies such as the Inquisition to enforce it. Most thinking 16th-century Europeans—John Calvin, England’s Queen Mary I, and Sir Thomas More being prominent examples—inherited those assumptions on the need for repression in order to maintain unity of faith, though there were voices, notably that of Sebastian Castellio, who spoke out for religious toleration and diversity. However, the general and inherited consensus on the necessity for credal unanimity in a given society clashed in the second half of the 16th century with the evident existence of religious diversity in various European polities. It is true that, for the time being at least, national monarchies such as

Denmark, England, and Sweden, as well as individual German principalities, for instance Bavaria and Saxony, under the process known as “confessionalization,” managed to maintain religious homogeneity through an era of ecclesiastical change. However, from the later 16th century France and Netherlands, the one caught up in lethal civil war, the other in a revolt to attain national independence—were forced to admit and endorse the reality of confessional divergence. In the Union of Utrecht (1579) in the Low Countries and the Edict of Nantes (1598) in France the medieval vision of religious agreement was abandoned and the door was opened more than a chink to the religious freedom, diversity, and toleration that the modern Western world cherishes. It may also be the case that the birth of religious pluralism in the 16th century made a contribution to the secularity of modern Europe, indeed perhaps even to the large-scale de-Christianization of the Western continent that accelerated so rapidly in the second half of the 20th century.

An alternative to the recognition of religious diversity within the 16th century was the recurrent quest for a reaffirmation of unanimity through devising formulas of doctrinal compromise. Desiderius Erasmus, with his insistence that ethics, not dogma, were the hallmark of the true Christian, was a pioneer in this respect, and the most persistent pursu-
 ant of a return to unity by means of conciliatory communiqués such as the Augsburg Confession of Faith was Philipp Melanchthon. A series of colloquies, such as that held at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in spring 1541 and at Poissy in France in September 1561—the latter designed to head off looming religious conflict—epitomized a search for lost agreement. In the event, the spokesmen for unambiguous doctrinal lines within the century of the Reformation—headed by Martin Luther on the Protestant side and by figures such as G. P. Carafa on the Catholic—led the offensive against compromise. However, modern Christianity has rediscovered the ecumenical imperative, and the 1999 Joint Declaration on Justification by German Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran participants has made a major contribution to a quest for agreement on one of the thorniest issues to confront and divide post-Reformation Christians. The continuing drive for Christian unity in the 21st century ought to be looking to the 16th-century figure of Melanchthon as its patron saint.

In some of its political, social, and religious impacts, then, the Reformation was the harbinger of modernity. In economics, too, religious change in the 16th century has been widely seen as engendering the first stirrings of modern capitalism. Though reformers such as Martin Luther

and John Calvin insisted on the primacy of religious and moral concerns in economic and financial life, the latter in particular has been claimed as the sponsor of a code of thrift, self-restraint, and industry that were to lead to the dominant economic structures of the modern world.

In areas such as the rise of science, the origins of modernity can be sought within the century of the Reformation and its successor, the age of the “Scientific Revolution.” Even so, the concerns of the 16th century were very much those of the anterior medieval centuries. Luther, it is true, with his introspective self-awareness and his insistence, set out most ringingly in the 1521 Diet of Worms, on the rights of his own conscience, can seem to us to be a pioneer of modern individualism. Even so, his abiding concerns as a theologian were essentially those of his medieval forebears—the degree of freedom of the will, predestination, the nature of the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist, but above all, the ratio of human and divine initiatives in the process by which men and women are reconciled to God and saved from damnation. Presiding at a distance of a millennium and more over the Christian religious discourse of the 16th century was the figure of the most influential of the Fathers of the Church, Augustine (354–430). Augustine shaped the thinking of Luther, who spoke of “my theology which is St Augustine’s . . . the theology of the bible, of St Augustine, and of all true theologians of the Church.”¹ Augustine’s influence was also strong in the debates of the Council of Trent, and he was the inspiration behind John Calvin’s “Institutes of the Christian Religion,” as a systematic compilation of Augustinian theology. Far, then, from pointing toward intellectual modernity, the Protestant and Catholic Reformations took their cues from a theologian of the late Roman Empire.

In 1519, at the Leipzig Disputation, Luther acquired his first full acquaintance with the ideas of the late medieval Czech religious dissident Jan Hus, and thereby discovered his own doctrinal precedents, in an unbroken chain that he saw reaching back from his own time and his own mentor, Johann von Staupitz, to a distant past that was also contemporaneous: “I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of Jan Hus unawares; so did Johann Staupitz; in short we are all Hussites without knowing it. Paul and Augustine are Hussites to a word.”²

This, then, was what reformation was about in the 16th century—an untiring quest to return *ad fontes*—to the wellsprings of Christian life, thought, and action, as they were set out in Scripture and above all in the New Testament. That text was to be better known, in all its immediacy,

above all through the work of Desiderius Erasmus and of Francisco Ximénès de Cisneros in uncovering the unvarnished, uncluttered Greek text of the original. Deference to the New Testament guided Christian religious thought in the 16th century and it did so in two ways.

First, Renaissance humanism cultivated a new respect for texts as such, and humanist attitudes slipped over into an appreciation of the New Testament as a text in its own right. Thus the humanist-influenced reformer of Zürich, Huldrych Zwingli, began his early sermons in the city's main church by treating the New Testament not as a liturgical accompaniment placed at the disposal of the churchly rites of the calendar but as a kind of history to be worked through systematically and sequentially. The gospels presented the life and teachings of Christ, and Erasmus's 1516 Greek version, the *Novum Instrumentum*, spoke His Aramaic words as the evangelists rendered them in Greek. In the best-known example, Christ does not say, in Matthew 4:17, as the early Latin translator Jerome (c. 340–c. 420) represents Him, “do penance” (*poenitentiam agere*), but rather commands, “repent,” change your hearts (in Greek, *metanoiete*), a different concept of personal alteration that was in fact entirely characteristic of the teachings of Jesus. Thus, linguistic and critical techniques transposed from humanism facilitated a new sensitivity of understanding and appreciation of the gospel core of the New Testament. In what we may describe as the fifth gospel, the account of the early Church known as the Acts of the Apostles, many found a charter and a blueprint for the life of the Church in their own day, and Hutterite Anabaptists took this as far as deriving their practice of community of goods from Acts 2:44–45.

Between the tiny community of Jews expecting the imminent return of the Risen Lord in their 1st-century Jerusalem conventicles and the European Catholic Church into which Luther, Calvin, and all the other first-generation reformers were baptized—an institution that was landed, powerful, wealthy, hierarchical, and that embraced millions in its sway—lay, surely, a world of difference and contrast. Thus it may seem strange to us that reformists in the 16th century should draw their schemes of renewal from that brief and ancient corpus, the New Testament. But they did, and in such a way that renewal meant return and that innovation was overlooked in renovation. Thus, to take an example, a common 16th-century model for the ideal bishop—the term used in the translation made for the Authorized Version—was culled from Paul's Epistle to Titus 1:6–9—a 1st-century norm transposed to a

16th-century reality. A sense of the nature of change over time that was different from our own may have been at work here, but we do need to be reminded of the fact that the momentum of reform in the age of the Reformation derived its inspiration from a distant past and in that sense had nothing to do with “modernity.”

Alongside the “narrative” core of the New Testament stood the teaching on ethics and doctrine in the letters of the Apostles and, above all, the series from Paul, the headwaters of the river of doctrine that Luther traced back from himself, via Augustine and the others. And indeed, Luther himself, with his teaching on justification grounded in Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, was only one agent in a massive revival of interest in Paul in the early 16th century that embraced such figures as John Colet in England and Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples in France. Once again, then, we see that Christian transformation in 16th-century Europe was dictated by the mandates of the 1st century.

That observation also holds true for Catholic reformists in the Middle Ages—in the proto-Reformation of the 12th century, in the reformist pontificate of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), in the quest for a *vita apostolica*, or apostolic life, and especially in the life and achievements of St. Francis (c. 1181–1226), with his passion to reduplicate the life of Christ, above all in emulating His poverty, becoming “poor for us in this world.”³ It was the splendid impracticality of Francis’s way that led to relaxations of his rule of poverty, but in the 15th century Franciscans such as Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444) led an “Observant” movement to return to the rigors of the rule. Indeed, the Observant revival suffused other religious orders, and the wing of the Augustinian Order that Luther joined was the Observant one, under Johann von Staupitz. While Observantism represented a further hankering to return to basics, by extension we may say that aspirations for reform in pre-Reformation Europe should be understood as a vast urge to have the Church return to and observe its own “rule,” the praxis of the New Testament.

It is thus doubly important to see the Reformation, or Reformations, of the 16th century fully in medieval context, which is the historiographical contribution of historians such as Oberman and Ozment, who appear in the bibliography. And if the past is a different country, we need the maps to chart the Reformation landscape, and above all to understand what its authentic concerns were. For there may have been a tendency in some historical writing of the 20th century to present religious action in the 16th century as a kind of cover or pretence for

motives that were seen—in line with 20th-century secularism and materialism—as being essentially secular and materialist, political or economic. From this, 16th-century people taking actions seemingly within the sphere of religion tended sometimes to be shown as at best suffering from self-deception or false consciousness and at worst from a Machiavellian hypocrisy when they were, surely, clothing their worldly drives under garments of religious pretense. Thus, German princes, in introducing the Reformation into their lands, were, of course, making a grab for church property, and/or assembling gestures of resistance and opposition against the Catholic Charles V. Or again, England's Henry VIII, in steering his country's Breach with Rome was, of course, acting out of lusts equally compounded of sex and political megalomania. And finally some 20th-century historical writing attributed the mass rites of violence of the Reformation century to social tension disguised as religious zeal: the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 was, for example, sometimes presented as the outcome of class war.

And, of course, the 16th century did know people on whom the religious imperative lay lightly. It is clear, for example, from our coverage of him below that the motives of Gustav Vasa in importing the Reformation into Sweden did have to do with expanding royal political and financial power. It is equally certain that Henry of Navarre, who is said to have mused that going to Mass was a price worth paying to win Catholic Paris and become Henry IV of France—"Paris vaut bien une messe"⁴—was not driven by religious zeal. Further, the religious momentum behind the various military and political shifts of Moritz of Saxony are at best hard to discern.

To set aside such cases of opportunism and a modern-seeming concern with political advantage, we should be aware—especially from modern German historical scholarship—of the princes and city governments who, braving formidable Habsburg power, introduced Lutheran religious settlements for the sake of their subjects' souls, for which they felt responsible before God—the same God, no doubt, who plagued the tender conscience of Henry VIII to punish the king's defiance of divine commands over marriage set out in Scripture. Most disturbingly—and as we ourselves know from modern theaters from Bosnia to Northern Ireland—religion *qua* religion was responsible for very real violence in the French Wars of Religion, as people slew the cultic other as heretic and pollutant.

The notion that masses of people could be coerced into religious options by pressure from above, specifically from their rulers, was

built into the later summary of the thinking behind the 1555 Peace of Augsburg—*cujus regio, ejus religio*—"the ruler dictates his subjects' faith." While, undoubtedly, acceptance of that kind of formula assisted the process known as confessionalization in early modern European states, the converse of it could sometimes be that subjects enforced the ruler's religion, as happened most spectacularly in the case of Henry of Navarre's conversion to Catholicism in order to win the allegiance of Catholic French people. In other theaters, too, *cujus regio* . . . simply did not work: in Sweden in the second half of the 16th century, no amount of royal Catholic manipulation could uproot a Lutheranism that people had taken to their hearts; and in Germany, the home of confessionalization, Brandenburg was a princely state where the elector, Johann Sigmund, failed to carry his Lutheran subjects with him when he converted to Calvinism in 1613.

Whether we are dealing with opposition to religious change or support for it, we are now aware, through the work of today's historians, of the importance of popular forces, for example in acts of collective iconoclasm that precipitated the abandonment of Catholicism in German and Swiss cities in the 1520s and saw a religious revolution in the cities of the Low Countries in 1566. In considering the question of mass action in driving urban Reformations forward, we need to include a study of the ratio between initiatives taken by city corporations in proportion to actions adopted and demands made by the common people in any particular city, such as Nuremberg, Strassburg, or Zürich, or, later, London or Edinburgh.

Again, in contemplating the Reformation of the common people we should consider the actual relationship between the prime movers of change and the demotic response. Luther is a figure of particular fascination here, and his conversion into a kind of demagogue is especially intriguing. His formation was profoundly academic and, as study of his exegetical lectures of 1513–1516 on the Psalms and on Paul's Epistle to the Romans shows, his approach to his topics could be abstruse, which is not necessarily to say obscure. Yet, from 1517 Luther became a figure of news and media projection, a quintessentially popular personality. How did this happen? To answer that question, we need to evaluate, first, factors that belonged to Luther's antecedents and, then, also the impact of the stirrings of change within his lifetime.

First, in terms of his medieval background, Luther belonged to a long-established religious order, the Augustinian Eremites, that combined

high levels of erudition with popular outreach. Like other “mendicant” orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, Luther’s Augustinians were preachers, and an effective preacher is nothing if not a popularizer, able, if necessary, to convert complex doctrinal data into readily assimilable exposition, which is what Luther was delivering, in the Ninety-Five Theses, in the “Reformation classics” of 1520, and in a subsequent lifetime of writing and publishing. Indeed, the genesis of the Ninety-Five Theses—generally seen as the starting gun of the Reformation—was typical of the traditionally varied and versatile tasks of the Augustinian Order, for, in line with that Order’s busy brief, Luther had pastoral responsibilities in the city of Wittenberg. These in turn led him into an acute concern that the common people of the city were being led astray by false teaching on indulgences, requiring from him a clarification of true doctrine that started the chain of events leading into Reformation.

Thus, while his colleague Melanchthon came to be known as “Germany’s schoolmaster”—*praeceptor Germaniae*—Luther in the 1520s was emerging as preacher and pastor to the nation, roles arising out of his Order’s traditional vocation but vastly magnified by the media revolution of printing that gave Martin Luther’s lifelong course of sermons—which was basically what his writings amounted to—a nationwide readership. Luther was the first individual to make real use of the new medium of printing, using a “modern” method to facilitate a “medieval” task, homiletics on a grand scale. That it was printing and publishing that were at the heart of the matter was made manifest in Luther’s trial hearing at the 1521 Diet of Worms, when the prosecution opened the proceedings by focusing unerringly on printed works: “Let the *books* be given a name . . . Martin Luther, His Majesty has ordered you to be called hither . . . to retract the *books* which you have edited and spread abroad. I refer to all the *books* [you have] written . . .”⁵ [my emphases].

The paradox is that the book was, rightly, recognized as the key issue at stake in a period when few could read, least of all in the traditional language of religious discourse, Latin. A solution to that latter problem was found in the increasing delivery of printed material in European vernaculars, and Luther started that ball rolling, either by turning out works directly in German or by translating his Latin writing into the language of the people. As for the other issue, that of functional illiteracy, it could be got round, in various ways, most obviously through

the reading aloud of texts by literates to illiterates. In the end, then, it was the spoken word and oral communication delivered in uncountable face-to-face encounters that lay at the heart of disseminating the Reformation.

The press also involved the printer as entrepreneur, selling his product. There is a cliché about pipers, payers, and tunes, and we need to realize that vernacular writers of the Reformation age responded to the challenge of reaching a mass paying readership often by writing vulgarly, in all sense of the word. Indeed, medieval preachers such as San Bernardino had set out to give their audiences what they seem to have wanted—crudity, comedy, and horror—and when fastidious modern historians deplore the fact that such a refined humanist as Thomas More wrote coarsely and scatologically in his attacks on heresy, More was probably doing what journalists do—giving readers what they are perceived as requiring.

The Reformation coincided with the further consequences of Christopher Columbus's discoveries in the New World and with the onset of a 400-year period in which Europe dominated the globe. Not only did Spanish and Portuguese conquests in South America create a Catholic subcontinent, but 16th-century Europeans became more fully aware of an Asia previously only dimly perceived. It was the Catholic Church that took up the baton of a Christian mission to Asia, predominantly in India, China, and Japan—whether or not consciously to compensate for territorial losses in Europe is not entirely clear. In all three of those countries—and most dramatically in China—the issue of acculturation—the adaptation of a western religion to eastern traditions—became uppermost. The Christian mission to Asia was not entirely a failure—China numbers some 10 million Catholics and 40 million Protestants, and India has over 14 million Catholics, though Japan's 500,000 Catholics amount to only .35 percent of the population. Difficulties, though, in the way of stripping Christianity of its Western cultural dress obviously impeded the success of missionary endeavors.

Early modern Europe perceived Asia through a glass darkly, and through a prism obscured by the presence of the expanding power of the Turks. Their formidable military and naval power remained a constant throughout the 16th century and well into the 17th, but for central Europe reached a meridian in the 1520s with the Turks' stunning victory of Mohács in Hungary in 1526 and their siege of Vienna in 1529. In Luther, the proximity of the Turkish menace rekindled the sense of

eschatological dread and anticipation that is in any case a significant feature of Christian mentalities. That apocalyptic expectation was a vital feature of the early modern European imagination was, no doubt, for some time obscured in historical writing as the confident Victorian and post-Victorian assumptions of ever-continuing human progress continued to dominate historians' consciousness. However, from the 1960s onward, amid the Cold War and an ever-looming uncertainty about the very future of the human race—replaced more recently by pessimism about the survival of the planet as we know it—an empathy developed with the doom-watch scenario of early modern Europeans. And we are now aware that end-time anticipations characterized not only early modern “cranks” but “serious” thinkers too: after all, the English scholar and historian John Foxe entitled his great martyrology *Actes and Monumentes of These Latter and Perillous Dayes*—and meant it. A belief that the world and mankind were young—4,000 years old, ran a 17th-century estimate, based on biblical calculations—no doubt intensified a conviction that it was also ephemeral.

Because the latter days were perilous, vigilance concerning the enemy—whoever he or she was—was of the essence. Indeed, eschatological ideologies commonly create Manichaean worldviews in which the only tones are black and white. For early modern Christians, the figure of Antichrist encapsulated the sense of polarized confrontation that gave rise on all sides to extreme violence, directed, for example, at real or imagined witches as the alien other.

In a secular world—albeit one perhaps rather less so in America than in largely de-Christianized Europe—the concerns of our Reformation and Counter-Reformation forefathers and foremothers may sometimes seem remote to us. It is the author's hope that this dictionary may provide some mapping through that distant terrain.

The chronology of religious change within the 16th century may also require some elucidation for the reader. Broadly, we may identify four periods, of unequal length, of religious activity in Western Christendom in the 16th century, which we shall label: (1) Gestation, 1500–20; (2) Acceleration and Division, 1520–30; (3) Protestant expansion and Catholic response, 1530–62/3; and (4) Conflict, 1562–98.

(1). The period of gestation, 1500–20, saw a continuation of late medieval drives to reform the life, morals, and institutions of the Catholic Church, deriving its inspiration from scriptural models in the New Testament, with particular attention to the Epistles of St. Paul, but also tak-

ing direction from the Fathers of the Church, especially St. Augustine. Clearly, all reformist initiatives in that period come under the heading of our dictionary entry below, “Catholic Reform.” A widely accepted slogan referred to the renewal of Catholicism “in head and members,” using the image of the Church as the “mystical body of Christ” and working for a restoration of its life, starting with its head on earth, the pope, and spreading through its “limbs,” the higher and lower clergy, the religious orders and the laity. At the highest levels, the Lateran Council of 1512–17, albeit somewhat hesitantly, took up reform threads, for example over the education of the clergy, and set a precedent for the work of the Council of Trent. The monastic and mendicant orders of monks and friars respectively were strongly influenced by the “Observant” ideal of keeping strictly to their own rules. Important steps were made in the key sphere of diocesan reform by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester in England, and by Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros in Toledo.

Scholars such as John Colet in England and Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples in France gave Christian humanist momentum to reform initiatives. However, the presiding genius of these all these stirrings of reform was Desiderius Erasmus. Taking his own cues from the moralistic renewal of the *devotio moderna* promulgated by the Brethren of the Common Life, Erasmus aimed biting but salutary satire at the corruptions and superstitions besetting the Church, and also in his devotional writings, especially in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, or “Manual of a Christian Soldier” (1503), strongly fostered lay piety. Apart from his scholarly editions of the Father of the Church, Erasmus’s major contribution to the renovation of the Church came in his publication in 1516 of the New Testament in its original Greek, to a large extent the foundation of Luther’s breakthrough.

(2). If Erasmus was the leading figure in the “gestation” phase, Martin Luther guided the second era, that of acceleration and division, 1520–30. Luther’s aspirations for Catholic reform filled his younger years. Although between 1517 and 1520 his case was mishandled by Church authorities and his calls for ameliorations repulsed, his theological revival, grounded not in Scholasticism but in his interpretation of Scripture, was basically incompatible with the formulas of salvation that Catholicism had accumulated: the theology of justification by faith alone could not be reconciled with the Church’s insistence, confirmed by the Council of Trent, that human beings had some part to play in their gaining of God’s favor. The parting of the ways came in two key

stages within the era of acceleration and division. In the first stage, between 1520 and 1521, as the papacy condemned and excommunicated Luther and the Diet of Worms outlawed him, in the “Reformation classics” of 1520 Luther countered by denouncing the whole papal system. In particular, by recycling the ancient and scriptural epitome of evil, Antichrist, and attaching it to the papal office, Martin Luther put reconciliation beyond rescue.

In the next stage, in his literary exchanges with Erasmus in 1525 over the freedom or bondage of the will Luther set up a philosophical conception of humanity, God, and their interrelationship that burned all the intellectual bridges between his movement and the Catholic consensus. In addition, the dispute over the will meant that the unitary phase of Catholic reform as a single stream was firmly at an end. While would-be conciliators such as Gasparo Contarini and Reginald Pole on the Catholic side and Philipp Melanchthon on the Evangelical, continued to operate, compromise was discredited as bridges gave way to fences. Erasmus himself, the hero of our first period of reform activity, was increasingly marginalized, if not disowned.

Meanwhile, acceleration and expansion characterized the course of non-Catholic reform. Cities such as Strassburg and Nuremberg were taking the initiative in institutionalizing Lutheran change—and suppressing Catholic practices and religious culture—but in 1526 the first Diet of Speyer revealed the existence of a bloc of opposition to the Edict of Worms. By 1530 and the adoption of the Augsburg Confession by German states and cities, “Lutheranism” had to be recognized as a political and religious fact.

However, the Luther creed was not the only option of change on the table for, whereas Lutheranism divided the stream of Christendom into two currents, further changes in the 1520s extended the process of division. In Switzerland, with Huldrych Zwingli of Zürich in the advance guard, a different version of renewal, making a cleaner break than Luther’s with the Catholic past, was on offer. However, Zwingli’s own Reformation, albeit more radical than Luther’s, was to face its own radical alternative from the mid-1520s with the rise of Anabaptism, on Zwingli’s own turf. Subsequently, the failure of the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529 ensured that, just as the events of 1520–1 had put clear blue water between Rome and Luther’s Wittenberg, so the German and Swiss Protestant Reformations now had to be identified as different species.

(3). Our third period, 1530–63, is that of Protestant expansion and Catholic response and it marks the high tide of growth for the new variant of Christianity in the 16th century. One feature of the new non-Roman Catholic Christianity was its strongly political tinge. Two northern European kingdoms with highly comparable patterns of religio-political development, England and Sweden, exemplify this. Sweden was one of 16th-century Europe's two new nation-states, the other being the Dutch Republic, and following its breakaway from Denmark in 1523, under the firm rule of Gustav Vasa the kingdom gradually adopted the Lutheran faith, though in an emphatically national and royal Reformation, confirming a people's identity, culture, and language under their ruling dynasty. In terms of territorial overlordship, the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden between them carved up greater Scandinavia—Denmark ruled Iceland and Norway, Sweden governed Finland—so that when those hegemonic realms imposed their new confessions on their subject territories, the whole of Europe's far north moved, or was moved, out of Rome's camp.

And so the 1530s confirm a pattern of geographical demarcation in Europe between a post-Catholic north and a south loyal to Rome. The England of Henry VIII seems to fit quite easily into the northern anti-Roman bloc since its religious changes in the 1530s, a syncretic and idiosyncratic mélange of Erasmian, humanist, and evangelical ingredients, amounted to more of a declaration of independence from a foreign power, the papacy, than a full acceptance of new doctrines out of Germany. Subsequently though, in two phases of Reformation between 1547 and 1553 and from 1559 onward, England, or its rulers, adopted the Protestant way, and that may confirm our sense of the unstoppable march of the Protestant faith in northern Europe in the mid-century decades. However, for England first to reject Rome and then to swallow Wittenberg or Geneva wholly was incompatible with the goals of a uniquely national Reformation, in all its singular heterogeneity. Under Elizabeth, the defeat of political puritanism, with its goals of converting the English Church into a mirror image of the Reformed Calvinist variants of continental Europe, should be seen as confirming the unique Englishness of the "middle-way" English Reformation.

Given that the vital ingredients of nationhood in early modern Europe were territory, monarchy, and language, it is worth noting the relationship between the last item on that list and religious change. Protestantism insistently required the translations of essential texts into national

vernaculars, and England, Scotland, and the Nordic kingdoms provide classic examples of a collusion between the appearance of key liturgical, scriptural, and catechetical texts in vernacular forms and a rising popular sense of national identity and collectivity.

If by 1560 a northern Europe, much of which had lain outside the boundaries of the ancient Roman Empire, had broken away from allegiance to the pope of Rome, the onward march of Protestantism did not leave southern Europe immunized, and both Catholic evangelical movements and outright Protestant cells grew up in Spain and Italy. Part of the Catholic Church's response, seen, for example, in the foundation of new orders of clerks regular in Italy, was to set out to recapture the Mediterranean and Atlantic south for the old faith.

The Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation—the Catholic response—of course feature significantly in the text of the Dictionary below, in the form of accomplishments of the Council of Trent, the work of individual reforming bishops such as Gian Matteo Giberti and Carlo Borromeo, the founding of the Jesuits, the emergence of popes of a new personal integrity and commitment, the defensive work of the Index and Inquisition, and so on. Certainly from the time of the closure of the Council of Trent in 1563, a renewed Catholic militancy and determination were abroad. As we have been seeing in this introduction, the gains that Protestantism made in Europe, especially in mid-century, should be viewed as the conversions to a new form of Christianity of whole populations occupying geographical territory. And a struggle for the possession of territory can and does mean war, the main feature of our fourth chronological phase.

(4). The fourth phase of our survey, 1562–98, is, then, one of religious warfare, a propensity to which, despite the pacifist teachings of its founder, early modern Christianity had inherited from the medieval Crusades. And there were foretastes of later religious warfare in the earlier part of the 16th century, when Zwingli lost his life at the Battle of Kappel in 1531 and Charles V tried to coerce all of Germany back into the Catholic corral in the Schmalkaldic War of 1546–7. However, these were fitful conflicts compared with the long and bloody religious wars of the latter part of the century: France was at war over religion intermittently from 1562 to 1598 and we can speak of 80 years of religious and political war for the freedom of the Dutch Republic, until its

independence was at last recognized in 1648, at the close of Europe's last religious conflict, the Thirty Years War.

We may certainly ask why religiously inspired warfare was so bitter and protracted, but also so localized, over the course of those decades. To move toward answering that question, we may assert that Protestantism in Europe's far north and Catholicism in its far south were, on the whole, irreversible *faits accomplis* by c. 1560: in other words, it is not merely speculation to claim that a military struggle on anyone's part to win, say, Portugal or any part of Italy or Spain for Protestantism would have been as unrealistic as an intervention to destroy Lutheranism in its Nordic—or its north German—redoubts. But wars are often won and lost not in heartlands but in no man's lands, and at dateline 1560 the religious allegiance of a broad band of terrain across the middle of the Continent was still undecided—and to be contended for, if necessary militarily as well as fiercely. In the struggle for this middle Europe, the battle for the soul of France was absolutely pivotal, which was why confessional zealots, above all Philip II, felt fully entitled to intervene in the French Wars of Religion. Even more so, external forces pitched into the religious-political struggle against Spain in the Netherlands, where the conquests of Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, in the 1580s were to show that military victories could result in confessional reconfigurations, and “Belgium” was won back for the Catholic faith. In the “conflict phase” military success and also military failure, such as the defeat of Spain's 1588 Armada against England, largely defined religious allegiances, as they were to do in the Thirty Years War of the following century. While seemingly no number of purely military victories on Henry of Navarre's part could overcome France's entrenched Catholicism, so that the subjects in his case dictated the religion of the ruler, the religious map of Europe, as it stood in 1598, then in 1648, and pretty much the same as it is today, may be telling us that a new aphorism may be appropriate in the form of *cujus legio, ejus religio*—“military might decides faith.”

NOTES

1. Michael Mullett. “Luther: Conservative or Revolutionary?” *History Today* 23 (December, 1983): 40.

2. Ibid.
3. Richard P. McBrien, general editor. *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995, 541.
4. Angela Partington, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, revised fourth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 332.
5. Michael A. Mullett. *Martin Luther*. London: Routledge, 2004, 126.

The Dictionary

– A –

ACARIE, BARBE (MARIE DE L'INCARNATION) (1566–1618).

Born into an ardently Catholic and well-to-do Parisian family, Barbe Jeanne Avrillot married Pierre Acarie, Vicomte de Villemaur, in 1582 and established a household in **Paris** that attracted a devout group. Having read the writings of **Teresa of Ávila**, Madame Acarie worked toward the establishment in Paris of a convent of Teresa's reformed, contemplative, and ascetic Order of Discalced [shoeless] **Carmelites**. In 1602–3 the necessary royal and papal approval to introduce the Teresian model of Carmelite reform from **Spain** into **France** was obtained, bringing a small group of Spanish sisters to a new convent in the French capital.

Following her husband's death in 1613, Madame Acarie herself entered the Order, first in the newly founded convent in Amiens, north of Paris, then in one in nearby Pontoise, taking the name in religion of Marie de l'Incarnation. A mystic and visionary who helped establish the **Ursulines** in her country, she was the founder of the Discalced Carmelites in the France of the Catholic Reformation and all three of her daughters joined the Order, of which 55 houses had been set up in the country by the mid-17th century. Madame Acarie was beatified in 1791. *See also* WOMEN.

ACT DISSOLVING THE GREATER MONASTERIES (1539).

The suppression of the monasteries of **England** was a phased, though rapid, process. Selective closures of religious houses in the later 15th and early 16th centuries funded new university colleges, and in 1524 Cardinal **Thomas Wolsey**, acting with papal approval, closed 25 small religious priories, channeling their incomes into new educational institutions. This was followed in 1528 with a papal license to

close down small and unviable houses in favor of larger and better run ones.

Subsequently, in 1535, in his capacity as **Henry VIII**'s vicar general (or "vicegerent") for ecclesiastical matters, **Thomas Cromwell** commissioned a visitation of the English monasteries and friaries, drew up a report on their failings, and published injunctions to reform them, followed by a parliamentary order to dissolve the smaller and allegedly laxer houses—those with less than £200 of annual income each. The revolt in the north of England against the closures, the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, encouraged the crown to bring about a total suppression, which took place between 1537 and 1540 and was endorsed by Parliament in the Act of 1539: more than 800 religious houses fell victim to the Dissolution of the Monasteries. *See also* MONASTICISM.

ACT IN RESTRAINT OF APPEALS TO ROME (1533). The Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome, introduced by **Thomas Cromwell** and passed by Parliament in **England** early in April 1533, had the limited aim of outlawing appeals to the papacy over questions of wills and marriages, thereby paving the way for the annulment, without reference to the obstructive papacy of **Clement VII**, of **Henry VIII**'s marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. At the same time, the crucial preamble to the act, declaring the realm of England to be a sovereign "empire," "governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same" (Stephenson and Marcham, eds., *Sources of English Constitutional History*, p. 304), made a major contribution to the articulation of English national autonomy that was a key feature of the Henrician Reformation.

ACT OF SUPREMACY (1534). Twinned to the **Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome**, the Act of Supremacy of **Henry VIII**'s parliament in January 1534 completed a statutory process of royal mastery over the Church, which had begun with the 1532 Submission of the Clergy to the king: the 1534 act held the sovereign to be "justly and rightly . . . supreme head of the Church of England," having "authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same," and empowered him to carry out regular visitations of the Church (Stephenson and Marcham, eds., *Sources of English Constitutional History*, pp. 311–12).

ACT OF SUPREMACY (1559). Following the extension of the royal supremacy over the Church of England in the reign of **Edward VI** and its abrogation in favor of the restoration of the papal primacy under **Mary I**, after the accession in November 1558 of the Protestant **Elizabeth I**, parliament in 1559 passed the “Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same” (Stephenson and Marcham eds., *Sources of English Constitutional History*, p. 344). Like its predecessor the **1534 Act of Supremacy**, the 1559 statute thus purported to restore an ancient system of royal ecclesiastical government eroded over the course of time by papal usurpations. The 1559 statute also introduced an oath to be sworn by all clerical and secular officeholders to accept the queen’s authority over the Church, though, in contrast with **Henry VIII**’s headship, Elizabeth was given the title of supreme governor.

ACTS OF SUCCESSION, 1534, 1536, 1543. The first Act of Succession to **Henry VIII** in **England** was passed in 1534 and provided for the succession to the throne of the heirs of the king and **Anne Boleyn**. The next, in 1536, placed the succession in the line of the heirs of Henry VIII and his third wife, Jane Seymour (1508/9–1537), and also empowered the king to determine the succession by formal letters or in his will. The Successions Act of 1544 made **Edward VI**, **Mary**, and **Elizabeth** heirs to the throne in that order.

ACTS OF UNIFORMITY (1549, 1552, 1559). Under **Edward VI** parliament in 1549 passed an “Act for the uniformity of service and administration of the **sacraments** throughout the realm” (Stephenson and Marcham, eds., *Sources of English Constitutional History*, p. 325). The measure endorsed the English-language **Book of Common Prayer** authored by **Thomas Cranmer** and provided terms of imprisonment and fines for refusing to use it in public worship or for publicly criticizing this liturgy. In 1552 a new Act of Uniformity commanded the use of Cranmer’s second, and more Protestant-inspired, Book of Common Prayer, and ordered all to attend parish worship. The third Act of Uniformity, 1559, enforced the use of a Book of Common Prayer, adapted, with some revisions, from the 1552 version and imposed a fine of one shilling for each individual absence from parish worship on Sundays and holy days.

ADIAPHORA. This Greek term meaning “matters of indifference” was employed in the wake of the 1548 **Interims** of Leipzig and Augsburg, which imposed on **Germany** traditional features of Catholicism. Among the adherents of **Lutheranism**, a compromise party, headed by **Philipp Melanchthon** and known as **Philippists**, maintained that the issues in question did not go to the doctrinal heart of the matter and could be accepted. Opposing them, a grouping termed “**Gnesio** [genuine]-**Lutherans**” and led by **Matthias Flacius Illyricus** and **Nikolaus von Amsdorf** insisted that the concessions deeply endangered **Martin Luther’s** legacy. The discord was settled only with the implementation of the **Formula and Book of Concord** in 1577.

The concept of adiaphora was also deployed within the Church of **England** by those such as **Richard Hooker**, who argued that “things indifferent,” for example, the wearing of the surplice in the services of the Church, should be accepted for the sake of peace, order, and authority.

ADMONITIONS CONTROVERSY (1572). In 1572 the **puritan** campaign to further the **Protestantism** of the governance and worship of the Church of **England** was brought before parliament in the form of an anonymous manifesto known as “An Admonition to the Parliament,” the authors being the London puritan ministers John Field (or Feilde, 1545–1588) and Thomas Wilcox (c. 1549–1608). The Admonition, accompanied by Field’s *View of Popishe Abuses Yet Remaining in the English Church*—which attacked the Church of England’s Book of Common Prayer as being derived from “that popish dunghill, the Mass” (McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I*, p. 135)—led to the arrest and imprisonment of Field and Wilcox and to a press controversy, especially over the central issue, raised in the Admonition, of the most authentic scriptural model for the government of the Church, the episcopalian or the presbyterian. **John Whitgift’s** *Answer to a Certain Libel* defended the episcopal system. The *Second Admonition*, setting out the main features of the presbyterian system of church government and published before April 1573, is commonly, but wrongly, attributed to **Thomas Cartwright**.

ADRIAN VI (ADRIAAN FLORENSZON, OR FLORISZON, DEDEL OR DEDAL, OR BOEYENS, POPE (1459–1523). Adriaan Florenszoon Dedel was born the son of a carpenter in Utrecht in

the northern **Low Countries** in 1459 and was educated by the teaching congregation set up in the late medieval Netherlands, the Brethren of the Common Life. Dedel studied at the University of Louvain (Leuven) in the southern Low Countries, where he became professor of philosophy and theology and, in 1497, chancellor. In 1507 he was appointed tutor to the future Emperor **Charles V**, confirming what was to be a close political relationship with the **Habsburgs**: he played a key role in ensuring a smooth succession in 1517 for Charles in his Spanish kingdoms, where he served as inquisitor, and also as regent for Charles in 1520.

Made cardinal in 1517, at Charles's behest, Dedel was poised to take the papacy in the conclave (papal election) of 1522. His election, though unanimous, was regarded in Rome as freakish: not only was he the first non-Italian to occupy the office for over 140 years (and the last for another 455), but he was also austere and opposed to a fashionable neo-pagan outlook that had swept through papal Rome, especially during the pontificate of his predecessor Pope **Leo X**. However, the problems that Pope Adrian (unusually, as pope he kept his own Christian name) encountered were not so much those of Renaissance Rome as of central Europe, where aggression by the **Turks** was battering **Hungary**. But above all, the challenges Adrian faced were those of **Germany**, where **Martin Luther's** movement had not only become entrenched but also was rapidly expanding. Although he was prepared to admit the faults of the Church's central administration—a vital step on the long route to Catholic reform—his approach to the problem of Luther was simply to criminalize him and demand the execution of the **Edict of Worms** against him. While Adrian was unable to stop the advance of the Turks in the east—the eastern Mediterranean island of Rhodes (Ródhos) fell to them in 1522—his pursuit of neutrality between **France** and the Habsburg bloc and desire for European peace in order to turn the Turkish tide offended his patron **Charles V**. Deeply devout, even saintly, the Dutch pope was a herald, but not an accomplisher, of the Catholic renewal that gained in strength as the century proceeded.

AGRICOLA (SCHNEIDER OR SCHNITTER OR ISLEBIUS), JOHANNES (1494–1566). Born in Eisleben in Thuringia, central **Germany**, Agricola studied in Leipzig in Ducal **Saxony** between

1509 and 1510, and between 1515 and 1520 in Wittenberg, where he was **Martin Luther**'s pupil and, as a close disciple, accompanied him to his **Leipzig Disputation** in 1519. He worked from 1525 as a schoolmaster in Eisleben and dedicated himself to the progress of **Lutheranism** there and in Wittenberg, though in 1527 he fell out with **Philipp Melanchthon** over the issue of **antinomianism**. In 1536 Agricola was appointed to an academic post in Wittenberg and obtained a position on the local church consistory in 1539. However, his teaching of the antinomian notion that the gospel of salvation by faith should be taught rather than the necessity to follow the moral law led to a protracted clash with Luther and his enforced withdrawal from the city. In 1540 Agricola was appointed by the elector Joachim II Hektor (1505–1571) of **Brandenburg** as court preacher and, from 1543, superintendent-general of the **Evangelical** Church in the state. He was also involved in drawing up the 1548 Augsburg **Interim**, leaving him for a time estranged from the Lutheran mainstream, and was subsequently caught up in the quarrel over **adiaphora**. Agricola, who died during a visitation of plague, published, in addition to writings on doctrine and education, two popular compilations of German proverbs and a tragedy on the life of the Czech reformist **Jan Hus**.

ALLEN, WILLIAM (1532–1594). William Allen was born into a gentry family at Rossall in Lancashire in northwest **England**, in 1532 and was educated at home and at Oriel College, Oxford, graduating B.A. and becoming a college fellow in 1550 and taking his M.A. in 1554. Under **Mary**, Allen was made principal of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford in 1556 and in 1558 canon of York Minster, in northern England. Following the accession of **Elizabeth** in 1558, the firmly Catholic Allen managed for a while to remain in England, resigning his post, but in 1561 went into his exile in the **Low Countries**. While there, he composed his *Defense and Declaration of the Catholike Churches Doctrine, Touching Purgatory*, to be published in 1565, but also contracted an illness that necessitated his return home in 1563. His health recovered, he concentrated his energies on winning converts back from the Church of England. Government surveillance forced his retreat to Oxford, and then to the home of the Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1536–1572), where he composed *Certain Brief Reasons Concerning Catholic Faith* (published 1564).

Further danger from the government required a second flight to the Low Countries, in 1565, where, in 1567, he was ordained priest, at Mechelen (Malines), followed by a visit to Rome in the same year.

Allen was now mapping an educational plan with a double purpose: a college on the Continent for English Catholic boys to be educated in accordance with their faith along with a **seminary** to train missionary priests to recover England for Catholicism. Founded with the approval of Pope **Pius V**, the new institution was established in 1568 at Douai in Spanish-held territory in Flanders in the Low Countries.

Allen became regius [king's] professor of divinity at the University of Douai in 1570 and subsequently visited Rome to prepare for the setting up of a new Catholic English college there. By 1576 he had returned to Douai, to face disruption among the students over relations with **Philip II** and he was forced into exile in Paris. When the college itself was thrown out of Flanders in 1578, Allen had it reestablished in France, at Reims (Rheims).

Disorder also broke out in the newly founded English College in Rome, which Allen visited in 1579 to heal the rifts and to get the **Jesuits** to take over the running of the Rome college but also to encourage a Jesuit mission to England. He published his defense of the priesthood, *Apologia pro Sacerdotibus* in 1583. Following a severe illness in 1585, William Allen paid another visit to Rome, where he was made a cardinal by Pope **Sixtus V** in 1587, remaining in the city for the remainder of his life.

Increasingly in the 1580s, Allen came to realize that the only way to achieve his goal of the reconversion of England was through a change of sovereign, favoring Philip II as the Catholic heir to supplant Elizabeth. Having in 1584 published his *Modest Defence of English Catholics*, in an open letter of 1587 Allen attacked the queen and then in 1588 attached his signature to a printed justification of the projected invasion by the **Armada**, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England Concerning the Present Wars*.

From the following year, Allen, nominated archbishop of Mechelen but with his political plans ruined by the defeat of the Armada, was appointed papal librarian and took part in a translation of the Scriptures into English. A further English seminary, in Valladolid, in north-central **Spain**, was established in 1589. The "Cardinal of England" died in Rome in 1594 and was buried in the English College chapel.

AMBOISE, CONSPIRACY OF (1560). Following the death of King **Henry II** in 1559, the regency for his eldest son, the young French king Francis II (François, 1544–1560), was in the hands of the Catholic **François de Lorraine, duc de Guise**, and his brother **Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine**. A Protestant conspiracy to seize the king's person, spearheaded by a member of the lower nobility, Godefroi de Barri, seigneur de La Renaudie (d. 1560), with support from the **Huguenot** leader **Louis, prince de Condé**, and a pastor, La Roche-Chandieu, was revealed to the Guises, who mounted an attack on de La Renaudie's group of plotters at the royal residence in Amboise, southwest of **Paris**, in March 1560, followed by large-scale executions. The polarization and violence involved in the conspiracy and the reprisals that followed it made a major contribution to France's descent into the **Wars of Religion**, beginning in 1562.

AMSDORF, NIKOLAUS VON (1483–1565). Born into a noble family in Torgau in **Saxony**, within a few weeks of **Martin Luther** in 1483, Nikolaus von Amsdorf attended the universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg, gaining his M.A. in 1502. Appointed a canon of the Church of All Saints in Wittenberg in 1511 and a member of Wittenberg's teaching staff, he became closely linked with Luther, whom he escorted to the **Leipzig Disputation** in 1519 and to and from the **Diet of Worms** in 1521. A member of Luther's Scripture translation team, Amsdorf was appointed pastor of the church of St. Ulrich in Magdeburg in 1524, directing the introduction of the Reformation into the city, and in 1541 secured his appointment by the elector of Saxony Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as "the Magnanimous," 1503–1554), as bishop of Naumburg-Weitz. **Charles V's** conclusive victory over the Lutherans of the **Schmalkaldic League** in 1547 forced him into exile.

The guardian of an undiluted **Lutheranism**, like his fellow member of the **Gnesio-Lutheran** party, **Matthias Flacius Illyricus**, he strongly condemned **Philipp Melancthon**, opposing the notion of *adiaphora*, on the basis of which the **Philippists** proposed acceptance of the **Interims**, while in 1551 he led the Lutheran pastors of Magdeburg, a center of Lutheran opposition to compromise, in their "Confession," which defended resistance to Charles V. On the issue of **justification by faith** alone, without good works, Amsdorf taught that supposed meritorious actions were actually sinful, an

ultra-Lutheran view that was eventually rejected in the 1577 **Book and Formula of Concord**. He took a leading role in the foundation of the University of Jena in Saxony in 1548, establishing it as a bastion of uncompromising Lutheranism, from which an edition of Luther's writings was published: he himself was the author of over 100 short works.

ANABAPTISM, ANABAPTISTS. Amid **Huldrych Zwingli's** gradual and **magisterial Reformation** of the city and canton of **Zürich**, from 1523 a group including **Konrad Grebel** and Felix Mantz (c. 1500–1527), joined in 1524 by Georg Blaurock (or Cajakob, c. 1492–1529), led a movement to promote a reform program more rapid and extensive than Zwingli's: they focused their rejection on what they saw as a decadent world by disputing the practice of infant **baptism** which, by making membership of the community and the Church identical, in their view brought the latter into a corrupting alliance with the state and civil society. In October 1523, in a **disputation** held in Zürich, Grebel and Mantz failed to make their view-point prevail, and their group began withholding their children from baptism. The new movement required pure moral standards from its members and interpreted the adult baptism of believers as the sign of repentance, followed by regeneration into newness of life, confession of faith, and the pursuit of holiness in order to win salvation.

To Zwingli, this secession threatened the close ties that he believed must bind the Church to its community and government, links forged when all were entered into the Church at birth, the point at which they also joined civil society. Following large-scale adult baptizing early in 1525, in 1526 the Zürich council introduced the punishment of death by drowning for those whom Zwingli styled “re-baptizers”—“*Wiedertäufer*,” or “Anabaptists.” (Those labeled in this way took the view that the first, infant, baptism that Christians ordinarily received, administered to the child without his or her faith or repentance, was an empty rite.)

Repression in Zürich resulted in the dispersal of the movement into **Austria**, **Germany**, and the **Low Countries**. For example, a visitor to Zürich who became a leader of the radicals, **Balthasar Hubmaier**, expelled from Switzerland, made his way to Nikolsburg in the Margravate of Moravia (Mikulov, in the modern Czech Republic), which became a regroupment point for central European Anabaptists, in

which a model of **community of goods**, based on Acts 2:44–45, developed into the form of communitarian Anabaptism known as **Hutterite**, after its inspirer Jakob Hutter (c. 1500–1536).

Especially in its period of most intensive growth in the 1520s and 1530s, it is difficult to classify the Anabaptist “movement” in any homogeneous ideological terms. A major wing of the Anabaptists stood by the pacifism of the New Testament, and their conviction of the need to live out the gospel in peace and withdrawal from the state and the world is evident, for example, in the **Schleitheim Confession** of 1527 or in the teachings of the Hutterite **Peter Riedemann**. Another leader, **Hans Denck**, took his inspiration from late medieval German mystical piety.

At the same time, though, and in the midst of acute social distress in Germany, erupting in the **Peasants’ Revolt** of 1524–26, **Thomas Müntzer** preached and acted upon a violent eschatological gospel, and, following him, the Anabaptist preacher **Hans Hut** proclaimed a millenarian message. So did **Melchior Hoffmann**, who prophesied that Christ’s messianic kingdom of the saints was to be set up in **Strassburg** in 1533. When the authorities in the city imprisoned Hoffmann, militant “Melchiorite” Anabaptist hopes, especially among Hoffmann’s considerable numbers of followers in the Low Countries, switched their attention to **Münster**, where, led by **Jan Beukelszoon** and **Jan Matthijszoon**, a regime of eschatologically inspired Anabaptism, combining communism, dictatorship, and polygamy, was set up in 1534–35. Following the crushing of the Münster commune, pacifist Anabaptism was reassembled under the direction of Menno Simons, gathering his followers into a profession of simple gospel Christianity. (See **MENNONITES**.)

Virtually from the time of its emergence in Zürich in the 1520s, the Anabaptist movement, in all its variants, faced savage persecution, if only because of its members’ insistence that Christian church membership was essentially a matter of an individual’s decision: the second **Diet of Speyer** (1529) ordered the death penalty for its adherents, perhaps 800 of whom were executed in the period 1527–33.

ANGLICANISM. The institution known in the Middle Ages as *Ecclesia Anglicana*—“the English Church”—was the branch of the Catholic Church established in **England**. It claimed descent from the

establishment from 596 onward of Christianity in the country by the missionary St. Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604 or 605) and accepted the headship of the papacy. However from the 14th century onward, the parliamentary Statutes of Provisors (1351, 1390) and Praemunire (1353, 1365, 1393) restricted papal ecclesiastical appointments and jurisdiction in the kingdom. The relative autonomy of the English Church was also evident in its having its own archiepiscopal primates at Canterbury and York, and its own liturgies of the **Mass**, the Sarum, or Salisbury, Rite, alongside other diocesan “uses” or customs.

A continuing thread of the English Reformation, beginning under **Henry VIII** in parliamentary statutes in the 1530s and culminating in **Elizabeth**’s parliamentary measures of 1559, was emphasis on the national English identity of the Church of England, albeit reformed of “al popish remnants” (McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth*, p. 133): the English Reformation saw in fact the fuller anglicization of the historic *Ecclesia Anglicana*. Thus, institutionally the Church of England’s ancient episcopate was not only retained by Henry VIII, but five new dioceses were added, and the government of the Church by bishops, despite **puritan** attempts to disprove the validity of **episcopacy** in a reformed Church, persisted as a sign of the continuity of the Church with its past.

The cohesion of the English Church with national identity and public life was underscored by the measures giving the monarch ultimate control over the institution, as legislated for in the parliamentary **Acts of Supremacy** of 1534 and 1559. Other acts of parliament, those of **Uniformity** (1549, 1552, 1559), gave the nation a form of public worship—the **Book of Common Prayer**—in its own language, a liturgy, though, also derived from the Sarum Rite. Following on **Thomas Cranmer**’s Forty-Two Articles of 1553, the Elizabethan Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion** (1563–1571) aligned the English Church with key doctrines of the Protestant Reformation. Also under Elizabeth, the Church enlisted three great defenders of its distinctiveness: in his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (“Defense of the English Church,” 1562) **John Jewel** justified its independence from Rome; in *De Antiquitate Ecclesiae Britannicae* (“Concerning the Antiquity of the British Church,” 1572), **Matthew Parker** defended it from the charge of innovation; and in *The Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1594) **Richard Hooker** wrote a defense of the worship and government of the Church of England.

ANGOULÊME, MARGUERITE D' (1492–1549). Marguerite was born in Odo in Angoulême, daughter of Charles d'Orléans, count of Angoulême, and his wife Blanche of Savoy; she was sister to the future **Francis I**. Carefully educated and deeply pious, in 1509 she married Charles IV, duc d'Alençon (1489–1525), and became a sponsor and protector of religious reformers including **Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples** and **Guillaume Briçonnet**. In 1527, a widow, she married Henri d'Albret (1503–1555), titular king of Navarre: their daughter Jeanne d'Albret was to be the mother of the future **Henry IV**. Presiding over courts at Nérac and Pau, Marguerite acted as a patron of humanist scholarship and of religious reform. Showing strong mystical traits as well as inclinations toward Platonic thought, she authored *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses* (1547)—an allusion to the pet punning name given to her by her brother, “la marguerite de marguerites” (“the pearl of pearls”)—and the mystical work *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, “Mirror of a Sinful Soul” (1531). Her other writings include her letters, poems on religious subjects, including the mystical *Dernières poésies*, and the posthumously published *Heptaméron* (1558), a much-acclaimed collection of stories illustrating such themes as Christian love. *See also* WOMEN.

ANTICHRIST. In the New Testament the figures of Antichrist and “many Antichrists” appear in 1 John 2:18–23 as denying “that Jesus is the Christ.” The arrival of Antichrist is a sign of the last times, and he is a “deceiver” (2 John:7). Subsequently and throughout the medieval period, the image of Antichrist, while retaining its apocalyptic dimensions, was deployed to denigrate religious opponents as the abomination of evil. Thus, for example, the monastic reformer St. Bernard (1090–1153) condemned as Antichrist opponents of his own favored claimant for the papacy. Aligned with other New Testament embodiments of consummate evil—the “beast” (Revelation 13:11–18), and the “man of sin,” the “son of perdition,” and “that Wicked” (2 Thessalonians 2:3–4, 7–12)—Antichrist was either Satan himself or his agent or even his offspring. He could be portrayed as an adept deceiver through his spurious miracles and was an inciter to idolatry, a usurper of Christ's headship of the Church, and the persecutor of the saints, a tyrant whose final rages were the herald of the end of time.

The combination of evil, terrifying power, and flexibility of identification in the concept of Antichrist meant that it could be applied

to various enemies of Christianity such as the **Turks**, while medieval Christian dissident movements seized on the opportunity to identify **popes** as Antichrist, paving the way for **Martin Luther**'s attachment of the symbol to the papacy. In "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church" (1520) Luther decisively named the pope as the Antichrist, and in response to the bull of his excommunication of the same year, published his "Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist." In a later work, "The Papacy in Rome, An Institution of the Devil" (1545), Luther labeled the pope "an Antichrist, a man of sin and a child of perdition," repeating in his "Table Talk" of the same year, "I believe the pope is the masked and incarnate devil because he is the Antichrist" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 230). Even so, identification of the pope with the Antichrist was not universal among **Protestants**, and neither **Elizabeth** nor **Richard Hooker** subscribed to it.

ANTICLERICALISM. Lay anticlericalism was a familiar feature of Christian life throughout the medieval centuries, typically arising from resentment at the clergy's financial demands and allegedly inflated claims to status, wealth, and power. In late medieval heretical movements such as the English **Lollards**, it suffused the movement's denunciations of a Church and clergy falling far below the standards of New Testament Christianity. In the same way, in an extended sermon "On Simony" the Czech reformist **Jan Hus** denounced the avarice and luxury of clerics on all levels. Hus's case also reminds us that anticlerical reformism was as likely to be voiced by, as against, clerics: an ordained priest, **Desiderius Erasmus** launched damaging satire at ignorant and inefficient clerics, while the dean of St. Paul's in **London**, **John Colet**, delivered regular and impassioned sermons on the same theme.

Anticlericalism is not necessarily synonymous with **Protestantism**, even though the former may have created some of the public constituency for the latter. The Catholic Church's *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia*—the report of a select committee of cardinals on the reform of the Church—proposed education as a recipe for the deficiencies of the clergy, which it depicted vividly, and its call was taken up in the **Council of Trent**'s decree of the 23rd session, July 1563, to establish **seminaries** as training colleges for a better type of priesthood, while the education and training of the pastorate in the Protestant Churches offered a similar solution to long-standing clerical educational inadequacies.

ANTINOMIANISM. Antinomian ideas to the effect that those saved by **grace** have no obligation to observe the moral law have had a long history in the Christian Church: both Paul's rhetorical question in Romans 6:1—"Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound?"—and the denunciation in 2 Peter (2:19) of those who, "While they promise themselves liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption," may be interpreted as repudiations of antinomian libertarianism. The Gnostic heresy, originating in the early second century, also manifested antinomian traits. In the Reformation period, insistence on **justification** by **faith** without the works of the law could be taken to an antinomian conclusion, as was the case with the objection on the part of **Johannes Agricola** in 1527 to **Philipp Melanchthon's** emphasis on the need for the moral law and Commandments and with Agricola's later collision over the same issue with **Martin Luther**, who in "The Freedom of a Christian" (1520), explained that good works are the direct outcome, though not the cause, of justification.

ANTISEMITISM. Christian hostility toward the Jewish people and their faith had mounted steadily over the course of the Middle Ages, fed by the misplaced belief in their guilt for the Crucifixion of Christ and by popular fantasies such as the "blood libel" of ritual Jewish murders of Christian children. In Passau in southeastern Germany in 1478 allegations that a group of Jews repeated the atrocity of the Crucifixion by the piercing of Christ's body in the form of the host in the **eucharist**—one of a profusion of such accusations in the Middle Ages—led to the slaughter of local Jews.

It is true that the scholarly influence of the **Renaissance** encouraged enthusiasm for Hebrew studies and for contact with Jewish scholars in order to advance them, and the German Hebraist **Johann Reuchlin** won endorsement for the value of Hebrew scholarship from Pope **Leo X**. Even so, **Desiderius Erasmus** voiced the traditional judaeophobia against "a nation full of most tedious fabrications who spread a kind of fog over everything" (MacCulloch, *Reformation Europe*, p. 689).

Martin Luther's attitude to the Jewish people was conditioned by his religious and theological outlook. For example, in his lectures of the Psalms of 1513–15, he was edging his way toward his key concept of **justification** by **faith**, and so found fault with the supposed reliance within Judaism on seeking favor with the Almighty through

good works and the law. It is true that in his 1523 booklet *Das Jhesus Christus eyn Geborner Jude Sey*—"That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew"—Luther made friendly overtures toward the Jewish people, albeit in order to win substantial numbers of them over to Christianity. Luther's failure to achieve that goal was probably a factor in feeding the savage judaeophobia to be found in his later writings, especially the vitriolic *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*—"Concerning the Jews and 'Their Lies'" (1543).

Luther's anti-Judaism was by no means unusual among his fellow-Reformers: **Martin Bucer**, for example, in his 1538 "Memorandum on the Jews," argued that Christianity and Judaism were doctrinally incompatible. Catholic Europe had little claim to more liberal attitudes: **Spain** had expelled its Jews in 1492 and while the **Inquisition** maintained an oppressive vigilance against converted Jews and their descendants, Pope **Paul IV**, in the bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum* (1555), reintroduced medieval-style harsh discriminatory measures against the Jewish people in Rome and the Papal States. Subsequently, Pope **Pius V**, while allowing the Jews to live in their ghetto in Rome, in the 1569 bull *Hebraeorum Gens*, ordered their expulsion from the Papal States beyond the city. On the other hand, the **Catechism** of the **Council of Trent** transferred some of the guilt for the Crucifixion from Jews to sinful Christians, quoting Paul in 1 Corinthians 2:8—"if they had known it, they never would have crucified the Lord of Glory"—to point to the fact that, Christians, while recognizing Christ, do violence to Him by sinning.

ANTITRINITARIANISM. Having roots in the early Church, doctrines opposed to belief in the Trinity as a unity of three equally divine Persons—a formula established by the Church Councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381), and Chalcedon (451)—resurfaced strongly in the Reformation period, with a stress among various dissidents on the humanity, rather than the divinity, of Jesus Christ. Michael Servetus, in *De Trinitatis Erroribus* ("Errors Concerning the Trinity," 1531) maintained the indivisible nature of the Godhead, and in 1553 published his *Christianismi Restitutio* ("The Restoration of Christianity") as a claim to bring back the early Church's understanding of the deity to what it had been before the Councils of the 4th and 5th centuries introduced their own additions.

A group of Italians questioning trinitarian orthodoxy included **Lelio Francesco Maria Sozini**, whose nephew **Fausto Paolo**

Sozzini was a religious refugee in **Poland** from 1579. In 1588 at the Synod of Brześć (or Brest) in Poland, Sozzini challenged the traditional orthodox trinitarianism and Christology of the Churches. In his *De Jesu Christo Servatore* (“Concerning Jesus Christ the Deliverer,” written, but not published, in 1578), he showed how Christ’s Crucifixion was a redemption by example. Resting his doctrines on reason as well as on a reading of the Old Testament as history, Sozzini rejected predestination and saw the eucharist as a symbol: the human spirit, but not the flesh, was eternal.

The form of non-trinitarian doctrine deriving from Fausto Sozzini and set out in the **Racovian Catechism** survived in Poland until the country’s **Counter-Reformation** gained ground in the mid-17th century and held on into the 20th century in Transylvania in eastern Europe. The doctrines were known in English as “Socinian.”

ARMADA, SPANISH, 1588. In the course of the 1580s the inevitable diplomatic tensions occasioned by the religious differences between Protestant **England** and **Philip II**’s Catholic **Spain** were exacerbated by the effects of English piracy on Spanish shipping, and even more by **Elizabeth I**’s fear of a Spanish military presence in the **Low Countries** that might be redeployed to threaten Protestant England’s survival. In 1585 Elizabeth sent an expeditionary force under the command of **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**, to aid the Low Countries rebels, and Philip came to realize that the success of his Netherlands reconquest would necessitate the removal of England’s role as supporter of this rebellion against his rule. Then, in 1587, Elizabeth, **William Cecil**, and the English Privy Council decided that, as the destabilizing focus of a series of Catholic plots against the queen, **Mary Queen of Scots**, the Catholic claimant to Elizabeth’s throne, would have to be removed by execution: with her death in that year, her claim to the crown of England was awarded by Pope **Sixtus V** to Philip.

The subsequent “enterprise of England,” known as the Armada, which was subtitled “la felizissima armada,” “the most fortunate fleet,” consisting of 129 vessels, under the command of Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia (1550–1615), sailed from Lisbon (Lisboa) in May 1588, intended to escort 30,000 Spanish troops from the Low Countries for a final strike against England, now emerging as a redoubtable naval power. Inconclusive engage-

ments off the south coast led on to the major confrontation near Gravelines, on the southern shore of the Channel, on 8 August and a Spanish retreat. Gales in the northern sea took a further heavy toll of King Philip's shipping, so that by the defeat of the Armada Protestant England's future seemed assured.

ARMINIUS (HERMANSZOOM, OR HARMENSEN), JACOBUS (1560–1609). The Dutch **Calvinist** theologian Jacobus Hermanszoon, whose surname was Latinized to Arminius, was born in Oudewater in southern Holland in the **Low Countries**, studied at Utrecht and from 1576 at the new University of Leiden in Holland, proceeded to study theology under **Théodore Beza** at **Geneva** and at Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, and was ordained to the ministry of the Dutch **Reformed Church**, in Amsterdam, in 1588.

During his years of service in the Amsterdam ministry, pastoral issues sowed doubts in Arminius's mind with regard to directions in which the Reformed doctrine of **predestination** had been taken by theologians such as **William Perkins** on the nature and extent of God's decrees according to which He preordained the fall of man (antelapsarianism or supralapsarianism). Entrusted with the task of defending Calvinist views on total predestination, Arminius in fact developed a less deterministic interpretation than that of Perkins and others. In 1603, despite opposition from defenders of totally unconditional predestination, he was appointed professor of theology of the University of Leiden, where, from 1604, he engaged in controversy with another professor, Franciscus Gomarus (or Gomar, 1563–1641), modifying aspects of predestinarian Calvinist theology. Instead, Arminius reasserted the role of **free will** and individual repentance in the attainment of salvation, and focused on whether or not God's saving **grace** could be voluntarily resisted.

Following his death brought on by anxiety and the intensity of controversy, in 1610 Arminius's supporters presented to the representative states of Holland and West Friesland a "Remonstrance" made up of five propositions encapsulating his revised version of the Calvinist doctrines of grace, the will, and predestination, formulas that were in turn denounced at the Synod of **Dort** (Dordrecht) of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1618–19. While Arminius himself was relatively cautious in his intended defense of Calvinist theology against ultradeterministic interpretations, his revisionist theology also won

considerable support in England, from the “Arminian” anti-Calvinist party, also known as “Laudian” after William Laud (1573–1645), archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to 1645, and his doctrines later emerged in John Wesley’s (1703–1791) Methodist Christianity.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION, ENGLAND (1536, 1539, 1553, 1563–1571). Tudor **England**’s first set of Articles of Religion were the 10 issued by authority of **Henry VIII** in 1536. Adopted by the clergy’s assembly known as Convocation, they reflected the king’s overall doctrinal Catholicism but showed some Lutheran influences over such issues as the invocation of the saints and prayers for the dead; they reduced the **sacraments** to three but insisted on the real presence of Christ in the **eucharist**.

The Ten Articles were replaced in 1537 by the “Institution of a Christen Man,” known as the “Bishops’ Book,” stressing the role of **faith** in **justification** and rearranging the Ten Commandments in such a way as to highlight God’s condemnation of idolatry—or any veneration of images of the deity, Christ, and the saints, as in Catholic practice.

The 1539 parliamentary Act of Six Articles of Religion—to Protestants the hated “Whip with the Six Strings” (Grimm, *The Reformation Era 1500–1650*, p. 302)—initiated a Catholic doctrinal reaction, with a restatement of the eucharistic doctrine of transubstantiation, and insistence on the value of monastic vows and private Masses, on the reception of the eucharist by the **laity** in the form of bread only, on the **celibacy** of the clergy, and on the need for the auricular confession of sins in the sacrament of **penance**; heresy was declared a crime.

Following the repeal of this act when the Protestant **Edward VI** came to the throne in 1547, in 1553 Forty-Two Articles of Religion, drawn up by **Thomas Cranmer** and **Nicholas Ridley**, retained as sacraments only **baptism** and the eucharist, and denied transubstantiation. A revision of Cranmer’s version made by **Matthew Parker** was confirmed by Convocation, issued by authority of **Elizabeth** in 1563 and endorsed, in their definitive Thirty-Nine Clause form, by Parliament in 1571.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION, 1530. Early in 1530 **Charles V** summoned the German **Diet** to meet in the south German city of Augs-

burg, one of the purposes of the gathering being the reconciliation of Germany's religious divisions, in order to form a united Christian front against the **Turks**. In April, **Martin Luther** and **Philipp Melanchthon** set off for the city where, by request, a synopsis of **Lutheranism** was to be submitted for the consideration of the emperor and the Diet. An outlaw since the **Diet of Worms** in 1521, Luther was left behind at a castle in southern **Saxony**, the Feste Coburg. Following the convening of the Diet in June, Melanchthon's finalized version of the invited summary, in 28 articles based on earlier Lutheran formulas—21 on doctrine and seven on practical reform and ecclesiastical issues—was read out on behalf of seven **Evangelical** principalities and two city-states of the **Holy Roman Empire**.

Though the text, to be known as the *Confessio* (or *Apologia*) *Augustana*, reaffirmed classic Lutheran positions on such issues as **justification** and the freedom of the **will**, and while it highlighted abuses in the Catholic Church, it also sought compromise with Catholicism: for example, Melanchthon emphasized the potential for the will, aided by the Holy Spirit, to secure righteousness (clause 18), the Real Presence of Christ in the **eucharist** (10) and the retention of holy days (15); no mention was made of **purgatory** or the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. At the same time, the Augsburg Confession opposed the radicalism of **Anabaptism**. A Catholic "**Confutation**," the *Confutatio Pontificia*, drawn up by **Johann Maier von Eck**, elicited Melanchthon's "Apology for the Augsburg Confession," published in an expanded version in 1531. In September the vote of the Diet's Catholic majority to the effect that the Confession had been "thoroughly refuted" was endorsed by the emperor. Ratified by the **Formula and Book of Concord**, the Augsburg Confession, to which Luther himself gave his assent, came to be regarded as the bedrock summary of Lutheran faith.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION, VARIED/VARIATA, 1540. While **Philipp Melanchthon** was anxious in 1530 to open an avenue to the Catholics, he also became anxious to create a dialogue with the reformed Churches of **Switzerland** and southern Germany, which did not share **Martin Luther's** literal understanding of Christ's physical presence in the **eucharist**. In 1540, in a modification of the Augsburg Confession known as the *Augustana Variata*, Melanchthon, much to Luther's annoyance, omitted the claim that Christ was "really

and substantially present” in the eucharist, instead maintaining that Christ’s body and blood were “exhibited” rather than “given out” to recipients (MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 228).

AUGSBURG, DIETS OF, 1518, 1525–6, 1530, 1548, 1555. A series of **Diets** of the **Holy Roman Empire**, held in the south German city of Augsburg, had a strong bearing on the outcome of the German Reformation. In October 1518 **Martin Luther**’s confrontation with **Tommaso de Vio, Cajetan**, the papal legate to the Diet meeting in the city, helped clarify in the mind of the emergent reformer the extent of his doctrinal divorce from papal Catholicism.

A minor and unproductive Diet assembled in Augsburg in 1525, but the session of 1530 was crucial in the development of Protestantism: not only did it receive—and reject—the **Confession of Augsburg**, but attempts were also made to present textual summaries of the alternative Reformations that had sprung up in **Switzerland** and southern **Germany** in the course of the 1520s: **Huldrych Zwingli**’s summary the *Fidei Huldrychi Zuinglij Ratio* (“Huldrych Zwingli’s Account of His Faith”), and the formulas on the **eucharist** agreed by four cities of the south, led by **Strassburg**, the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*.

The recess of the Diet calling on the estates that had accepted **Lutheranism** to return to the Catholic Church by 15 April 1531 proved unenforceable in the light of the formation of the Lutheran **Schmalkaldic League** in February 1531.

When the Diet met again in the city, the outcome of **Charles V**’s sensational 1547 victory at Mühlberg over the forces of the Schmalkaldic League was the emperor’s attempt to impose a pro-Catholic religious settlement, the Augsburg **Interim**. A further Diet assembled in Augsburg in 1550–1, while the 1555 meeting in the city drew up the accord known as the **Peace of Augsburg**.

AUGSBURG, PEACE OF, 1555. In the course of the 1540s an old family rivalry between the two branches of the ruling house of **Saxony**, the ducal, or Albertine, based on Leipzig, and the electoral, or Ernestine, centered on Wittenberg, was reawakened by the ambitions of **Moritz of Saxony** who, though an adherent of **Lutheranism**, could see the political advantages of an alliance with **Charles V** against his fellow-Protestant relative Johann Friedrich, called *der*

Grossmütige (John Frederick, called “the Magnanimous,” 1503–1554), who held the title and office of one of the seven electors of the **Holy Roman Empire**.

The agreement with Moritz helped give Charles a conclusive military triumph at Mühlberg in 1547 over the Lutheran **Schmalkaldic League**, involving the capture of Johann Friedrich and the surrender of another Lutheran grandee, **Philipp of Hesse**: Moritz was rewarded with the transfer to him of Johann Friedrich’s electoral title and most of his lands. However, the very scale of Charles’s triumph alarmed not only Germany’s Protestants but also some Catholic princes fearful at this new access of **Habsburg** military and political power. The backlash was exploited by Moritz of Saxony, who headed a renewed German Lutheran league, now in alliance with **France**. By 1552 the tables were turned so decisively on Charles that he was forced out of his German lands as a defeated fugitive. A provisional treaty was made at Passau in 1552, leading to the peace negotiated on the Catholic Habsburg side by King **Ferdinand** at Augsburg.

In this Peace of Augsburg, the **Interims** were recalled, church property already in Lutheran hands in 1552 was to remain in them, and rulers, including those of cities, were to decide on the religion of their states—the formula later summed up in the Latin phrase *cujus regio, ejus religio*: “The ruler dictates his subjects’ faith.” Subjects not amenable to the religion of their rulers could emigrate; Catholic religious jurisdiction in Protestant states was ended; provision was to be made for the continuation of both forms of religion in self-governing cities where this already existed; Catholic prince-bishops ruling cities and dependent territories were to forfeit their states if they abandoned Catholicism. Two forms of Christianity (but only two) were officially recognized to exist in the German Lands; under the arrangements known as **confessionalization** the Empire was to retain a peace of religion for the half century during which its neighbor France burned in religious war.

AUGUSTINIAN ORDER. The Augustinian family of religious orders is divided into two segments, the Canons and the Hermits, or Eremites.

The Augustinian Canons, or Canons Regular of St. Augustine, claimed their foundation from the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430), who in his treatise *De moribus clericorum*, “Concern-

ing the Behavior of Clerics,” and in a key letter laid down principles for the religious life. From the beginning of the 12th century, communities of these Canons Regular were in being in western Europe and, living like monks but carrying out a teaching mission to the laity, spread rapidly; in **England**, for example where they were known as “Black Canons,” they had around 170 houses by the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries by **Henry VIII**, and in **Ireland** they ran an estimated 223 establishments.

Figures among the Canons included: the leading author of the *devotio moderna*, Thomas a Kempis (Hemerken, on Hämmerlein, von Kempen, 1380–1471); a prominent early-16th-century spokesman for Catholic reform, Egidio (Giles) Antonini da Viterbo (c. 1469–1532), prior general of the Order; and **Desiderius Erasmus**, albeit escaping his convent and later being released from his vows.

Like the Canons, the Eremites claimed their ultimate foundation by St. Augustine but were brought together in a unification of various groupings of hermits made by Pope Alexander IV (r. 1254–61) in 1256, forming the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. Again, they spread rapidly, and with their preaching mission in the world, especially in the towns, combined with communal life, asceticism, and prayer, they were regarded as friars, like the **Carmelites**, **Dominicans**, and **Franciscans**, rather than monks proper, and in 1567 Pope **Pius V** officially classed them with the orders of friars. Known in English as “Austin Friars,” they put down firm roots in **Germany**, where they operated from over 200 establishments; they were dedicated to learning and education and became active in opening missions in **China**, **Japan**, Mexico (from 1533), the Philippines (from 1564), and elsewhere.

Doctrinally, the Augustinians traditionally leaned toward the emphasis on salvation by **grace** that characterized their reputed founder, the *doctor gratiae*, or “teacher of grace,” St. Augustine. In the Middle Ages their leading theologians, such as the general of the Eremites, Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358), continued to teach Augustine’s emphasis on humanity’s unworthiness without grace, and by the early 16th century it was possible to identify a *schola Augustiniana moderna*—a “modern Augustinian school of thought”—partly associated with members of one or other of the Augustinian Orders. In 1505 **Martin Luther** entered the Eremites in Erfurt, Thuringia, one of the 30 or so of the German institutions of the reformist Observant subdivision of

the Eremites that had grown up in the 15th century and which was headed, when Luther joined it, by **Johann von Staupitz**.

Initially exposed to the influences of Nominalist **Scholasticism** at Erfurt, Luther developed a thoroughly Augustinian shape of thought, and his maturing theology echoed Augustine's concern with the indispensability of grace, the bondage of the will, and mankind's helplessness without divine assistance. When Luther addressed his fellow Augustinians in their chapter at Heidelberg, in the Rhineland **Palatinate** in April 1518, his denial of humanity's ability to rescue itself through its own efforts was fully within the traditional mode of thought associated with his Order. Nor was it a coincidence that the first Reformation martyrs were members of Luther's Order, executed for their beliefs in Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel) in the **Low Countries** in 1523.

However, the legacy of Augustinianism continued to be strong among the Augustinian religious who remained within Catholicism. In particular, the general of the Augustinian Eremites, Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563), maintained at the **Council of Trent** that any righteousness that was found in the person depended on its being placed there from outside, by divine grace—part of the inheritance of St. Augustine's profound skepticism about humanity's capacity, unaided by God's free gifts, to secure merit. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

AUSTRIA. Since the reign of the German king Rudolf of **Habsburg** (1218–1291), close links had existed between the dynasty and Austria. Inheriting the Habsburg hereditary possessions of “Lower” (northeastern) and “Upper” (northwestern) Austria (Niederösterreich and Oberösterreich), Carinthia (Kärnten), Carniola (Krain, Krajina, in modern Slovenia), Styria (Steiermark), and Tyrol (Tirol), in 1521–22 **Charles V** assigned them to the government of **Ferdinand I**, who assumed particular responsibility for stemming the advance of the **Turks**—they besieged Vienna (Wien) with an army of 30,000 in 1529.

Because the component parts of these hereditary lands possessed their own parliamentary estates, checking Habsburg rule, it proved difficult for Ferdinand, despite his anti-Lutheran edicts and executions of dissidents, to repress religious dissent, which had taken hold within the nobility: under aristocratic encouragement, Carinthia

became largely Protestant in the 16th century. Leading cities such as Klagenfurt and Graz stiffened their resistance to Ferdinand's authoritarian and centralizing measures through their profession of **Lutheranism**, and Vienna, where it was calculated in 1564 that 80 percent of residents were Protestant, staged an anti-Habsburg revolt in 1522. **Hutterite** Anabaptist communities were established, and in return for helping him deal with them, the estates of Upper Austria demanded concessions to Lutheranism. Across the Austrian Lands, the **eucharist** was being administered to the **laity** in the Lutheran way, with the chalice, priests were leading open married lives, and the liturgy was being Protestantized.

Even so, Ferdinand was able to prepare for a later Catholic recovery by bringing in **Jesuits** in order to improve clerical education and making the appointments as bishops of Vienna of the humanist reformers Johann Fabri (1478–1541) and Friedrich Nausea (1480–1552), while a celebrated preacher, Martin Eisengrein (1535–1578), mounted a propaganda campaign against Lutheranism from the pulpit of Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral.

In his final will, Ferdinand kept Upper and Lower Austria as hereditary domains but made divisions between his second son, Ferdinand II (1529–1595), given Tyrol and family possessions in south-west Germany (Swabia), and Karl II (Charles II, 1540–1590), who was awarded Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, with other properties. (Ferdinand's eldest son, Maximilian II [1527–1576], was Holy Roman Emperor from the death of Ferdinand in 1564 to his own death and ruled in Upper and Lower Austria). In Tyrol, most of the nobility were content with Habsburg rule, and Archduke Ferdinand was able to uphold the Church, whereas in his lands, Archduke Karl II, under pressure from the Turks and short of money, was compelled to allow the Protestant nobility freedom of worship: between the years 1572 and 1578 the estates brought financial pressure to bear to win from Archduke Karl the "Pacification of Graz," containing extensive freedom for Lutherans.

Nevertheless, Pope **Gregory XIII** strongly encouraged a counter-offensive and at key meetings in 1579 and 1584 with his brother-in-law Wilhelm V, known as *der Fromme* (William V, known as "the Pious," 1548–1597) of **Bavaria**, and Karl's elder brother, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, a gradualist and indeed surreptitious policy of re-Catholicization was agreed upon. An important step was made in

Catholic educational recovery in 1586 when the archduke set up the University of Graz, capital of Inner Austria and hitherto a Lutheran center, entrusting it to the Jesuits and making it the beacon of the Catholic resurgence in Styria. The assumption of government in 1596 by Archduke Karl's Jesuit-educated son Ferdinand II "of Styria" (1578–1637, emperor from 1619) inaugurated an acceleration of the Austrian **Counter-Reformation**, favoring Catholics at court and in the civil service, though nobles continued to exercise religious freedom, until deprived of it in 1628. In 1599 Ferdinand decreed new "reformation commissions," in which clerical visitors were accompanied by civil servants and soldiers on missions to destroy Protestant books and churches and eject Lutheran clerics.

In Upper and Lower Austria, bequeathed to him by his father Ferdinand, Maximilian II was indifferent to Catholicism and maintained religious freedom, in 1568 allowing Lutheran members of the nobility and their retainers and tenants freedom of worship on their estates. Under his son Rudolf II (1552–1612), emperor from 1576, the switch to re-Catholicization became pronounced: in 1578 Protestant preachers were expelled from Vienna and in 1598 the Jesuit Melchior Khlesl (1552–1630) became bishop of the city. Offices in local government were reserved to Catholics, and the religious freedoms granted by Maximilian were revoked. Following the defeat of a peasants' revolt in Upper Austria in 1595–97, both Catholic and Habsburg authority were firmly reasserted. However, the Austrian Counter-Reformation, like its equivalents elsewhere, combined repression and force with cultural sponsorship: for example the mass pilgrimages that Khlesl led to the shrine of Mariazell in Styria in 1599 were typical of a growing alliance between resurgent Catholicism and popular culture, along with Austrian identity, while baroque art and architecture were beginning to give Catholic Austria a new aesthetic, fusing piety and pleasure.

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BAPTISM. All the Christian denominations existing in the period of the Reformation and **Counter-Reformation** recognized the key importance of baptism as the sacrament of Christian inauguration, and **Martin Luther** maintained the consensus by insisting, in "The

Babylonian Captivity of the Church” (1520), that, along with the **eucharist** and **penance**, baptism was one of the **sacraments** of the Church: the **Augsburg Confession** stressed the necessity of the sacrament for salvation. While the **Council of Trent** insisted, in the decree of its seventh session, March 1547, on its indispensability in conferring **grace**, the Church of **England’s** Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion**, in Article 25, ruled that “There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 621). **John Calvin** stressed baptism’s role in the election of the faithful.

While there was, then, extensive consensus on the status of baptism as an indisputable sacrament, a major rift opened over when it was to be administered to the recipient. Again, consensus prevailed between the Roman and the more conservative of the Protestant Churches. **Desiderius Erasmus’s** opinion that traditional infant baptism should be retained was shared by the Council of Trent, as it was by Luther, both in “The Babylonian Captivity” and in his “Order of Baptism” of 1523: according to Luther, while faith was necessary in the operation of this sacrament, it could be claimed for the child through that of the believing sponsors (or, in his later “Larger Catechism,” 1529, that baptism might itself impart saving faith). **Huldrych Zwingli** insisted on reception of baptism as a sign of the entry of the individual into the community of faith. In the “**Institutes**” Calvin put forward an extensive argument in favor of infant baptism, and the Thirty-Nine Articles ruled that “The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 623).

It was the Anabaptist proponents of believers’ baptism as the practice of the early Church and the emblem of both repentance and living faith in the recipient who broke with that general consensus.

BARNABITES. The Clerks Regular of St. Paul, known as Barnabites, were to the fore among the new religious orders of the **Counter-Reformation**. Like other congregations of “clerks regular,” such as the **Somaschi**, the **Theatines**, and the **Society of Jesus**, they combined the rule of a “regular,” or monastic, order with the ability of ordinary, or “secular,” priests to work in the outside world, and can thus be seen as an appropriate response on the part of the Catholic Church to the pastoral challenges of the 16th century.

The Barnabites' leading founder, Antonio Maria Zaccaria (1502–1547), of Cremona in the Duchy of **Milan**, studied and then practiced medicine, but abandoned his life as a doctor, took up the study of theology, and was ordained priest. Along with two Milanese, Bartolomeo Ferrari (1499–1544) and Giacomo Antonio Morigia (1497–1546), he began, from 1530, to form his new clerks regular. They received formal institution from Pope **Clement VII** in 1533 and were favored by Cardinal Michele Ghislieri, the future Pope **Pius V**; the definitive version of their rule was drawn up in 1579.

Taking their informal name from Milan's church of St. Barnabas, the Barnabites were closely linked with the life of the great north Italian city, adopting a popular, indeed theatrical, style of piety and devotion, and being recruited by **Carlo Borromeo** to assist in his drive for the moral and religious regeneration of Milan and its vast archdiocese. However, they spread out to other Italian cities such as Naples (Napoli) and Rome, and indeed to various key areas of the Counter-Reformation's strategy, including **Austria**, **Germany**, **Bohemia**, Malta, **France**, and Savoy (southwest of France), also developing missions to Scandinavia and **China**. Alongside their popularized styles of preaching and piety and their social work, the Barnabites acquired a reputation as scholars in fields ranging from theology to meteorology. Zaccaria also fostered the aim of the con-*tessa* Luigia Torelli (1499–1569) and Virginia Negri (1508–1555) to set up the female "Angelicals of St. Paul," ratified by Pope **Paul III** in 1545. The Barnabites altered their constitutions in 1608 to allow them to run schools, opening colleges in Austria, France, Milan, and Savoy. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

BAVARIA. A large and important state of the **Holy Roman Empire**, the Duchy of Bavaria (Bayern) became one of the most important springboards for a Catholic recovery in early modern **Germany**. Its undeviatingly Catholic dukes, of the ruling family of Wittelsbach—Wilhelm IV (William IV, 1493–1550), Albrecht V (Albert V, 1528–1579), and the **Jesuit**-educated Wilhelm V, known as *der Fromme* (William V, known as "the Pious," 1548–1597)—pursued a policy of repressing religious dissent in the state, using Catholicism as a main prop for asserting ducal power over elements in the nobility and the urban governing classes who twinned political opposition to the dynasty with religious leanings toward Protestantism.

While Wilhelm IV had shown some suspicion of **Habsburg** power, a perception of a common threat from Protestantism began to forge a united front between the Wittelsbachs and the Habsburgs, leading to a marriage in 1571 between Maria, the daughter of Albrecht V of Bavaria, and the Habsburg archduke Karl II (Charles II, 1540–1590). Increasingly, too, the two families adopted dynamic policies of re-Catholicization, including vigorous patronage of the **Jesuits** and their educational mission: under Albrecht V, the duchy's leading university city, Ingolstadt, also became a fulcrum of Jesuit educational enterprise, while Wilhelm V was patron of the Jesuits' establishment in the ducal capital, Munich (München).

The threat of the conversion of the key Rhineland archbishopric of Cologne (Köln) to Protestantism was averted when a Wittelsbach family member took over the archbishopric in 1583, the family retaining the archiepiscopate for most of the next two centuries. Wilhelm V's successor, the duke, and subsequently elector, Maximilian I (1573–1651), was a leader in the militant Catholic recovery that was to lead toward the Thirty Years War, 1618–48: deeply devout, Maximilian established Germany's Catholic League of princes in 1609 and went on to become a leading force in the earlier stages of the war that broke out in 1618, defeating the Protestants of **Bohemia** in 1620: he acquired the Rhineland principality of the Upper Palatinate and in 1623 was awarded the title of elector of the **Holy Roman Empire**.

With its revived pilgrimage centers and glamorous baroque and rococo church architecture, the territory emerged as the champion of the Catholic cause in **Counter-Reformation** Germany: *Bavaria sancta*—"holy Bavaria." See also COUNTER-REFORMATION.

BELGIC CONFESSION OF FAITH. The **Calvinist** Confession of Faith of the **Reformed** Church of the **Low Countries** (*Confessio Belgica*) was drawn up in 1561 by the minister Guy de Brès and three colleagues on the model of the **Gallican Confession** (*Confessio Gallicana*) of 1559. Produced in dialect—"Walloon"—French, it was translated into the other language of the Low Countries, Dutch, in 1562, in which year it was also formally presented to **Philip II**, as overlord of the territory. The Confession was ratified in a synod at Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers) in 1566 and was adopted as a definitive creed for the northern Low Countries at another synod, meeting at Emden, in 1571.

BELLARMINO, ROBERTO (1542–1621). Roberto Francesco Romulo Bellarmino was born in Montepulciano in Tuscany, central **Italy**, entered the **Society of Jesus** in 1560 and went on to study theology in the universities of Padua (Padova, northeast Italy) and Louvain (Leuven), in the **Low Countries**, and was ordained priest in 1570, when he also became professor of theology at Louvain. There he encountered Protestantism at first hand and also worked on a revision of the Latin text of the **bible**, known as the Vulgate. Bellarmino moved to the professorship of controversial theology in Rome in 1576, was made rector of the Roman College in 1592, took part in the trial of **Giordano Bruno** in 1593, served as Jesuit provincial of Naples (Napoli) from 1594 to 1597, acted as papal theologian, and was appointed cardinal in 1599 and archbishop of Capua in 1602, turning the southern Italian see into one of the exemplary dioceses of the **Counter-Reformation**.

Bellarmino was a possible candidate for the papacy in the two electoral conclaves of 1605, and thereafter took up high office in the pontifical administration. He also acted as the Catholic Church's chief controversialist of his age, on issues such as **grace** and **free will** and over the issues raised by **Luis de Molina**: he argued that the will, even in submitting to God's grace, retains its freedom. Bellarmino was also involved in controversy over the oath of allegiance to the Protestant crown of **England** and in 1616 was given the task of conveying to **Galileo Galilei** the pope's condemnation of his teachings.

In his classic *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus Temporis Hereticos* ("Disputations Concerning Controversies on the Christian Faith against the Heretics of the Present Age"), published in three volumes between 1586 and 1593, Bellarmino dealt with the major doctrinal issues dividing the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Typifying the legendary energy and activism of the Jesuits, in a life of ceaseless public activity he also published works on papal infallibility, as well as popular writings on devotion and asceticism, two **catechisms**, and a commentary on the Psalms.

BENEFICIO DI CRISTO. The anonymously published Italian work, *Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Giesù Cristo crocifisso verso i cristiani*, or "A Most Useful Treatise on the Merits of Jesus Christ Crucified toward Christians," was initially authored by a Benedictine monk of the Cassinese Congregation, Benedetto da Mantova

(or Benedetto Fontanini, d. 1546), and revised for publication by his friend the Oratorian priest Marc'Antonio Flaminio (d. 1550), in such a way as to highlight aspects of the teachings of **Juan de Valdés**. A brief and popular work, first issued in **Venice** in 1543, where it may have sold 40,000 copies down to 1549, and translated into various other European languages, the *Beneficio* expressed the beliefs of the largely Italian group of Catholics known as “**evangelicals**” (*evangelici*) or “**spirituals**” (*spirituali*). The grouping's sympathizers, including **Vittoria Colonna**, **Giulia Gonzaga**, **Michelangelo**, and the clerics Flaminio, Abbot Gregorio Cortese (c. 1482–1548), and Cardinal **Gasparo Contarini**, Giovanni Morone (1509–1580), and **Reginald Pole**, derived much of their inspiration from Valdés and from an emphasis on the indispensable role of justifying **grace**, secured for the faithful by Christ's atoning sacrifice, conquering “sin, death, devil and hell” and making souls “holy, innocent, fair and divine” (Massimo Firpo, “The Italian Reformation.” In Po-chia Hsia, R., ed., *A Companion to the Reformation World*, p. 180).

The *Beneficio*, which contained extensive, if covert, citations from the 1539 edition of **John Calvin's** “**Institutes**” and which stressed **justification by faith**, appeared at a point of crisis for the future of the Italian evangelical-spiritual movement as it faced repression at the hands of the ultraorthodox Gian Pietro Carafa, the future **Pope Paul IV**, ensuring the text's virtual destruction at the hands of the **Inquisition** within the 16th century.

BEUKELSZOON (BEUCKELSZOON, BEUCKELS, BOKELSON, BUCKHOLDT, OR BOCKHOLD), JAN (JOHN OF LEIDEN) (1510–1536). Born in or near Leiden in the northern **Low Countries**, Beukelszoon worked as a tailor, then returned to Leiden, keeping an inn. After converting to **Anabaptism**, early in 1533 he set off for **Münster**, where he was to play a key role in the implementation of the Anabaptist takeover of the city. Following the death of his associate **Jan Matthijszoon** in April 1534 in a sortie against the besieging force of Münster's deposed bishop, Beukelszoon assumed power, taking the title “King of Righteousness” in September and presiding over a regime characterized by a millenarian ideology, elaborate propaganda, political theater and display, dictatorship, **community of goods**, and enforced polygamy. Following the ca-

pitulation of the city to its besiegers in June 1535, Beukelszoon was tortured to death.

BEZA (DE BÈZE), THÉODORE (1519–1605). Born in Vézelay in Burgundy, eastern **France**, into the aristocratic family of de Bèze, Beza studied literature and law at the universities of Bourges and Orléans (both in central France), graduating in law from Orléans in 1539. During his recovery from illness, he underwent a religious conversion, adopted **Protestantism**, and with his wife migrated to **Geneva** in 1548 and served as professor of Greek at Lausanne in **Switzerland** from 1549 to 1558. His drama on Abraham's sacrifice, *Le sacrifice d'Abraham*, was published in Lausanne in 1550. With **John Calvin's** setting up of the Geneva Academy in 1559, Beza was appointed rector and professor of divinity. He presented the Calvinist case in a search for Protestant-Catholic agreement, the **Colloquy** of Poissy convened in September 1561 by **Catherine de' Medici**.

In the early stage of the French **Wars of Religion**, Beza acted as chaplain, in succession, to two Calvinist leaders, **Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé**, and **Gaspard de Coligny**. He published an edition of the Psalms in metrical format in 1562. In 1563 Beza returned to Geneva, where, upon Calvin's death in 1564, he succeeded him as moderator of the Company of Pastors, and he published his first edition of the New Testament in Greek in 1565, followed by a later Latin version. He maintained close contact with the **Reformed Church** in France, including presiding over its synods in La Rochelle (western France) in 1571 and in Nîmes (in the south of the country) in 1571.

In his *Du Droit des Magistrats sur les sujets* ("The Rights of Rulers over Their Subjects," 1574), Beza made a major contribution to French Protestant political thought. He contributed to the *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées de France* ("An Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches of France," 1580) and, especially in his *Tractationes Theologicae* ("Theological Discussions"), published over the period 1570–82, Beza developed Calvin's doctrine of election into the "supralapsarian" version of absolute **predestination**.

BIBLE. The standard version of the bible (or Scripture) existing in medieval Europe was the Latin version of the entire original Hebrew

(Old Testament) or Greek (New Testament) text made by St. Jerome (AD 347–420) and known as the Vulgate. The Latin Vulgate was the form in which the Scripture appeared in its first printed version—that produced in **Germany** in c. 1456 by Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1397–1468). It is, however, also important to note the availability of the bible text in the vernacular languages of pre-Reformation Europe: an Italian version appeared in 1471, a Dutch in 1477, a Spanish translation in 1478, a French in 1487, and one in Czech in 1488. Up to 18 versions in German may have appeared prior to **Martin Luther’s**. **England**, owing to official apprehensiveness concerning the **Lollard** heresy, which was based in the bible in English, was unusual in pre-Reformation Europe in banning the bible in the vernacular.

While the spread of **printing** encouraged the prospects of the wider distribution of copies of Scripture in national languages, the Christian **humanism** of the **Renaissance** made major contributions to the appearance of accurate versions of Scripture in its original languages. In **Spain**, Cardinal **Francisco Ximénès de Cisneros** sponsored the production, at the University of Alcalá de Henares, of an edition of the whole bible in the ancient languages—the 1521–22 Complutensian Polygot, from the Latin name of Alcalá, Complutum. The publication by **Desiderius Erasmus**, initially in 1516, of the New Testament in the original Greek—the *Novum Instrumentum*—accompanied by his Latin version, set new standards of closeness to the original.

Assisted by the Greek scholar **Philipp Melanchthon** and using the second, 1519, edition of Erasmus’s Greek text, Luther produced the German New Testament, known as the “September Testament,” from the month of its issue, in 1522. Luther issued a translation of the entire bible in 1534 and a final revision by a team of translators began in 1539.

John Calvin’s contribution to the availability of Scripture in the vernacular derived from a 1535 French version made by Pierre Robert, known as Olivetanus (d. 1538), and revised by Calvin in 1551, with later revisions by **Théodore Beza**.

England made rapid progress to make the bible available in the vernacular from the 1520s onward. **William Tyndale** produced a **Lutheranism**-influenced English New Testament, largely from Erasmus’s Greek text, in Cologne (Köln, in the German Rhineland) in 1526, and began the translation of books of the Old Testament.

Turning the whole of the Scripture into English was the work, in the first instance, of **Miles Coverdale**, who in 1535 produced a vernacular version of the Vulgate, making use of Tyndale's earlier work. Subsequently, John Rogers (also known as Thomas Matthew, 1500?–1555), employed Tyndale's and Coverdale's versions to compile the "Matthew Bible," issued under royal license in 1537: via Coverdale, it formed the basis of the crown-authorized "Great Bible," published in seven editions, 1539–1541. The "Matthew Bible" also provided a base for an English bible produced by Protestant refugees in **Geneva**, the "Geneva Bible," incorporating the then new device of verses subdividing the chapters, completed in 1560—the version later taken by the Pilgrim Fathers to America. Later, a revised English Scripture—known as the "Bishops' Bible"—was issued by permission of Archbishop **Matthew Parker** in 1568 and reissued in 1572. Finally, all these versions were subsumed into the "Authorized Version" (in the United States, the "King James Version"), published in 1611. The publication of the bible in Welsh in 1588 created a classical template for the literary language.

The **Council of Trent**, in its fourth session, April 1546, passed major resolutions on the bible, the source "of all saving truth and rules of conduct," albeit alongside the traditions of the Church. As well as determining the Catholic canon of the Scriptures, Trent ruled that "the old Latin Vulgate Edition" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 40) was to be the definitive one, though it did not debar vernacular translations. **Johann Maier von Eck** produced a German Catholic version in 1537, and English Catholic refugees on the Continent during **Elizabeth I's** reign, led by **William Allen** and Gregory Martin (d. 1582), produced, at the émigré college at Reims (Rheims) in **France**, a translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate in 1582 followed by the Old Testament at **Douai** in Flanders in 1609. *See also* LITERACY; LITERATURE.

BLARER (OR BLAURER), AMBROSIUS (1492–1564). A Benedictine monk who studied at the University of Tübingen, in the Duchy of **Württemberg**, where he met **Philipp Melancthon**, Blarer became prior of one of his Order's houses, but abandoned monasticism in 1522. Making contact with **Johannes Œcolampadius** and **Huldrych Zwingli**, Blarer became a Protestant preacher in the south German city of Constance (Konstanz) early in 1524 and, assisted

by his brother Thomas (mayor of the city between 1526 and 1538), was one of a group of ministers who brought a Zwinglian style of Reformation into the city: the **Mass** was abolished there in 1528. Between 1534 and 1538 Blarer was instrumental in the introduction of the Reformation into the southern portions of Württemberg, spent time in Augsburg, and returned to Constance, whence he was expelled under the Augsburg **Interim**. He passed his remaining years in **Switzerland**.

BOHEMIA. The central European territory of Bohemia was a kingdom of the **Holy Roman Empire**, its population consisting of a Czech-speaking majority and an ethnic German minority. Following the execution of the critic of clerical abuses **John Hus** in 1415, much of the kingdom, led by the aristocracy, erupted in revolt against the Empire and the Catholic Church, demanding the availability of the chalice to the **laity** in the **eucharist**, an agitation to which the terms “Calixtine,” from the Latin for chalice, *calix*, or “Utraquist,” from *sub utraque specie*, “under both forms,” were given. In the Four Articles of Prague (Praha), Hus’s ideological legacy was sustained through demands for equal access to the chalice, preaching in Czech, and an end to clerical abuses, property, and political power, while in the 1420s the Taborites represented a radical millenarian wing of the Hussite movement. In 1436, in a compromise leading to reconciliation with **Rome**, the *Compactata* of Prague, the chalice was granted to the laity in Bohemia, though a dissident group, the *Unitas Fratrum*, or “Unity of the Brethren,” survived to maintain Hussitism’s radical traditions into the Reformation period.

The death of the Bohemian (and Hungarian) king Lajos II (or Louis II, b. 1506) in the Battle of Mohács in August 1526 against the **Turks** led to the award of the Bohemian crown to his brother-in-law the Catholic **Habsburg Ferdinand I**. Meanwhile, the Reformation made progress in the Bohemian lands, partly on the foundation of the Hussite tradition, partly through support of German-speaking residents for **Lutheranism**, and partly as a result of the adoption of **Calvinism** in some bourgeois and noble families. Ferdinand made some progress in restoring the authority of the Catholic Church—bringing the **Jesuits** into education.

While his successor Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576) made concessions to Protestant worship in 1575, the closing years of the

century saw the adoption of aggressive **Counter-Reformation** policies. In 1617 the Habsburg, Jesuit-educated champion of Catholic militancy, Ferdinand of Styria (1578–1637), succeeded to the Bohemian throne and began a campaign of enforced re-Catholicization as an accompaniment to political absolutism. In 1618 Ferdinand's agents were forcibly ejected—"defenestrated"—from the high windows of Prague Castle, and the incident was the spark for what were to be 30 years (1618–48) of religious warfare through great swaths of the Continent.

BOLEYN, ANNE (c. 1500–1536). Anne was born the daughter of the courtier and diplomat Sir Thomas Boleyn (1477–1539), a landowner in Kent and Norfolk, southeast **England**, later Viscount Rochford, Earl of Wiltshire and Earl of Ormond, and his wife, Elizabeth, *née* Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, seventh Duke of Norfolk (1443–1524). As a girl Anne spent a year and a half at the court of Margaret of Austria, (Marguerite d'Autriche, 1480–1530), Duchess of Savoy, at Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel) in the **Low Countries** and a further seven years as a maid of honor to Claude de France (1499–1524), the first wife of King **Francis I of France**.

When relations between England and France deteriorated in 1521, Boleyn was brought back to England and entered the court of **Henry VIII**. From 1526 Henry, having had a love affair with Anne's sister Mary, turned toward Anne as his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** began to fall apart, and from August 1527 he was applying to Pope **Clement VII** to overturn the papal dispensation that had allowed the Aragon marriage to proceed, while Anne was energetically supporting all the measures taken to end the marriage and aiming at the elimination of **Thomas Wolsey**, who was unable to bring the annulment about.

In 1532 Anne Boleyn was created Marchioness of Pembroke, late in 1532 she became pregnant, and in January 1533 she and the king were privately married, followed in May—after **Thomas Cranmer** had declared the Aragon marriage null and void—by a public ceremony and her coronation as queen.

In September 1533 Princess **Elizabeth** was born, a daughter rather than the son Henry felt he needed to secure an orderly succession of the crown. Anne's position remained safe for the time being, but was weakened by two miscarriages, and she was the fulcrum of the

opposition and resistance that religious change was creating, while her enemies advanced the case for Henry's marriage to the woman who was in fact to be his third wife, Jane Seymour (1508/9–1537).

Dangerously, Anne fell out with **Thomas Cromwell** over the way the wealth of the dissolved monasteries was being used and over foreign affairs, and Cromwell took over the running of a case against her. In May 1536 the queen was arrested on accusations of adultery—a treasonable offense—with four men and of incest with her brother, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford. Anne was imprisoned in the Tower of London, tried in a case chaired by her uncle, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), and despite her protestations of innocence, found guilty. Cranmer nullified her marriage to the king, and Elizabeth was pronounced illegitimate by parliament. Following the execution of her alleged lovers and her brother, she was beheaded in May 1536, and Henry married Jane Seymour on the following day.

Throughout her short career as queen, Anne Boleyn, who had moved in the French **evangelical** circles around **Marguerite d'Angoulême**, promoted reform. Not an outright Protestant, she accepted **transubstantiation**, but she encouraged the import of reformist literature, and advanced the careers of advocates of change, including Cranmer, **Hugh Latimer**, and **Matthew Parker**, her chaplain, and supported the translation of the **bible** into English.

BOLOGNA, CONCORDAT OF. In 1516 King **Francis I** of **France**, fresh from a victory at Marignano—en route to **Milan** in northern **Italy**—that gave him the Duchy of Milan, signed at Bologna, northern Italy, an agreement with Pope **Leo X**. Its effect was to annul the earlier “Pragmatic Sanction” (delineation of legal authority) made by the French Church at Bourges (central France) in 1438 under King Charles VII (1403–1461), which had restricted the papacy's involvement in the property of the French Church, restored the principle of clerical election to French ecclesiastical offices, and upheld the authority of the general council of the Church above that of the Holy See.

The new royal-papal agreement allowed the French crown to nominate to all senior ecclesiastical dignities—abbacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics—persons who met with Rome's approval, thereby conferring on the monarchy an effective supremacy over the French,

or “Gallican,” branch of the Catholic Church, and giving the French crown a powerful vested interest in the maintenance of the largely unreformed religious status quo in its realm.

BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. The compilation that includes, inter alia, the Church of **England**’s morning and evening prayer and the Psalms, *The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacramentes, and Other Rites and Ceremonies after the Use of the Church of England* was first drawn up by **Thomas Cranmer** in the Protestant reign of King **Edward VI**, when, in 1549, in the **Act of Uniformity**, it was ordered to be used in churches throughout the realm. Though relatively conservative in its doctrinal and liturgical orientation—for example, it referred to the communion service as the **Mass**, in which the traditional vestments were to be worn—it provoked a conservative revolt in the West of England, while at the same time failing to cater fully to Protestant demands for change.

Protestantism was more fully accommodated in Cranmer’s second Edward VI Book of Common Prayer, that of 1552, which deleted Catholic-style prayers for the dead and made sweeping changes in the liturgy of the **eucharist**, requiring that members kneel at the communion, but insisting, in the “black rubric” (or “Declaration on Kneeling”), that genuflection did not imply adoration of “any Corporal Presence of Christ’s natural Flesh and Blood” (McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, pp. 11–12) in the forms of bread and wine. The influence of **Huldrych Zwingli**’s eucharistic theology is evident in that formulation.

When Protestantism was restored under **Elizabeth I**, the Book of Common Prayer that was reintroduced was much as Cranmer had left it, though the black rubric was omitted and the ambiguously phrased form of words for the eucharist—“The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 256)—did not necessarily preclude acceptance of the Real Presence of Christ. An “Ornaments Rubric” brought back some traditional vestments, including the controversial surplice. Later modifications were made in 1604, and what was to be a durable version was issued in 1662: at each juncture—1549, 1552, 1559, and 1662—and confirming the parliamentary nature of the Church of England, an Act of Uniformity accompanied the issue of the Prayer Book.

A Welsh language version of the Book of Common Prayer, *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin* . . . was published in 1567.

BORA, KATHARINA VON (1499–1552). Born in 1499 into a landed gentry family living near Leipzig in Ducal **Saxony**, at the age of six Katharina von Bora was placed by her remarried widower father on a course that was intended to lead to the life of a nun, and in 1515 she was received into a house of the contemplative Cistercian Order near Nimbschen in Ducal Saxony. She was given a good education, including the nuns' language of prayer, Latin.

Published early in 1522, "The Judgement of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows" touched off the rapid demolition of the institution of monasticism, male and female, in all the areas of Germany that **Martin Luther's** message reached, and von Bora, one of the many who suddenly renounced the religious life, was among a dozen sisters who escaped the convent at Nimbschen. This was dangerous because the convent lay within the territory of the ardently Catholic Duke Georg, known as *der Bärtige* (George, known as "the Bearded," 1471–1539).

Assisted by a merchant friend, Luther played a part in this escape around Easter 1523, arranging departure from Ducal Saxony in a covered wagon; in April nine of the dozen refugees arrived in Wittenberg. In Luther's next work on the subject of monasticism, "Why Nuns May, in All Godliness, Leave the Convents," he delivered anti-Catholic propaganda against the alleged enslavement involved in female **monasticism**, while he also obtained money from **Frederick the Wise's** court in order to finance the penniless former sisters.

While these were short-term solutions, the underlying problem, in a society that generally placed **women** under one form of subjection or another, concerned the long-term future of the former nuns. Most of the group were restored to their families or married, but von Bora, still single, living in the house of the artist **Lukas Cranach**, and being involved in a failed romance with a Wittenberg former student, presented problems of **gender** and status. These problems were eventually solved when Luther married her.

Luther shared the conventional view that women were by nature "very weak" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 180), and normally and properly belonged in the married state. While in November 1524 he was still insisting on remaining a bachelor, his preaching in favor of

marriage, plus his publication of a letter in March 1525 establishing matrimony as God's universal plan for men and women, were beginning to imply that he should practice what he preached. It was in fact Katharina who forced the issue of their marriage by refusing the hand of a partner suggested by Luther, a cleric who was also an older man.

In May and June of 1525, amid the height of the **Peasants' Revolt**, Luther made up his mind to marry von Bora—a decision driven by conviction rather than romantic love—and in mid-June, in order to head off increasing gossip, a quiet ceremony of the exchange of vows was held, followed by a full religious service and a feast attended by Luther's parents and other guests. The couple set up home in the former **Augustinian** cloister in Wittenberg.

This *marriage de convenance* grew over the years in strength and depth, six children being born to the couple between 1526 and 1534. Frau Luther was an excellent financial and household manager, acquiring property for the family. She suffered a miscarriage, followed by a serious illness in the winter of 1539–40, but survived her husband until she became a refugee in the **Schmalkaldic Wars**, fleeing to Magdeburg in November 1546 and then to Braunschweig, before returning to Wittenberg in July 1547. Defending her contested widow's estate took away all her means and she resorted to taking in lodgers. Then in autumn 1552 Katharina Luther once more fled Wittenberg, this time to escape an outbreak of plague. An accident en route brought on her death in December 1552.

BORGIA, FRANCISCO (DE BORJA, FRANCISCO, DUKE OF GANDÍA) (1510–1572). Francisco de Borja (the name was Italianized to “Borgia”) was born in 1510 in Gandía in the province of Valencia, southeastern **Spain**, the son of the Duke of Gandía and a great-grandson of Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503). He was married to Eleanor de Castro, and the couple had eight children; in 1539 **Charles V** made Borgia viceroy in the province of Catalonia, northeastern Spain, where he set about eliminating corrupt practices in government. In 1543 he succeeded his father as Duke of Gandía, and in 1546 provided funding to set up a **Jesuit** college in Gandía, an important initiative in the evolution of Jesuit education.

Following the death of his wife in 1546, in 1547 Borgia, conferring his title and property on his eldest son, became a Jesuit and was

ordained priest in 1551, taking up a preaching mission in Spain and **Portugal**, and in 1554 was appointed by **Ignatius Loyola** to the Jesuit office of commissary for the two kingdoms. As such, Borgia opened new Jesuit institutions and expanded the Society's recruitment. Under pressure from the Spanish **Inquisition** on account of alleged heretical traits in his writings, in 1561 he took up residence in **Rome**, and in 1565 he succeeded **Diego Lainez** as general of the Society of Jesus and focused his attention on developing the Jesuits' Roman College. In 1571, Pope **Pius V** appointed him to a mission to tour Portugal, Spain, and **Italy** in order to promote the crusade that was to lead to the naval victory of **Lepanto**. Francisco Borgia, often acclaimed as the Jesuits' "second founder," died on his return to Rome in 1572, and was canonized in 1671.

BORROMEO, CARLO (1538–1584). Carlo Borromeo was born into a noble family at Arona on the shores of Lake Maggiore in northern **Italy** in 1538 and studied civil and canon law at the University of Padua (Padova), northeastern Italy, taking a doctorate in 1559. In 1560, though he had not yet been ordained, his maternal uncle Pope **Pius IV** appointed him administrator of the archdiocese of **Milan** and cardinal. Close to Pope Pius as secretary of state and mastermind of the Holy See's foreign relations, Borromeo also played a key role in managing the concluding sessions of the **Council of Trent**, and took a vital part in drawing up the Council's **Catechism**. The death in 1562 of his eldest brother left him devastated, but in receiving holy orders in 1563—and adopting a severely ascetic lifestyle—he headed off his family's pressure to carry on the dynasty by marrying; he was soon afterward raised to the episcopate, as archbishop of Milan.

The Council in which he had played such a pivotal part had, in its 23rd session in July 1563, approved legislation requiring bishops to be resident in their sees, and in 1565 Borromeo obtained permission from the pope to comply with the requirement and take up residence in his archdiocese. Over the following two decades, he gave life to the diocesan ideal set out by the Council: a meticulous and disciplinarian administrator, as required by Trent he established both provincial councils and diocesan synods. Not only did he encourage the **Jesuits** and introduce the **Ursulines** but he founded a special Milanese congregation, the Oblates of St. Ambrose. His educational

work included the setting up of **seminaries** and the foundation of a **Confraternity** of Christian Doctrine for children.

The vigor, rapidity, and intensity of Borromeo's Tridentine diocesan reforms, along with his moral rigor, inevitably attracted resistance, especially when he set about reforming a decadent Milanese religious association, the Humiliati. The archbishop's apparently miraculous escape in 1569 from an assassination attempt by a disgruntled member added to the aura of miracle and sanctity that helped account for his extraordinary success in transforming Milan into the model diocese of the Catholic Reformation, and an example for other episcopal reform programs in early modern Catholic Europe.

Borromeo's published works include his "Instructions to Confessors" and his sermons. The reform program set out in his *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*—"The Proceedings of the Church of Milan"—was first issued in 1599. Borromeo died in 1584 and was canonized in 1610.

BORROMEO, FEDERIGO (1564–1631). Count Federigo Borromeo, Carlo's first cousin, was born in 1564 and was brought up under the latter's supervision. In 1587 he was made cardinal and in 1595 became archbishop of **Milan**, where he took up his cousin's reform program, though with a less disciplinarian emphasis. In 1609 Federigo founded the Ambrosian Library in Milan, containing upwards of 10,000 ancient manuscripts. Borromeo published four major writings, including his sermons delivered to synods of the archdiocese. His allocutions entitled *sacri ragionamenti*, or "holy discourses," applied the doctrines of the Catholic Church to the needs of everyday life. Federigo Borromeo died in December 1631. *See also* BORROMEO, CARLO.

BRANDENBURG. In a marshy land of poor, sandy soil, the March (*Mark*), or Margravate, of Brandenburg, set up in 1134 as an east German frontier territory, became an electorate of the **Holy Roman Empire** in 1356, under the "Golden Bull" of the emperor Charles IV (1316–1378). Successive 15th-century electors, of the dynasty of Hohenzollern, expanded their authority, especially over the towns, though largely to the benefit of the rural nobility, known as Junkers.

Opposed by the elector Joachim I Nestor (1484–1535), the Reformation was introduced in 1539–40 by the elector Joachim II Hektor

(1505–1571), albeit in a gradual way, involving no immediate break with **Rome** and retaining liturgical traditions. Subsequently, the elector Johann Sigmund (John Sigismund, 1572–1619), educated at the **Reformed** University of Heidelberg, converted to **Calvinism** in 1613, but when he tried to introduce Calvinistic reforms into the Electorate, he faced popular Lutheran opposition.

BRENTZ, JOHANN (1499–1570). Brenz was born in June 1499, the son of the principal magistrate (*Schultheiss*) of the south German Imperial city of Weil der Stadt. Like **Martin Bucer**, Brenz encountered **Martin Luther** when, in 1518, Luther addressed the chapter of the **Augustinian** Order at Heidelberg, in the Rhineland, where Brenz had been a university student since 1514 and where he took his M.A., probably in 1518. In 1522 he was chosen preacher at the church of St. Michael in the Imperial city of Schwäbisch Hall in southwest Germany. Playing a major part in introducing the Reformation into the city from 1524, with a Lutheran church order (*Kirchenordnung*) in 1526, he took a close interest in education. He was with Luther at the **Marburg Colloquy** on the **eucharist**, his own eucharistic theology stressing Christ's universal, or ubiquitous, real presence throughout creation. He also attended the 1530 **Diet of Augsburg**.

Having assisted **Andreas Osiander** in the implementation of reform in **Nuremberg** and Brandenburg-Ansbach, Brenz was invited in 1535 by Duke Ulrich of **Württemberg** (1487–1550) to introduce the Lutheran Reformation into that state. He assisted in drawing up a statement of the territory's faith, the *Confessio Virtembergica* ("Württemberg **Confession**," 1551). From his position of provost of the Stiftskirche (collegiate church) in the capital, Stuttgart, from 1553, Brenz headed the Lutheran Church in Württemberg, seeking, along with Duke Christoph, to reintroduce **Lutheranism** in the wake of the reverses following Charles V's 1548 Augsburg **Interim**, which he had strongly opposed and under which he had been forced to flee Schwäbisch Hall for Stuttgart in 1548.

Brenz, who died in Stuttgart in September 1570, was an author on a massive scale, with over 500 compositions to his name, including the *Syngramma Suevicum*, or "Swabian Syngramma," 1526, a defense of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, and his **Catechism** of 1527–28. Influential in the formation of a distinctive **Evangelical**

Christology, he was also a custodian of bedrock Lutheran beliefs, centering on **justification by faith and grace**.

BRIÇONNET, GUILLAUME (1470–1534). The son of a cardinal and from a wealthy trading and professional background in Tours in western **France**, Briçonnet joined the civil service of Louis XII (1462–1515) and was a French envoy to the papacy. He became abbot of the monastery of St-Germain-des-Prés in **Paris** and set out to make it a twin base, both for humanist biblical scholarship, directed by the monastery's librarian, **Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples**, and also for the spirituality of the *devotio moderna*.

In 1516 Briçonnet became bishop of Meaux, east of Paris, where from 1518 he developed a model reformed diocese. A particular emphasis in his program was on the education of the laity, who were to hear Scripture-based sermons in the 26 preaching districts into which the diocese was divided. His aim, with Lefèvre at his side as his vicar general from 1521, was that of Catholic humanist reformists in pre-Reformation Europe: the restoration of the spirit of the early Church, as portrayed in the New Testament and propagated through the use of Lefèvre's work *Les Épistres et Évangiles des cinquante et deux dimanches de l'an avecques briefves et très utiles expositions d'ycelles*—"The Epistles and Gospels for the Fifty-Two Sundays of the Year, with Short and Most Useful Introductions to Them."

Briçonnet sheltered various types of reformists at Meaux, from lifelong, albeit reform-minded, Catholics such as Lefèvre and the mystic Gérard Roussell (1480–1550) to **John Calvin's** future partner in the Reformation of Geneva, **Guillaume Farel**. However, as France in the 1520s became increasingly polarized over religion, the Meaux group came under fire from the ultraorthodox. Briçonnet, who had gone on to the offensive against **Martin Luther's** writings from 1522 onward, had enough influence to escape condemnation, but more radical members of his entourage, such as Farel, took refuge with **Marguerite d'Angoulême** at Nérac, and the Meaux renewal was at an end some years before the bishop's death in 1534.

BRUNO, GIORDANO, "IL NOLANO" (1548–1600). Bruno was born at Nola near Naples (Napoli) and took up the study of philosophy in 1562 in Naples itself, where in 1565 he entered the **Dominican**

Order. His adoption of unorthodox ideas aroused suspicion, and in 1576 he escaped **Italy**. In 1579 he visited Chambéry in Savoy, southeast of **France** and then arrived in **Geneva**, where he converted to **Calvinism** but, facing further investigation of his religious views, moved to France, where he taught philosophy at Toulouse (in the southeast of the country) from 1579 to 1581, when he migrated to **Paris**, gained the favor of **Henry III**, and struck up a friendship with France's ambassador to **England**, Michel de Castelnau, sieur de Mauvissière (1518–1592), with whom he traveled in 1583 to England, where he lectured on astronomy and philosophy at Oxford.

Allegations of plagiarism in his Oxford lectures resulted in his move to **London**, where he published philosophical works and was befriended by **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**, and by the poet Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586). It has also been suggested that Bruno was the spy known as Henry Fagot, who was recruited by the secretary of state **Sir Francis Walsingham** and who was central to exposing the 1583 conspiracy against Queen **Elizabeth** known as the Throckmorton Plot.

With Castelnau's embassy concluded in 1585, Bruno returned with him to France, now seeking readmission to the Catholic Church. When this was blocked by his refusal to rejoin the Dominicans, he moved to **Germany**. A further move in 1588 brought him to Prague (Praha) in **Bohemia**, where he was favored by the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612), a devotee of occult science. After visiting Frankfurt-am-Main, central Germany, in 1591, Bruno was invited by the Venetian nobleman Giovanni Mocenigo to return to Italy; he stayed in Padua (Padova) in Venetian territory and then moved to **Venice** itself, where he resided with Mocenigo.

Mocenigo's hopes of deriving higher knowledge from Bruno did not materialize and in May 1592 Mocenigo surrendered his guest to the Venetian **Inquisition**. The Roman Inquisition then required his transfer to its jurisdiction, within which, in January 1593, he was imprisoned to face trial for heresy, in which **Roberto Bellarmino** took a leading role for the prosecution. After a seven-year process, which involved accusations that he had blasphemed Christ and the **Mass**, Bruno was convicted, and on 17 February 1600 was burned on Rome's Campo dei Fiori.

Bruno's prolific literary output, in both Italian and Latin, ranged over philosophy, metaphysics, poetry, and drama. His intellectual

system, with its roots in the medieval thinkers Nicholas of Cusa (1400–1464) and Ramón Lull (c. 1232–1315), was also indebted to the astronomy of **Nikolaus Copernicus**.

BUCER (BUCERUS OR BÜTZER), MARTIN (1491–1551). Bucer was born in November 1491 into a family in modest circumstances in Schlettstadt in Alsace, western **Germany**, where he entered the Observant branch of the **Dominican Order** in 1507. He was sent by his superiors to study Greek, Hebrew, and theology at the University of Heidelberg, in the west German Rhineland Palatinate. At Heidelberg, Bucer encountered **Martin Luther** (having already corresponded with him) at the **disputation** held there in 1518 and was won over to his teachings on **faith** and **grace**.

Bucer left the Dominicans in 1520, took protection from the Imperial Knights **Ulrich von Hutten** and **Franz von Sickingen**, married a former nun in 1522, and took up evangelical preaching in Wittenberg in Alsace. He was excommunicated in 1523 and he and his wife moved to **Strassburg**, where in 1524, by popular acclamation, he was installed as pastor in the town church of St. Aurelia, where his preaching focused on the New Testament and the Psalms.

In alliance with **Wolfgang Capito**, Kaspar Heyd, or Hedio (1494–1552), and with strong support both from the urban populace and the ruling council, Bucer constructed a gradual Reformation in the city, in the following stages: in December 1523 there was a council ruling that preachers restrict themselves to preaching from Scripture; in February 1524, in line with the emergent eucharistic model of **Lutheranism** based on the principle of the priesthood of all believers, the chalice was allowed to the **laity** in the **eucharist**; in April 1524, under Bucer's *Ordnung und Inhalt deutscher Messe* ("Order and Contents of the German Mass") the **Mass** was celebrated, and the sacrament of **baptism** was administered, in the vernacular; in 1527 and 1529 Capito's **Catechisms** were issued; and, in 1529—the crucial year for the implementation of the Reformation in Strassburg—the Mass was outlawed and the monasteries closed. In the following year Bucer was voted president of the Strassburg church council, the city's ecclesiastical executive.

Beyond Strassburg, Bucer acted as a link with the Swiss Protestant movement, playing a part in the crucial disputation between Catholics and Reformers in the Swiss city of Bern (Berne) in January 1528.

His understanding of the eucharist was closer to **Huldrych Zwingli's** spiritual, than to Luther's physical, perception of Christ's presence, and he was present in October 1529 at the **Marburg Colloquy** to seek agreement on that issue. Present at the **Diet of Augsburg** in 1530, he held back from endorsing **Philipp Melanchthon's Augsburg Confession** and, with Capito, drew up a statement on behalf of cities of southern Germany, Constance (Konstanz), Lindau, Memmingen, and Strassburg—the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* or “**Confession of the Four Cities**.”

On the key issue of the eucharist, this statement held out an olive branch to the Lutherans by accepting that Christ's “true body and true blood” were “truly eaten and drunk.” The conciliatory statement paved the way for a later agreement, the Wittenberg Accord, drawn up between March and May 1536, with Melanchthon, Luther, and **Johannes Bugenhagen**, in which Bucer agreed that Christ was “truly and substantially” present in the eucharist.

Since the death of Zwingli in 1531, Bucer had come to occupy the position of senior statesman of the urban Reformations in German-speaking Europe. **Francis I** invited him, with Melanchthon, to **France** in 1535 to discuss religious reforms, and Bucer was also instrumental in guiding other cities and territories in their adoption of religious change, though the opportunity to introduce it into the Rhineland city of Cologne (Köln) under its archbishop, Hermann von Wied (1477–1552), in 1542–43 was thwarted by **Charles V's** intervention. His reputation as a conciliator made Bucer an indispensable member of teams to find Catholic-Protestant common ground in talks at Hagenau (Hagenau, in the Rhineland) and Worms, south Germany, in 1540 and to seek agreement with Catholic spokesmen in the **Colloquy** at Regensburg (Ratisbon) between April and July 1541.

In 1539–40 Bucer gave his support to the bigamy of **Philipp of Hesse**, involving Luther and Melanchthon in the affair. The imposition on Strassburg of the Augsburg **Interim**, which Bucer refused outright, made him one of a group of refugee pastors fleeing German cities, and the Protestant **England of Edward VI** was his choice of refuge, with his second wife, in the spring of 1549. There, with government backing, he was able to join a group of leading Continental Protestants in guiding the kingdom through the process of sweeping religious change, and in particular helped prepare the second, 1552, **Book of Common Prayer**. Awarded a doctorate and a Cambridge

chair of divinity, he was feted in England, had a close relationship with his long-standing correspondent **Thomas Cranmer**, and died in Cambridge in February 1551, in the very midst of the Edwardine Reformation.

Bucer's influence extended beyond England, and especially to **John Calvin**, who observed his work at first hand during his stay in Strassburg, who clarified his own views on such topics as **predestination** and the eucharist with reference to Bucer, and who created an ecclesiastical system that continued much of Bucer's legacy.

Bucer's writings included: the *Summary seiner Predigt daselbs gethon, ebenda* or "Summary of His Sermons Given in That Place," 1523; an exposition of the Psalms, first published in 1526; a Catechism (1534); two commentaries on Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, as well as exegeses of the Epistle to the Romans, the Gospels, and the Old Testament books of Judges and Zephaniah; a work on ecclesiastical discipline and the role of the elders, *Von d. waren Seelsorge*, or "Of the True Care of Souls," 1538; and his final work, written in England in 1550 and securing him his Cambridge doctorate, *De regno Christi*—"On the Kingdom of Christ," a blueprint of social, doctrinal, and ecclesiastical renewal in the "Christian commonwealth," transformed by **grace**.

BUGENHAGEN (DOCTOR POMERANUS, POMMER), JOHANNES (1485–1558). Bugenhagen was born in Wollin, near Stettin (modern Szczecin, Poland), in Pomerania, then in northeast **Germany**, received his university education in the humanities at the University of Greifswald, in Pomerania, from 1502 to 1504, joined the Order of Premonstratensian Canons, served as a school principal, and was ordained priest in 1509. Initially influenced by **Desiderius Erasmus**'s humanist outlook, Bugenhagen was drawn to **Martin Luther**'s writings, wrote to Luther requesting religious guidance and received in return a copy of "The Freedom of a Christian" (1520).

In April 1521 Bugenhagen arrived in Wittenberg. There he became a close associate of Luther and of **Philipp Melanchthon**, undertook advanced studies, married in 1522, and was made pastor of Wittenberg's town church in 1523. A pamphlet produced during the **Peasants' Revolt** recognized his centrality in emerging **Lutheranism** by calling on him to act, along with Luther himself, Melanchthon, and the elector **Frederick the Wise**, to arbitrate between the peasants

and their lords. Between 1528 and 1532 Bugenhagen was active in bringing the Reformation into the north German “Hanse” cities of Braunschweig (1528), Hamburg (1529), and Lübeck (1531).

At around the time of the second **Diet of Speyer**, Bugenhagen was writing to advocate opposition by the Lutheran princes to **Charles V**’s religious policies. Appointed in 1533 as “superintendent” (*Aufseher*) for the Lutheran churches of northern Germany, he was invited to Pomerania by its co-dukes Philipp II, duke of Pommern-Wolgast (1515–1560), and Barnim IX, duke of Pommern-Stettin (1501–1573), to implement reform there, in 1534–35. In 1536 he assisted Luther and Melanchthon in negotiating with **Martin Bucer** the Wittenberg Accord on the **eucharist**.

In July 1537 Bugenhagen moved to **Denmark** to implement Lutheran reforms in the kingdom. He crowned the Lutheran Christian II (1481–1559) and in September 1537, published an ecclesiastical ordinance for the kingdom, consecrating seven superintendents with episcopal powers and overhauling the curriculum of the University of Copenhagen (København). In 1542–44 Bugenhagen returned to northern Germany to consolidate the Lutheran program there. Luther’s personal convert and always deeply loyal to Lutheran theological principles in the intra-Lutheran doctrinal discords following Luther’s death, along with Melanchthon he opposed the **Gnesio-Lutheran** understanding of the relationship between **justification** and good works. Luther’s collaborator and Latin specialist involved in Luther’s translation of Scripture, Bugenhagen was a close and trusted friend who preached at Luther’s funeral.

Bugenhagen’s literary output focused on scriptural exegesis, with commentaries on the Psalms (*Interpretatio in Librum Psalmorum*, “An Interpretation of the Book of Psalms,” 1523), on Jeremiah, and on Matthew’s Gospel.

BULLINGER, JOHANNES HEINRICH (1504–1575). The son of a priest in Bremgarten in the Aargau, northern **Switzerland**, legitimized in 1529, Bullinger studied in Emmerich-am-Rhein (north Rhineland) and attended university in Cologne (Köln), in the northern Rhineland. His early ambition was to become a Carthusian monk. At Cologne his studies took him back from medieval **Scholasticism** and canon law to the **Fathers of the Church** and the New Testament. He graduated B.A. in 1520 and read **Martin Luther**’s earlier writing

and the summary by **Philipp Melancthon** of emergent Lutheran belief, the *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*, or “Memoranda on Theological Issues” (1521).

Bullinger took his Cologne M.A. in 1522 and taught at a school attached to a Cistercian monastery—even though he had already adopted **Evangelical** beliefs. Having won the friendship of **Huldrych Zwingli** and accompanied him to the key **disputation** in Bern (Berne) in **Switzerland** in January 1528, in 1529 he succeeded his father as parish priest of Bremgarten, began to introduce religious change there, and married a former nun. However, **Zürich’s** and Zwingli’s defeat at the second **Battle of Kappel** led to the suppression of the Reformation in Bremgarten, and Bullinger took refuge in Zürich, along with his father and his brother. There, in December 1531, he was appointed by the city council to head the Zürich Church, as *Antistes*, or its superintendent, and Zwingli’s successor. He remained in that post until his own death in 1575.

The long period from the time of his youthful appointment allowed Bullinger both to rescue and to consolidate Zwingli’s achievement. He continued Zwingli’s policies of close cooperation with the ruling council, though he saw the Church as having its own sphere of authority and independence. He maintained a plain liturgy, without music, advocated the continued suppression of **Anabaptists** (though stopping short of making martyrs) and headed off any moves to restore Catholicism to Zürich.

Bullinger was responsible for the first (1536) and, working with **Pietro Martire Vermigli**, second (1566) **Helvetic Confessions**; and his preparation, along with **John Calvin** and **Guillaume Farel**, of the *Consensus Tigurinus*, 1549, forged a durable agreement on the **eucharist** and **baptism**.

Bullinger was the author of over 100 books, edited a 10-volume edition of his own works, and published extensive New Testament commentaries, as well as studies of the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the **sacraments**, along with a history of the early Reformation. His tribute to the guidance he found in the **bible** came in his *De scripturae sanctae auctoritate et certitudine* (“Concerning the Authority and Certitude of Holy Scripture,” 1538).

Theologically, Bullinger modified Zwingli’s view of the eucharist as a memorial, with a perception of it as an arena where the divine and the human meet. While he insisted on the **predestination** of

both the elect and the unregenerate, his identification of an everlasting covenant between mankind and God allowed him to explore the moral response that God's people must make to His promises. His long-standing influence, via his correspondence—12,000 letters are extant—reached across Europe, from **Hungary** to **England**.

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CAJETAN (CAJETANUS OR GAETANO), TOMMASO DE VIO, CARDINAL (1469–1534). Giacomo de Vio was born in the south Italian coastal town of Gaeta in February 1469 and in 1484 entered the **Dominican Order**, changing his name from Giacomo to Tommaso, as a tribute to his fellow Dominican and intellectual guide, the great medieval Scholastic theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). De Vio studied in Naples (Napoli), and in Bologna, in northern Italy, and, after teaching theology at Padua (Padova, northeast Italy) in 1493 and Pavia, in northern Italy, in 1497, he became procurator-general of his order in 1501. He began work on his commentary on Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* and served as master general of the Dominicans from 1508 to 1518, setting out to reform the order's intellectual and moral life.

Cajetan strongly upheld papal authority and authored a treatise, *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii* ("A Comparison between the Authority of the Pope and That of the Council," 1511), arguing that a general council of the Church could be convened only by the **pope**. In 1517 Pope **Leo X** created Cajetan a cardinal and in 1518 appointed him legate to **Germany**, entrusting him with the tasks of securing German financial backing for the pope's planned crusade against the **Turks** and of reclaiming **Martin Luther** for the Catholic Church.

On theological grounds Cajetan's approach to Luther was not necessarily doomed from the start, for the cardinal was not a rigid hardliner and had already made a study of **indulgences**, seeing their efficacy as relatively limited. However, while long-standing rivalries between Cajetan's Dominicans and Luther's **Augustinian Order** cast doubts on the success of the cardinal's mission of reconciliation, Luther was also at variance both with Aquinas's teachings, especially on the value of reason in theological discourse—which Cajetan fully

accepted—and with Cajetan’s pronounced belief in papal authority, indeed infallibility. The meetings between the two, from 12 to 14 October 1518, in parallel with sessions of the **Diet of Augsburg**, failed completely in their mission to reclaim Luther, and Cajetan went on to join the commission to draw up the papers for Luther’s condemnation.

Made bishop of Gaeta in 1519 and reaching a pinnacle of influence with the election in 1522 of the would-be reforming pope **Adrian VI**, Cajetan was selected as legate to **Hungary** in 1523, and between 1524 and 1527 he undertook a program of scriptural study in which he set out to answer the Lutheran case on the basis of a meticulous examination of the literal meaning of the **bible** text in its original languages. During that period Cajetan was taken prisoner in the Sack of Rome and was freed only on payment of a ransom of 5,000 *scudi*, forcing him thereafter to live frugally within his diocese in order to repay his creditors. Working on a commentary on the Old Testament prophets, Cajetan died in Rome in August 1534.

Cajetan was an earnest advocate of Catholic reform, convinced of the eternal holiness of the Church and urging its renewal strongly at the Lateran Council of 1512–17; he decried some of the excesses in veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, grasped a doctrine of predestination via Aquinas’s adoption of the teachings of the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430) and accepted the need for concessions to the Lutherans in such areas as the marriage of the clergy and the reception of the chalice by the **laity** in the **eucharist**; his writings against **Huldrych Zwingli** in 1525 and the **Augsburg Confession** in 1531–32 show considerable understanding of Protestant viewpoints.

Cajetan was a prolific writer whose commentary on Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae* was published between 1507 and 1522 and was part of an ongoing process of restoring Aquinas to a central place in Catholic thought. His spell of concentrated scriptural study in the 1520s resulted in commentaries on the Psalms in 1527; on the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the New Testament epistles in 1527–9; the Pentateuch in 1531; the Old Testament books of history in 1532; and the Wisdom Literature and Isaiah in 1533–34. He set out his views on papal authority within a collection of essays published in 1562. His work on **faith** and good works, *De fide et operibus*, of 1532, was one of the few writings on this key subject by any of Luther’s Catholic contemporaries.

Cajetan's influence extended well beyond his lifetime. His view, set out in his work *De Celebratione Missae* "On the Celebration of the **Mass**" (1510), that the rite was "the immolation of Jesus Christ, so that that which is offered is Jesus Christ" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 59), was the one that prevailed in the Council of Trent, in the decree of the 22nd session, September 1562.

CALVIN, JOHN (JEAN) (1509–1564). Calvin was born in July 1509, in the cathedral city of Noyon in the province of Picardy, northeast **France**, the second son of a local lawyer, Gérard Cauvin, whose work brought him into a professional relationship with the bishop and the cathedral clergy. Calvin's mother died during his childhood. Securing for his son, then aged 12, a lucrative cathedral sinecure, Gérard Cauvin began making arrangements for his education and in 1520 or 1521 the boy proceeded to the University of Paris, the Sorbonne, entering it along with three young men of the local aristocratic family of de Hangest, which largely controlled ecclesiastical life in Noyon. This was also a family with useful connections in the world of French court politics, and Calvin acquired polish and fine manners from a stay with the family: with such patronage, he was placed to take steps on a ladder of advancement leading potentially to high office in the Church.

At Paris, Calvin studied Latin under a renowned grammarian, Mathurin Cordier (1479–1564), and took up residence in the austere Collège Montaigu to study for his B.A., familiarizing himself with **Scholasticism**. In the mid-1520s, however, his academic career took a right-angled turn when his father, falling out with the Church in Noyon and also discovering that the law offered a safer route to wealth and promotion than his son's pursuit of theology, directed him to legal studies, at the universities of Bourges and Orléans (both in central France); at Bourges, he also studied Greek, the language of the New Testament. When Gérard Cauvin died (excommunicated) in 1531, his son was free to enter into the areas of study lying between the ancient classics and philosophy and within the general area of **humanism**, though without completely abandoning law. Within that field, in 1532 Calvin published a learned commentary, in the footsteps of **Desiderius Erasmus**, on a work by the ancient Roman Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 BC–AD 65), the *De clementia*—"Concerning Clemency."

In the early 1530s Calvin was moving toward the religious dissent that had morphed from the Catholic reformism of **Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples**, **Guillaume Briçonnet**, and others into a growing rejection of the Church, for he underwent what he was later to term a “sudden [or unexpected] conversion” (*conversio subita*), curing him of his devotion to the “superstitions of the Papacy” (Michael A. Mullett, “John Calvin and the ‘City of God,’” *History Review* 60 [March 2008]: 9). As a result, in 1533 he was caught up in a doctrinal storm arising from the allegedly heretical address of his associate, the new rector of the university, Nicholas Cop (b. 1505). Calvin left Paris, and his deepening estrangement from the Catholic Church was confirmed in spring 1534, when he renounced the ecclesiastical incomes that had been settled on him in Noyon.

A graver crisis arose in October 1534 with the affairs of the “Placards”—poster attacks, seen by the orthodox as blasphemous, on the **Mass**. Following large-scale arrests of known dissenters, early in 1535, for safety’s sake, Calvin fled France, making for the city of Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where, in March 1536, he published a compendium pinning down his beliefs that had probably been in a continuing process of evolution out of an Erasmian humanist position. This new work was the *Institutio Religionis Christianae*, or “**Institutes of the Christian Religion**”—the English translation of the title by which the work has traditionally been known.

Following a brief visit to **Italy** and a fleeting return home, under an amnesty, to wind up family business following his father’s death, Calvin aimed to stabilize his exile from France by taking up residence in **Strassburg** or Basel, but was prevented in August 1536 from reaching the city by war between France and **Charles V**, closing the Franco-German border crossings. He was diverted to **Geneva**, whose reformer, **Guillaume Farel**, promptly recruited him for the task of completing the city’s religious and moral transformation, advancing an argument that Calvin was unable to resist, to the effect that God’s Providence called on him to obey, and in September Calvin was enrolled as Geneva’s “Reader in Holy Scripture.”

Calvin and Farel now set about their task of implementing a disciplined urban Reformation for Geneva, and in the January 1537 “Articles on the Organization of the Church and Its Worship” proposed to the governing council of the republic the adoption of a **Confession** of Faith binding on all citizens and the implementation of a

puritanical moral code involving the liberal use of **excommunication** of doctrinal and moral deviants. Then a backlash by citizens against an alleged clerical dictatorship exercised by two foreigners led to the election of a new anti-Calvin council in February 1538, followed by a quarrel over excommunication and leading to the expulsion of Calvin and Farel in April.

Calvin was now at last free to settle in Strassburg, to marry in 1540, to act as pastor to a congregation of 400 French fellow-exiles, to expand the Latin version of the “Institutes” (1539) and in 1541 to produce a French translation of the work, to learn much from **Martin Bucer**, and to emerge as a major figure in international Protestant circles, striking up a friendship with **Philipp Melancthon** and attending the **Colloquy** of Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541.

Meanwhile, the situation in Geneva deteriorated sharply, as the city, violent, factious, and mercurial as it was, descended into near anarchy, culminating in murder and executions within the traditional ruling class; there were also difficulties with the patron of the republic’s independence, the Swiss city of Bern (Berne), and indeed, the prospect of a reversal of the Reformation. In March 1539 the Genevan government received from **Jacopo Sadoletto** an eloquent appeal, the “Letter to the Council and People of Geneva,” arguing that the city should return to its ancient Catholic faith, and it is interesting that when Calvin responded, he did so in tones that indicated his sense of an unbreakable (because divinely issued) contract with the place: “God, when he charged me with [the Church of Geneva] bound me to be faithful to it for ever” (Mullett, “John Calvin and the ‘City of God,’” p. 11). It was clear that any moves to get Calvin back to the city to restore order would be pushing against an open door.

This was not because a second tour of duty was likely to be any easier than the first—and Calvin could not “help shuddering with horror when there is a possibility of my being recalled”—but it is clear from his own words about his “sacrifice” and “that cross on which I had to perish daily a thousand times over” (ibid.) that he regarded Geneva as his Golgotha, and his return to it as his imitation of Christ. In September 1541 he returned, with a new contract making clearer the balance of authority between Church and state.

Now Calvin’s **Ecclesiastical Ordinances** were accepted, in November 1541, giving Geneva both a structure of Church government that Calvin derived from the New Testament and a system of

moral oversight and control. It was not that all opposition to Calvin was suddenly stilled, and from the mid-1540s to the mid-1550s he faced constant opposition from a faction led by a member of a patrician family, Ami Perrin. However, Geneva lay at the crossroads of Europe, and that, plus its growing fame as a model of the godly city, were major factors in attracting Calvin's disciples there from neighboring countries. As immigrants gained citizenship, alongside the arrival at voting age of young Genevans who had grown up under Calvin's tutelage and had known no other social system, the balance of electoral power swung Calvin's way and Perrin's group was ejected in February 1555: their failure to stage the expected coup confirmed Calvin's political triumph that allowed him greater authority—never, though, that of dictator or a theocrat—for the remainder of his career.

Geneva's centrality and fame also brought to it a succession of religious radicals, defeat of whom also shored up Calvin's status. In particular, the show trial of **Michael Servetus** in 1553 cast Calvin in the role of defender of basic Christian **orthodoxy**. For one of Geneva's most ardent admirers, **John Knox**, Calvin's Geneva was a "school"—"the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in earth since the days of the Apostles" (Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, p. 164).

The city was indeed a school, in three senses. First, it was the place of publication of the Reformer's guides to his thought and system, with further and fuller editions of the "Institutes" in 1543, 1545, 1550, 1551, 1553, 1554, 1557, and 1559; guides to Scripture; letters; and so on. Second, the foundation of the Geneva Academy in 1559, with Calvin himself as its professor of theology, pouring out streams of trained pastors, above all for France, established Calvin's adopted city as **Calvinism's** first intellectual and **seminary** center. And third, the operation of a practical Calvinistic regime—not merely the abstract designs that might have come out of a permanent stay in Strassburg—meant that Calvin's was a working model of society, politics, and the Church.

CALVINISM. The genesis of **John Calvin's** theology that gave rise to the doctrinal system known as Calvinism lay in the "**Institutes of the Christian Religion**," first published in 1536 and deriving insights from the writings of the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine

(354–430), supplemented by study of **Martin Luther** and **Martin Bucer**.

Calvin's starting point in the "Institutes" is the absolute sovereignty and glory of God, whose irresistible will and **predestination** are the determinants of the salvation or damnation of all and who reveals Himself to humankind through the inerrant word of Scripture, speaking with one voice in the two Testaments and giving infallible guidance on faith and morals. Fallen humanity is corrupt, the human will is chained and inclined toward sin and guilt, fully deserving punishment, and all human deeds are, without the divine grace implanted in the elect, inherently evil. Both just and merciful, the Almighty has reserved some to a redemption won by Christ's sacrificing Himself in their stead: the reprobate remainder are consigned to the fate that all would have merited without divine intervention. In His elect, justified through the operation of the Spirit, by **faith** alone, the Almighty's saving **grace** cannot be resisted and indeed it produces in them deeds of righteousness, giving God the glory.

God's rule on earth is evident in His creation, the visible Church. Its orders of pastors, elders, and deacons are based on New Testament models and it exercises authority and enforces Christian moral discipline within society, its pastors being called to their ministries, preaching the word and administering the **sacraments** of **baptism** and the **eucharist**.

Calvin himself developed the main lines of his theology down to the definitive edition of the "Institutes," in 1559, and further presentations of the faith were promulgated in texts such as the **Gallican Confession**, 1559, the *Confessio Scotiana* or *Scoticana*—the "Scots Confession"—of 1560, the **Belgic Confession** of 1561 and the **Heidelberg Catechism** of 1563. The Calvinist system and the doctrine of predestination or election were further explored: while **Théodore Beza** developed the "supralapsarian" theory that God had decreed election and reprobation in advance of the Fall of Mankind and that Christ had died to save only the elect, the contribution of **Jacobus Arminius** was to open up conceptual space for the exercise of the will in choosing salvation or damnation, for the operation of repentance and for the possibility that divine grace could be resisted.

Arminius's revisionism was countered by the **Synod of Dort's** statement of **orthodoxy**, in its "five points of Calvinism": the Almighty's unrestricted predestination of the elect and the reprobate;

Christ's dying for the elect; the total corruption of mankind; the impossibility of resisting redeeming grace; and the perseverance of the elect to their end.

Churches to which the label Calvinist can be given spread rapidly in Europe, especially in the second half of the 16th century, for example into **Poland** and **Hungary**, both countries where some aristocratic families took up this faith. Calvin himself, from the mid-1540s, fostered the growth of churches in his native **France**, and by the 1560s his beliefs had acquired an entrenched position in the **Low Countries**. The Reformation in **Scotland**, first established in 1560, was of a distinctive Calvinist cast; Calvinism took root in **Germany** in such areas as the Rhineland **Palatinate**, and Calvinist beliefs were vitally important in **England** in the 16th and 17th centuries and beyond, having a major influence on the importation of that form of Christianity to America.

In 1904 the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) put forward the hypothesis that Calvinism, and in particular the anxieties it generated over personal salvation, had had a part to play in the origins of modern industrial capitalism, a viewpoint that has been regularly revisited and questioned. At the same time, many have recognized that the Calvinist political “resistance theories,” originally suggested tentatively by Calvin himself and extended in scope in areas of religious conflict, especially the **French Wars of Religion**, have had a part to play in the rise of modern beliefs in the rights of citizens.

CAMPION, EDMUND (1540–1581). The son of a **London** bookseller, Campion was born in January 1540 and was educated at Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's school in London. In 1553, when the new Queen **Mary** processed through the city streets to her coronation, Campion was appointed by his school to read its Latin speech welcoming her. In 1558, sponsored by the London Grocers' Company, he entered the recently founded St. John's College, Oxford, and proceeded through courses in philosophy, theology, and the **Fathers of the Church**, graduating B.A. in November 1561, and M.A. in 1564, after which he became a fellow of his college: he shone as a teacher and university administrator and as a public orator, delivering the university's address to Queen **Elizabeth I** on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in August 1566, and thereby gaining the favor of **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**. Campion was ordained a deacon

of the Church of **England** in March 1569 and took the degree of Bachelor of Theology (B.Th.).

Under the surface of academic success, religious doubts were exercising his mind. Whether or not—as **Robert Parsons** was to claim—Campion had always been basically Catholic in belief, his conscience was forced by events in his life in the late 1560s. His sponsors, the Grocers’ Company, required him to preach at London’s Paul’s Cross, in keeping with an award they had made him in 1566, but his ordination, he claimed, had given him “remorse of conscience,” leading to his declining his B.Th. However, the speaker of the Irish House of Commons, James Stanihurst (1521/2–1573), the father of one of Campion’s students, had already invited him to **Ireland** and Campion set off for the capital, Dublin (Baile atha Cliath), in August 1570.

In Ireland, Campion worked on two books, the *De Homine Academico* “Concerning the Scholar,” a description of the ideal student, a work that no longer exists, and, helped by Stanihurst, the 1571 *History of Ireland*, dedicated to Leicester. Even so, and despite his closeness to Leicester and the governing circle around the lord deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney (1529–1586), Campion’s Catholic sympathies had become evident—and also dangerous in the light of Pope **Pius V’s excommunication** of Elizabeth in 1570, so that Stanihurst arranged to have him transferred in 1571 back to England.

At that point, Campion attempted to escape to the Continent, was arrested in the Channel, returned to Dover, and was set free on payment of a bribe. In a second attempt, though, he was successful in his bid to get to the Catholic English College in **Douai**, spending two years there. At Douai he was reconciled to the Catholic Church, ordained as subdeacon, studied theology, took his bachelor’s degree in the subject in 1572, and went on to teach rhetoric at the college. In the early months of 1573 he walked to **Rome** with a view to joining the **Society of Jesus**, entering the novitiate in August and spending his time as a novice, down to 1580, in Brúnn (modern Brno) and Prague (Praha), both in **Bohemia**. He taught rhetoric and philosophy in Prague and preached in Latin in the city and in 1578 was ordained priest.

In obedience to instructions from **William Allen** of December 1579 and March 1580 Campion began preparations for a return to England, leaving Prague on 25 March, traveling via Munich (München) in **Bavaria**, Innsbruck in **Austria**, and Padua (Padova) in northeast **Italy**, to arrive in Rome on 5 April. There, with Parsons, he was to

receive a briefing from Pope **Gregory XIII**, as well as an “explanation” freeing English Catholics from seeking to activate the 1570 excommunication of Elizabeth, until such a time as its enforcement could be guaranteed. Campion, with a companion, and claiming to be an Irish jeweler, landed at Dover on 24 June, only to be promptly arrested and then, inexplicably, released: the pair took advantage of their good fortune by leaving for London, where they found refuge in a safe house, and Campion was reunited with Parsons.

There now opened the most dangerous period in Campion’s short life, climaxing in his execution on 1581. In June 1580 he preached in a house in the heart of London and the following month held a meeting with members of the English Catholic clergy to reassure them about the aims of the venture on which he and Parsons were embarked. Campion also composed a challenge to the governing Privy Council—the widely distributed “Campion’s Bragge”—inviting a doctrinal **disputation** and affirming the entirely religious and nonpolitical motives of the mission.

Then, from August 1580, Campion set off on a tour of parts of the Midlands, which set the pattern for future Jesuit missionary operations in England, by targeting **recusant** gentry homes in which some safety could be sought and from which help for Catholics at large could be offered: he would say **Mass**, preach, hear confessions, and administer **communion**. Between October 1580, when he was reunited with Parsons, and March 1581 Campion drew up his supplement to the “Bragge,” *Decem Rationes*, or “Ten Reasons,” arguing that Protestants used force and torture to compel because they lacked convincing doctrinal arguments.

In the early months of 1581 Campion was on tour in a wide arc of the north Midlands and the heartlands of Catholic survivalism in the north—in Lancashire, and in Yorkshire, where, in the city of York itself, he was adopted as chaplain by a local Catholic group. However, his itinerary was now shadowed by increasing government vigilance and menace, culminating in the Act of Persuasions of 1581, a penal statute intended to be literally the death blow against the Jesuit mission to England. For the time being, Campion remained at large, and between May and July 1581 he was sheltered at Stonor Park in Oxfordshire, in the south Midlands, but on 11 July he left Parsons to begin a new excursion to Lancashire, making an overnight stop at a house near Wantage in Berkshire, near London, where he was

betrayed by an informer and arrested on 17 July, along with two fellow priests and seven laymen.

Campion was transferred from Berkshire to the capital, where he was lodged in the tiny cell in the Tower of London known as “little ease.” Late in July he was examined by senior figures including his former patron Leicester. Refusing to respond to questioning, he was ordered by the Privy Council to be tortured, in a process of interrogation extended over three months, to October. He was also given the opportunity he had called for in the “Bragge” to take part in a **disputation**—a stage-managed affair, however, in which he was given little time or literature to prepare for his encounters, in August and September, with a panel of Protestant clergymen selected by the bishop of London.

Campion faced indictment by a grand jury in Westminster Hall on 12 November 1581. The government’s original intention to charge him under the 1581 Act of Persuasions was altered to a plan to convict him, along with 13 fellow priests and other persons, of high treason according to the medieval Statute of Treasons, 1352: Parsons and Allen shared the charge, in absentia. The trial of Campion and seven fellow priests opened in Westminster Hall on 20 November. Once again, Campion was the focus of the engagement, taking on two of the crown’s leading law officers, the attorney-general and solicitor-general. Though some present expected an acquittal, the jury returned a guilty verdict, and the judge passed sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering against Campion and two codefendants. The sentence was carried out at Tyburn in London on 1 December 1581, when Campion’s efforts to speak to the crowd were drowned out by heckling, though he was able at the last to protest his loyalty to the queen. He was canonized in 1970.

CANISIUS (DE HONDT, KANNEES OR KANIJS), PETRUS (OR PIETER) (1521–1597). Son of a *burgemeester*—mayor—of Nijmegen in Gelderland in the northern **Low Countries**, Canisius was born in that city in May 1521 and between 1536 and 1540 studied philosophy at the University of Cologne (Köln), in the Rhineland of **Germany**. He entered the **Society of Jesus** in 1543, returned to Cologne to study theology, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1546. Canisius spent time in **Italy** with **Ignatius Loyola** and taught in the pioneer Jesuit school at Messina in Sicily, but his life’s work was to

be dedicated to Catholic recovery in Germany, where he founded the first German Jesuit house, in Cologne, and established his fame as a preacher in the years between 1546 and 1562.

Canisius was appointed professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt in **Bavaria** in 1549. In **Austria** between 1552 and 1554, as chaplain to **Ferdinand I** and university professor, he combated Protestant influences in Vienna (Wien). Canisius served as provincial of the Jesuit province of Upper [southern] Germany, **Bohemia**, and Austria from 1556 to 1569, based initially in Prague (Praha) in Bohemia and subsequently in Augsburg, southern Germany. He preached over vast tracts of territory, established **seminaries**, for example in Vienna in 1574, in Dillingen in Bavaria in 1576, and in Gratz in Austria in 1578; and set up Jesuit colleges in Ingolstadt and Vienna. In 1557 he was involved in a **colloquy** at Worms and in 1562 he took part in the later sessions of the **Council of Trent**. Canisius settled in Bavaria, at Dillingen, then in Innsbruck in Austria and finally in **Switzerland**, at Freiburg, in 1580.

Canisius was a notable theologian and a moderate who sought to defend some of the legacy of **Desiderius Erasmus**—though he affirmed that there could be no salvation outside the Church. He led and inspired the Jesuit **Counter-Reformation** mission to Germany and was the author of three **catechisms** for learners of various ages. One of these, the Latin *Summa Doctrinae Christianae* (“Summary of Christian Teaching”) of 1555, translated into German in 1556, played a major role—as did Canisius’s whole life’s work—in the recovery and retention of large parts of Germany for the Catholic Church: his Latin *Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum* (“Abridged Catechism for Catholics”) was issued in 1559. Acclaimed a doctor of the Church, Canisius was canonized in 1925.

CAPITO (KÖPFEL), WOLFGANG FABRICIUS (1478–1541).

Capito was born in Hagenau (Haguenau) in Alsace, western **Germany**, perhaps in December 1478, the son of a blacksmith who was also a town councillor. After studying law and Scholastic theology in Ingolstadt in **Bavaria**, Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, and Freiburg-im-Breisgau, in southwest Germany, in 1512 he took up a preaching post in a religious establishment in Bruchsal on the upper Rhine. He gained doctorates in theology and in civil and canon law and moved to Basel, where in 1515 he became professor of the

Old Testament in the university, as well as preacher in the cathedral. Capito achieved scholarly distinction in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek and formed a close friendship with **Johannes Œcolampadius** (with whom he studied Hebrew in Heidelberg, in the Rhineland **Palatinate**, between 1513 and 1515).

Capito also befriended **Desiderius Erasmus**, who recommended him to Albrecht von Hohenzollern (1490–1545), archbishop of Mainz, as his secretary, a post he took up in the early 1520s and which he used to obtain release from his monastic vows for **Martin Bucer** and to moderate official actions against **Martin Luther**.

Pope **Clement VII** appointed him in May 1523 to the lucrative post of provost of the church of St. Thomas in **Strassburg**, where he rapidly fell under the influence of an advocate of religious change, Matthäus Zell (1477–1548). He assumed the role of a public preacher in May 1524 and renounced his benefice in 1526. Working closely with Bucer to introduce the Reformation into Strassburg, providing a **catechism** in 1527 and another in 1529 and devoting himself to improving the city's educational, social, and moral life, Capito also assumed the task of bringing together German Lutheranism and Swiss Zwinglian doctrines, especially over the **eucharist**. With Bucer he attended the decisive Catholic-Protestant **disputations** in the Swiss city of Bern (Berne) in January 1528.

Versatile and knowledgeable in medicine as well as theology, law, and Hebrew, one of the most important south German Protestant theologians, an intellectual heir to Erasmus, a believer in gentle and gradual change, Capito advocated moderation toward the **Anabaptists**. Along with Bucer, he composed the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, the **Confession** of the four south German cities of Constance (Konstanz), Lindau, Memmingen, and Strassburg; which was submitted to the **Diet of Augsburg** in 1530; and collaborated in forging an agreement with the Lutheran mainstream over the eucharist in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. Before his death in Basel on 4 November 1541 Capito took part in the **colloquies** of 1540–41 intended to achieve reunification of Catholics and Protestants. He was the author of commentaries on Scripture, his two catechisms, and a translation of Erasmus's work the *De Concordia*—"Concerning Concord."

CAPUCHIN ORDER. In 1517 Pope **Leo X** sanctioned the subdivision of the **Franciscan Order** into the Observants, who maintained per-

sonal poverty but used lay agents to collect and spend money on their behalf, and the Conventuals, who were permitted to handle money directly. Early in 1525, however, Pope **Clement VII** gave verbal approval to the undertaking of the Observant Franciscan Matteo da Bascio (or de Bassi, 1495?–1552) of the March of Ancona, in eastern **Italy**—an area of traditional Observant strength—to observe the Franciscan rule to the letter, living, as a hermit, on alms, preaching as an itinerant, and adopting the style of long, pointed hood—in Italian *cappuccio*—that was thought to have been worn by the founder, St. Francis (c. 1181–1226).

Da Bascio himself, intending to retain membership of the Franciscan Observance, and indeed to win its members over to his interpretation of original Franciscan principles, began preaching in the March of Ancona, whereupon the Observants' provincial treated him as a renegade and obtained a papal warrant permitting him to imprison da Bascio, along with his associates, the brothers Ludovico and Raffaele Tentaglia da Fossombrone: the group were protected, however, by the **pope's** niece, the Duchess of Camerino.

In July 1528 in the bull *Religionis Zelus*, obtained with assistance from the duchess, Pope Clement gave canonical approval to a new Franciscan variant, though to remain under the formal authority of the Conventuals. They held their first general chapter at Albacina in April 1529, elected da Bascio as superior, and approved the regulations known as the Statutes of Albacina, drawn up by Ludovico da Fossombrone and focusing on a life of contemplation as hermits. Around that time, as the friars approached villages on their preaching work, local children acclaimed them as “Cappuccini!” — “the hooded men.” Da Bascio subsequently resigned in favor of da Fossombrone and eventually reentered the mainstream Franciscan Observance.

Though the Capuchins grew rapidly, to about 700 members by 1535, much of this rise was at the expense of the Observants, who took exception to this migration of their friars and were able to obtain papal rulings undermining *Religionis Zelus*. In 1535 a chapter held in Rome approved new constitutions balancing the contemplative and prayerful against the activist and preaching aspects of Capuchin life, both to be conducted within the close observance of Franciscan poverty; the author of these statutes, the former Observant Bernardino d'Asti, was now elected vicar-general. In September 1536 Pope **Paul III** reiterated formal papal approval of the Order but in 1537 imposed

a ban on its expansion beyond Italy, a restriction lifted in 1574 by Pope **Gregory XIII**. In 1538 d'Asti was succeeded as vicar-general by **Bernardino Ochino**, whose conversion to Protestantism and flight to Geneva in 1542 awoke near-fatal opposition to the Capuchins in the ultravigilant Italy of the early **Counter-Reformation**.

Patronage in high places, sound leadership by a new general, Francesco da Jesi, and strenuous advocacy of the Capuchins' value by one of its members who was present at the **Council of Trent** all helped rescue the Order's reputation. New Constitutions of 1552 diluted some of the rigor of the earlier version and, while they strongly maintained a preaching apostolate to the poor, the Capuchins developed a more academic orientation, setting up their own **seminaries** in the years after Trent. At the same time, missionary work began in Alpine Europe, bringing key victories in the Catholic Church's struggle against **Calvinism**.

When Gregory XIII lifted Paul III's limitations on growth, Capuchin numbers increased markedly, from about 2,500 in midcentury to almost 6,000 by 1587, and the Order expanded beyond Italy, with a presence in 19 provinces outside the peninsula by 1625; in 1619 Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21) definitively recognized the Capuchins as an order in their own right, albeit with a definite Franciscan identity. Within the 17th century, they extended the range of their activities widely, taking up nursing, especially during outbreaks of plague, when they themselves lost an estimated 2,000 members to infections acquired while treating patients. Their missionary work overseas extended, for example, to **India**, the Muslim world, Africa, and the Americas—where they opened missions in Canada in 1632 and Virginia in 1650. With their widespread popularity and dynamic preaching, the Capuchins, of all the new religious orders of the 16th century made, after the **Jesuits**, the second most effective contribution to the progress and success of the Catholic Reformation as a mission to the people. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

CARAFA (OR CARAFFA), GIAN PIETRO. *See* PAUL IV, POPE.

CARLSTADT OR KARLSTADT, ANDREAS (RUDOLF) BODENSTEIN VON (1480–1541). Born in Karlstadt on the Main, near Frankfurt-am-Main, central **Germany**, in 1486, the son of a wine-cellar keeper, Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt studied at

the universities of Erfurt, in Thuringia, and Cologne (Köln), in the north Rhineland, from 1499 to 1503, and then at the new University of Wittenberg, where he took his doctorate of theology in 1504 and proceeded to teach Scholastic theology at that university. He was ordained in 1510, appointed archdeacon of the Wittenberg church of All Saints (*Allerheiligen*), and in 1512 he awarded a doctorate to **Martin Luther**.

In 1515–16 Carlstadt took up the study of canon law and graduated in Rome with the degree of doctor of laws, but he was strongly drawn to the study of the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430). Carlstadt now turned against **Scholasticism**, and in 1517 he was writing in support of Augustinian, and in opposition to Scholastic, theology, becoming, like Luther, a curriculum reformer and a leader in Luther's camp. During Luther's absence at the Heidelberg **Disputation** in 1518, Carlstadt issued a number of theses aimed against **Johann Maier von Eck**, on Scripture and **free will**, that were to lead to the **Leipzig Disputation** in 1519: Carlstadt's own role in the Leipzig debates was not effective. He was briefly in **Denmark** in 1520 and, with Luther in hiding in the Wartburg in 1521–22, he initiated an accelerated Reformation in Wittenberg, beginning with sermons in the fall of 1521 denouncing the liturgy of the **Mass** and priestly **celibacy**.

In his determination to build an ideal Christian city, monitored by God's word in Scripture, Carlstadt—impressed by the teaching of the **Zwickau Prophets**—went not necessarily further but certainly faster than Luther would have wished: at Christmas 1521 he said Mass without the traditional vestments, and distributed the **eucharist** to the **laity** in the forms of both bread and wine; he helped inspire the large-scale **iconoclasm** that took place in the city in late January, precipitating Luther's return in March 1522; he prepared plans for a common chest to provide poor relief; in 1522 his marriage, to a Saxon nobleman's teenage daughter, was consistent with his insistence on clerical matrimony. On Luther's return to Wittenberg, Carlstadt lost out in the power struggle between the two former close associates, was confined to teaching duties, and then retired as a parish priest in Orlamünde in Thuringia, where he proclaimed social equality, assumed the persona of a peasant, and directed a campaign against images, along with the introduction of extensive poor relief and believers' **baptism**.

Following a meeting with Luther at Jena in Saxony in August 1524—an attempt to make peace—Carlstadt, moving toward an increasingly spiritual understanding of the Christian faith and, in particular of the eucharist, was driven out of the Electorate in September 1524. From Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** in November, he published anti-Luther pamphlets, denounced infant baptism, and protested against his ill-treatment by the Wittenberg establishment: Luther aimed his work of December 1524–January 1525, *Wider die himmlischen Propheten* . . . —“Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacraments”—specifically at Carlstadt.

He associated with and influenced **Anabaptists** in southern Germany—**Hans Denck** was his disciple—and in the southern town of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, amid the ferment of the **Peasants’ Revolt**, helped to draft peasant grievances and advocated radical religious reform and iconoclasm. Following the suppression of the revolt, Carlstadt briefly returned to Wittenberg between early July and late September 1525 and retracted his beliefs, but left the city once more, a wanderer again, until **Huldrych Zwingli**, whose perception of the eucharist as a memorial and spiritual symbol he shared, was instrumental in procuring for him the post of deacon in **Zürich**’s city hospital. He next served as pastor of St. Peter’s church in Zürich, and university professor of the Old Testament in Basel from 1534 until his death of plague on Christmas Eve 1541.

CARMELITE ORDER. The Carmelites originated in the 12th century (but claimed their genesis with the Old Testament prophet Elijah) as groups of hermits near Haifa, in modern Israel. In 1247 Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) gave to the “Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel,” or Carmelites, a rule permitting them to live and work in towns, where they rapidly expanded both in their numbers and the scope of their activities. While the papacy sanctioned mitigations of their original austere rule, some late medieval Carmelites, in common with members of other religious orders, sought a strict observance, especially under the leadership of their general Soreth (d. 1471), who also oversaw the evolution of a female branch.

Reform, observance, and female Carmelite life all came together in the career of **Teresa of Ávila**, who determined to foster the “Primitive Rule” as opposed to the “Mitigated Observance,” and who recruited **John of the Cross** to the cause of Carmelite renewal, that

of the male friars. In the 1570s and 1580s the cause of reform spearheaded by these two encountered opposition within the Order, but when she died in 1582 Teresa had taken part in the creation of 17 reformed houses for **women** and 15 for males. In 1593, Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) set up the “Discalced” Carmelites—who went shoeless as a sign of their austerity of life—as a distinct branch, in two congregations, with their own general. The Discalced took up parochial apostolates as well as missionary work in such fields as **India**, the Middle and Near East, and Latin America, while some of their members were active in the Spanish universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca in such fields as moral theology and the fostering of mystical piety. **Barbe Acarie** was a leading promoter of their introduction into **France**. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS (c. 1535–1603). Cartwright was born, probably in Royston, Hertfordshire, north of **London**, into a yeoman farming family. He entered Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1547, and in 1550 proceeded to the Protestant-influenced St. John’s College in the same university, taking his B.A. in 1554. Cartwright left Cambridge in 1556 and took up work as a lawyer’s clerk, but in 1559 returned to the university following the accession of **Elizabeth I**, became a fellow of St. John’s in April 1560, graduated M.A. in June, and was awarded a fellowship of Trinity College in 1562.

Late in 1565 or early in 1566 Cartwright was appointed chaplain to the archbishop of Armagh in **Ireland**, Adam Loftus (1533?–1605), and went with him to that country. He was back in Cambridge in 1567, when he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Theology in May. Following his appointment in 1569 as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, in spring 1570 Cartwright delivered a course of lectures on the first two chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, raising the issue of the proper form of government for a reformed Church. To Cartwright’s way of thinking, the right formula was clearly set out in Scripture, according to which the episcopal hierarchy of the Church of **England** should be replaced by a system of ministers, or presbyters, each responsible for a particular church and elected into office by its congregation. It was a proposed structure that seriously threatened not only the traditional nature of **Anglicanism** but the royal supremacy by which the crown appointed the bishops.

Despite considerable support, especially from among younger academics, Cartwright was dismissed from his professorship in December 1570. By June 1571 he was welcomed to **Geneva**, meeting **Théodore Beza** and teaching in the Genevan Academy, but supporters asked him to return to Cambridge. He did so in spring 1572, but was expelled from his fellowship at Trinity in September. From 1572 Cartwright became involved on the side of radical ecclesiastical change in the **Admonitions Controversy**. **John Whitgift's** riposte to the *Admonition to the Parliament*, his *Answer to a certain Libel . . .* of 1572 or early 1573 elicited Cartwright's *Replie* in April 1573. To escape arrest, Cartwright again left England, in December 1573, entering the University in Heidelberg in the German Calvinist Rhineland **Palatinate**, where a presbyterial system had been set up. From there he continued his polemics against Whitgift, with *The Second Replie* defending the **puritan** party from Whitgift's attacks on them and setting out a program of root-and-branch revision of the governance and liturgy of the Church of England.

Cartwright was also closely involved in the production of the *Full and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline* by Walter Travers (1548?–1635), the blueprint of an English presbyterian church structure, published in Heidelberg. In 1576 Cartwright moved from the now once-more Lutheran Palatinate to Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, entered the University there and published the continuation of his challenge to Whitgift, *The Rest of the Second Replie*.

In 1577 he found commercial work with the trading guild, the Merchant Adventurers, in Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers), in the **Low Countries**, where he married in 1578, and in 1580 succeeded Travers as minister to the expatriate English Protestant mercantile community in the city. In October 1582 he moved with the English merchants to Middelburg, and in the same year he was given a government commission to criticize the 1582 Catholic translation of the New Testament, carried out in **Douai**.

Illness in Holland brought Cartwright back to England, where Whitgift, now archbishop of Canterbury, refused a petition from the pro-puritan **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**, to allow Cartwright to preach. After Cartwright saw brief service with him in his campaign in the Netherlands, in 1586 Leicester appointed him to the post of master of the charitable almshouses he had set up in the the Midland town of Warwick. From there, Cartwright was able to assist Travers

and John Field (d. 1588) in their plans to erect a covert presbyterian system within the structures of the Church of England, a scheme set out in the “Book of Discipline,” issued in 1587. In September of the same year, Cartwright represented the county of Warwickshire at a conference in Cambridge to review the “Discipline.”

While Cartwright was active in preaching in Warwickshire, he declined attempts on the part of the author of the Marprelate Tracts to recruit him as an ally. Even so, in 1590 Cartwright, his protector Leicester now dead, faced the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission with 31 charges reviewing his actions, especially in the previous decade, including work on the “Book of Discipline,” and he was imprisoned in London. In July 1590 Cartwright and his fellow accused were deprived of their ecclesiastical positions, and in May 1591 their case was transferred to the tribunal known as the Court of Star Chamber, but was virtually stalled by January 1592, and later in the year Cartwright was given leave to go back to Warwick.

He was in Guernsey in the Channel Islands from 1595 as the governor’s chaplain and a parish minister, introducing a presbyterial system in the islands, but he returned to Warwick in 1601. Cartwright visited London in 1603 in support of the Millenary Petition—reputedly signed by a thousand ministers—to further the reform of the English Church in a more Protestant direction, and died in December 1603, a founding father of mainstream English puritanism.

CASTELLIO (CHÂTEILLON, CHASTILLON, OR CASTALIO), SEBASTIAN (SÉBASTIEN OR SEBASTIANUS) (1515–1563).

Castellio was born in a village in northwestern Savoy, southwest of **France**, the son of a farmer. From 1535 to 1540, he studied at the Collège de la Trinité in Lyon (Lyons), southeast France, gravitated toward Protestantism, and in 1540 moved to **Strassburg**. In 1541 Castellio was invited by **John Calvin** to take the position of rector of the city college in **Geneva**, where he married his first wife. In 1544 a quarrel with Calvin over Castellio’s understanding of the Old Testament Song of Songs as erotic verse and over his interpretation of the descent of Christ into hell, following the crucifixion, drove him out of Geneva, and he took refuge in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** from spring 1545, living in poverty. In Basel he married a second time, following his first wife’s death, and maintained a large family, working for a printer and as a tutor. He issued criticisms of Calvin’s

doctrine of **predestination** and in 1551 published a Latin translation of Scripture whose preface contained a plea for **toleration**; he followed this in 1553 with a version of the **bible** in Savoyard dialect French.

Castellio became professor of Greek at the University of Basel in 1553 and, following the execution of **Michael Servetus**, in March 1554 published, under a pseudonym, *De Haereticis, an sint Persequendi*—"Concerning Heretics and Whether or Not They Should be Persecuted"—, a collection of excerpts from authors—including Calvin himself—who had written in favor of religious toleration. The work decried the very concept of the "heretic," reducing essential beliefs to faith in Christ as redeemer and showing persecution to be incompatible with God's mercy or Christ's love. Attacked in writing by **Théodore Beza**, Castellio responded with his posthumously published (1612) *Contra Libellum Calvini* ("Against Calvin's Little Book"), a riposte to Calvin's January 1554 *Declaratio Orthodoxae Fidei* ("Statement of the True Faith"), which defended Servetus's execution.

Castellio's other writings included editions of Latin literary and historical classics and a textbook on integrating the teaching of Christian doctrine with the study of Latin. His work *Conseil à la France désolée* ("Advice to Devastated France," 1562) denounced the bigotry that had given rise to the French **Wars of Religion**. Castellio died in Basel in December 1563, one of history's great spokesmen for religious understanding and tolerance.

CATEAU-CAMBRÉISIS, TREATY OF, 1559. In the late 1550s, years of intermittent war between **France** and the **Habsburgs** that had begun with France's invasion of **Italy** in 1494 were drawing to a close. **Spain's** victory at St. Quentin, in northeastern France, in August 1557 brought its forces close to Paris, though in 1558 the French capture of Calais from the Habsburgs' English allies leveled the score enough for peace to be considered. In addition, shortages of money on both sides argued in favor of a treaty, which was signed in Cateau-Cambrésis, a town on the French border with the **Low Countries**, in April 1559: the peace was celebrated with dynastic weddings, including that between **Philip II** and Elizabeth de Valois (or Elizabeth de France, 1545–1568), daughter of **Henry II**.

By the main terms of the treaty, France held on to its conquest of Calais but gave up all territorial claims in Italy, retaining only half a dozen fortresses in the peninsula. Spain was now left largely in control of Italy, confirmed in possession of Naples and Sicily, the Duchy of **Milan**, the island of Sardinia, and key forts on the coast of Tuscany, in the center of the country.

Geopolitically, then, the treaty endorsed Spain's hegemony in Mediterranean Europe, a major factor in its emergence under Philip II as the superpower it was to remain until well into the next century, the main military and political prop of the **Counter-Reformation**. The peace was expected to allow Henry II to continue and intensify repression of the **Huguenots**, but celebrations of the treaty involved jousting, in which the king received a fatal wound, leaving a regency government that was unable to carry forward the planned policies of persecution, but also creating the dynastic crisis that led to the French **Wars of Religion**.

CATECHISMS. From the Greek *katechein*, meaning “to echo,” a catechism is a *résumé* of Christian doctrine, usually in question-and-answer form. The invention of **printing** gave a boost to the availability of catechisms in all the Christian churches: **Huldrych Zwingli** in 1523 was ahead of the field in producing a summary of doctrines, *Eine kurtze christenliche Einleitung* (“A Brief Introduction to Christianity”). The emergent **Radical Reformation** was not far behind, with **Balthasar Hubmaier**'s *Christennliche Leertafel* (“A Table of Christian Instruction,” 1527).

Martin Luther had already produced a basic “Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer” in 1520, but his major contribution to the genre arose from visits he paid in the later 1520s to parishes in Electoral **Saxony**, from his awareness of the extent of doctrinal ignorance there, and from three sets of educational sermons on Christian fundamentals that he delivered in 1528–29. These all bore fruit in his full-length *Deudsch Catechismus* (“Catechism in German”) of April 1529. Intended as an addendum to Luther's “German **Mass**” and designed to assist pastors and schoolteachers in explaining the **Evangelical** faith, it covered such topics as the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the **sacraments**.

This work was followed within weeks by an illustrated *enchiridion*, or handbook, version *Der kleine Catechismus* . . . (“The Short Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers”). Meant as an aid for clerics, this work was increasingly used directly by the Lutheran **laity**, and was reissued in 1531 and frequently thereafter. The “Short Catechism” included household prayers along with descriptions of the duties of men, women, and children; a wedding service; the liturgy for **baptism**; and an order for individual confession of sins, and it formed a basis for **John Calvin’s** “**Institutes**.”

Also in 1529, both **Johann Brenz** and **Wolfgang Capito** issued catechisms, as did **Andreas Osiander**, in 1533, and **Martin Bucer** in 1534. Calvin’s first attempt at a version, probably in collaboration with **Guillaume Farel**, was the *Catechismus Genevensis Prior*—the “First Geneva Catechism,” or “Instruction and Confession of Faith” of 1537. Following his return to **Geneva**, in 1541 he drew up *Le catéchisme de l’Église de Genève* (“Catechism of the Genevan Church”), based on Bucer’s model. It appeared in Latin as the *Catechismus Genevensis* in 1545. Both the **Heidelberg Catechism** and Calvin’s Geneva Catechism were accepted in **Scotland** but were supplanted there in 1592 by a new variant authored by John Craig (1512/13–1600).

It was probably **Thomas Cranmer** with **Nicholas Ridley** who published a shorter catechism for the Church of **England** under **Edward VI**, and in 1548 Cranmer made a longer version; John Ponet (or Poynt, c. 1514–1556), bishop of Winchester, added an extended catechism to the 42 **Articles of Religion** of 1553, and this formed the basis of a revised enlargement in 1570 by the dean of St. Paul’s, **London**, Alexander Nowell (or Noel, 1507–1602). In the two centuries following 1530, England saw the production of over 1,000 separate catechisms.

On the Catholic side, an earlier 16th-century version was the Scottish Catechism authorized in 1552 by Archbishop John Hamilton (1510/11–1571) of St. Andrews, to be read out by parish priests to their congregations. Under **Mary I** the Catholic bishop of London, Edmund Bonner (d. 1569), produced a catechism intended to rival Cranmer’s. While **Petrus Canisius** produced his catechisms, the **Council of Trent** devoted considerable attention in its 24th session in November 1563 to the need for an “official” text and reviewed the possibility of producing a standard Catholic version, to be composed by a conciliar commission and ratified by the Council itself.

Though this did not come about, Pope **Pius IV** appointed a group of theologians, to be guided by **Carlo Borromeo**, to produce a draft. This text was ready for scrutiny in 1564, and in 1566 the final version was first published, in **Rome**, by the authority of Pope **Pius V**, as the *Catechismus Romanus*, the “Roman Catechism,” in 359 pages, based on the decrees of the Council and intended for parish priests to use as a teaching manual for the laity: it focused on the sacraments, and also delivered instruction on the Apostles’ Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer. Though this “Pian” Catechism was put forward as a standard and centralized Catholic version, individual productions came from **Roberto Bellarmino** (in 1578) and others.

CATHERINE (CATALINA, OR KATHERINE) OF ARAGON (1485–1536). Catherine was born in Alcalá de Henares, north of Madrid, in December 1485, the youngest daughter of King Ferdinand II, known as “the Catholic” (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*) of Aragon (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella, known as “the Catholic” (Isabel, known as *la Católica*) of Castile (1451–1504). She received a good education, focusing on European languages, Latin, and Scripture. As early as 1487 negotiations commenced between Ferdinand and Isabella on the one hand, and King Henry VII of **England** (1457–1509), on the other, to cement a diplomatic Anglo-Spanish anti-French commercial and political alliance with a dynastic marriage between Catherine and Henry VII’s elder son, Prince Arthur (b. 1486), and the wedding took place in October 1501, leading to a brief and, according to Catherine’s later testimony, unconsummated, marriage, before Arthur’s sudden death in April 1502.

Anglo-Spanish negotiations with a view to a remarriage, to Henry VII’s second son, Henry, Duke of York, began almost immediately, though there was now an added complication in the shape of a ban, in the Catholic Church’s canon law, on a man’s marrying his brother’s widow, based on Leviticus 18:16. Thus, the requirement of a papal dispensation was built into a new treaty of June 1503 providing for a betrothal, and then a wedding three years later, when Prince Henry would have reached the age of 15. (The need for such a dispensation rested on the assumption that Catherine and Arthur had really been husband and wife, in a consummated marriage.)

The bull of dispensation from Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) was delivered in England in March 1505 and allowed the new marriage

to take place. However, in June 1505 Prince Henry, prompted by his father, announced his rejection of the betrothal, and between 1508 and 1509 the marriage was looking increasingly unlikely to take place. Then, however, the death of Henry VII in April 1509 suddenly freed the jam: the new king, **Henry VIII**, announced his intention to proceed with the marriage plans, and the couple were wed in Greenwich, near **London**, in June 1509.

The marriage got off to a promising start and there was a series of pregnancies, all, though, ending in miscarriages, stillbirths, or early postnatal deaths, until, that is, the birth and survival of Princess **Mary** in February 1516. Politically, Catherine played some part in Anglo-Spanish diplomacy, but, more importantly, when Henry invaded **France** between June and October 1513, she acted as governor of England and, when James IV of **Scotland** (1473–1513) decided to take advantage of Henry's absence and invade England, she was closely involved in the military preparations that led to the crushing defeat of the Scots at Flodden, in Northumberland, northeast England, in September 1513. That was in fact a high point in Catherine's governmental career in England, though in subsequent years, and following the accession of her nephew **Charles V** as king of Castile and Aragon in 1516 and his election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, Catherine was a spokeswoman for the **Habsburg** and Spanish interest in England.

Catherine's regal role was particularly developed in the field of patronage and education, in which she paid visits to both universities, Oxford and Cambridge, and provided scholarships for needy students: she won praise from two leading humanists, her fellow Spaniard **Juan Luis Vives** and **Desiderius Erasmus**. Naturally, she took a close interest in the education of Mary and sponsored the production of a work by Vives on **women's** education.

It was from 1527 that anxieties over the legitimacy of her marriage to Henry began to resurface. Catherine was now 42 years old and the king and queen may have already ceased sexual relations. Henry had found a new love in **Anne Boleyn**, and if his marriage had not by now produced the male heir whose arrival and survival Henry considered to be vital to the future stability of the Tudor state, it was unlikely henceforward to do so. Indeed, the king was coming to believe that this situation was the result of a malediction, for the

Book of Leviticus backed up its own prohibition on a man's marrying his brother's widow with the warning in chapter 20, verse 21, that the couple "shall be childless." This was, not, of course, the condition Henry and Catherine were in, but such was Henry's desperation to have a son that the preliminaries of an investigation into the roots of his apparently doomed marriage were launched in April 1527, when the king was summoned before **Thomas Wolsey** and Archbishop William Warham (1450?–1532) of Canterbury to justify the legality of his marriage. When Henry told Catherine in June of his desire for a separation, she wrote to Charles V to demand the adjudication of the case in Rome—where the **sack** of the city by the emperor's troops in May and the imprisonment of **Clement VII** would have made it impossible for the **pope** to deliver any verdict save one favorable to Charles's aunt.

Legal verdicts on the matter were now being delivered. The queen's case was that, since her marriage to Arthur had not been consummated and she had not been under canon law his wife, she had been legally free to marry Henry, who knew he had married her as a virgin (and that the dispensation of Julius II, based on the assumption that intercourse had taken place between Arthur and Catherine, had not in fact been necessary).

Freed from imprisonment in December 1527, Pope Clement was politically no freer than he had been as a captive to annul Henry's marriage to Catherine, for the emperor, ever protective of his Habsburg family's interest everywhere, remained master of Italy and of Rome. The following year saw the formal transfer of the case to England itself, to be heard by Wolsey and his fellow legate Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio (or Campeggi, 1474–1539), the latter having instructions to delay the case or find alternatives to an annulment. Opinion in the country, especially among women, was reported running strongly in Catherine's favor, to the king's alarm.

At the end of May 1529 the court presided over by Campeggio and Wolsey convened at Blackfriars in London, the queen's position being that the case should be tried in **Rome**. In June she appeared before the legates alongside the king, who outlined his case and to whom she knelt, insisting on her wifely honor and fidelity over the course of two decades. She then disobeyed the court's order to remain and a few days later was declared in contempt. The court was adjourned by the legates in July.

There followed an odd interval in which Catherine continued to reside at court, while the king spent his time with Boleyn and each side gathered legal ammunition. Henry turned to the House of Lords, the upper house of Parliament, as well as to the English clergy and the Continental universities for judgements in his favor, while Catherine targeted the pope—who in January 1531 ordered Henry not to remarry, and in the following month proposed a new hearing in some neutral location. The king and queen met for the last time in July 1531; Catherine was now also separated from her daughter for the remainder of her life.

In January 1533 Henry married the pregnant Anne Boleyn, and in April two leading peers attended Catherine with the official news of the Boleyn marriage and a demand that she renounce the title of queen. In the following month the new archbishop of Canterbury, **Thomas Cranmer**, called her to an ecclesiastical court and on her refusal declared her to be in contempt and judged her marriage to the king null and void, since she had been fully wedded to Arthur and her subsequent marriage with Henry was against the law of God.

Catherine's position remained that she was queen (not "princess dowager," as preferred by Henry), that she would accept only a papal verdict and that she would give no endorsement to rebellion or treason against the crown. Then, in March 1534, Rome did speak, confirming the validity of Catherine's marriage to the king. Catherine continued to see Charles V's ambassador from time to time and during 1536 pressed Pope **Paul III** to deliver the excommunication that the king's conduct deserved, in her eyes. The end came at her last home, Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire in the south Midlands, in January 1536, of an unidentifiable ailment, and Catherine of Aragon was buried at Peterborough Abbey in the same month.

CATHOLIC REFORM. Awareness of the urgency of reform, in "head and members," gripped much of Catholic Europe between the 15th and 16th centuries, paving the way for its implementation in the course of the **Counter-Reformation**. In theory and practice, *reformatio* meant a reconvergence between the life of the Church and its own proper pattern—its *forma*—embedded in its founding charter, the New Testament. Catholic reform was thus a process of restoration. Two crucial categories were papal reform and diocesan reform.

Papal reform got under way with the return of the papacy to **Rome** following the papal residence in Avignon near **France** (1309–77) and the Great Schism in the papacy from 1378 to 1417. Papal restoration began with Martin V (r. 1417–31) and continued under such of his successors as Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47), Nicholas V (r. 1447–55), Calixtus III (r. 1455–58), Pius II (r. 1458–64), Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), and Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92).

Over the course of decades of restitution key ingredients were: the restoration of the Roman papacy's primacy in the Church and the reaffirmation of the prestige of the city of Rome as the see of Peter; a renewed emphasis on the papacy's liturgical and devotional leadership of the Church; papal encouragement of the religious orders to commit themselves to observance of their rules; and recognition of the papacy's duty to support scholarship and the arts in the service of religion. In the reigns of Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) and Julius II (r. 1502–13) the papacy may have lost sight of its mission to the world, amid concern with the advancing the **popes'** families and with power politics and artistic patronage pursued for the sake of self-advertisement. However, the rehabilitation of the papacy was resumed under Pope **Adrian VI**, saw key initiatives under Pope **Paul III**, including the summoning of the **Council of Trent** and the foundation of the **Society of Jesus**, and reached further high points in pontificates such as those of Pope **Pius V** and Pope **Gregory XIII**.

Given that the diocese is the basic integer of the quality and effectiveness of the Catholic Church, renewal of these units, both before and during the opening stages of the Protestant Reformation, was of vital concern, and can be traced across Europe in key locations. In Italy, Antonino Pierozzi (1389–1459), as archbishop of Florence (Firenze), in central Italy, provided a blueprint of diocesan overhaul that was later to be taken up by the likes of **Gian Matteo Giberti** and **Carlo Borromeo** in the 16th century. In **England**, as bishop of Rochester, near **London**, **John Fisher** manifested a model of sanctity in the person of the bishop, while in **France**, **Guillaume Briçonnet** put the education of the **laity** at the center of his diocesan reform program in Meaux, east of **Paris**. One of the best-known and most comprehensive schemes of pre-Reformation diocesan reform was that implemented in **Spain's** primatial see of Toledo by its archbishop **Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros**. *See also* CLERGY, EDUCATION OF; CLERGY, REGULAR; *CONSILIMUM . . . DE*

EMENDANDA ECCLESIA; CONTARINI, GASPARO; ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS; LATERAN COUNCIL; MORE, THOMAS; ORATORY OF DIVINE LOVE; POLE, REGINALD.

CECIL, WILLIAM, FIRST BARON BURGHLEY (1520–1598).

William Cecil was born in September 1520 or 1521, the son of a landowner of Welsh descent, living in Lincolnshire, eastern **England**. William Cecil attended grammar schools in Stamford and Grantham, both in Lincolnshire, and joined the Cambridge college of St. John's, with its humanist curriculum, in 1535, but did not take a degree. In 1541 he went on to legal studies at Gray's Inn in **London**, and married Mary Cheke (1514–1543) and, following Mary's death in 1545, Mildred Cooke (1504–1576).

Cecil began what was to be a lifelong career in public service with his appointment in 1541 to the office of chief clerk to the Court of Common Pleas, and he was a Member of Parliament in 1542. With the accession of **Edward VI**, he took service with **Edward Seymour**, sat in Parliament for the Lincolnshire constituency of Stamford in 1545, and in 1547 was involved in the battle of Musselburgh (or Pinkie, near Edinburgh) against **Scotland**. In 1548 Cecil was promoted to the position of Seymour's secretary but, following the collapse of the latter's political fortunes, he was imprisoned in the fall and winter of 1549–50, only to be released and to rise to be a privy councillor and a secretary of state in September 1550; in the same year he was appointed surveyor to Princess **Elizabeth**.

Cecil formed a close alliance with Somerset's successor, **John Dudley**, and was knighted on October 1551. He was involved in discussions on the development of a Protestant system in England, but made his own preparations for the death of Edward and succession of **Mary I**: after her accession, he largely retired from government, though he sat in Parliament, for Lincolnshire, in 1553, and was called in to arrange for **Reginald Pole**'s arrival in England and also undertook diplomatic work, involving a visit to the **Low Countries**. Even so, he remained under suspicion as a possible focus of Protestant opposition to the government.

Immediately on her accession, Elizabeth made Cecil secretary of state, and he proceeded to exploit the potential of this key office at the heart of the government. He played a central role in the reintroduction of a Protestant religious settlement, through parliamentary

legislation in the **Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity**, and took part in diplomatic and military efforts concerning **France** and Scotland. The 1560 Treaty of Edinburgh advanced Cecil's vision of a Protestant England secure in the friendship of a **Reformed** Scotland.

In 1563 Elizabeth almost died of smallpox and the issue of the succession in the event of her death now pressed itself on the minds of Cecil and much of the political nation, since her heir apparent was the Catholic **Mary Queen of Scots**. Cecil became a leading advocate of a marriage that would seal the succession in the direct Tudor line.

In 1568 the succession issue took a more urgent and dangerous turn when Mary Queen of Scots escaped from Scotland to seek refuge in England: the asylum-seeker was also claimant to her host's throne and a potential and, soon, actual focus for plots to overturn Elizabeth's rule, a problem that loomed larger with a plan in 1569 to marry her to the English Catholic Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (b. 1536). When this marriage design changed its shape into a Catholic rising in the north—the Revolt of the Northern Earls of 1569—it was followed by Pope **Pius V's** bull of **excommunication** and deposition of Elizabeth, *Regnans in Excelsis* of February 1570. The revolt was, however, suppressed, and Norfolk was executed in 1572; the government had survived this crisis, and recognition of his role came Cecil's way. Made Baron Burghley in 1571, in 1572 he was appointed lord treasurer, as well as a knight of the Order of the Garter.

In the decade to come, matters in the Low Countries demanded attention and in 1574 England provided some help to the Netherlands rebels against Spanish rule. In the 1580s mounting difficulties for the anti-Spanish cause in the Netherlands—the assassination of the leader of the resistance, William I (Willem) of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1533–1584), and escalating conquests by Philip II's general, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1546–1592)—required more direct English involvement to stem the Spanish advance. Burghley overcame his own reservations about the political and financial costs of involvement in that theater, and the Treaty of Nonsuch of 1585 committed England to intervention.

Meanwhile, danger on the domestic front took the form of a plot headed by the Catholic Francis Throckmorton (1544–1584) to assassinate Elizabeth, leading Cecil to implement a “Bond of Association,” which pledged Englishmen to kill any person putting forward

a claim to the throne following the queen's murder. There followed a fresh conspiracy against Elizabeth in 1586, by another Catholic, Anthony Babington (1561–1586), this time with the complicity of Mary Queen of Scots. Cecil managed the trial of Mary and pressed for her execution, which took place in February 1587, undergoing the queen's temporary displeasure at the killing of a cousin and an anointed sovereign. Mary's death and the stepping up of English military intervention in the Low Countries under the command of **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**, increased the likelihood of a Spanish invasion of England itself, and Burghley was in charge of the financial, naval, and military preparations to oppose the **Armada** of 1588.

Following the defeat of the Armada and the deaths of both Leicester and **Sir Francis Walsingham**, what might otherwise have been an unimpeded Cecil hegemony under Burghley and his son and political heir, Robert Cecil (c. 1563–1612), was challenged by the rivalry of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex (1566–1601), offering a different foreign-policy vision from Cecil's—one of greater English assertiveness in Europe. However, before Burghley's death in April 1598, the result of Essex's defiance to the queen was to swing power back to the Cecil connection.

Few aspects of government policy or administration escaped Burghley's attention, through decades of duty as the queen's servant. He was an assiduous parliamentary manager and electioneer, a careful manager of the public accounts, balancing an inadequate fiscal income against the rising demands of foreign policy and defense; he was watchful over England's economic future; he backed anglicization in **Ireland**, and, for himself and his dynasty, he built up an imposing regional political power base. Cecil also found time to write in defense of state policy, and in his 1583 work, *The Execution of Justice in England*, defended the anti-Catholic penal laws that he himself had promoted.

In religion Cecil was a committed Protestant, dedicated to raising up a nation schooled in the gospel, while insisting on the need for a uniform ecclesiastical system devolved downward from the royal supremacy through the ladder of **episcopacy**. At the same time, his care for due process of English law made him suspicious of the legality of the disciplinary measures pursued by **John Whitgift**, and he became marginalized from religious policy late in the reign.

Robert Cecil took over as secretary of state in 1596, continuing in office under James I (1567–1625), and handling the crisis over the **Gunpowder Plot**. *See also* SPAIN.

CELIBACY. *See* MARRIAGE.

CHARLES V, EMPEROR (1500–1558). Charles of **Habsburg** was born in Ghent (Gent, Gand) in Flanders in the southern **Low Countries** in February 1500, the second of six children and the eldest son of Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Archduke of **Austria**, known as “the Fair” or “the Handsome” (Philippe, known as *le Bel* or *el Hermoso*, b. 1478), son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519) and his wife Mary of Burgundy (Marie de Bourgogne, 1457–1482), and of Philip’s wife Juana (1479–1555), daughter of the Spanish sovereigns Isabella, known as “the Catholic” (Isabel, known as *la Católica*) of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand II, known as “the Catholic” (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*) of Aragon (1452–1516).

Insanity took hold of Charles’s mother following her husband’s death in 1506, and the prince was brought up, a French-speaker, in Mechelen (Malines) in Brabant in the southern Low Countries under the care of his aunt Margaret of Austria (Marguerite d’Autriche, Duchess of Savoy, 1480–1530), regent of the provinces, and was tutored by the nobleman Guillaume de Croÿ, seigneur de Chièvres (1458–1521) and the cleric Adriaan Florenszoon Dedel, later Pope **Adrian VI**. In January 1515, when Charles’s majority was declared, he inherited the authority of a duke of Burgundy, master of the Low Countries, and he took up residence in their capital, Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel). Then, following his grandfather Ferdinand’s death, in March 1516 he was proclaimed king as Charles I of Castile and Aragon and left for **Spain** in the following year, to face Spanish resentment against his circle of advisors from the Low Countries. In January 1519 the death of his other grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, led Charles toward his own imperial election, in June: he was crowned at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), in northwest **Germany** as Charles V in October 1520.

Charles’s arrival as Holy Roman Emperor coincided with the gathering momentum of the crisis around **Martin Luther**, and Charles’s first test as a ruler in his German lands came with his presidency over

the **Diet of Worms** that heard Luther's case in April 1521. Charles's response to Luther's declaration expressed his deep Catholic piety, and the **Edict of Worms** in May made Luther and his followers outlaws.

In the same year, **Francis I** declared war, to reopen the conflict between **France** and the Habsburg territorial ring surrounding it: at issue were conflicting dynastic and territorial claims on France's eastern front—since by descent Charles was titular duke of the French province of Burgundy—but also, crucially, in **Italy**, where Charles's claims to the southern Kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the northern Duchy of **Milan** were contested by Francis. Following Charles's invasion of Provence in southeast France in 1524, Francis's crushing defeat by the emperor at Pavia, near Milan, in February 1525 (and the king's subsequent imprisonment) resulted in the Treaty of Madrid, 1526, which confirmed Charles's Italian victory, even though the situation over French Burgundy was not resolved. The **Sack of Rome** ratified the verdicts of Pavia and Madrid, and the 1529 Peace of Cambrai ratified Charles's Italian claims, though Burgundy remained French. Charles's coronation by Pope **Clement VII** at Bologna, northern Italy, in February 1530 provided ritual acknowledgment of his hold over **Italy**.

Yet Francis I refused to acquiesce in Charles's hegemony, and his actions—alliances with the emperor's enemies the **Turks** and the German Lutheran princes—should be seen as attempts to check an otherwise overwhelming Habsburg ascendancy. The Peace of Crépy of 1544 endorsed the two treaties of Madrid and Cambrai in establishing Charles V's mastery of Italy, as well as confirming his overlordship of the Low Countries. The 1559 Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis** should be viewed as a posthumous diplomatic recognition of the fact that under Charles V the Habsburg machine had decisively overtaken France as the leading power in western Europe.

Naturally, Charles V took a close interest in the region of his birth, the Low Countries. There his policies were directed at the exclusion of Lutheran influences from neighboring Germany, the enlargement of territories in the dynasty's hands, the identification of the region as a dynastic, political, and administrative entity, distinct from both France and the **Holy Roman Empire**, and the steady assertion of centralizing authoritarian government, eating away at the provinces' constitutional and devolved political traditions.

Charles's determination to exclude what he thought of as the virus of heresy from his ancestral territories in the Low Countries saw an anti-Lutheran drive in the early 1520s, culminating in the burning in Brussels in 1523 of two **Augustinians** holding Lutheran opinions. For the remainder of his reign, Charles continued to issue antiheretical edicts in the Low Countries, banning translations of Scripture; there was a savage campaign against the **Anabaptists**, who were relatively numerous in the provinces.

Charles both added substantially to the Low Countries' territory, especially by conquering a bloc of six lands to build up their northern limits, but also made what he was to leave as 17 provinces distinct from the Empire within their own "circle" (*Kreis*). This measure, passed in 1548, was followed in the next year by a "pragmatic sanction," linking the provinces with Spain. Ruling for the most part indirectly, though his two successive regents, Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary (Marie d'Hongrie, 1505–1558), Charles drove forward the process of converting the Low Countries into a monarchical state: in 1540 the crushing of an antitax revolt in the city of his birth, Ghent, enabled him to take decisive steps in the direction of forging a royal absolutism in the provinces.

For much of the 1520s the emperor was engaged with the southern base of his European domains in the twin pillars of Spain and Italy. In the former of those two, his most serious initial challenge arose over the imposition of an alien government headed by men of the Low Countries and it exploded into a revolt of the cities—the *Communeros*—in 1520–22. The remainder of the decade, and of Charles's reign, saw a consolidation of his authority in the peninsula, strongly aided by his marriage to Isabella of **Portugal** (1503–1539) in 1526 and her subsequent skillful governance of his Iberian dominions during his absences. Spain, with its increasing flow of treasure from the New World—Mexico was won in 1519–21, and Peru in 1531–35—and its formidable military prowess, increasingly became the cornerstone of Charles's empire and state system, its firm Catholicism matching his own: the Spanish upbringing and identity of his heir, **Philip II**, gave a clear indication of the hispanicization of Charles's cosmopolitan monarchy.

It was within Germany that Charles faced the most defiant opposition to both his imperial rule and his Catholic faith. He was out of the country for most of the 1520s, a period of rapid Lutheran growth,

and when he returned to his German lands in 1529 his first thought was the reintroduction of a uniform Catholic system and the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The protest against such a policy in the 1529 second **Diet of Speyer** gave Charles notice that he could expect resistance, from powerful, princely, quarters, to any attempt to turn Germany's religious clock back to Catholic time.

The submission of the **Confession of Augsburg** gave **Lutheranism** a further fixed identity, while the formation in February 1531 of the **Schmalkaldic League** was to lead in the longer run to a war of religion, giving Charles a sweeping victory over Lutheran forces at Mühlberg in April 1547, which allowed him to impose the pro-Catholic Augsburg **Interim**. Yet in 1551–22, thanks to the *volte face* of **Moritz of Saxony**, Charles narrowly escaped capture, and deputed **Ferdinand I** to negotiate the Treaty of Passau of 1552, by which the Interims were withdrawn. Also negotiated by Ferdinand, the **Peace of Augsburg** confirmed Germany's division into two religious blocs: it was the aging emperor's greatest failure.

The extent of Charles's domains and cares—the complex juggling of onerous responsibilities—largely explains the patchiness of his achievement. He was, for example, unable to fulfil his medieval crusader's dream of turning back the advance of the Turks on the Danube, even though he took Tunis in North Africa in 1535. He was a would-be Christian world emperor, but survived into a new world of emergent nation-states, of one of which—the Spanish composite kingdom—he was himself ruler. His Catholic faith was part of his medieval inheritance, though he was fully aware of his Church's urgent need, especially in the **Council of Trent**, to remedy its abuses in order to meet the challenges of the new age.

Following his abdication in Brussels in October 1555, Charles retired into a monastery of the Hieronymite Order at Yuste in central Spain, where he died in September 1558. If some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them (*Twelfth Night*, Act 2, Sc. 1), Charles V stands first in their ranks.

CHINA. The Portuguese, who navigated the coast of China in 1513, were to be the initiators of a Catholic mission to that country from the 16th century onward: it was from the Portuguese colony of **Goa** in **India** that **Francis Xavier** set out, dying within sight of his China in 1552. It would take 30 years before a Catholic mission to China was

relaunched, by Xavier's fellow Jesuits, in the persons of the Italian Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Michele Ruggiero (1543–1607), both of whom arrived in the Chinese Empire in 1583: Ricci was admitted to the capital Beijing (Peking) in 1601.

Ricci knew that to make a Western faith acceptable in an ancient and highly sophisticated civilization would require great respect to be shown by the missionaries—about a dozen during his mission—to Chinese culture and tradition, while at the same time they might be able to impress their hosts with something of their own learning. A successful student of classical Chinese language and literature, Ricci became a favorite at the imperial court. While his memory-training device, the “memory palace,” and the clocks that he brought with him enjoyed a vogue, he published a string of works in Chinese—a **catechism** and the treatise “On Friendship” in 1595, and in 1603 *Tianzhu shiyi*—“True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven,” bringing together Western and Chinese philosophy with Christian doctrine. In 1604 he published, again in Chinese, his “Twenty-Five Sayings,” along with a study of ethics; he also translated works of the ancient Greek mathematician Euclid (c. 300 BC). Ricci was, in addition, able to bring together the meditative techniques of Buddhism with those of **Ignatius Loyola's** “Spiritual Exercises.”

Ricci's strategy of acclimatizing Catholicism to Chinese culture extended to deference to its leading philosopher Confucius (K'ung Fu-tse, 551–479 BC), and he recognized the value of Chinese regard for ancestors. Taking on the appearance and persona of a Chinese scholar, Ricci adapted his own religious language to Chinese idioms: “God,” for example, was “Lord of Heaven.”

In the years following his death in 1610—when he was given a state funeral and about 2,500 converts had been made—the strategy of sinification so closely associated with Ricci and his Jesuits was maintained, for the Society of Jesus kept the monopoly over the mission first granted in 1585 by Pope Gregory XIII, and the German Jesuit Johan Adam von Schall von Bell (1591–1666), who arrived in 1622, used his skill as an astronomer to advertise Western science to Chinese intellectuals. However, the Jesuit ascendancy—and the culturally inclusive principles on which it operated—came under attack with the arrival from the Philippines, first (1631), of **Dominican** and then (1633) of **Franciscan** friars—men less receptive to Jesuit

methods, and indeed inclined to see the Jesuits' cultural bridgeheads as surrenders to superstition and idolatry.

Thus, in 1643 the question that came to be known as that of the "Chinese rites" or "Chinese usages"—the half-way-house arrangements to make Catholicism Chinese—was referred to Rome, resulting in the first instance in a decree of 1645 by Pope Innocent X (r. 1644–55) suspending the rites until a final decision was made by the Holy See. More favorable verdicts followed in 1656 and 1659, but the 1715 Bull *Ex Illa Die* of Pope Clement XI (r. 1700–21) required from all Catholic missionaries working in China a solemn vow to abstain from the Chinese rites.

CHURCH MUSIC. By the time of the Reformation, Western Christian church music had reached high levels of beauty, complexity, and variety. A dominant mode of liturgical song that had evolved in the late Middle Ages, especially in **France** and the **Low Countries**, was the polyphonic, or multivoiced, contrapuntal style, containing plural melodies and typically accompanied with equally complex instrumentalization: it was associated with such composers as the Flemish Josquin, or Josse, Deprès (alternately des Prés, or, in Latin, Jodocus [Josquinus] Pratensis, c. 1440–1521/4) and Roland de Lassus (1532–1594) of the Low Countries. Matching the intricate forms of late medieval Gothic architecture in northern Europe, it was a musical form that frequently borrowed from secular tunes and love songs, and its elaborate character required its performance to be undertaken by professional choirs, typically in cathedrals. The choristers would take over the rendition of **Mass** chants such as the *Gloria* from the celebrant, who would announce the opening line, in the ancient "plain song" known as the *cantus firmus*.

Some reformists denounced the style, as did **Desiderius Erasmus**, who complained, "We have introduced an artificial and theatrical music into the church, a bawling and agitation of various voices" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 211). But polyphony did not rule the whole of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical music unchallenged. In **Italy** especially, the earlier medieval, simpler form, variously known as "plain song," "plain chant," and "Gregorian chant" (after the bishop of Rome associated with it, Gregory I, or "the Great" [r. 590–604]), continued to flourish. From the point of view of worship, plain chant's value largely lay in the clarity of its articulation, match-

ing single syllables to individual notes and giving the text primacy over the beauty of the musical variations.

These two rival musical styles still did not entirely control Western church music before the Reformation, for there was also a lively tradition of congregational song, both in Latin, for example with the popular hymn of acclamation of the host in the **eucharist**, *O Salutaris Hostia* (“O Saving Victim”), or in vernaculars such as German, with its rich, late-medieval hymnodic store.

This was the background of ecclesiastical music in which **Martin Luther**—a talented musical performer and composer—was faced with the challenge of devising an appropriate music for the key doctrines of the Reformation. In particular, **justification by faith** and its implications, especially the priesthood of all believers and its concomitant of full congregational involvement in worship, required a liturgy in the vernacular—with appropriate accompanying musical forms of expression and an even stronger emphasis than in the past on congregational singing. Thus in his “Order of Mass and Communion for the Church in Wittenberg” (1523), Luther announced his intention of breaking free from the monopolization of religious music by trained choirs: “I . . . wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass . . . for who doubts originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings or responds to . . . ?” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 214).

True to that message, Luther compiled an extensive congregational hymnody, drawing on the legacy of late medieval German tradition of what were known as *Leisen*—responses—traditionally intoned by the people during Mass or in the course of pilgrimages. He also showed poetic felicity in freely adapting Scripture passages to serve as congregational hymns, the best-known example being his conversion of Psalm 46 which, in the King James version opens “God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble” into what became the anthem of the German Reformation, *Ein Feste Burg ist unser Gott*—“A safe stronghold is our God . . .,” composed in 1529.

It is worth adding that Luther, an admirer of the work of Deprès, retained a strong affection for polyphony, which he called “Natural music sharpened and polished by art” (ibid., p. 215), and for the use of trained choirs, especially in the appropriate ambience of princely courts such as that of the Electorate of **Saxony** at Torgau. The “Booklet of Spiritual Hymns” (1524), compiled by the master of music at

the Saxon court chapel, contained 38 choral polyphonic settings, 24 of them by Luther: Luther made his own powerful contribution to the subsequent efflorescence of German church music in the hands of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750).

A reaction against the alleged excesses of polyphony characterized some of the earliest exponents of **Catholic reform**, such as **Gian Matteo Giberti**, who forbade all music except plain song in the churches in his diocese. As with Luther, though, it was a doctrinal imperative that directed the thinking of the **Council of Trent** on the topic of music, for in its decree of the 22nd session in September 1562 that the Mass was the same sacrifice of Calvary and thus the “holiest of all things,” Trent insisted on expunging from its musical accompaniment everything that was unworthy of its sanctity—all that was “lascivious or impure” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, pp. 60–61)—such as borrowed love-song tunes. Securing implementation of the Council’s parallel insistence on regularity of musical pace and on clarity of delivery was assisted by the survival in Italy of the Gregorian tradition of plain chant, with its stress on measured tempo and intelligibility.

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, appointed by Pope **Pius IV**, relied on Gregorian styles, and in the *Missa Papae Marcelli*, or “Requiem Mass for Pope Marcellus,” written in 1555 and published in 1567, he conveyed the same sense of the primacy of meaning that the Council of Trent also sought. That said, the undoubted aesthetic attractions of polyphonic music could hardly be ignored, especially in the light of the quest in the **Counter-Reformation** Church for a popular appeal through the cultivation of artistic beauty—the **Jesuits** for example, gradually overcame **Ignatius Loyola**’s objections to lavish Mass settings—and new generations of Italian Catholic composers achieved reconciliation between the two traditions as, for example, did Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) in his Mass and Vespers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of 1610.

Huldrych Zwingli, though he played music well, expunged it completely—as an idolatrous distraction to the adoration of God—from the worship of the **Zürich** Church, and his ban was upheld by **Heinrich Bullinger**, though it was finally swept away in 1598, under pressure from congregations. More moderate than Zwingli in this regard, **John Calvin** accepted the propriety of simple, nonpolyphonic song during services, centered on the chanting of the Psalms by the

congregation. Further, liberty over the use or nonuse of music was one of the *adiaphora* over which Christian freedom and good sense should be exercised. European **Calvinism** was to find a composer of genius in Clément Marot (c. 1497–1544), who rendered the Psalms into French and who also provided musical models for other Calvinist churches, for example in **Hungary**.

The Church of **England** managed to find room for two streams of church music. On the one hand, there were splendid performances delivered by professionals in the cathedrals and encouraged by **Elizabeth** with her patronage of the fine singing in the chapel royal and in Westminster Abbey, and on the other hand, the parish churches were familiar with the monophonic congregational rendition of metrical Psalms, after the style of **Geneva** and, from about 1570 without organ accompaniment, though using the natural rhythms of speech. In the **Dutch Republic** organ music was popular, especially among urban elites.

CHURCH ORDERS. The Catholic system of Church orders, from the Latin *ordo*, meaning “rank,” separated the clerical or priestly estate—*ordo sacerdotalis*, the “order of priesthood”—from the **laity**. Within the clerical order, there were eight subdivisions, rising upward through the minor degrees of door-keeper, reader, acolyte, and exorcist, and the “greater” or “sacred” group, made up of subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop. Inauguration into the priesthood by the **sacrament** of ordination—“holy orders”—established the crucial dividing line between laity and a priestly order exclusively empowered to celebrate **Mass**.

One of the most radical features of the whole set of ecclesiastical changes implemented by **Martin Luther** arose over the issue of church orders. Since the just were saved by **faith**, all faithful Christians enjoyed a priestly status, so there was no separate sacerdotal order, even though some men were called to exercise a pastoral ministry of service in the church. In 1523 Luther published two works advocating the choice by congregations of their pastors.

Priestly ordination was one of the four traditional **sacraments** annulled by Luther in his 1520 tract “The Babylonian Captivity of the Church.” The Mass was not a sacrifice, since Christ’s death alone sufficed for salvation, so, again, there could be no question of a sacrificing priesthood. In the course of the 1520s Luther’s earlier

democratic notions of clerical appointment gave way to a heightened role for the ruler in the overall governance of the Church, as in his and **Philipp Melanchthon**'s "Instructions for the Visitors to Parishes in Electoral Saxony" of 1528.

John Calvin's system of church order, set out in **Geneva's Ecclesiastical Ordinances** of 1541, displayed an orderly coherence, which Calvin saw as being validated by the New Testament. There were four types of ministry, subdivided by function: pastors for the ministry of word and sacrament; doctors—Calvin considered himself to be one of these—to teach the **laity**; elders responsible for discipline; and deacons for welfare and poor relief. While the leading doctors and the pastors formed Geneva's Venerable Company of Pastors (*vénérable compagnie des pasteurs*), the Consistory (*consistoire*) brought together the elders and pastors in the exercise of discipline and pastoral oversight. The secular authorities had a voice in the choice of elders, but the pastorate was in effect self-selecting, though with allowance for checks by leading city councillors or sometimes by members of congregations.

The Geneva church order also lent itself to a federal structure of local presbyteries rising to provincial gatherings and then to national assemblies—the kind of arrangement, for example, assembled in the **Low Countries** by the Synod of Emden in 1571. **Scotland**, especially from c. 1574, acquired a presbyterial order, with its pinnacle in the General Assembly of the Kirk. **Thomas Cartwright** was an advocate of that kind of church order, believed to be enshrined in the New Testament, and though post-Reformation **England** retained its **episcopacy**, and the ministers of its Church were legally known as "priests," in the 1640s Parliament in England legislated for the introduction of a presbyterian church settlement into the country, an experiment ended with the restoration of episcopacy from 1660. *See also* ANGLICANISM; CALVINISM; LUTHERANISM.

CHURCH PAPISTS. In Elizabethan **England**, the **Act of Uniformity** of 1559 imposed a fine of 12 pence—twice a laborer's daily wage—for each absence, on Sundays and holy days, on the part of all those who, "having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent," failed to "endeavour themselves to resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed" (Stephenson and Marcham, eds., *Sources of English Constitutional History*, pp. 347–48). The use of financial

penalties in order to compel attendance obviously encouraged the practice of being present if only to avoid the fines, even though some of Catholic convictions showed their attitudes to the Protestant services by falling asleep, interrupting the minister or by reading Catholic devotional books, or attended without receiving the **eucharist**.

The Catholic Church's view that such evasions represented betrayal of fundamental principles and were sinful was propounded in 1562 by a committee of the **Council of Trent**, and in 1566 Pope **Pius V** denounced them. The Lancashire priest **William Allen** strove to discourage Catholics' attendance at the services of the Church of England, and in 1566 his fellow Lancastrian Catholic cleric Laurence Vaux (1519–1585) brought to England Pius's decree to the effect (in Vaux's words) that "all suche as . . . be present at the communion or service nowe used in churches in Englande . . . Dow not walke in the state of Salvation." (McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, p. 58, note 1). The firm line taken by these two Lancashire men has been seen as in part responsible for the strong survival of Catholicism in their county following the Reformation.

What Vaux denied was severity or rigor on the **pope's** part was reiterated by **Robert Parsons** in *A Brief Discours Contayning Certaine Reasons Why Catholiques Refuse to Goe to Church* (1580). However, fresh anti-Catholic legislation in 1581—the Act to Retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their Due Obedience, which set astronomic fines of £20 per month on all those over 16 refusing to attend parish church—endangered the survival of the property of the vitally important Catholic landed aristocracy. The statute further encouraged church papistry, as well as a supplementary device whereby male heads of families, in order to conserve estates by avoiding the fines, attended the worship of the Church of England, while their wives and other female relatives maintained illegal covert Catholic worship at home. That practice has in turn been seen as contributing significantly to giving the post-Reformation English Catholic community a female leadership and tone.

CITIES AND TOWNS. From its earliest days, in **Germany**, the Protestant Reformation had a special appeal in towns and cities, in part because their religious cultures were fostered by large numbers of urban churches, including those of the religious orders, and also by a plentiful provision of preaching, much of it paid for by lay and

governmental endowments. In **Strassburg**, the preacher **Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg** raised levels of religious awareness in the **laity**, while at the same time not sparing the abuses of the Church. Urban anticlericalism in places such as Strassburg, fueled by resentment at the clergy's excess numbers, economic privileges, and sometimes defective moral and educational standards, also created a reception area for Reformation doctrines to enter, while in **Nuremberg** the spiritual writings of **Martin Luther's** mentor, **Johann von Staupitz**, reached an influential group of individuals who were to be instrumental in the adoption of **Lutheranism** by the city.

First in time in what we may term "the urban Reformation" came the changes introduced under the leadership of **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** during Luther's absence from Wittenberg between April 1521 and March 1522, and although Luther found their implementation too hasty, these reforms both bore the imprint of his doctrines and formed some of the unfolding pattern for the civic Reformation, including the distribution of the **eucharist** to the **laity** under the forms of both bread and wine, **social welfare** reforms, and marriage of the clergy.

Apart from the princely city of Wittenberg, civic Reformations got under way in the 1520s in what were in effect the self-governing urban republics—the "imperial cities," or *Reichsstädte*—of the **Holy Roman Empire**. Under the tutelage of **Martin Bucer**, Strassburg laid the foundation stones of its Reformation in 1523, leading to a series of gradual alterations, culminating in 1529 with the closure of the monasteries and the abolition of the **Mass**. Nuremberg, where the city government controlled church life, introduced innovations, guided by the preacher **Andreas Osiander**, with a high point reached in 1525, when the liturgy in German was introduced.

In the large number of urban Reformations in the German Lands, varying proportions of responsibility for implementing change were taken by several social, political, and religious forces—city councils, the populace at large, and preachers. The end result of the process, though, was the Protestantization, especially in the course of the 1520s and 1530s, of many, if not most, of the Holy Roman Empire's leading cities, for example: Magdeburg in 1524; Bremen, Braunschweig, and Hamburg by 1528; Lübeck and Lüneburg in 1531; Ulm in 1528–31; Frankfurt-am-Main in 1532; and Augsburg in 1533–34.

If in Germany the Reformation was largely carried forward by urban forces, alongside the territorial princes who adopted Lutheranism, it was no less so in neighboring **Switzerland**, where in **Zürich** under **Huldrych Zwingli**'s supervision serial religious change, regulated by the council, was brought in between 1523 and 1525, though the pace of alteration was slower in such other major cities of the Confederation as Bern (Berne) in 1523–32 and Basel (Bâle, Basle) in 1523–29. Beyond Switzerland, **Geneva**, led by **John Calvin**, and monitored by the **Ecclesiastical Ordinances** of 1541, joined the ranks of Protestant cities, and it was Calvin's disciples in **Scotland** who seized the initiative in the towns, such as Ayr, Dundee, Edinburgh, Perth, and St. Andrews, leading to the nation's initial Reformation in 1559–60. In Scotland's southern neighbor, **England**, **London**, partly through the influence of its immigrant "Stranger Churches," drove the pace of the country's religious change, while in the English provinces, urban centers such as Colchester in Essex, southeast England, and Manchester in Lancashire, northwest England, acted as forward posts of **Protestantism**.

Nor was the influence of the city confined to Protestant Europe. The people of **Paris** were one of the most dynamic forces promoting militant Catholicism in the French **Wars of Religion**, especially in the 1580s. Catholicism's own center was a city, **Rome**, from which the **pope** addressed the "city and the world"—*Publicatio urbi et orbi facta*—and the architectural restoration of that city guided the program of popes such as **Sixtus V**. Likewise, if Catholic dioceses were to be reformed, the momentum to do so had to come from their urban nuclei, such as **Milan** under **Carlo Borromeo** and Verona under **Gian Matteo Giberti**, while **Venice** acted as a fulcrum for **evangelical** piety. The introduction of **Protestantism** and the transformation of Catholicism in early modern Europe were largely urban events.

CLEMENT VII (GIULIO DE' MEDICI), POPE (1478–1534).

Giulio de' Medici was born in Florence (Firenze), central **Italy**, in May 1478, the posthumous illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici (1453–1478), younger brother of the 15th-century head of the Medici clan, Lorenzo (1449–1492). Following Giuliano's murder in a factional feud in the 1478 Pazzi Conspiracy in Florence, Giulio was brought up by his uncle Lorenzo, who had narrowly escaped assassination in the plot. Lorenzo's younger son, Giovanni, was elected

pope as **Leo X** in 1513 and appointed his cousin archbishop of Florence and cardinal; from 1517, as vice-chancellor, Giulio oversaw papal policy-making and relations with **Charles V**. A lengthy electoral conclave upon the death of **Adrian VI** resulted in Cardinal de' Medici's election as pope in November 1523, taking the title of Clement VII.

The second Medici pope, honest and hard-working as he was, saw the world largely in terms of dynasty, of the interests of Florence, and of the balance of power in Italy in order to secure the continued independence and territorial integrity of the Papal States. Yet, unaware of the real strength of Charles V and of the relative weakness of **Francis I**, in both 1524 and in 1526 in the **League of Cognac** he sought alliances with **France** which, in 1527, brought Charles's army into Italy and, with the **Sack of Rome**, resulted in the subjugation of the papacy to the emperor that it was Clement's goal to avert. The lowest point in Clement's pontificate came following the sack with his six-month captivity by Charles's army, his surrender of vital papal cities, his abandonment of diplomatic independence, and his payment of massive reparations. He lived away from Rome for most of 1528, formed an agreement with Charles in 1529, and then ritually acknowledged Charles's hegemony by crowning him Holy Roman Emperor, in Bologna, northern Italy, in February 1530. His reward was the restoration of his family's rule in Florence, henceforward, though, as **Habsburg** clients.

Clement's pontificate saw some of the most serious losses to Catholicism in Europe of the whole 16th century—**Denmark**, **England**, much of **Germany** and **Switzerland**, and **Sweden**. To set against that, his reign witnessed the beginning of the process by which the Catholic Church was to compensate for losses in Europe with an establishment in the New World and the arrival of 12 **Franciscan** friars as missionaries in South America in 1524. At the same time, in indicating his wish to be succeeded by the cardinal who became the reforming **Paul III**, Clement prepared the way for an era of **Catholic reform** foreshadowed by his approval of the **Barnabites**, **Capuchins**, and **Theatines**.

CLERGY, EDUCATION OF. In pre-Reformation Europe clerical education could be a hit-and-miss affair, ranging from the highest levels in **Scholasticism** and **humanism** in some individuals to the

virtual or actual illiteracy of some parish priests. At the same time, an undercurrent of awareness of the clerical order as a specialist occupation, requiring, like other professions, prior training, was reflected in initiatives such as **Johann Geiler von Kayzersberg's** scheme to train an elite of preachers, confessors, and ecclesiastical administrators.

Martin Luther's concept of **church order** envisaged the clerical estate as one of congregational service, especially the ministry of the word, delivered in preaching, thus requiring professional training for the clerical calling. The universities could play a key part in clerical education, and **Philipp Melanchthon** undertook the reform of the University of Wittenberg to fit it for this purpose, as well as remodeling the academies in such places as Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, in eastern Germany, and Leipzig in Ducal **Saxony**.

Protestantism's most systematic address to clerical education came with the setting up of the Academy in **Geneva** in June 1559. (The building, standing to this day, was finished in the year of Calvin's death, 1564.) **Théodore Beza** was the first rector. Of the two divisions of the institution, the *schola privata*, or secondary school, and the *schola publica*, or college, the latter was the university-level branch, teaching theology, philosophy, and the Christian humanist program involving Greek and Hebrew. A fully international institution, with an enrollment of 300 by 1564, the "public school" sent out streams of alumni to broadcast the **Reformed** message across the Continent.

In the Catholic world, leading pioneers of clerical education were **Gian Matteo Giberti**, who opened a training college for 25 future priests; **Reginald Pole** who, under **Mary**, set up priestly training colleges alongside the cathedrals of **England**; and **Ignatius Loyola**, who established the Jesuit Roman College in 1551, the "model for Jesuit colleges" (Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700*, p. 137). The **Council of Trent** coordinated training initiatives. First came its decree of the fifth session, June 1546, *Super Lectione et Praedicatione Sacrae Scripturae*—"Concerning the Study and Preaching of Holy Scripture"—instructing bishops to remedy the poor theological education of many parish priests by setting up Scripture classes for clerics already in post, in order to qualify them to preach on Sundays and holy days. Then, more important, because they envisaged extensive and intensive *preliminary* and preparatory

vocational training, were the rulings of the Council's 23rd session of July 1563, "Directions for Establishing Seminaries for Clerics," which required the setting up of such institutions in all dioceses without their own universities and empowered bishops to tap clerical revenues in order to finance them: even so, the expense of establishing and running these bodies delayed their spread, so that in **France**, for example, the golden age of their creation was in the mid-17th century.

Widely regarded as Trent's most important reform decree, the one setting up seminaries was to have enormous implications for the Catholic priesthood over the next several centuries, gradually producing a priesthood trained to fixed standards of morality, commitment, and of education appropriate to the needs of parochial ministry: the post-Reformation English Catholic community, for example, looked largely to **William Allen's** seminary at **Douai** for its ongoing supply of priests.

CLERGY, REGULAR. Members of the Catholic Church's regular, or "religious," orders were intensely involved in both the main forms of Reformation, Protestant and Catholic, in the 16th century.

In terms of its clerical leadership, and beginning with the **Augustinian** "Eremit" (or friar) **Martin Luther**, the early Protestant Reformation can be said to have been generated to a considerable extent by members of the regular orders: **Ambrosius Blarer** was a Benedictine, **Martin Bucer** a **Dominican**, and **Johannes Bugenhagen** a Premonstratensian Canon, while other civic reformers were recruited from the **Franciscan** and **Augustinian** orders. When monks and friars, as well as nuns such as **Katharina von Bora**, adopted Protestantism they were in the most radical way abjuring their monasticism, for the central Reformation tenet of **justification by faith** alone without good works ran counter to the whole *raison d'être* of the religious, which was to win merit in God's sight through striving for it. Luther himself, in "The Judgement of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows," completed in November 1521, began the process of distancing Protestantism from **monasticism**, and in the course of the 16th century the monk and the friar, depicted as fat and avaricious, became stock villain types in Lutheran pictorial propaganda.

Nor did the religious orders enjoy complete affection in reformist Catholic circles, where there was a widespread feeling that they

urgently needed reform. Thus in its great sweep of reform legislation in its 25th and final session in December 1563, the **Council of Trent** approved a decree of 22 chapters “Concerning Regulars and Nuns” (*De Regularibus et Monialibus*). Far, though, from being opposed in principle to monasticism, the Council acclaimed its high value when it was conducted according to its own ethos: “how great a splendor and usefulness accrues to the Church of God from monasteries properly regulated” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 68).

That guiding ideal meant that prospective nuns should be interviewed as to their voluntary choice of the religious life and that, following on their profession, they should live enclosed lives, that the “mendicant” friars should observe holy poverty, and that monks should stay in their monasteries. The rulings in effect vindicated the late-medieval movement of monastic reform known as “Observant,” which upheld the simple principle that regulars should live according to their rules (in Latin *regulae*). In turn, the growing vindication of the “Observant” ideal gave rise in the 16th century to such key revivalist drives as the **Carmelite** reform of **Teresa of Ávila** and **John of the Cross** and the **Capuchin** initiative launched by Matteo da Bascio.

Meanwhile new needs such as the distress of warfare in **Italy** throughout the first half of the 16th century stimulated the creation of a novel variant of the religious life, the “clerks regular”—pastorally active priests under religious vows and including the **Barnabites**, the **Jesuits**, the **Somaschi**, and the **Theatines**.

COCHLAEUS OR COCHLÄUS, JOHANNES (DOBENECK, JOHANNES) (1479–1552). Cochlaeus was born into a family of farmers in Wendelstein, a few miles south of **Nuremberg**, and from 1504 studied arts and theology at Cologne (Köln), northwest **Germany**, latinizing his surname to the word for a spiral staircase, *cochlea* (in German, *Wendeltreppe*). He was principal of the Nuremberg school of St. Lawrence from 1510 and an advocate of ecclesiastical reform, associated with the circle of the humanist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) and he published textbooks, including *Germania*, a wide-ranging account of his country focusing on Nuremberg’s central role within the **Holy Roman Empire**.

Cochlaeus next traveled to **Italy**, where in 1517 he was awarded the degree of doctor of theology in Ferrara (in the north of the country)

and was ordained in **Rome**. Following his return to Germany in 1519, between 1520 and 1525 he served as dean in Frankfurt-am-Main, central Germany, acting as an assistant to the papal legate Girolamo Aleandro (Hieronymus Aleander, 1480–1542) at the **Diet of Worms**. In 1528 Cochlaeus entered the service of the religiously conservative Duke Georg, known as “*der Bärtige*,” (George, known as “the Bearded,” 1471–1539) of Ducal **Saxony** as court chaplain, succeeding the polemical antagonist of **Martin Luther**, Hieronymus Emser (1478–1527). He was made a canon of Ducal Saxony’s Meissen cathedral in 1535, attended the **Diet of Augsburg** in 1530, became canon of Breslau in **Habsburg** territory in Silesia (Wrocław in modern Poland) in 1539, attended Catholic-Protestant religious **colloquies** in 1540–41 and was appointed canon at the prince-bishopric of Eichstätt, southern Germany, in 1542.

Cochlaeus’s literary output of over 200 works included theology, ecclesiology, history, the **Fathers of the Church**, and music. His *Articuli CCCCC Martini Lutheri ex sermonibus eius* (1525) purported to expose 500 errors extracted from Luther’s sermons. His *Commentaria J. Cochlaei de Vita et Scriptis Martini Lutheri Saxoni* (“A Commentary by J. Cochlaeus on the Life and Writings of Martin Luther of Saxony”) was begun in 1533 or 1534 and published in 1549.

Cochlaeus’s Luther is a figure of confused and inconsistent thinking and satanic evil who “vomited out to the people so much pestilence against the holy rites of the church” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 210) and who, while himself a friar under a vow of **celibacy**, in marrying a nun under vows committed a double mortal sin. He also delivered literary attacks on **Johann Brentz**, **Heinrich Bullinger**, and **John Calvin**. Cochlaeus died in Breslau in 1552.

COGNAC, LEAGUE OF, 1526. The shattering defeat of **Francis I** of **France** by **Charles V** at Pavia near **Milan** in February 1525, followed by the imprisonment of the French king, led to the signing in January 1526 of the Treaty of Madrid, in which France was forced to agree to the surrender to the emperor of the Kingdom of Naples, Genoa (Genova), and Milan in **Italy** and the formal transfer to him of Flanders and Artois in the **Low Countries**. Such a dramatic swing in the balance of power brought about a counter-reaction in which France (claiming that the Treaty of Madrid, agreed to under duress, was invalid), **Venice**, the papacy, Florence, and Duke Francesco

Maria Sforza (1495–1535) of Milan formed in May 1526 the anti-**Habsburg** alliance known as the League of Cognac, a diplomatic revolution that helped ensure that, as far as **Germany** was concerned, the politically weakened Charles and **Ferdinand** had to accept the recess of the first **Diet of Speyer**, which in effect permitted Lutheran worship in individual states and cities. However, the formation of this League once more brought Charles's forces into Italy, leading eventually to the **Sack of Rome**.

COLET, JOHN (1467–1519). John Colet was born in **London** in January 1467. His father, Sir Henry, was a wealthy London mercer, or cloth merchant, who was lord mayor of the city in 1486–87 (when he was knighted) and 1495–96, and his mother, Christian, *née* Knyvet (d. 1523), had aristocratic connections. John was the only survivor of 22 children. After schooling in London, he may have gone on to study at both Oxford and Cambridge. After a stay in **France**—in Orléans, in the center of the country, and **Paris**—Colet was in **Italy** in 1492–93, visiting **Rome**. On the Continent, he developed an interest in the Neoplatonic philosophy of the Florentine Marsiglio Ficino (1433–1499), with his commitment to harmonizing Plato's thought and Christianity.

Colet returned to England in the mid-1490s, taking up residence in Oxford and delivering lectures on the epistles of St. Paul, using a novel thematic and historical approach to the texts. He was ordained deacon in December 1497 and priest in March 1498 and met **Desiderius Erasmus** in Oxford in 1499, beginning a lasting friendship featuring the powerful influence of Erasmus on him and him on Erasmus. Colet also acquired a large number of church livings, including, between 1499 and 1505, the exceptionally wealthy London parish of Stepney.

Colet took a doctorate of divinity in 1504 and by 1505, through the favor of King Henry VII (1457–1509), had become dean of St. Paul's in London, moving from Oxford to the capital. As dean, he set himself the task of reforming the standards of the cathedral clergy, though he was himself guilty of the clerical abuse of pluralism—the accumulation of benefices and their incomes; his reforms aroused considerable opposition among the cathedral canons. At St. Paul's, Colet also preached regularly, in English as well as Latin, with a focus on the New Testament, and brought to bear the Christian

humanist influences associated with figures such as John Grocyn (1446–1519), Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524), and **Thomas More**, the last of whom, his closest English friend, particularly admired his learning and holiness.

Colet inherited his father's riches on the latter's death in 1505, using his fortune to reestablish St. Paul's school. Providing teaching without fees, the institution opened in 1512, admitting over 150 pupils. Colet's designation of the Mercers' Company as the school's trustees has sometimes been read as evidence of his mistrust of his fellow clerics, but was as likely to have been a tribute to the trade of his father, whose fortune, passed on to him, had made this venture possible. The school statutes, drawn up by 1518, emphasized the inculcation of high moral standards and devotion to Christ, while the syllabus disparaged **Scholasticism** and highlighted Erasmus (who acted as an advisor to the school) and the **Fathers of the Church**.

Despite his wealth, Colet lived in great simplicity, exacerbating his cathedral clergy's resentment of him. In 1511 he took part in an official drive against **Lollards** in the county of Kent, near London. Colet preached an annual sermon at court on most Good Fridays from 1510 to 1517. His address to the Convocation—the clergy's parliament—of the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, delivered probably in 1510, has been wrongly read as anticipating Protestant criticism of clerical abuse: it was, rather, a strongly worded treatment of **Catholic reform**. Nevertheless, accusations were made to the archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham (1450?–1532), of Colet's holding heretical views, and, though these charges were dismissed, it is clear from his correspondence with Erasmus that the bishop of London, Richard FitzJames (d. 1522), kept up a campaign against him, while his denunciations of war in the presence of the bellicose **Henry VIII** in 1512 and 1513 led to his twice being required to explain his views to the king.

In the mid-1510s Colet was still maintaining ties with the world of power, linked to the growing ascendancy of **Thomas Wolsey**, in whose honor he preached in November 1515 at Westminster Abbey on the latter's promotion as cardinal. He was appointed to the king's council, undoubtedly through the cardinal's influence, though there is no indication that he was of the inner circle of that body.

His health declining from 1517, Colet died in September 1519 and was buried in a simple tomb in St. Paul's. Intensely devout and

personally austere, Colet represented a reform-minded Catholicism that was strongly influenced by his familiarity with Erasmus's writings and was impatient of the "superstitions" of popular piety such as overemphasis on the value of pilgrimages. He was rooted in the Fathers of the Church, and it is clear that his studies of Augustine (354–430) inclined him to reject the value of human merit in achieving salvation and to stress our total reliance on God's **grace**.

Colet's main Latin writings include commentaries on the Epistles of Peter and Paul and on Genesis, and works on the **sacraments** and the mystical body of Christ: some of his devotional writings were published in 1534. It is true that, along with other Catholic theologians, he taught **predestination**, but the attempts made in the 16th century and beyond to depict this reform-minded Catholic priest as a proto-Protestant are unconvincing.

COLIGNY, GASPARD DE (1519–1572). Born in February 1519 in Châtillon-sur-Loing (Châtillon-Coligny), south of **Paris**, into a leading French aristocratic dynasty, Coligny was the third son of the marshal (*maréchal*) of **France** Gaspard de Coligny (1470?–1522). Beginning in 1543, Coligny gravitated to a military career, with service in the **Low Countries**. In 1544 he served in France's wars in **Italy** and in 1547 was made commander of his country's infantry regiments. The year 1551 saw Coligny as governor of the two key provinces, the Île de France, around the capital, and Picardy, in the northeast.

In 1552 he was promoted to supreme military command as admiral (*amiral*) of France, and in August 1557, in his role of governor of Picardy, he took part in the crucial Battle of St. Quentin between France and **Habsburg** forces. He was eventually forced to surrender the town and in 1557–99 was imprisoned in Bruge (Brugge) and Ghent (Gent, Gant) in the Low Countries. It seems that it was during this imprisonment that Coligny underwent a conversion to **Calvinism**, influenced by reading Protestant literature sent him from **Geneva**. Following his release under the terms of the **Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis**, alongside **Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé**, he assumed the political leadership of the **Huguenot** Church.

In 1560 Coligny secured favorable terms for his coreligionists from France's national assembly, the estates general (*états généraux*) and in the following year he was instrumental in bringing about the

Colloquy of Poissy. The failure of peace talks to avert religious conflict brought about war in 1562, and Coligny fought in the battle of Dreux in Normandy, northwest France, in that year; when the Huguenots were defeated by **François de Lorraine, duc de Guise**, Condé was captured and Coligny withdrew the remaining Huguenot forces.

In 1567 Coligny was associated with Condé in an attempt to seize the person of King Charles IX (1550–1574) and **Catherine de' Medici** at Meaux, east of Paris, a ploy that earned him the lasting hatred of the queen mother. He took part in the battles of Jarnac, in Aquitaine, southwest France, and Montcontour, in Normandy, both in 1569, the year when Condé's death gave Coligny the Huguenot supreme command—though he was soon to share the leadership with **Henry of Navarre**—and in August of the following year he had a key role to play in negotiating a truce at St-Germain-en-Laye, on terms advantageous to the Protestant party. In June 1572 he entered the royal council.

Coligny was a French patriot who favored a war against **Spain** in the Low Countries, allying with the rebels there under the headship of William I (Willem) of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1533–1584), a campaign that might have buried the religious antagonisms tearing France apart. Even so, Coligny's increasing influence over King Charles IX aroused anger among French Catholics, led by the Guises, and Catherine de' Medici's jealousy. On 22 August 1572 Coligny was in Paris for the marriage between Navarre and the queen mother's daughter Marguerite de Valois (Marguerite de France—"la Reine Margot," 1553–1615), and was leaving the Louvre Palace when he was shot at and wounded. Then in the early hours of 24 August a gang entered Coligny's Paris house, where they disemboweled him and threw his naked body through the window—the first signal for the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**.

COLLOQUIES, RELIGIOUS. In the course of the 16th century, a number of public doctrinal debates were held in order to resolve controverted theological issues. The term "colloquy" will be used here to designate major conferences that were convened with a view to restoring religious unity between Catholics and Protestants (though the **Marburg Colloquy** took place in October 1529 in the hope of achieving Swiss and German Protestant unity).

Toward the end of the 1530s, following the 1538 Truce of Nice with **France** and the 1539 Treaty of Frankfurt-am-Main with the **Schmalkaldic League**, **Charles V** was determined to try once more to bring back religious unity into the **Holy Roman Empire**, and in June 1540 preparatory discussions opened, unsuccessfully, at Hagenau (Haguenau) in Alsace, western **Germany**, and in November were adjourned to Worms in the Rhineland. In January 1541 four days of open discussion between **Johann Maier von Eck** and **Philipp Melanchthon** produced an agreed statement on original sin. Meanwhile, earlier confidential talks between **Martin Bucer** and Johannes Gropper (1503–1559)—a canon lawyer turned theologian, a reformist in the Erasmian mold, chancellor of the archdiocese of Cologne, and author of the conciliatory “Manual of Christian Doctrine” (1538)—produced a text known as the “Regensburg Book,” which summarized consensus on a number of issues, including the authority of Scripture. Most importantly, there was agreement on **justification**, whereby the compromise formula known as “double justification” stressed the absolute need for Christ’s atonement, albeit alongside human merit and the Church’s **sacraments**.

The theologians had thus done the preliminary work in advance of the Diet to be held in the south-German Imperial city of Regensburg (Ratisbon) between April and July 1541, with the doctrinal colloquy running simultaneously. While the scandal over the bigamy of **Philipp of Hesse** weakened the Lutherans’ moral position and the **Turks’** occupation of Buda in **Hungary** brought home the need for German unity, Charles, who himself opened the theological talks, was committed to the goal of reunification, and **Rome** showed its support by sending as legate to the Diet **Gasparo Contarini**, an Italian **evangelical** upholder of the salvatory roles of **faith** and **grace**. The city council of **Strassburg** sent the pastor of its French Protestant congregation, **John Calvin**, and **Stephen Gardiner** came from **England**.

Between April and May an accord was sealed on justification. Yet this promising start belied the obstacles to agreement at Regensburg, for Contarini refused compromise on the **eucharist**, and in particular over transubstantiation, and agreement also stalled over confession to priests as well as on the role of the papacy in the Church. Then **Martin Luther** denounced the compromise on justification on the grounds that it opened the door to a renewed concern with justification

by works, not faith, and both Pope **Paul III** and **Gian Pietro Carafa** rejected all compromise over doctrine: before its close at the end of July, the Diet left the whole agenda of the reconciliation of doctrinal views to a general council.

While Regensburg was again the scene of discussions on reunification, early in 1546, and there were other attempts in Germany to achieve church unity through dialogue, as at Worms (1557) and Baden (1589), **France** was the scene of a major effort to head off religious conflict by means of theological concord. Backed by **Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine**, **Catherine de' Medici** convened a conference to be opened in September 1561 in the small town of Poissy, north of **Paris**, and to be chaired officially by King Charles IX (1550–1574). Poissy was intended to be a top-level forum, those invited including **Théodore Beza** and **Pietro Martire Vermigli** and, for the Catholics, **Diego Lainez**.

A serious obstacle to success at Poissy arose from the way that Guise tried to use as a rallying point for reconciliation the Lutheran **Augsburg Confession**, not a satisfactory tool for bridging the theological gulf between French Catholics and Calvinists. It took just a month until their close on 14 October for the Poissy talks, stymied by disagreement over the eucharist and by Lainez's refusal to discuss issues pending at the adjourned **Council of Trent**, to sink into failure and to open up the prospect of civil wars of religion.

COLONNA, VITTORIA, MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA (1490–1547). Vittoria Colonna was born in the Castello di Marino, near **Rome** the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna (d. 1520), grand constable of the Kingdom of Naples (covering southern **Italy**). This ancient aristocratic family in the region of Rome had produced one **pope**—Martin V (r. 1417–31)—and various cardinals. At the age of 17 Vittoria married the soldier Fernando Francisco de Ávalos, Marqués de Pescara (b.1489), a commander under **Charles V** who was killed in the battle of Pavia, near **Milan**, in February 1525. After his death, she became the presiding spirit of a group of Catholic reformists, including **Reginald Pole**, and of literary figures of the Italian High **Renaissance** such as Pietro Aretino (1492–1557), Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), and Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529). Like her cousin **Giulia Gonzaga**, Vittoria Colonna was an **evangelical** of the circle of **Juan de Valdés**. She gave support to the **Capuchins**, which

was all the more necessary in the crisis following the defection of her former evangelical associate **Bernardino Ochino**, and in Ferrara, in northern Italy, in 1539 she provided shelter to **Ignatius Loyola** and his companions. She alternated her residences between Naples (Napoli) and the nearby island of Ischia and then in convents in the cities of Orvieto and Viterbo, both near Rome, staying in Rome between 1538 and 1541 and between 1544 and her death in 1547.

The composer of poetry about her deceased husband and on spiritual themes, whose collected verse was published in 1538, Vittoria Colonna was the subject of sonnets by **Michelangelo**, who first met her in 1536 and with whom she struck up an intense friendship. *See also* WOMEN.

COMMUNION. *See* EUCHARIST.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS. While the mainstream reformers of the 16th century upheld the legitimacy of private property, radicals took literally the mandate on community of goods in Acts 2:44–45: “And all that believed were together, and had all things in common; And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all *men*, as every man had need.” In 1526 **Balthasar Hubmaier** opened a mission in Nikolsburg in Moravia (Mikulov in the modern Czech Republic), in an area whose partial independence from **Habsburg** authority allowed for a degree of religious diversity. Following his arrest and execution at the hands of **Ferdinand** in 1528, Hubmaier’s disciples fled Nikolsburg and made their way to Austerlitz (Slavkov), also in Moravia, on the estates of Baron von Kaunitz. There, their poverty led them into experiments in sharing of necessities which, in turn, resulted in the adoption in 1529 of a regime of community of goods.

Late in 1529 the Austerlitz group was joined by **Anabaptist** refugees from Tyrol in Austrian territory, under the leadership of Jakob Hutter (c. 1500–1536), the author of a communalist structure centered on the *Bruderhof*, the “brotherhood” or “holy community,” in which work and wealth were shared, children were brought up by the community, and married couples lived in shared hostels. The group’s communal farms grew both in numbers and prosperity, selling highly esteemed manufactured goods, and adding to their numbers, with many thousands of members enrolled in their “Hutterite” settlements before the 16th century was over.

The Anabaptist regime in **Münster** under **Jan Beukelszoon** saw the enforced imposition of community of goods, partly as a result of shortages occasioned by the siege of the city in 1534–35.

CONCORD, FORMULA AND BOOK OF. In the years after **Martin Luther**'s death protracted efforts were made by conflicting parties, especially the **Gnesio-Lutherans** versus the **Philippists**, to claim his doctrinal legacy, while at the same time the search was on for a clear definition of what **Lutheranism** actually was in terms of agreed positions on such vital questions as the relationship between the gospel and the law, *adiaphora*, good works and **justification**, the nature of Christ's presence in the **eucharist**, **free will**, and original sin.

In the years following the **Peace of Augsburg**, 1555, Lutheran princes, led by those of Brandenburg, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, **Saxony**, and **Württemberg**, and aware of the need for Protestant unity in the face of a mounting Catholic counter-offensive against the Reformation, supported moves in the direction of agreed definitions, the Swabian-Saxon "Formula of Concord" (*Formula Concordiae*) of 1575 being a model of such approaches and being modified in 1576 in the "Torgau Book," agreed by theologians of Braunschweig, Mecklenburg, Saxony, and Württemberg. This document was endorsed by a widening circle of **Evangelical** theologians, the party of reconciliation being led by Jakob Andreae (1528–1590), the head of the University of Tübingen in Württemberg, and Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) of Braunschweig.

The Torgau Book was further revised in two parts, (1) the outline *Epitome* based on the "Torgau Book" and (2) the more detailed *Solida Declaratio*, compiled from a revision of Torgau known as the "Bergen Book" (1577). The resultant text, known as the "Formula of Concord" (*Formula Concordiae*) dealing with the issues of Christ's person and His descent into hell, the will, original sin, justification and works, gospel and law, the eucharist, *adiaphora*, **predestination**, and attitudes to radicals, aimed to keep to moderate positions, and the result was to give the Lutheran Churches an agreed **confession**. In turn, the Formula of Concord formed the core—along with the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, Luther's two **Catechisms**, the **Schmalkaldic Articles**, Luther's "Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope," the original **Augsburg Confession** and Melancthon's "Apology" on it—of what came to be known as

the “Book of Concord” (*Konkordienbuch*, Dresden, 1580), marking the 50th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession and accepted by 86 territorial rulers and imperial cities and over 8,000 theologians.

CONDÉ, LOUIS I DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE (1530–1569).

Louis de Bourbon, the first member of his Bourbon-Vendôme family to carry the title prince de Condé, was born, of royal descent, at Vendôme, southeast of Orléans, central **France**, in May 1530, the youngest son of Charles de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme, and younger brother of Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre (1518–1561). After serving as a soldier in the wars against the **Habsburgs**—in the defense of Metz in 1552, at St. Quentin in August 1557 and in the seizure of Calais from the English in 1558—in 1558 he declared his conversion to Protestantism and, along with his brother, in 1559 he joined the **Huguenots**.

As a royal-descended “prince of the blood,” Condé asserted his right, against the Catholic **Guises**, to take a full part in the kingdom’s government during the minority of **Henry II**’s heir, Francis II (François, 1544–1560), making propaganda use of the maladministration and chronic state of indebtedness for which he held the Guises responsible. He was deeply involved in the **Conspiracy of Amboise**, was spared execution by the death of King Francis in December 1560, and was imprisoned. Following his release, in 1561 **Catherine de’ Medici**, pursuing an anti-Guise policy of reconciliation with the Huguenot party, appointed him governor of Picardy, in northeast France.

In 1562, assembling troops gathered by Calvinist synods in 1560–61, Condé led the conflict with the Guises, left **Paris**, and seized the city of Orléans; he also sought English aid through the surrender of the northwestern port of Le Havre to **Elizabeth** and recruited German Protestant troops. Along with **Coligny**, Condé directed a Huguenot force, which was defeated at Dreux, in Normandy, northwest France in 1562, and he was again imprisoned, but was released in 1563. In 1567 he and Coligny attempted to capture **Charles IX** and Catherine de’ Medici at Meaux, east of Paris. Following the outbreak in the same year of the second **War of Religion**, Condé made plain his ambition to take the throne—on the basis both of heredity and religion—but was defeated in the battle of Jarnac, in Aquitaine, southwest France, in March 1569, and was arrested and shot in the same month.

CONFESSIONALIZATION. Enactments such as **England's** three **Acts of Uniformity** and **Germany's** **Peace of Augsburg** were instruments in launching the process taking place in early modern Europe known as "confessionalization." As results of such measures as those, particular states, whether national monarchies such as England's or the territorial principalities and self-governing imperial cities (*Reichsstädte*) in the German Lands, emerged as homogeneous religious commonwealths, in each of which all subjects or citizens were expected to adhere to the form of Christian faith adopted by their rulers.

Central European cities were among the pioneers of **Reformation** confessionalization, especially as a process of phased changes in belief, liturgy, and religious and social practice: **Zürich**, in 1519 a Catholic urban community, with a Catholic city government, had by 1525, when the **Mass** was abolished in favor of a plain **eucharist**, become a confessional reformed city state.

In German states, too, confessional change was normally gradual, characteristically phased over two-year or even longer terms: in East Prussia from 1523–25, in Hesse, 1526–28, in Mansfeld, 1525–26, in Pomerania, 1534–35, but in Brandenburg-Anspach taking place over the period 1524–28. In the heartland of **Lutheranism**, Electoral **Saxony**, the religious changes got seriously under way under the impetus of Elector Johann, known as "*der Standhafte*" (John, known as "the Steadfast," or "the Constant," 1468–1532) on his accession, and more thoroughly from 1528.

Even so, gradual as it might have been, the operation we know as confessionalization was intended to, and did, result in extensive changes—new moral codes, new attitudes to **social welfare**, celibacy and sex, to the relationship between religious doctrine and personal and social conduct, to education, the arts, work and economics, government, the church and clergy, and so on. Confessionalization meant change, and, as change, it also affected those states that opted to remain Catholic. Though there were important continuities in popular piety and pilgrimage cults, **Counter-Reformation Bavaria**, for example, developed a different kind of Catholicism from the medieval pattern, with new artistic and architectural styles, new liturgical events, novel **Jesuit** influences, and a determined state leadership of religion. *See also* CONFESSIONS.

CONFESSIONS. **Confessionalization** often called for the compilation of distinctive confessional creeds, adapted to the religious requirements of particular states and territories. **Philipp Melanchthon's** frequently reprinted *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum* ("Memoranda on Theological Issues, 1521) formed an early draft of what evolved as **Lutheranism**, while in 1523 **Huldrych Zwingli** produced a confession designed for use in **Zürich**, "The Sixty-Seven Articles." In 1530 Zwingli sent a summary of doctrine, his *Fidei Ratio . . .*, to the **Diet of Augsburg**, while Melanchthon delivered the **Augsburg Confession** to the Diet as a résumé, requested by **Charles V**, of what Lutherans believed. It was followed by other synopses such as the **Württemberg Confession** (*Confessio Virtembergica* of 1551, until the compilation of the **Formula and Book of Concord**, which also came to be accepted elsewhere as a norm of "Evangelical" doctrine, as with its adoption by the Church in Sweden in 1686 (the kingdom having accepted the Augsburg Confession in 1593). **Denmark's** Lutheran *Confessio Hafnica* or "Copenhagen Confession," was accepted in the same year as the Augsburg version was produced.

Reformation **England** acquired a series of public confessions: the 10 **Articles of Religion**, of 1536; in *The Institution of a Christen Man*, or "Bishops' Book," 1537; the Six Articles of Religion of 1539; the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man*, or "King's Book" (1543); and the Articles of Religion of 1553 (42) and 1563–71 (39).

The prototype of **Calvinist** confessions was **John Calvin's** "Confession of Faith" (1537), to which all citizens of **Geneva** were required to swear assent. It was followed by a defense of the doctrine of **predestination**, the "Consensus of Geneva" of 1552. **Scotland** had a Calvinist version written by **John Knox** and endorsed by the kingdom's parliament—the 25 articles of the *Confessio Scotiana* or *Scoticana*, 1560. The creed of the Reformed Church of **France**, the 1559 *Confessio Gallicana*, or **Gallican Confession**, a version of a text by Calvin, which was revised and endorsed at La Rochelle, western France, in 1571, was adapted in 1561 as the *Confessio Belgica*, the **Belgic Confession of Faith**, with a version, authored by the Genevan-trained minister Guy de Brès, in the dialect form of French—"Walloon"—used in the southern **Low Countries**.

Another text, in the Low Countries' other language, Dutch, was issued in 1562 and was made mandatory for Dutch-speaking Calvinists

in 1571. The “Belgic” creed was firmly based on the French Calvinist model, and yet took account of special circumstances, such as the strength of religious radicalism prevailing in the Low Countries, while it avoided insulting the Catholic faith. The second **Helvetic Confession** (the first was the 1536 Second Confession of Basel), the *Confessio Helvetica*, was composed by **Heinrich Bullinger** in 1566. The 1610 “Remonstrance” incorporated the Arminian critique of Calvinism and the Canons of Dort of 1619 restated Calvinist **orthodoxy**.

Alongside doctrinal summaries that set out emergent confessional traditions were others that aimed at reconciling divergences between various theological positionings. For example, some of the cities that broke with the Catholic Church hammered out common professions of belief: in 1530 the four south German cities of Constance (Konstanz), Lindau, Memmingen, and Strassburg submitted to the **Diet of Augsburg** the “Confession of the Four Cities”—*Confessio Tetrapolitana*, setting out their agreement that in the **eucharist** Christ’s body and blood were “truly eaten and drunk.” In 1536 **Martin Bucer, Johannes Bugenhagen, Martin Luther**, and Melancthon produced, in the “Wittenberg Accord,” a common statement on the presence of Christ in the **sacrament**. The 1549 *Consensus Tigurinus* established an agreement on eucharistic theology between **Geneva** and **Zürich**. The Heidelberg Catechism, 1563, was a formulation of doctrinal agreement between the non-Lutheran **Reformed**. In 1564 the “Bohemian Creed”—*Confessio Bohemica*—presented the agreed belief of **Bohemia**’s Lutherans, Calvinists, and Hussites.

The Churches of the **Radical Reformation** also produced their own confessions. Two **Anabaptist** texts were the **Schleitheim Confession** of 1527, and the *Rechenschaft unserer Glaubens . . .* —“Account of the Religion, Teaching, and Belief and Faith of the People Called Hutterites” (1540) by **Peter Riedemann**. These texts emphasized morality and issues such as peace and war and withdrawal from the world, rather than the doctrinal concerns of the professional theologians. The **Mennonites** drew up the “Confession of Waterland” in 1580.

The **Racovian Catechism** of 1603 summed up the beliefs of the new non-trinitarian movement based in Poland. Issued in 1564 by **Pius IV**, the *Professio Fidei Tridentinae* summed up the doctrinal

decrees of the **Council of Trent** and in effect gave Catholics a fourth *credo*.

CONFRATERNITIES. The Catholic Church of the 14th and 15th centuries saw the spread of large numbers of confraternities, or “brotherhoods” (also “sisterhoods”) and known in **England** as “gilds” or “guilds.” They expanded throughout both urban and rural Europe, enrolling lay men and **women**, requiring membership oaths and levying subscription fees. They were often assembled on the basis of locality or occupation, and dedicated to specific saints, especially the **Blessed Virgin Mary** and her mother St. Anne, and to pious cults. Directed by the **laity** and employing priests, they often had their own chapels; they functioned as voluntary devout clubs whose central purpose was to offer the **Mass** and prayers for the release of the souls of deceased members in **purgatory**. Members attended one another’s funerals, and each confraternity at least once a year celebrated a requiem Mass for all dead brethren, in some cases offering a “trental” of 30 continuous days of Masses for each member departed.

Confraternities often also played an important part in running carnivals, and produced religious plays, as for example, did **Paris**’s Confraternity of the Passion in the earlier 16th century. The popularity of these associations was striking: the city of Florence (Firenze, central **Italy**) acquired nearly 100 of them, pre-Reformation Hamburg (north coast of **Germany**) 99 and Nantes in western **France** 30; in 1389 the eastern English county of Norfolk had 164, and the northern city of York 14; the northwestern coastal French city of Rouen, with a population of about 40,000, had no fewer than 161 confraternities: it was not uncommon for some individuals to be members of around half a dozen confraternities simultaneously. In pre-Reformation northern Europe, in particular, the confraternities fell heavily under the influence of the *devotio moderna* and fostered communal devotions such as praying the rosary: they helped allow many pious lay people to have access to the religious life while continuing with their duties in the family and the workplace.

At the same time, **social welfare** was a major concern, involving fields such as care for condemned criminals, burying the dead, and teaching the **catechism**, as well as poor relief and aid to orphans and abandoned children. Such activities were to the fore in the wealthy

cities of northern and central Italy, and the confraternities of **Venice**, the *Scuole*, provide examples of charity on a large scale, in the process giving a sense of worth, citizenship, and importance to bourgeois citizens barred from active political roles by the city's aristocratic constitution. In Bologna, northern Italy, the confraternity system fostered a hospital service. Late medieval Italy also witnessed a key evolution in the confraternity system with the establishment in Genoa (Genova), northwest Italy in 1497 of an institution known as the oratory, a lay-and-clerical sodality devoted both to prayer and to social welfare, particularly health care; an offshoot, the **Oratory of Divine Love**, was established in **Rome** in the mid-1510s.

The confraternities came under attack both from **Protestantism** and in the **Counter-Reformation**. They were so heavily involved with the doctrine of purgatory that **Lutheranism's** attack on that concept called for their elimination, while their inbuilt assumption of salvation by merit left them exposed to condemnation on the basis of **justification by faith** alone: **Martin Luther's** denunciation in 1519 of them for encouraging gluttony and drunkenness in their periodic feasts helped seal their fate in Reformation Europe, though their demise has also been seen as weakening lay, and particularly female, involvement in religious life.

At the same time, some Catholic observers suspected that these bodies nurtured **evangelical** views of justification by faith or, alternatively, had simply become feasting associations, and needed both a reinfusion of piety and closer clerical control. This supervision was to be maintained by the enforcement of canon law, by closer episcopal control, and by supervision from the religious orders, in particular the **Jesuits**, whose schools developed confraternal clubs for their pupils to attend after classes. But the confraternities were to have a positive future in post-Reformation Catholicism, increasingly dedicated to the devotion of the rosary and also encouraging members to receive **communion** frequently. By 1600, it has been estimated, perhaps one in three or four urban Italian males belonged to confraternities, and they exerted a powerful attraction for women and youth: one, the Confraternity of the Most Holy Spirit, was cofounded by **Filippo Neri**. They also played a vital role in the restoration of Catholicism in the southern **Low Countries** in the early 17th century. In **Germany**, re-Catholicization, spearheaded by the **Jesuits**, included the development of confraternities devoted to Mary — “Marian congregations.”

CONFUTATION. Though the Catholic party at the 1530 **Diet of Augsburg** did not initially admit the need to respond to **Charles V's** general invitation that churches submit **confessions** of faith, eventually they were persuaded to deliver a riposte to **Philipp Melancthon's Confession of Augsburg**. After 20 theologians had produced a draft, **Johann Maier von Eck** was invited to compose the Catholic answer to the Confession, a 351-page book, which Charles V found both prolix and excessively adversarial, so that Eck, assisted by **Johannes Cochlaeus** and others, cut it down to a third of its original length, dealing only with the questions that Melancthon's work had raised. When this text was presented to the Diet on 3 August, the emperor declared that **Lutheranism** had been "thoroughly refuted" in the Eck version, now to be known as the "Confutation," or *Confutatio Pontificia*.

Though the threat from the **Turks** ensured that there would be further attempts at compromise in **Germany**, the wider significance of Eck's "Confutation" is that, by magnifying disagreement with Melancthon's conciliatory summary of Lutheran beliefs, it blew out of the water all the hopes for German unity that Charles had brought with him to Augsburg in 1530.

CONGREGATION OF THE ORATORY (ORATORIAN OF ST. PHILIP NERI). In 1563–64 **Filippo Neri** and a small group of companions took up residence in the Florentines' church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in **Rome**, developing communal life under a simple religious rule, praying for the office of the Church and preaching short and elementary sermons to the people. Pope **Gregory XIII** approved this "Congregation of the Oratory" in 1575, giving it the church of Sta Maria in Vallicella (the early baroque *Chiesa Nuova*, or "New Church") as its headquarters. Neri himself, who in 1587 was ordered by Pope **Sixtus V** to accept his election to the generalship of the congregation, insisted on its loose structure as a clerical society rather than traditional **regular clergy**, so that it lacked special vows and had a decentralized form of government. Moves to fuse it with the **Barnabites** in order to form a religious order came to nothing. Before Neri's death in 1595, Cesare Baronio (Caesar Baronius, 1538–1607) took over as general, and in 1612 Pope **Paul V** confirmed the congregation's constitutions, making further provisions for its members' style of prayer, their costume, and diet.

An elite corps with a flexible structure, whose members were admitted after exacting scrutiny, the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri aimed their mission directly at the **laity**, employing fine music, with **Pierluigi da Palestrina** composing many of their *laudi* or songs of praise. They preached sermons adapted to the varying aptitudes of audiences, adopted an empathetic approach to penitents in the **sacrament** of **penance** and promoted the **Forty Hours** devotion. The Oratorians opened 35 new communities in **Italy** between 1591 and 1650 and expanded into **Spain**, **Portugal**, South America, **Goa**, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka)—serving as frontliners in the Catholic Church’s dramatic comeback in early modern Europe and beyond.

CONSENSUS TIGURINUS. In the course of the 1540s **Heinrich Bullinger** and **John Calvin** had exchanged views, sometimes quite heatedly, over the **eucharist**. While Calvin emphasized the way that the bread and wine formed an instrument bringing the faithful into union with Christ, Bullinger, while holding to **Huldrych Zwingli**’s understanding of the **sacrament** as a memorial meal recalling Christ’s Last Supper and saving death, also saw the communion as the arena for spiritual meeting between believers and the divine. By the end of the decade, there was enough common ground between the two to forge an agreement on the eucharist, an outcome encouraged by the need for Protestant unity in the face of the resurgence of **Habsburg** power in the late 1540s—**Charles V**’s army approached Zürich in 1548—as well as by the friendship that had grown up between the two men through the sympathy that Bullinger showed to Calvin over the death of his wife in 1549. Following doctrinal discussions, by the autumn of that year Bullinger and Calvin were able to persuade the other Swiss Protestant cities, led by Bern (Berne), to accept the “Zürich Agreement,” or *Consensus Tigurinus*, the title given in the 19th century to the accord.

The Consensus dealt with **baptism** as well as with communion, but it was on the latter issue that it achieved its most effective resolutions, finding room for Calvin’s sense of the mediation of God’s grace in the sacrament as well as for Bullinger’s stress on the centrality of God’s spirit. This statement also ensured the unity of non-Lutheran **Protestantism** in Europe, even though it exacerbated the already acute division between **Evangelical** and **Reformed** Churches.

CONSILIUM . . . DE EMENDANDA ECCLESIA. In the summer of 1536 Pope **Paul III** appointed a “Select Commission of Cardinals and Other Prelates on the Reform of the Church” (*Consilium cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum de emendanda ecclesia*), a group of nine known reformists, including **Gasparo Contarini**, **Gian Pietro Carafa**, **Gian Matteo Giberti**, **Reginald Pole**, and **Jacopo Sadoleto**. The commission’s conclusions, submitted to the pope early in 1537, dealt so candidly with the ills of the Church that, after they were illicitly published early in 1538, they were translated into German by **Martin Luther** to serve as anti-Catholic propaganda.

The committee’s report, in 26 sections, was utterly frank, not sparing the papacy itself, whose holders, it observed, did not scruple to make money out of the authority given them by Christ. Further, the authors did not hold back from condemning the greed and cynicism of some of their fellow prelates. The corruption of the Church was at its height in **Rome**, where prostitution was rife and accepted.

The *Consilium* delivered a reform agenda, taken up by the **Council of Trent**, in insisting on episcopal residence in dioceses and the need for properly qualified and dedicated parish priests. Religious orders were reminded of their duty to observe their rules, and superstition and the sale of **indulgences** were condemned. The report of the select committee thus provided the indispensable critique that needed to be delivered before the work of reconstructing the Catholic Church could begin, at Trent. Finally, the *Consilium*, which raised no questions about Catholic doctrine and saw no merit in **Lutheranism**, should be seen as a classic statement of **Catholic reform**. Despite its criticism of past papal malpractices, it placed its hopes for a future of reform squarely on the figure of the pope, and his “sacred duties . . . to watch over the universal Church” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 35).

CONTARINI, GASPARO (1483–1542). Contarini was born into an old and famous patrician family of **Venice**, distinguished by service to the Republic and including in all eight doges (heads of state). At the University of Padua (Padova), in Venetian territory, he studied philosophy and science, and then turned his attention toward theology, studying the writings of the **Father of the Church St. Augustine** (354–430) and undergoing a religious crisis, followed

by a conversion in 1511; he remained, however, a layman until his ordination in 1537.

Pursuing a diplomatic career from 1518, Contarini was Venetian envoy to **Charles V** between 1521 and 1525 and subsequently acted as the republic's ambassador to the papacy. In 1535, promoted to the rank of cardinal, he became a senior political and diplomatic advisor to Pope **Paul III**. In the same year he persuaded the **pope** to invite his friend **Reginald Pole** to visit **Rome**, guiding Pole in the writing of his condemnation of **Henry VIII**, *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*—"A Defense of the Unity of the Church." Appointed bishop of Belluno, northeast **Italy**, in 1536, in 1536–37 Contarini was a member of the *Consilium . . . de emendanda ecclesia* and, following its submission, he persuaded the pope to implement its administrative reforms.

Guided in 1539 by **Ignatius Loyola** through the latter's "Spiritual Exercises," in 1540 Contarini supported papal recognition of the **Jesuits** and was also a supporter of the **Theatines**. He was strongly influenced by **Juan de Valdés** in his acceptance of an **evangelical** theology of salvation that emphasized the role of God's **grace** in human redemption. This gave him an empathy toward **Lutheran** views, so that at the **Colloquy** of Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541 Contarini negotiated the accord on **justification** by **faith**. However, the failure of the Regensburg talks was a key factor in discrediting Contarini. He died in August 1542, a marginalized figure, in the position of governor of the papal subject city of Bologna, in northern Italy.

Contarini's published works included the 1517 *De Officio Episcopi Libri II*—"Two Books on the Office of the Bishop"—and *De Potestate Pontificis in Usu Clavium*—"Concerning the Authority of the Pope in the Use of the Keys," addressed to Paul III and published in 1558.

COPERNICUS, NIKOLAUS (MIKOŁAJ KOPERNIK, NIKLAS KOPPERNIGK) (1473–1543). Copernicus was born in 1473 in Toruń (Torn), on the Vistula, a town which had been incorporated into **Poland**. His father was a Polish merchant and a member of the local city council, and his mother a German. Following his father's death in 1483, his uncle, Lukas Watzelrode, who was appointed prince-bishop of the small principality of Ermeland in east Prussia in 1489, became his guardian and from 1491 to 1496 Copernicus stud-

ied mathematics, perspectives, and optics at the Polish University of Kraków. Then, within a period in **Italy** from 1496 to 1505, between 1496 and 1500 he studied canon law in Bologna, in the north of the country. Appointed a nonresidential canon of Frauenburg (Frombork) cathedral in Ermeland in 1500, in the same year he gave astronomy lectures in **Rome**, where, in November, he observed the moon's eclipse; he studied medicine at Padua (Padova), northeast Italy, from 1501 to 1505, and in 1503 was awarded a doctorate in canon law at Ferrara, northern Italy.

From 1507 to 1512 Copernicus acted as physician to and administrator for his uncle the prince-bishop, living in the episcopal castle of Heilsberg but, following his uncle's death in 1512, he moved to Frauenburg, where he was to spend most of the rest of his life, working as city bailiff, judge, tax officer, doctor, currency reformer, military commander, negotiator between the cathedral chapter and their rivals the **Teutonic Knights**, canon, and, from 1523, episcopal vicar-general (though he was never ordained priest). He also continued his studies of astronomy and until 1538 he occupied a teaching position at Breslau (Wrocław, in modern Poland) in the **Habsburg** territory of Silesia.

During his years at Heilsberg, Copernicus was developing a new astronomy of the solar system and in 1514 he distributed among his friends a preliminary report, *De Hypothesibus Motum Cælestium Commentariolus*—"A Short Commentary on Hypotheses Concerning the Motions of the Heavens." From that beginning, scientific interest was beginning to stir in his theory that the sun and the other stars were at rest and that the earth turned around the sun. By c. 1517 Copernicus had completed a first draft of his *De Revolutionibus Orbium Cælestium*—"Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies"—and it was ready in its final form by 1529. Further interest in his new heliocentric astronomy was evident when, in 1533, Pope **Clement VII** requested him to deliver a lecture in Rome on his system.

Yet Copernicus, seemingly aware of the potentially controversial impact of his astronomical observations and perhaps fearing derision of opinions that seemed to fly in the face of common sense, hesitated to publish his findings. However, in 1540 there appeared a résumé of the Copernican system by the German mathematician Georg Rhaeticus (or Rhaeticus, also von Lauchen, 1514–1576), in his *Narratio*

Prima—“First Account”—and it seems that the favorable reception given to this outline persuaded Copernicus to fall in with his friends’ requests that he print the *De Revolutionibus*. Its progress through the press was overseen by the Nuremberg reformer **Andreas Osiander**, who prefaced the work with an introduction indicating—apparently in order to soften the blows of controversial attack—that Copernicus’s conclusions were only mathematical hypotheses.

The *De Revolutionibus*, made up of six books, sets out its basic argument in book 1, focusing on the majesty of the sun, and then unfolds detailed treatments of the earth’s motions, the equinoxes, and the motions of the moon and the planets, all grouped around the sun. The work meant the displacement of the previously accepted cosmography of Aristotle (384–322 BC), and of the ancient Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. 90–168), whose authority had been reaffirmed in an *Epitome* of his cosmology published in 1496. The *De Revolutionibus* established Copernicus’s central, and essentially simple, mathematically grounded theory that the earth circles the motionless sun—at the center of the universe—every day. His planetary discoveries, though based on mathematical calculation rather than on the actual observation that was to come later, with the invention of the telescope, paved the way for those of the other three members of the great quartet of early modern European astronomers, Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), Johannes Kepler (or Kepler, 1571–1630), and **Galileo Galilei**.

Yet Copernicus was far from abandoning Aristotelian and Ptolemaic astronomy completely, and his theories did not as yet open up a discord between science and revealed faith: indeed, with its dedication to Pope **Paul III** and preface by a leading Lutheran, his work offered a rare glimpse of ecumenism in an embattled Christendom. Even so, the depiction of the universe by the staunch Catholic Copernicus—perhaps arising out of a mystically inclined valuation of the sun’s importance—had underlying and potentially troublesome implications for religion, philosophy, and especially for a sense of humanity’s place in the universe, fundamentally challenging a previously held assumption that mankind’s planet lay at the center of all things.

COUNTER-REFORMATION. The discipline of history is an activity in which historians organize and give shape to past time, in doing so

creating labels for the processes they discern. For some time, it had been clear that the Catholic Church, crucially in the 16th century, had undergone a set of profound changes—including an alteration in the moral character of **popes**, the reform work of the **Council of Trent**, the foundation of new congregations of clerks regular, above all the **Society of Jesus**, along with the renewal of the existing **regular clergy** such as the **Capuchin** regeneration of the **Franciscan Order**, and the work of reforming bishops led by **Carlo Borromeo** and **Gian Matteo Giberti**. But did these particular manifestations form any more general pattern, and if so, could any encompassing label be placed upon them, organizing those separate streams into a river?

It was the founder of modern German historical writing, Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), who coined the generic term, *Gegen-Reformation*, “Counter-Reformation,” which assembled all the various individual areas of Catholic transformation into an overarching hypothesis that saw them as being essentially triggered into a hostile and defensive reaction by the Protestant Reformation. And indeed, if one were to attach particular attention to some of the features of militancy in the 16th-century Catholic Church, noting the establishment of the Roman **Inquisition** and the publication of the **Index of Prohibited Books**, as well as reliance on force, for example that provided by **Philip II**, it would be undeniable that the Roman Church was preoccupied with aggressive and defensive measures to *counter* the Reformation and religious dissent in all its guises.

Even so, some historians, especially those of Catholic convictions, such as Wilhelm Maurenbrecher (1838–1892), and Ludwig von Pastor (1854–1928), the author of the 16-volume *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*—“History of the Popes since the End of the Middle Ages,” published between 1886 and 1933—disputed Ranke’s assumption that changes in early modern Catholicism were largely or entirely a reflexive response to **Protestantism**. After all, a slow improvement in the status of the papacy had been evident since 1417, with the the end of the Great Schism in the institution. In addition, the 15th-century Observant movement to get the religious orders to keep to their rules prefigured the renewal of the religious life in the 16th century.

Further, reforming bishops such as Antonino Pierozzi (1389–1459) in Florence (Firenze), central **Italy**, and **France’s** **Guillaume Briçonnet**, were at work before the Reformation was anticipated

or really got under way. The year of the inauguration of **Martin Luther's** protest saw not only the establishment of the **Oratory of Divine Love** but the death of **Spain's** great reforming bishop, **Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros**, as well as the closure of the **Lateran Council**, which prefigured the **Council of Trent** in its reformism.

Given, then, that it is difficult for one phenomenon to be considered a reaction to another before the latter has materialized, some historians were coming to prefer a term that saw qualitative change in early modern Catholicism as being generated more spontaneously from within the papal Church: perhaps from a reformism incipient within the late medieval Church that gave rise both to the Protestant movement *and* to an indigenous Catholic, rather than Counter-, Reformation.

Finally, though, it is now clear that neither of the exclusive terms Counter-Reformation versus Catholic Reformation can stand alone as a description of the postmedieval transformation of the Catholic Church. For one thing, the process of change had its own dynamics, according to which various trends themselves metamorphosed from one mode to another: for example, the **Jesuits** originated in an aspiration for **Catholic reform** but later acquired an instinct for confrontation, above all as they moved into the German theater in the second half of the 16th century. Evidently, then, Catholic Reformation took on aspects of Counter-Reformation, while Counter-Reformation derived inspiration from Catholic reform. Clumsy as the term may appear, we might now use the more inclusive double phrase "Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation" to describe the refashioning of Catholicism in early modern Europe. *See also* ALLEN, WILLIAM; CAMPION, EDMUND; CANISIUS, PETRUS; CATHOLIC REFORM; HABSBURG DYNASTY; IRELAND; RECUSANTS; ROME; SALES, FRANÇOIS DE; SEMINARY; SPAIN; WARS OF RELIGION, FRENCH.

COVENANT THEOLOGY. The idea of the covenant has its origins in the Old Testament's projection of an agreement between God and His people, according to which they keep His law in exchange for His mercy and forgiveness. **Heinrich Bullinger** made important contributions to a Reformation doctrine of the covenant, and **John Calvin's** conception of it envisaged a contract with mankind fulfilled by the Almighty in Christ's atoning death. A group of Calvinist theologians

at Heidelberg in the Rhineland Palatinate in **Germany** developed this concept into a wide-ranging sense of the role of righteousness—a “covenant of works,” binding on all men and women since it had its origins in the first agreement made between Adam and Eve, on the one hand, and God, on the other. Observance of the moral law, first set out in the Old Testament, and the performance of good works toward their neighbors accompanied newness of life in those to whom **justification** was imputed and for whom God’s law was a positive force for Christian freedom under the gospel, guiding the predestined elect—repentant sinners, justified by **faith** alone—in the direction of sanctification, even though their works did not justify them.

A treatise by the English theologian Dudley Fenner (c. 1558–1587), *Sacra Theologia*—“Holy Theology,” 1585—established two covenants, one of works, a conditional or contractual arrangement requiring obedience by all humanity to God’s law in return for His mercy, and the other of an unconditional and free covenant of grace, God’s redemption being poured out to the elect “without strings,” so to speak, even though their lives should be testimony to their being justified. In the hands of the **puritan** theologian **William Perkins**, the notion of the covenant evolved into a systematization of “federal theology,” from the Latin word for an agreement or treaty, “*fædus*”: those not of the elect, the “unregenerate,” even though they might appear to possess justifying faith, in fact still lived under the covenant of works and of law, which would condemn them. The true elect, on the other hand, not only had real justifying faith but through “assurance,” in an experiential (Perkins wrote “experimental”) way, *knew* that they had it. Though their good works did not justify them, their justification produced in them those works.

Perkins’s approach, based on intense self-awareness of both one’s condition and of one’s behavior, created a culture of deep personal introspection evident in the genre of the English puritan diary, in which the individual kept a carefully detailed account of his or her spiritual odyssey, but the program that Perkins set out also gave scope for the emergence, especially in 17th-century England and New England, of “gathered” churches made up of members withdrawing from a sinful world and its churches and covenanting with one another to observe God’s commands.

The idea of the covenant also formed a basis for a theory of a political treaty between the ruler and his or her people, according to

which the subject was bound to obey the ruler, though contractually, for as long as the latter ruled justly, a political philosophy set out in the 1579 **Huguenot** *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* . . . —“The Claim Staked against Tyrants,” by Philippe de Mornay, seigneur du Plessis-Marly, known as Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623) (or by Hubert Languet [1518–1581]).

COVERDALE, MILES (1488–1569). Coverdale was born in York in the north of **England** in 1488 and was ordained in Norwich, eastern England, in 1514. Becoming an **Augustinian** Eremite, he entered the Order’s friary in Cambridge and there fell under the influence of the Lutheran prior of the house Robert Barnes (1495–1540), whose defense against heresy charges he helped to prepare, in **London** in 1526. Returning to Cambridge, Coverdale took a degree of the university, either a bachelor of civil laws or a bachelor of theology. He abandoned the Augustinian Order by the spring of 1528 and began preaching in Essex, east of London, denouncing the doctrine of **transubstantiation**, as well as the veneration of images and confession to priests.

The threat of arrest drove Coverdale into flight abroad late in 1528, perhaps working as a proofreader in Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers) in the **Low Countries**, where, by October 1535, he issued, in a richly illustrated volume, the whole **bible** in English, translated from the Latin Vulgate, using **Martin Luther**’s and other translations, making modifications to **William Tyndale**’s English version of the New Testament and incorporating the apocrypha (the noncanonical books) as a supplement to the Old Testament: the great work was dedicated to **Henry VIII** and carried a depiction of the king giving out bibles to his people.

Later in 1535 Coverdale came back to England, issuing in London a collection of Psalms and of **hymns** based on German originals, with borrowings from Luther. Others of his works of around that period included a “Prognostication” of the year 1536: indeed, while his literary fame chiefly rests on his biblical translation, we should also be aware of his other outputs, amounting to upward of 40 works and concerned with making German Lutheran texts available to an English readership.

In 1537 the translation of the scriptures known as “Thomas Matthew’s Bible” or the “Matthew Bible,” after the publisher John

Rogers, whose pseudonym was Thomas Matthew (or Matthews, 1500?–1555), printed in Antwerp, was published in England, under royal sanction, encouraged by **Thomas Cromwell**. The first half of the Old Testament and of the New Testament were by Tyndale, and the second half of the Old Testament was the English version of the Vulgate by Coverdale. Next, Cromwell and **Thomas Cranmer** encouraged a revision of “Matthew,” the revising to be undertaken by Coverdale in **Paris**, where the new product was to be printed on high-quality presses. Despite Cromwell’s financial support and a commitment by him to have a copy installed in every parish church in England and **Wales** by the end of 1538, the printing of “Matthew II” ran into obstacles set up by the French **Inquisition** and by English conservatives.

However, Cromwell was able to rescue the project and bring the work home, publishing it in a total of 6,000 copies between April 1539 and March or April 1540. The “Great Bible” was an impressive production, with the king shown handing out copies of Scripture to all sorts and conditions of men and women, all of whom respond with a grateful “God Save the King.” Coverdale, now using a recent Latin translation of the Old Testament Hebrew and **Desiderius Erasmus**’s 1516 rendition of the Greek New Testament, the *Novum Instrumentum*, was the textual reviser of “Matthew II.” Six further revisions followed, two of them by Coverdale, whose rendition of the Psalms also went on to become that of the **Book of Common Prayer**. Published three times in 1538, Coverdale’s presentation of the New Testament in parallel columns set his 1535 English translation of the New Testament alongside the *Novum Instrumentum*.

Coverdale, who had probably met Cromwell at some point before 1527, had long been a collaborator with the minister, and the late 1530s saw him working as Cromwell’s agent in suppressing Catholic rites in Berkshire, near London. However, the conservative reaction led by **Stephen Gardiner** made a victim of Cromwell himself, executed in July 1540, and it targeted the reformists. Thus it was prudent for Coverdale, and his wife, to escape once more for the Continent. He made for **Strassburg**, where, for around three years he wrote, publishing various translations from German and Latin, including two works by **Heinrich Bullinger**. The University of Tübingen, in **Württemberg**, awarded him a doctorate in theology, he paid a visit to **Denmark** and between 1543 and 1548 served as curate and

schoolmaster in a parish to the north of Strassburg and published in 1545 his *Defence of a Certayne Poore Christen Man*.

In 1548 Coverdale received an invitation to return to England, where he was to take up an active role in the resumption of the Reformation under **Edward VI**, preaching in London. By October 1548 he was acting as a royal chaplain, and it seems clear that Cranmer sought his advice over the composition of the first, 1549, Book of Common Prayer. In the summer of 1549, acting as preacher, he accompanied the royal forces on a campaign to suppress the rising in the west of England against the new Book of Common Prayer. He befriended the émigré Protestant **Pietro Martire Vermigli**, was a popular London preacher, and was also a member of a commission to investigate heresy.

In August 1549 Coverdale was made bishop of Exeter, in Devon, in the west of England, an area whose religious conservatism had recently been made evident in the rising against the Book of Common Prayer. In 1550 he published a new edition of the 1535 bible. The accession of **Mary I** led to his dismissal from his bishopric, and in February 1555 a passport was issued for Coverdale and his wife to go abroad. They stayed briefly in Denmark and moved to Wesel on the lower Rhine in northwest Germany, where Coverdale ministered to an expatriate English Protestant group whom he followed on the next stage of their exile, to Aarau in **Switzerland**, in August 1557, when the Coverdales were recorded as having two children.

In October 1558 he received permission to reside in **Geneva**, probably to work on the new version of Scripture in English that came to be known as the Geneva bible. In December 1558 Coverdale became an elder of Geneva's English congregation and, perhaps in August 1559, some months after Mary's death, the family made their way to England, where, on arrival, Coverdale took up a post as tutor and chaplain to the children of Catharine Bertie, Duchess of Suffolk (1520–1580). He resumed a career as a London preacher, and in 1564 Bishop **Edmund Grindal** awarded him a benefice in the city. Following his first wife's death in September 1565, Coverdale remarried in April 1566 and in the summer of that year gave up his London parish, perhaps in protest against the imposition of traditional clerical vestments by Archbishop **Matthew Parker**. A link between Continental **Lutheranism** and English **Protestantism** and a bridgehead between the early English Reformation, and the emergence of the

puritan movement under Elizabeth, Coverdale died in London in January 1569.

CRANACH (KRANACH OR KRONACH), LUKAS, THE ELDER (1472–1553). Cranach was born at Kronach, north of Bayreuth, southeast **Germany**, and was probably trained by his father, a painter. In 1504 he became artist to the court of **Frederick the Wise** of **Saxony** and on a visit to the **Low Countries**, he executed a portrait of the future **Charles V**. In 1523 he provided hospitality for the otherwise homeless **Katharina von Bora** and in 1525 executed the double wedding portrait of her and **Martin Luther**. On the death of Frederick the Wise in 1525, he continued his service as court artist under Elector Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as “the Steadfast” or “the Constant,” 1468–1532) and then under the elector Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as “the Magnanimous,” 1503–1554).

Cranach was chosen *Bürgermeister*—mayor—of Wittenberg in 1537 and 1540. A close friend of Luther, whose New Testament and **hymn** and sermon collections he illustrated, and a committed **Evangelical**, in 1550 he traveled to Augsburg to undergo captivity alongside Johann Friedrich, imprisoned by **Charles V** after his defeat at Mühlberg in 1547. When Johann Friedrich was set free in 1552, Cranach, also released, accompanied him to his retirement in Weimar in Saxony, where the painter died in 1533.

An early disciple of **Albrecht Dürer**, Cranach was an artist with a considerable range of topics, including classical and mythological themes and nudes, as well as biblical subjects and hunting scenes. His many portraits included the electoral family, Luther, and **Philipp Melanchthon**. His Lutheran beliefs are expressed in his over 50 renditions of Adam’s and Eve’s Fall, and his strong religious faith is especially evident in his later works, the *Entombment* (1538) and the *Crucifixion* (1553), which includes a self-portrait and a depiction of Luther and was probably completed by his second son, Lukas. His three sons followed him as artists, the best known, Lukas (1515–1586), working on portraiture and historical scenes in a style virtually identical with his father’s. *See also* THE RENAISSANCE.

CRANMER, THOMAS (1489–1556). Cranmer was born in Aslockton in Nottinghamshire in central **England** July 1489 into a gentry

family. His father, Thomas (d. 1501), upheld a traditional Catholic piety, linked to a local monastery. His mother Agnes, *née* Hatfield, sent him to a grammar school in the region and in 1503 he proceeded to Jesus College, Cambridge, taking his B.A. in 1511 and M.A. in 1515, when he became a fellow of his college. At some point between 1515 and 1519 he married a woman named Joan—perhaps Black or Brown—and was forced to give up his fellowship, which, however, he resumed when his wife and child died in childbirth. He was ordained priest by 1520, when the university made him an official preacher. In 1526 he took his doctorate of divinity and in the following year, a protégé of **Thomas Wolsey**, he was part of an embassy to **Charles V** in **Spain**: on his return he was granted an audience with **Henry VIII**. It was now that Cranmer became a supporter of the annulment of the king's marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**.

In 1529 Cranmer advised taking the “King’s Great Matter” out of the courts to put it before leading European universities for a verdict. Soon Cranmer was to meet Henry again and also rose in favor with the family of **Anne Boleyn**: over the next four years he became increasingly involved in constructing the case for the dissolution of the Aragon marriage and in 1530 joined an embassy to take the matter directly to Charles V and Pope **Clement VII** in **Italy**. In 1530 he acquired the titles of orator to the Holy See and penitentiary-general for England, positions that gave him a unique liaison role between the papacy and his own country. Cranmer traveled from **Rome** to Bologna, northern Italy, where the emperor and the **pope** were present for the former’s coronation, and in October 1530 began a return journey to England, where he coordinated the completion of the *Collectanea satis Copiosa*, “The Compilation Sufficiently Ample,” a defense of the king’s sovereign jurisdiction within his realm, and a Latin work that appeared in English in November 1531 in the shape of *The Determinations of the Most Famous and Most Excellent Universities of Italy and France . . .* in favor of the annulment.

The *Determination* called into question the pope’s power to intervene in Henry’s marital affairs and the papacy’s right to sanction the dispensation that had made the king and Catherine man and wife, and Cranmer was now making contact with Continental **Evangelicals** who for some years had been denying papal authority. Such connections were strengthened in 1532, when Cranmer took part in a mission to **Germany** that brought him to **Nuremberg**, to a meeting,

which resulted in a friendship, with **Andreas Osiander** and a wedding with the Nuremberg reformer's niece by marriage, Margarethe.

Cranmer's main business on the Continent was with Charles V, and when the emperor and his entourage moved on to Italy, Cranmer followed, finding on the way that he had suddenly been raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury, made vacant by the death of William Warham (1450?–1532)—giving Cranmer the ecclesiastical primacy of England. He arrived back in the kingdom in January 1533 but was absent from the clandestine wedding of Henry and Boleyn later in the same month; in April, though, he summoned the king to a hearing in Dunstable in Bedfordshire, in the south Midlands, in order to discharge the scandal of his married life with Catherine. The queen refused to appear, so that Cranmer adjudged her to be in contempt of court, and toward the end of May he delivered his verdict against the Aragon marriage. Cranmer presided over the coronation of the new queen in June and in September baptized Princess **Elizabeth**.

Amid the dangerous complexities of Henrician ecclesiastical politics, the new archbishop had to steer a careful course between radicals and traditionalists. On the one hand, he presided over the trial, leading to the burning to death, of someone who denied the real presence of Christ in the **eucharist**; on the other, he directed the prosecution in 1533 of the “Maid of Kent,” a woman of his Canterbury diocese who for many conservatives symbolized resistance to change and support for the king's first marriage.

Following his enthronement in December 1533, Cranmer was to be active both in the transformation of his diocese and in the wider province of Canterbury, which covered the south of the country, as well as in the national and parliamentary politics of the Breach with Rome, collecting support for the First **Act of Succession**. Early in 1536, in sermons in London, Cranmer made the breakthrough step of denouncing the pope as the **Antichrist**, called for the suppression of lesser monasteries and condemned **Masses** for the dead. Even so, a serious crisis for the reform program that he championed came with the disgrace of Queen Anne. In May 1536 Cranmer declared the Boleyn marriage invalid and signed the necessary papers to allow the king's next marriage, to Jane Seymour (1509?–1537), to proceed.

Further problems for the cause of change came with the pro-Catholic rising in the north in 1536–37, the **Pilgrimage of Grace**, which targeted the archbishop for execution. After the crushing of

that rebellion a new **confession** of faith of the Church of England, *The Institution of a Christen Man* (September 1537) steered a modified Evangelical faith for the country, strengthened by Cranmer's links with **Martin Bucer** and **Heinrich Bullinger**, and Cranmer proceeded with his early attempts to give the Church of England a new liturgy, for which he borrowed from varied influences, including that of **Johannes Bugenhagen** in **Denmark**.

Tension with the king arose over Henry's determination to present the Catholic doctrinal face of the Church of England, in the Act of Six **Articles of Religion** of 1539, which outlawed clerical marriage and forced the departure of Cranmer's second wife, Margarethe, from England. In January 1540 the archbishop was pressing on the king reasons for proceeding with his planned marriage with the German princess Anne of Cleves (1515–1557). He was to be exposed to risk through his close association with **Thomas Cromwell**, whose advocacy of the disastrous Cleves marriage sealed the minister's downfall in the summer of 1540: the archbishop wrote to the king to defend Cromwell but then voted with the other members of the House of Lords in favor of his conviction, joining with other clergy of the Church of England in invalidating Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves.

One result of Cromwell's fall was to highlight Cranmer's political significance. Cranmer became a leader in the royal Privy Council and of the government that Henry left behind him when he made a tour of the north from June 1541. When the king returned, in November, he received from Cranmer written information concerning the adultery of his fifth wife, Catherine (or Katherine) Howard (b. between 1518 and 1524), and it fell to the archbishop to extract from the queen the confession that led to her beheading in February 1542.

That year saw fresh danger for Cranmer as the main champion of **Protestantism** in England. While he ran the government during Henry's absence on his campaign in **Scotland** in the fall of 1542, opposition to his religious changes within his own cathedral and diocese exploded in 1543 in the "Prebendaries' Plot," an anti-Cranmer conservative coalition, with **Stephen Gardiner** in the background. In November, Henry allowed Cranmer's conservative foes in the Privy Council to present heresy charges against him. Even so, Cranmer was to be safe for the rest of Henry's reign. A primer, or prayer manual, in English in 1545 was a prelude to his later **Book of Common Prayer**.

The closing months of Henry's reign also saw him form a political alliance with the rising power of **Edward Seymour**.

Seymour's protectorate over the boy king **Edward VI** was to herald the best prospect of the fulfilment of Cranmer's hopes for Reformation. He made public his marriage, directed the issue of a dozen sermons on Reformation doctrines such as **justification**, set up arrangements for a state visitation to inspect religious life throughout the country, and began inviting to England Protestant refugees from the Continent—**Pietro Martire Vermigli** and **Bernardino Ochino** in December 1547, and Bucer in April 1549. The English-language "Order of the Communion" was in place for Easter 1548, followed soon after by a **catechism**.

What is widely regarded as Cranmer's greatest achievement, the Book of Common Prayer, was ordered to be used throughout the kingdom from June 1549, a liturgical compromise between tradition, using the old English "Sarum" rite of the Mass, and various Evangelical strands, all brought together in Cranmer's majestic English prose. A revolt against the new book in the West Country engaged Cranmer in a forceful response of preaching and counter-propaganda. However, the outbreak of the revolt was a factor in discrediting Somerset and making way for the seizure of power by **John Dudley, Earl of Warwick**, whose coup was endorsed by Cranmer as a means of ensuring the continuation of Protestant policies against a conservative reaction.

The ground was clear in 1550 for Cranmer to advance more radical reformist policies, exploiting vacancies in bishoprics to install reformers. His *A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ*, established the spiritual nature of the eucharist and repudiated all alternatives such as **transubstantiation**. The doctrinally Catholic Gardiner was deprived and imprisoned, while political disagreements with Dudley did not obstruct further progress along the road to Reformation, culminating in the new 1552 Book of Common Prayer, which repudiated belief in the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. Rejection of transubstantiation was also built into Cranmer's 1553 Forty-Two Articles of Religion, which in addition reduced the **sacraments** to two, **baptism** and the eucharist, and were accompanied by a new primer and a revised catechism.

What was now overshadowing the project of religious reform was the political situation, as Edward VI's health deteriorated, opening up the prospect of his being succeeded by his Catholic half-sister **Mary**, so that Dudley hatched a plan, which Cranmer backed, to divert the succession to the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley, 1537–1554), with her husband, Dudley's son, Lord Guildford Dudley (d. 1554). Cranmer took part in the proclamation of Lady Jane as queen after Edward's death in July and was involved in military action to head off Mary's accession, but in the same month Mary successfully asserted her claim, and in September he was interrogated over the part he had played in trying to divert the Tudor succession. In September, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London, until in March 1554, along with **Hugh Latimer** and **Nicholas Ridley**, he was taken to Oxford for a public disputation, in April, centering on the eucharist, against a Catholic team, an event followed by some months of incarceration in the city until his trial for heresy opened there in September 1555. Further debates took place with Spanish **Dominican** theologians in October and December, and Cranmer started to go to Mass, in January 1556 signing an acceptance of the **pope's** authority, followed by three further submissions in the new year.

Though he made recantation of all his Protestant beliefs, his execution was still to proceed and on 18 March he signed his final text, the revocation of his recantation. On 20 March Cranmer was allowed to make a statement in the university church in which he renounced his earlier submissions. In the fire that quickly consumed him, he placed first the “unworthy” right hand that had signed the repudiations of his beliefs.

Thomas Cranmer was a major architect of **Anglicanism** and the author of some of his country's most captivating religious prose.

CROMWELL, THOMAS (c. 1485–1540). Cromwell was born in or before 1485, the son of Walter Cromwell, a brewer, innkeeper, cloth trader, and blacksmith of Putney, near **London**. Walter Cromwell served as juryman and parish constable but was often himself in trouble with the law. As a young man, Cromwell junior left for the Continent and seems to have fought in the French army in **Italy**, after which he was a guest of the Florentine banker Leonardo Frescobaldi (1485–1529) and then set up as a textile merchant in the **Low Countries**; in 1514 he was in **Rome**.

Returning to **England**, Cromwell married a widow whose father helped set him up in the cloth business. (She gave him a son, Gregory, and died in 1527.) Cromwell dealt in moneylending and legal business and in 1517–18 returned to Rome as the agent of the town of Boston in Lincolnshire, eastern England, in successfully applying for an **indulgence** from Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13). Back in England, in the early 1520s he was executing legal work that brought him into contact with **Thomas Wolsey**. In 1521 he entered parliament for a constituency not known and prepared a speech opposing war with **France** and advocating the conquest of **Scotland**.

Cromwell now moved into an opulent London house, held local office in city government, served as a tax commissioner for the neighboring county of Middlesex, joined one of the Inns of Court—the London law colleges—developed a specialization in real estate transactions, and joined Wolsey’s service, assisting the cardinal in the complex conveyancing work associated with the suppression of monasteries to fund the cardinal’s new colleges in Oxford and Ipswich. He joined Wolsey’s council in 1526 and by 1529 had risen high in his confidence so that the latter’s fall in that year carried with it serious threats to his protégé’s future. But Cromwell was nothing if not a survivor and was able to win a seat in parliament, for Taunton in Somerset, western England, in November 1529.

Cromwell now set about building his career in **Henry VIII’s** service, working as a real estate land agent on tasks for the crown. Sitting in the House of Commons from January to March 1531, he was drawn toward a solution of Henry VIII’s matrimonial problems through application to the king’s case of the theory that kings of England enjoyed both temporal and ecclesiastical authority within their realm. By the fall of 1531, appointed to the Privy Council, he performed duties which included the drafting of parliamentary legislation.

Cromwell’s move in the direction of **Evangelical** doctrines, accomplished through personal contacts, for example with **Miles Coverdale**, formed the background to the religious changes he masterminded in the 1530s. His party increased in strength with the departure of **Sir Thomas More** from the Privy Council in May 1531, and the appointment of **Thomas Cranmer** as archbishop of Canterbury in 1532, while Cromwell’s personal fortunes waxed strongly in the warmth of royal favor: in April 1533 he rose to become chancellor

of the exchequer, the officer of state responsible for collecting royal revenues, followed by appointment to the high judicial office of master of the rolls in October 1534.

Henry's marriage with **Anne Boleyn** in January 1533 now opened the gateway to a series of measures that would change the face of England, its Church, religion, and constitution. In February Cromwell introduced into parliament the **Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome** which envisaged the English state as a completely sovereign monarchy: England's declaration of independence.

In a new session of parliament early in 1534 a further raft of measures was steered by Cromwell through parliament to confirm the death of Catholic England: the **Act of Succession** confirming the validity of the Boleyn marriage; a Dispensations Act and Act for the Submission of the Clergy, making the king head of the English Church; and An Act in Restraint of Annates, cutting off England's ancient financial obligations to the papacy.

In the month after those measures received the royal assent, March 1534, Cromwell was appointed as the king's first secretary. As in effect first minister, he was a reformer in more spheres than that of the Church: also to be undertaken were the overhaul of royal finance and an ambitious scheme of social, legal, agricultural, and industrial reform, inspired both by humanist and by Evangelical ideals and culminating in poor relief legislation in 1536, making local units, based on the parish community, responsible for helping the needy.

In the spring and summer of 1534, all new bishops, as well as colleges and ecclesiastical bodies, were required to swear acceptance of the king's supremacy over the Church, and parish clergy were compelled to renounce the **pope's** authority in England. In autumn a new Treasons Act made it a capital offense to voice criticism of the king. The 1534 **Act of Supremacy** was a parliamentary declaration of what was already the case: the king was head of the Church in England, and the Act for Payment of First Fruits and Tenthhs spelled out the further consequence of the supremacy for the clergy in the shape of their heavily increased fiscal obligations to the crown. In April 1535 letters from Cromwell to magistrates, bishops, and nobles directed them to arrest and imprison all clerics who upheld papal authority.

In January 1535 Henry made Cromwell "vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical"—his agent in exercising the supremacy. In September

1536 Cromwell suppressed the authority of every English bishop and then reinstated it, with the proviso that they were crown servants whose commissions would be dissolved on the king's death. A campaign of repression continued between May and July 1535 with the executions of six London Carthusian monks, **John Fisher**, and Thomas More, and the visitations of the monasteries began in the summer of 1535. However, early moves in the direction of dissolution of the monasteries opened up a political crisis when Queen Anne took issue with Cromwell's intention to pay the proceeds of the suppression into the exchequer rather than their going toward charitable and educational causes; Anne also fell out with Cromwell over foreign policy.

A public denunciation at court of the minster as the queen's enemy exposed the danger not only to his career but to his life, and with typical efficiency and ruthlessness, Cromwell took a defensive escape route out, presenting evidence of her adultery and incest that led to Anne's execution, along with those of her alleged lovers. The destruction of the queen raised Cromwell's power to new heights: in June he took the position of lord privy seal from Anne's father Thomas Boleyn (1477–1539). The conferment of the title of Baron Cromwell of Wimbledon expressed the confidence of the king in him.

Now the process of religious change could be resumed. The **Ten Articles of Religion** published in August 1536 were moderately reformist, but Cromwell's more radical Injunctions accompanying them—condemning the veneration of saints and the cult of images and calling for the installation of vernacular **bibles** in churches—aroused public fears of further and more extreme change, igniting sparks of protest, first in Lincolnshire, in eastern England, in September.

Along with Cranmer, Cromwell was the focus of resentment in the rebellion known as the **Pilgrimage of Grace** that followed. The crushing of the Pilgrimage, however, allowed for the acceleration of change as the king showed his renewed confidence in his plebeian-born servant by admitting him to the exclusive knightly Order of the Garter. The October 1537 Articles of Religion known as *The Institution of a Christen Man*, or "Bishops' Book," moved in the direction of Lutheran faith on the key issue of **justification** and the following year witnessed the most rapid advance in religious change yet seen in Henry VIII's England. This involved a campaign of **iconoclasm**,

climaxing in the destruction in September of the shrine of the martyr St. Thomas Becket (1118?–1170) at Canterbury; talks in May with representatives of the German Lutheran **Schmalkaldic League**; new Injunctions extending the campaign against images, relics, pilgrimages, and **confraternities** and renewing the order for the installation in churches of the bible in English; and the extension of dissolution to all the monasteries without exception, a process ratified by parliament in 1539.

Yet it was the very extent and speed of change that now induced the king to draw back, made aware of the rise of radical dissent and the presence of **Anabaptists** in his kingdom. In November 1539, Henry, presiding in person at the trial and burning of a Protestant, upheld his belief in **transubstantiation** and went on to maintain clerical celibacy and to condemn “heretical” writings.

Meanwhile, Cromwell pressed on with the reform agenda. A lover of Scripture, his major task between December 1538 and April 1539 was the completion of the printing of **Miles Coverdale’s** English **bible**: he contributed the substantial sum of £400 of his own cash to the work. Meanwhile, however, in April and May the king was showing his commitment to traditional rites and denouncing the variety of religious views that had emerged in the realm. In the month of June of 1539, which also saw Henry making friendly overtures to **Charles V**, the Act of Six **Articles of Religion** reaffirmed Catholic doctrine with particular reference to the **Mass** and the priesthood. There were reports in July that Henry had reverted to all aspects of Catholicism except the restoration of the monasteries and papal primacy. In October, however, the king agreed to a marriage, advocated by Cromwell, to the German princess known in England as Anne of Cleves (1515–1557), creating a diplomatic avenue to the Schmalkaldic League. The king also developed an enthusiasm for the Great Bible.

Anne of Cleves landed in England just after Christmas 1539. Henry found her physically off-putting, but for diplomatic reasons the wedding had to go ahead, and, although it was speedily annulled, Cromwell had to take the blame for its failure. For the time being he was safe—honored, in fact, with the conferment in April of the earldom of Essex and the award of the high office of lord great chamberlain. But the Cleves marriage fiasco apart, an underlying factor in Cromwell’s impending fall, in the context of Henry’s increasing anxiety to find a middle course and to restore religious consensus in

his divided realm, was the minister's reputation for religious radicalism. Cromwell came to a meeting of the Council in June to face arrest and humiliation from members of the old nobility. The Bill of Attainder passed later in the same month was a parliamentary statement of his crimes of treason, heresy, corrupt practices, even of scheming to marry the king's daughter **Mary**. Cromwell was executed, clumsily, in July 1540.

Thomas Cromwell was one of the greatest and most creative statesmen in English history, an architect of parliamentary legislation and a builder of a postmedieval state apparatus and of an independent national sovereignty that was to last until the later 20th century. He made major contributions to the extension of royal rule into the north of England and to the integration of **Ireland** and **Wales** into the "empire" of his master, who soon came to look back on him as the most loyal of all his ministers.

CRYPTO-CALVINISM. The spread of **John Calvin's** influence in **Germany** in the 1550s induced the leading Lutheran minister of the northern coastal city of Hamburg, Joachim Westphal (1510–1574), to publish in 1552 his *Farrago*, a warning to his fellow adherents of **Lutheranism** of the invasion of their faith by Calvin's views, which were believed to be affecting the **Philippist** followers of **Melanchthon**. In the ensuing controversy, in which Calvin himself became involved, **Gnesio-Lutherans** branded their opponents as "crypto-Calvinists," accusing them of denying the real presence of Christ in the **eucharist**. The crypto-Calvinist trend was indeed strong in individual German states, as well as in **Denmark**, and became predominant in **Saxony** in the 1580s under Christian I, who ruled from 1586 to 1591.

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DENCK (OR DENK), HANS (1495–1527). The **Anabaptist** Johannes, or Hans, Denck was born in Holbach (Heybac, or Hubach) in **Bavaria**, studied at the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt, and received a humanist education. He taught in the south-German city of Regensburg, worked as a proofreader in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, and in 1523 was appointed head of the school known

as the Sebaldusschule in **Nuremberg**, where he became a friend of **Andreas Osiander**.

Gravitating toward the **Anabaptists** and influenced by medieval German mystical theology and the synthesis of the philosophy of Plato (c. 427–c. 347 BC) with Christian faith known as Christian Platonism, as well as by his contemporaries **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** and **Thomas Müntzer**, Denck stressed the importance of inner spiritual rebirth, of which believers' **baptism** was the expression—the second stage in a triple process following conversion and preceding martyrdom. In 1524 he began preaching his spiritualist doctrines, associated with a group of three Nuremberg painters who were accused of holding deviant religious views, and along with these “godless painters” was banished from Nuremberg and moved to the southern city of Augsburg, where in April 1526 he was baptized by **Balthasar Hubmaier** and published numerous tracts.

Denck next took part in a pamphlet debate with the Augsburg **Lutheran** minister Urbanus Rhegius (1489–1541), but abandoned Augsburg when it was suggested that the debate be held in a public forum, and made his way to **Strassburg**, where he strengthened his links with radical movements and debated with **Martin Bucer**, until the city council ordered his departure. He moved on to Worms, in the Rhineland, early in 1527 and published a mystical tract, “Of True Love,” and was once more expelled in July of that year. He attended the Augsburg “Martyrs’ Synod,” so named on account of the 60 or so delegates who were subsequently executed for their Anabaptist beliefs. He traveled to Basel and may have retreated from some of his radical positions. Denck collaborated in a translation of a selection of the Hebrew prophets into German and in 1531 his commentary on the book of the prophet Micah was published. He died of the plague in Basel in 1527, a spiritual writer and thinker, true to his humanist intellectual beginnings. *See also* HUT, HANS.

DENMARK. From the time of the Union of Kalmar in 1397 the Scandinavian countries of **Denmark**, **Norway**, and **Sweden** had been united under the crown of Denmark, ruled from 1513 by King Christian II (1481–1559), who was determined to impose firm royal authority on Norway and on virtually independent Sweden, where he was crowned king in November 1520, followed by the mass execution—the “Stockholm bloodbath”—of 82 opposition leaders;

the event led to a struggle for independence by the Swedes, which resulted in the accession of their new king, **Gustav Vasa**, in 1523.

In Denmark itself, Christian's autocratic actions culminated in the Secular and Ecclesiastical Code of 1521–22, placing the Church under royal control: Church courts were debarred from trying cases involving property; a supreme court was to have final legal jurisdiction, preventing appeals to **Rome**; priests were to be university graduates, able to preach in Danish, and resident in their parishes.

This program of ecclesiastical nationalization combined with reform was accompanied with social policies in which King Christian challenged the power of the nobles in favor of townspeople and peasants. For a while, Christian also brought in Lutheran initiatives, inviting **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** into the country. However, the king, married to **Charles V's** sister Isabella, drew back from further religious innovation. Christian's policies had made him many powerful enemies at home and abroad—including his uncle Duke Fredrik (Frederick, 1471?–1533) of Schleswig-Holstein—and following his failure to suppress an aristocratic revolt toward the end of 1522, in 1523 he was deposed in favor of Fredrik by an alliance of nobles and clerics. After later efforts to regain his throne, King Christian was to die in exile in the **Low Countries** in 1559.

Denmark's new king had already been influenced by **Lutheranism** before his accession, and during his reign from 1523 to 1533 he was determined to expand royal power by introducing a Lutheran ecclesiastical system into his country. In the key area of preaching, a pioneer was **Hans Tausen**, who began delivering Lutheran-inspired sermons in Viborg (in the Jutland peninsula) following his return to Denmark in 1524. Further reforms appeared in the shape of Danish translations of the New Testament in 1524 and 1529, the latter, by Christian Petersen (d. 1554), a foundation stone of literary Danish.

While Lutheran beliefs were spreading in the country, Fredrik was winning support from the nobility on the basis of their new power to seize land from the Church. In 1526 came a crucial step in Denmark's alienation from the papacy, when the king rejected Pope **Clement VII's** appointee to the archbishopric of Lund (in modern south Sweden), placed his own nominee in the vacant see, and kept the fees paid normally to Rome for the formal appointment: the former King Christian's earlier policies of ecclesiastical autonomy for Denmark,

under royal control, were back on the agenda. Fredrik, however, also increased the Lutheran character of his reforms.

In 1526 Fredrik married his daughter to Albrecht (Albert) von Hohenzollern of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1490–1568), the former head of the Order of **Teutonic Knights** who had secularized his territory in East Prussia in northern **Germany** and brought in a Lutheran Church order. He also encouraged the measures taken by his son Christian (1503–1559), who in 1526 began the Lutherization of the hereditary duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, a process steered by **Johannes Bugenhagen** down to 1541. When, at the August 1527 “noble assembly” (*Herredag*) of Odense, on the island of Fyn (Fünen), the bishops tried to halt further change, Fredrik was able to overcome their opposition, and reform continued.

A further attempt by the bishops to block change was made at a meeting of the *Herredag* in Copenhagen (København) in 1530, when the Lutheran clergy were called upon to present their beliefs. Tausen led 20 of his colleagues in a defense of their doctrines in the 43-article *Confessio Hafnica*, the “Copenhagen **Confession**.” The bishops’ efforts to defeat the Lutherans through a condemnation in 27 clauses resulted in a successful “Apology” from the reformers.

Though Denmark’s Lutheran Reformation had by now gained considerable momentum, it was not unstoppable, especially in the light of Christian II’s efforts to resume his throne, supported by Charles V, and with an attempted invasion, via Norway, in 1531–32. Fredrik’s response was to join the **Schmalkaldic League**, but his death in 1533 triggered a three-year civil war—known as the “Counts’ War” (*Grevens Fejde*)—during which the bishops were able to reverse many of the changes already made.

As elsewhere in 16th-century Europe, the resolution of the Danish religious situation largely depended on the determination of the royal succession, while the settlement of the succession would be decided partly on the basis of the balance of religious preferences within the nation. The leading contenders for the throne were Fredrik’s son, Duke Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, the champion of the Protestant party, and the former King Christian II. But Christian II failed to make an effective stand, and in 1536 Christian of Schleswig-Holstein was proclaimed king as Christian III, entering Copenhagen, which had held out for a year against him.

Christian's accession ensured that the progress of **Protestantism**, evident in the country since the 1520s through the closure of monasteries and the emergence of Lutheran and Danish-language liturgies, accompanied by attacks on the friars and the withholding of tithes and dues, would be accelerated. The bishops, blamed for the war of the succession, were arrested, and those who agreed to renounce their status and wealth were freed. At Christian's first Diet (*Riksdag*), in Copenhagen in October 1536, the Lutheran faith was established as that of the kingdom, and accepted in 1538 in the form of the **Augsburg Confession**; monasteries were dissolved, and all ecclesiastical property not already in the hands of the aristocracy was forfeit to the crown. The Lutheran system was unhesitatingly imposed on Denmark's Scandinavian dependencies of Iceland and Norway (in 1537).

Christian's coronation followed in 1537, administered by Bugenhagen, who then proceeded to take in hand the government of the Church, ordaining the seven ecclesiastical superintendents chosen by the king. **Martin Luther** himself approved the ecclesiastical constitution known as the Church Ordinance (*Kirkeordinans*), which was ratified by the *Herredag* at Odense in 1539 and which legislated in favor of the election of parish clergy by local congregations and led to the reform of the University of Copenhagen. Lutheran clerical inspiration was provided by Tausen and Peder Palladius (1503–1560), who was bishop of Sjælland (the island on which the capital stands) and the author of the 1556 Lutheran service book.

At the apex of the new structure of ecclesiastical administrators and church courts was the king, as *summus episcopus*, “chief bishop”—supreme head of the Church of Denmark. With the creation of a liturgy, and the beginning of a translation of the whole of Scripture, in Danish, the kingdom was well on the way to accepting **Lutheranism**—albeit a conservative variant that retained much of the ecclesiastical *décor*, rituals, and popular piety of the late Middle Ages—as a badge of national identity under the crown.

DEVOTIO MODERNA. The *devotio moderna*—“the new piety”—was a term employed in the early 15th century to describe the devotional movement originating under the leadership of Geert (or Gerhard) de Groote (Groot or Groete, in Latin Gerardus Magnus, 1340–1384),

a Dutch academic and deacon, born in Deventer in the north of the **Low Countries**, who came under the influence of the austere Carthusian Order, took up itinerant preaching, decried **Scholasticism** and elevated Scripture, gathered followers around himself, and struggled to reform the standards of the clergy in the Dutch diocese of Utrecht. The movement spread rapidly through modern Belgium and Holland and along the Rhine into neighboring **Germany**.

Led by Groote's followers Florens (or Florent) Radewijns (c. 1350–1400) in Deventer and Jan Celle in neighboring Zwolle, from the 1370s the *devotio moderna* set out to foster a spiritual life centered on Christ and emphasizing a fervent inner religious life, simple **faith**, meditation, and the study of Scripture, focusing on the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Two branches of this spiritual renaissance emerged, one, known as the Windesheim Congregation, which kept the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and the other, the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life, approved in 1418 by Pope Martin V (r. 1417–31), after overcoming initial local clerical suspicion. The members lived in community but without solemn religious vows, often running schools. By c. 1450 the Brethren and Sisters occupied around 100 houses in Europe, usually with up to a dozen residents in each, sometimes including married couples, all sharing their necessities and work and holding regular short prayer sessions.

The adherents of the *devotio moderna* directed a mission to the **laity** involving the copying and distribution and reading of Scripture in vernacular translation and the study of devout writings. Of the latter the best known, and the most characteristic of the *devotio moderna*'s piety, is the pre-1441 work, *De Imitatione Christi*—"Concerning the Imitation of Christ"—by the **Augustinian** canon of Windesheim and subprior of the monastery of Agnietenberg near Zwolle, Thomas a Kempis (Hemerken, or Hämmerlein, von Kempen, 1380–1471). This work, which is entirely orthodox in its praise of the religious orders and of the **sacraments** of the Church, also epitomized the *devotio moderna*'s relative indifference to formal theology, its stress on the immediacy of spiritual experience, and its sense of Christ as an exemplar transforming lives.

Throughout his life **Desiderius Erasmus** retained the influence of his early schooling at Deventer with the Brethren of the Common Life, and it is also possible to trace its impact on the rise of interior

spiritual piety in the 16th century, as with **Kaspar Schwenckfeld**, **Juan de Valdés**, and **Marguerite d'Angoulême**. **Martin Luther**, who was also taught by members of the Brethren, saw similarities between his own thinking, especially on salvation by faith, and that of a leading exponent of the *devotio moderna*, the Dutchman and friend of a Kempis, Wessel Gansfort (or Johan/Johannes Harmens Gansfort, 1419–1489), whose work *Farrago Rerum Theologicarum* (“A Hotch-potch of Theological Matters”) was published by Luther in 1522. It is also possible to see the long-range influence of Groote’s approach in Luther’s disparagement of Scholasticism and in the emphasis that the reformer placed on the role of the laity in the Church.

The spirit of the *devotio moderna* also resurfaced in the early **Catholic Reformation**, especially with the founding in **Rome** in 1517 of the **Oratory of Divine Love**, a **confraternity** devoted to prayer and works of charity that provided much of the spiritual energy for the 16th-century renewal of the Catholic Church. One of the early reforming **popes** of the century, **Adrian VI**, was a product of Groote’s Christian revival. Finally, the “Imitation of Christ” made a deep impression on the **Jesuit** founder, **Ignatius Loyola**, and shaped the composition of his own devotional masterpiece, the “Spiritual Exercises.” It is hard to imagine any trend in late medieval Christian piety in Europe that had a stronger effect on religious change in 16th-century Europe than did the *devotio moderna*.

DIET, GERMAN. The Diet of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation—the *Reichstag*—had its origins in a tribal gathering—the *placitum*—held to deliberate military, legal, and political issues in the early medieval Frankish Empire. A less general assembly, and bringing together ecclesiastics and nobles, came to supersede the *placitum* and formed the pattern for the medieval Diet, which evolved as a German national assembly. In the first place, its membership was made up of lay and ecclesiastical princes—*Fürsten*—from whom the seven electors—*Kurfürsten*—who voted in a new emperor on an imperial vacancy, became detached as a group in its own right, until their separate identity was recognized in the constitution of 1356 known as the Golden Bull, issued by the emperor Charles IV (1316–1378). From the mid-13th century urban representatives attended and from the 14th century various aristocrats. Thus, by the

14th century the Diet was subdivided into estates, houses, or colleges of categories of members—electors, princes, and delegates of “free” or “Imperial” cities, the self-governing *Reichsstädte*. By the early 16th century about 65 *Reichsstädte* were represented in the Diet, along with around 120 ecclesiastics, 30 princes, and three archiepiscopal electors (Mainz, Trier, and Cologne[Köln]), and four secular (**Brandenburg**, **Bohemia**, **Saxony**, and the Rhineland **Palatinate**).

As with other national parliamentary bodies in late medieval Europe, the Diet was concerned with taxation, but the late 15th and early 16th centuries saw a further development in its business through the formal presentation of national grievances—the *Gravamina Nationis Teutonicae*, or “Complaints of the German Nation”—focused on the exploitation of Germany and its Church by Rome, a sense of complaint exacerbated by the political weakness of the emperors Frederick III (r. 1440–93) and Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519). Coordinated by the archbishop and elector of Mainz from 1484 to 1504, Berthold von Henneberg (1441/2–1504), and supported by **Frederick the Wise**, a party of reform introduced changes to prevent the country’s slide into international weakness and internal disintegration.

By the time **Martin Luther**’s protest got under way, the Diet had become an important national forum for the discussion of secular and religious issues, especially those to do with reform and renewal. The Diet dealt with the unfolding Reformation in the following stages: Luther himself put in his epoch-making appearance at the 1521 **Diet of Worms**; the Luther question was the main talking point at the **Diets of Nuremberg** in 1522–23 (which reiterated the *Gravamina*) and 1524; the first **Diet of Speyer** in 1526 took a crucial decision promoting the onward march of **Lutheranism** by empowering states and cities to make their own decisions over their faith; the second Diet of Speyer in 1529 created a recognizable Protestant phalanx in Germany; and it was a Diet, that of **Augsburg** in 1530, that received the definitive statement of what Lutheranism was. Thus, in the key decade 1521–30 it was the Diet that played a vital role in determining the pace of religious change in Germany.

DISCOVERIES OF THE NEW WORLD. In making his penetrations into the Americas from 1492, seeking a direct route to Asia, Christopher Columbus (Cristoforo Colombo, Cristóbal Colón, 1451–1506) was inspired by an apocalyptic Crusading vision associated with

the **Franciscan** Order, according to which the wealth of the Orient would be poured out on the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem as a prelude to the Last Judgement and the end of the world. Following a prophetic tradition established by a medieval prophet, Abbot Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202), in 1501 Columbus declared himself to be a messianic figure who, through his discoveries, was the agent to inaugurate the Joachimist “age of the spirit,” the final epoch before the end of history. A linked perception represented **Spain’s** kings as messianic monarchs with a global and eschatological task of converting all races to Catholic Christianity.

These religious threads running through the New World discoveries were strengthened through papal involvement in arbitrating competing emergent imperial claims between the two powers best positioned geographically to make American conquests, Spain and **Portugal**. In 1493 the Spanish **pope** Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), in the bull *Inter Caetera*, established a vertical boundary line 300 miles west of the Azores, in the north Atlantic, awarding to Spain territories east of the demarcation and to Portugal those to its west. In a form modified less to Spain’s advantage, the arbitration was accepted by Spain and Portugal in the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. To the Spanish the pope gave royal control—the *Patronato*—over the Church in the colonized lands and to the Portuguese its equivalent, the *Padroado*.

As Iberian conquest in the Americas expanded, missionaries of the Franciscan and **Dominican** Orders denounced brutality toward indigenous peoples and the enslavement of those who accepted Christianity, and in 1500 the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand, known as “the Catholic” (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*, 1452–1516) and Isabella, known as “the Catholic” (Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451–1504) legislated against enslavement. In 1512 Spain’s Laws of Burgos created the framework for peaceful Christianization in the New World.

The problem was that the vast potential wealth of the newly won domains created an exploitative mentality according to which ruthless subjugation was seen as the fastest route to profit. Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro (c. 1478–1541) directed ruthless duplicity and violence against the Aztecs and Incas respectively, pioneering a colonial tradition of systematic exploitation in the Americas. The opposing option was presented by a Dominican former colonial estate-owner, Bartolomé de las Casas

(1474–1566), who insisted that Amero-Indian peoples were fully human and rational beings rather than a subspecies suited only for enslavement. His impassioned *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*—“A Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies,” 1552—attacked the whole moral basis of Spanish conquest in South America. Las Casas himself came to realize that his advocacy of the importation of slaves from Africa as an alternative to making slaves of native Americans was misguided.

The voice of las Casas was later taken up by a fellow Dominican, **Francisco de Vitoria**, who insisted on the universality of human rights. The Jesuit **Francisco Suárez** opposed the enforced conversion of native peoples to Christianity.

DISPUTATIONS. In the 16th century the formal debates known as disputations were a favorite method, inherited from medieval academic practice, of resolving controverted doctrinal issues and of introducing religious change.

When **Martin Luther** issued his Ninety-Five Theses on **indulgences** in 1517, he was, in traditional university style, sending out an invitation to academic colleagues to take part in a forum in which “the following theses will be publicly discussed at Wittenberg under the chairmanship of the reverend father Martin Luther” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 67). Though the invitation did not in the short term produce the disputation for which Luther called, in June and July 1519 in the **Leipzig Disputation** with **Johann Maier von Eck**, issues such as papal authority, which Luther had initially raised in the Theses, were debated.

Subsequently, the disputation method was invoked not only to debate issues outstanding between Catholic spokesmen and their opponents but also to resolve disagreements within the emergent Protestant movement. Thus, at the **Marburg Colloquy** Luther and **Philipp Melancthon** faced **Huldrych Zwingli** and **Johannes Œcolampadius** in an attempt to reach an intra-Protestant accord on the **eucharist**. The disputation method could also be employed to attempt to heal breaches between Catholic and non-Catholic sides, as was the case, for instance, in the **Colloquies** held in Ratisbon (Regensburg) in 1541 and Poissy, 1561.

A further deployment of disputations arose from the 1520s onward, when they were used to decide on the religious policies to

be adopted by municipal governments in self-governing **cities and towns** in **Germany** and **Switzerland**. In this way, in **Zürich** in January 1523, Zwingli provided a 67-clause summary of reformist beliefs, his *Schlussreden*, and the city council declared it would take its stand in religious matters on the grounds of Scripture alone—though, since the Catholic party abstained from the event, it could hardly be styled a true disputation. A fresh public discussion took place in Zürich in October 1523, leading in June of the following year to the removal of images and in April 1525 to the suppression of the **Mass**. Likewise, in Basel (Bâle, Basle), Switzerland, in August 1523 Æcolampadius put forward his disputation theses in support of reform.

In Memmingen in southern Germany in January 1524, Christoph Schappeler (or Sertorius, c. 1472–1551), soon to emerge as a leading spokesman for the **Peasants' Revolt**, propounded seven disputation articles at a forum promoted by the Council, while in **Nuremberg** in March 1525 **Andreas Osiander** put the case for reform against Catholic clerical combatants, the council judging the outcome and the sessions being chaired by a lay lawyer of the city. The Nuremberg debates represented a vital stage in the process of change in that city, as was also the case with the disputations in Bern (Berne), Switzerland, in January 1528, at which clerical leaders of the Reformation from Switzerland and south Germany, including **Ambrosius Blarer**, **Martin Bucer**, **Wolfgang Capito**, and Zwingli, were present, followed by the official adoption of a reform ordinance in February. The two installments of public religious debates held in **Geneva** in January and February 1534 and in June 1535 were also crucial in opening the way to change.

DIVORCE. The standard teaching of the Catholic Church on divorce, based on the so-called dominical (or Lord's) commandment in Matthew 19:6 and Mark 10:9—"What therefore God hath joined together let no man put asunder"—ruled out divorce and made possible the dissolution of a partnership only through an annulment—a formal recognition that a true marriage never existed in the first place, because one of the parties had been coerced into the match or was unable to fulfil the sexual requirements of marriage, or because the partners were related, by blood, by other marriage connections, or by the sacramental links of God-parents and God-children. What **Henry VIII** of England sought from **Rome** in his case against Queen

Catherine of Aragon was not a divorce but an annulment, in the form of a ruling that the marriage was invalid from the beginning because the original papal dispensation to permit it could not supersede the scriptural ban in Leviticus 18:16 on liaisons such as this—the marriage of a man to his brother’s wife.

Considerable attention was paid in the Reformation period to the option that St. Paul had given in 1 Corinthians 7:12 for Christians to abandon non-Christian husbands or wives—the “Pauline privilege.” The intensification of religious antipathies in the 16th century, and the likelihood that Christians of one persuasion or another might come to regard those of other Christian variants as non-Christians, expanded the arena for a more permissive treatment of marital separation—and divorce—and **Martin Bucer** was noted for his relatively liberal approach to divorce and remarriage, expanding the scope of the Pauline privilege, though in the end seeing divorce as an exceptional, rather than normal, resolution of problems in marriages. In 1539–40 Bucer also prevailed on **Philipp Melancthon** and **Martin Luther** to sanction bigamy as a way of solving the marital difficulties of **Philipp of Hesse**.

Pro-divorce legislation followed in most Protestant societies, particularly as a method of dealing with adultery, as was the case with **John Calvin**’s brother, who ended his marriage in **Geneva** in 1557, following his wife’s recurrent infidelity. **England** was unusual as a Protestant state in not having a divorce law, because **Thomas Cranmer**’s intention to amend canon law to allow the procedure to take place was halted by the death of **Edward VI** and the accession of Catholic **Mary I**, and when **Elizabeth I** took the throne Cranmer’s planned overhaul of canon law was not reactivated.

DOMINICAN ORDER. The Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) was the greatest of all exponents of **Scholasticism** and between the late 15th and early 16th centuries members of his Order—the “Order of Preachers” or “Preaching Order” (*Ordo Praedicatorum*, or *Fratres Praedicatores*, “Preaching Friars”)—tended to hold to Scholastic approaches, in opposition to the newer insights associated with **humanism**, while the Order’s long-standing staffing of the **Inquisition** cast them in the character of defenders of rigid Catholic orthodoxy—along the lines of the Latin pun on their name, *Domini canes*, “God’s watchdogs.” In the period of the **Renaissance** the of-

fice of papal theologian, known as the Master of the Sacred Palace, was invariably filled by a member of the Order. The Dominicans' alleged ultraconservatism and reputation for repressiveness came together in the early 16th century in the case of **Johann Reuchlin** and the attempt to muzzle his humanist study of Hebrew.

Martin Luther came out strongly in support of Reuchlin against his conservative opponents. As his own agitation against authority, originating in an attack on the excessive claim for the efficacy of indulgences made by the Dominican **Johann Tetzel**, gathered momentum, it was members of the Order of Preachers who took charge of Luther's prosecution. First, a leading Dominican and expert on Aquinas, who occupied the papal office of Master of the Sacred Palace, Cardinal Silvestro Mazzolini of Priero, known as Prierias (1456–1523), who had also supported the prosecution of Reuchlin, in 1518 prepared a "Dialogue" of materials for a trial of Luther. Then in October of the same year, at Augsburg, Luther underwent an attempt to discipline him from the Dominican **Tommaso de Vio, Cajetan**.

Even so, to represent all Dominicans as automatically defenders of conservative views would be a caricature. It is true, for example, that figures such as Prierias and Cajetan were upholders of a pronounced doctrine of papal power, but Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), who had passionately condemned the corrupt papacy of Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) (and whose acceptance of **justification by faith** anticipated both Reformation and 16th-century Italian **evangelical** insights), was also a member of the Order of Preachers. Dominicans, it can be said, did not enlist on the side of the Reformation in the same kind of numbers as did **Franciscans** or Luther's fellow **Augustinians**, and **Martin Bucer** stands out as a lone former member of the Preaching Order among the front rank of Protestant leaders. However, in four ways the Dominicans provided inspiration for Catholic renewal in the century of the Reformation and beyond.

First, their commitment, going back to their founder, the Spanish Dominic de Guzmán (c. 1170–1221), to work in the community, through preaching and administering the **sacrament of penance**, along with their adherence to voluntary poverty, offered a model for the formation of the **Jesuits**, while the teaching work of the female Order, established in 1218, was a pattern for that of the **Ursulines** from the 16th century onward. Secondly, the influential Observant wing of the Order, of which Savonarola was a member, provided a

blueprint for the restoration of the existing religious orders at large. Thirdly, through their research on Aquinas (declared a doctor of the Church by the Dominican Pope **Pius V** in 1567), Dominicans such as Cajetan and the Spanish theologian **Francisco de Vitoria** and his successors Melchior Cano (1509–1560) and Domingo de Soto (1494–1560) helped to restore classic **Scholasticism**, twinning reason and faith, as the central intellectual resource of the Catholic Church. Fourthly, with their numbers doubling to about 30,000 between 1500 and 1700, Dominicans played a vital part both in maintaining a Catholic presence in European mission territories such as **Scotland** and also in the propagation of the Catholic faith in the wider world, above all in the Americas. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

DORT (DORDT OR DORDRECHT), SYNOD OF (1618–1619).

The revisions that **Jacobus Arminius** made to **Calvinist** teachings on **predestination**, **free will**, and **grace** were, after his death, incorporated by his followers, known as Arminians, into a “Remonstrance” of five propositions submitted to the states of Holland and West Friesland in the **Dutch Republic** in 1610, resulting in a “Counter-Remonstrance” issued by the orthodox Calvinist majority of the clergy, who also called for a national synod to resolve the theological issues. In 1614 the Arminians, known as “Remonstrants,” prevailed on the States General of the United Provinces to pass a measure requiring reciprocal tolerance between the parties and an end to a controversy that had become impassioned and disruptive, because it was also involved in political disputes between, on the one hand, pro-Arminian, anticlerical, and republican patrician urban elites and, on the other, the lower-class orthodox Calvinist supporters of continued war against **Spain** and of the House of Orange-Nassau, with its monarchical ambitions.

In 1617 the head of the Orange dynasty, Maurits (Maurice) of Nassau (1567–1625), threw in his lot with the ultra-Calvinists and called a synod of the reformed Church to Dordrecht, in south Holland. In 1618 he arrested and imprisoned the republican and Arminian leaders, the jurist and theological writer Hugo Grotius (Huig van Groot, 1583–1645) and the statesman and Arminius’s former patron, Jan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619). When the synod assembled in November 1618, about a quarter of its over 100 members came from **England**, **Scotland**, **Switzerland**, and various territories in

Germany (though not **France**, as a result of a royal prohibition), but these were present simply in an advisory capacity, in a dispute that principally concerned the Calvinist Church in the Dutch Republic.

The orthodox majority in the Synod brought pressure to bear on the Remonstrant party and its leader, Simon Episcopius (d. 1643), who were required to submit a lengthy statement—*Sententia Remonstrantum*—on the points at issue, but were ejected when they raised objections to the manner of their treatment. The Synod then resolved that, as delinquents, 200 ministers should be stripped of their ecclesiastical positions by area presbyteries and synods, and then, in April 1619, drew up a schedule of classic Calvinist doctrines: that grace was irresistible and predestination unconditional; that Christ died to save only the elect, who were sure to persevere to their goal; and that the natural human being was totally depraved. The **Belgic Confession of Faith** and the **Heidelberg Catechism** were recognized as authoritative, and a new Dutch translation of Scripture was commissioned. In a later session the orthodox formulas were read out to the Remonstrants, along with their condemnation, and the large numbers of refusers faced banishment.

The Synod of Dort closed in May 1619, when Oldenbarnevelt was executed; Grotius escaped from imprisonment in 1621. The outcome of the Synod of Dort established the Dutch **Reformed** Church as the standard-bearer of the **Calvinism** that **Théodore Beza** and others had developed, with its heavy emphasis on predestination—even though the assembly did not endorse the “supralapsarian” dogma that God had foreordained the fall of Adam and Eve—while at the same time out of the divisions it had exposed there emerged an “Arminian” version of the **Reformed** faith, giving scope to human effort and piety and to the role of the Church in the process of salvation.

DOUAI. In 1562 **Philip II** established a university at Douai in the **Low Countries**, attracting to it émigré English Catholic scholars from **Elizabeth I’s England**. One of these, **William Allen**, believed that Douai’s growing importance as a center of exiled English Catholic academia would also make it suitable as the site of a **seminary** for training future generations of Englishmen for a priestly mission to their native land, and the institution was set up, with funding from King Philip and Pope **Gregory XIII**, in 1568. The intake quickly rose to 150, but in 1578 a Calvinist takeover of Douai’s hinterland

forced the removal of the college to Reims (Rheims) in northeastern **France** until a return to Douai was made possible in 1593.

Douai College played two essential roles vis-à-vis the post-Reformation English Catholic community. First, it provided a continuing stream of priests—over 300 even before the end of the 16th century—to provide **Mass**, instruction, and the **sacraments** to the beleaguered English **recusants**. Over 160 of its alumni were executed in the period when anti-Catholic penal laws were in force in England. (Other English seminaries were set up in **Rome** in 1579, Valladolid, in central **Spain**, in 1589 and Seville [Sevilla, in southern Spain] in 1592.)

Douai's second service to the English recusant community was in the provision of literature, including devotional works, and controversial writings by Allen himself and others, and culminating in the translation of the **bible** into English, the New Testament at Reims in 1582 and the Old Testament in Douai in 1609.

With its houses of English Benedictines and **Franciscans** and an Irish College opened there in 1594 and a Scots College in 1600, Douai acted as northern Europe's most important resource for British and Irish Catholics in the period following the Reformation.

DUDLEY, JOHN, EARL OF WARWICK AND DUKE OF NORTH-UMBERLAND (1504–1554). Dudley was born in **London**, the son of a leading minister of King Henry VII (1457–1509), Edmund Dudley (c. 1462–1510), and his wife Elizabeth: the unpopular Dudley senior was executed by **Henry VIII**, his widow remarried, and his son was raised at the Kent home of his guardian Edward Guildford (c. 1479–1534), probably being educated by a family tutor. In 1521 he was chosen to join the entourage of Cardinal **Thomas Wolsey** on a diplomatic mission to the Continent, and in the following year he was appointed by Guildford to a junior army rank in the garrisons serving in **England's** French possession, Calais. He was engaged to Guildford's daughter Jane at around that time, and they married, probably in 1525; they were to have 11 children, including **Elizabeths I's** favorite, **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**.

Meanwhile, Dudley was developing a military career, joining an English expedition to **France** in 1523, during which he was knighted. In 1527 he once more joined Wolsey's retinue on a mission in France. By 1532 he was linked with **Thomas Cromwell's** rising political

fortunes and became a justice of the peace for the Midlands county of Warwickshire. In 1534 Dudley entered Parliament as a county member (“knight of the shire”) for Kent, the shire east of London. He was given command of a contingent in the campaign to suppress the pro-Catholic **Pilgrimage of Grace**, and in 1537 was made vice admiral in the English Channel and was active in suppressing piracy. In that year, he once more accompanied a diplomatic mission to the Continent, to **Spain**.

In 1540 the fall of Cromwell threatened Dudley’s political progress, but in 1541 he was back near the center of power, helping **Thomas Cranmer** investigate the adultery of Henry VIII’s wife Catherine (or Katherine) Howard (b. between 1518 and 1524, d. 1542). In 1542 he inherited the aristocratic title of Viscount Lisle, via his mother. In the polarization of the king’s court between conservatives and Protestants, Lisle was unmistakably counted with the latter. His political and military rise now became more rapid: he became knight of the shire for the Midland county of Staffordshire in 1542 and in November of that year warden-general of the Scottish Marches (borders), entrusted with promoting Anglo-Scottish union through a proposed marriage between Henry’s son, **Edward VI** and the infant **Mary Queen of Scots**.

In January 1543 Lisle was promoted to the senior command position of lord high admiral and in April he joined the Privy Council. In 1545–46 he took into his hands the entire naval administration, laying the foundations for England’s maritime preeminence over its rivals for the remainder of the Tudor period. He was also active in support of Henry’s then current campaigns against France and its ally **Scotland**, and in July 1545, with a fleet of around 200 warships, headed off a French assault on the south coast of England. By the time of Henry’s death at the beginning of 1547, rich grants of lands, including former church estates, and official fees placed him among the top ten wealthiest peers in England. By the end of that year, the reported cessation of the **Mass** in his household marked his adoption of **Protestantism**.

In the arrangements for a protectorate at the beginning of the new reign of Edward VI, headed by **Edward Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, Lisle assumed the office of lord great chamberlain and was made Earl of Warwick, with further large estates. Relations between him and Somerset, with whom he joined in an expedition to Scotland in

September 1547, leading to a sweeping English victory at Pinkie (or Musselburgh), near Edinburgh, were good, and in March 1548 Warwick was made president of the Council in the Marches of **Wales**. Though Warwick had misgivings over Somerset's social policy of preventing the enclosure of common land, the two men were united in promoting religious change, resulting in the first **Book of Common Prayer** in January 1549. However, by the fall of that year, Warwick emerged as a member of an anti-Somerset faction and, in the reconstruction of the government following the fall of Somerset, he took on the office of lord president of the council in February 1550.

The new lord president's first actions in the sphere of foreign affairs marked an abandonment of Somerset's aggression toward France and Scotland, for Warwick sold to the French the northern coastal town of Boulogne, which Henry VIII had captured in 1545, and softened his position toward the Scots. Linked to a withdrawal from aggressive foreign policies, which had stoked inflation by swelling government expenditure, were Warwick's economic measures to restore the currency by suppressing the state-directed coinage debasements, used to finance state overspending, which had likewise fed inflation by devaluing money. His approach involved a reduction in government spending, elimination of state debt, and restoration of sound money and the credibility of the national currency, sterling.

Warwick was, apparently at least, reconciled to Somerset in the spring of 1550, followed by a marriage between his son and Somerset's daughter, but the restoration of friendship between these two was bogus, for Somerset resented Warwick's demolition of his social and foreign policies and in October 1551 Dudley (now Duke of Northumberland) took preemptive action against Somerset, arresting him in that month, convicted of levying an unlawful army, and having him executed in January of the following year. Northumberland proceeded to shore up his position vis-à-vis the deeply Protestant Edward VI by promoting radical measures and men. At the same time, he was carefully preparing both the king and the government apparatus for the imminent royal majority and assumption of rule by Edward. Northumberland's hold over the king was reflected in his further acquisition of high office—he was made earl marshal in April 1550, and warden-general of the Marches of Scotland in October.

Yet the fact that Northumberland's eminence rested on his relationship with the king—and the vulnerability built into that relationship—became clear with Edward's erratic health in the winter and spring of 1553 and its decline toward an early death in July of that year. It seems likely that it was Edward himself who devised a scheme for the succession to himself which, when finalized, involved the transfer of the crown to a young Protestant great-granddaughter of King Henry VII (1457–1509), Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley, 1537–1554), married in May 1553 to Northumberland's fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley (d. 1554)—and it was Northumberland who upheld the plan following the king's death in July, though the mounting support that the most direct—and Catholic—heir, **Mary**, was gathering in Norfolk, in eastern England, nullified all plans to divert the hereditary line away from her.

As Northumberland's army in the field against Mary melted away, he was forced to surrender, with his son, before the end of July, followed by imprisonment in the Tower of London, to face trial and conviction for high treason, after which, for reasons that are not entirely ascertainable, he abjured his Protestant faith that had induced the reformist group under Edward VI to pin their hopes on him.

DÜRER, ALBRECHT (1471–1528). Dürer was born in **Nuremberg** in May 1471, the son of a goldsmith from **Hungary** in whose workshop he was apprenticed. He subsequently persuaded his father to let him study under a professional artist. After completing his apprenticeship at some point following the Easter of 1490, Dürer traveled to Colmar in Alsace, western **Germany**, to visit a well-known engraver, and it is possible that he also visited Mainz in the Rhineland, Frankfurt-am-Main, in central Germany, and the **Low Countries**. Between spring or summer 1492 and the fall of 1493 he was in the printing center, Basel (Bâle, Basle), in **Switzerland**, supplying illustrations for books being printed there. Possibly also visiting **Strassburg**, he was back in Nuremberg in the spring of 1494, marrying in July of that year.

Dürer's next extended journey took him through Tyrol in **Austria** to northern **Italy**, where he met, and fell under the influence of the painter Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506). That learning experience prepared the way for a decade of intense productivity for Dürer in Nuremberg, from 1495 to 1505, the period that saw his version of

the apocalypse in 1498 and a self-portrait of 1500, based on traditional portrayals of Christ. The influence of **humanism** came via his Nuremberg associate Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530) and is evident in his 1504 study of Adam and Eve, with its carefully studied anatomical beauty and proportion. This work preceded a second visit to Italy. In **Venice**, where he was inspired by the city’s leading artist of that time, Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516), he was commissioned by a group of German merchants to undertake one of his best-known works, his celebration of the rosary, the *Rosenkrantz bild*, patriotically celebrating the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), shown as being blessed by the **Blessed Virgin Mary**. (Dürer was to become Maximilian’s court painter in 1512 and carried out further works exalting his rule, including a portrait of the emperor in 1518.)

In February 1507, Dürer returned to Nuremberg, buying a mansion and beginning a theoretical treatise on painting. A second depiction of Adam and Eve followed in 1507, the “Martyrdom of the 10,000 Christians” for his patron **Frederick the Wise** in 1508, great altarpieces in 1509 and 1511, the epitaphs of the Augsburg banking family of Fugger (1510) and his engravings in 1513–1514—“The Knight, Death, and the Devil,” a portrayal of St. Jerome, and his haunting depiction of melancholy, *Melancholia*.

With Maximilian’s death in 1519, Dürer visited the Low Countries, to petition the deceased emperor’s grandson **Charles V** for the continuation of his pension. His works there included another version of St. Jerome, in 1521, and, when he returned to Nuremberg in that year, he received a commission to decorate the city hall.

Dürer was attracted by **Martin Luther**’s early protest movement, sent Luther a set of engravings as a present in recognition of the Ninety-Five Theses, and bemoaned the reformer’s disappearance from the scene after the **Diet of Worms**. Following the adoption of reform by Nuremberg, his 1526 study of the “Four Apostles” has powerful Lutheran resonances. However, Dürer’s ingrained instincts in religious art were Catholic, and he never emerged as a fully conscious Lutheran artist in the way that **Lukas Cranach** did. Adventurous, versatile, and learned, Dürer brought the **Renaissance** ideal to Germany.

DUTCH REPUBLIC. The Dutch Republic, or United Provinces of the Netherlands, emerged in the course, and as the result, of a strug-

gle for religious and political independence from **Philip II**, who had inherited the 17 “Burgundian” provinces of the **Low Countries** from **Charles V** and who left in charge of their administration between 1559 and 1567 his illegitimate half-sister, the Netherlands-born Margaret of Parma (Margherita di Parma, or Margarethe von Österreich, 1522–1586).

From 1559 Philip began to introduce into the provinces political innovations increasing royal authority and, in 1561, ordered religious reforms, including the creation of new dioceses to introduce **Catholic reform** but also placing the Church under crown control, threatening the lucrative hold that the Low Countries’ nobility held over an unreformed Church. Fear of the introduction of a Spanish-style **inquisition** in a country with traditions of religious **tolerance**, as well as a fast-growing Protestant movement, fostered opposition, and Philip’s insistence in 1565 that the laws against heresy be enforced encouraged a group of dissident lesser nobles and citizens—derisively labeled *gueux*, or “beggars”—to present to Philip’s regency government in the capital Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel) in April 1566 a protest document known as the “Compromise.”

In the summer of the same year, amid a recession hitting the Low Countries’ textile industry and causing unemployment and hunger, a wave of mass acts of **iconoclasm**, inspired by **Calvinism** and **Anabaptism**, engulfed the region’s towns and cities, including the great port of Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers) and a leading city, Ghent (Gent, Gand). Philip’s reaction in 1567 was to send to the Low Countries an army under the command of his general Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (or Alva, 1508–1582). On arrival in Brussels, Alba set about creating a military-style authoritarian government, with high taxes on trade planned. Government was placed in the hands of an emergency ruling body entitled the “Council of Troubles,” popularly known as the “Council of Blood,” designed to root out religious dissent and political opposition: refugees fled the country on a large scale.

Among the thousands of victims of Alba’s regime in 1567 were his opponents Lamoral, Count Egmont (b. 1506), and Philippe de Montmorency, Count of Hoorne (Horne or Hornes, b. 1518)—turned into folk martyrs by Alba’s action—but an aristocratic leader of resistance, William (Willem) of Nassau, Prince of Orange (known as Willem *de Zwijgend*, or Guillaume *le Taciturne*—“William the

Silent,” 1533–1584), proceeded to head a military and naval campaign against Spanish forces, culminating in the capture in 1572 of vital Dutch ports and other towns by the free-lance naval unit known as the “Sea Beggars” (*gueux de mer*). The rebels against Spain had now secured a firm base in the northern Netherlands, centered on the county of Holland, with its increasing Calvinist ascendancy in the towns. The anti-Spanish movement formed a parliamentary States-General in July 1572 and recognized Orange as *Stadhouder*, or military governor: he became a Calvinist—a lukewarm one—in 1573, the year when Alba was recalled to Spain.

Alba’s successor, Don Luis de Zúñiga y Requesens (d. 1576), pursued milder legal and fiscal policies than Alba’s but had no authority to lighten repressive religious measures, and on his death mutiny by his unpaid troops created a widespread reaction against the Spanish military presence, inducing leading provinces of the Low Countries to sign an agreement of November 1576 entitled the Pacification of Ghent. Following atrocities by the troops in Antwerp—the “Spanish Fury”—in the fall of 1576, the Pacification was expanded at Brussels in January 1577 into an accord of all the 17 provinces, aimed at expelling the Spanish soldiers, though not at repudiating Philip’s overlordship.

The task of Philip’s new governor from May 1577, his illegitimate half-brother Don John of Austria (Juan de Austria, b. 1547), was to win back Low Countries public opinion with conciliatory measures, a goal thwarted by his own impatience with negotiation. Following his death in October 1578, his successor, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1546–1592), aimed to exploit a reaction away from extremism on the part of Calvinist regimes in cities such as Ghent, Antwerp, and Brussels, along with a military campaign of resecuring the southern Low Countries for Spain. Along with Don John, in January 1578 he had defeated a rebel army at Gembloux, south of Brussels, and, accepting the capitulation of town after town in the south, went on to retake all-important Antwerp in 1585. The southern Low Countries, under Parma’s guidance, returned to their allegiance to Philip, as proposed in a Catholic and royalist agreement named the Union of Arras, of January 1579.

Meanwhile, however, the control of the northern provinces, led by Holland and Zealand, by anti-Spanish forces, under Orange’s command and inspired by a Calvinist ideology of militant zeal, strength-

ened. The solidarity of the northern alliance was confirmed in a treaty between the seven rebel provinces, the Union of Utrecht of January 1579, and their severance from Spain (along with three provinces of the south) was made clear in the renunciation by the States General in July 1581 of allegiance to Philip, following Orange's repudiation of fealty in the previous December, and it was to be Orange who exercised military and political leadership, until his assassination in 1584. Thereafter, in 1590 the recognition of the sovereignty of the States General created a republic, while the victories over the Spanish gained by Orange's son and heir, Maurits (Maurice) of Nassau (1567–1625) in the 1580s and 1590s consolidated their security.

While **Calvinism** gradually gained popular support and implemented ecclesiastical and moral discipline, the Union of Utrecht explicitly provided for religious **toleration**, and there were several religious minorities, including **Anabaptists** (especially **Mennonites**), English **Separatists**, **Jews**, and Lutherans, to challenge any intended Calvinist monopoly control. In both its northern and southern districts, the United Provinces contained a substantial Catholic population, and these, though widely suspected of sympathy with the Spanish enemy, often enjoyed a tacit freedom of worship.

In 1609, **Spain** signed a truce with the Republic, the arrival of peace coinciding with the emergence of the Arminian controversy. Lasting for 12 years, the truce of 1609 was a brief intermission in a conflict that the Dutch themselves saw as a war of 80 years for the religious and civil freedom of their country. Final recognition of independence in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia at the end of the Thirty Years War confirmed the existence of a new state in Europe, a republic in a world of monarchies, tolerant in an age of repression and an economic dynamo in an age of recession. *See also* ARMINIUS, JACOBUS; THE LOW COUNTRIES.

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ECCLESIASTICAL ORDINANCES. On **John Calvin's** return to **Geneva** in 1541, with the help of a six-man working party set up by the city's governing "Little Council," he began drafting a set of ordinances to guide the life of the Church in the city. Their models were: what Calvin saw as New Testament ecclesiastical structure

established by Christ Himself and developed by St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Ephesians (4:11) and in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 12; the 1534 **Strassburg** ecclesiastical constitution and the one drawn up for the state of Hesse by **Martin Bucer** in 1539; and the 1537 “Articles Concerning the Government of the Church,” which had been instrumental in Calvin’s expulsion from Geneva in April 1538. Between September and November 1541, the draft was scrutinized and modified by the Little Council, which passed the text on to the “Big Council” of 200, and finally accepted as the city’s *Ordonnances Écclésiastiques* . . . —the “Ecclesiastical Ordinances of the Church of Geneva”—by a general assembly of the citizens in November.

As with the 1537 Articles, a hallmark of the Ordinances was the freedom, authority, and independence they gave to the Church, headed by the clergy, especially in the field of discipline. Calvin’s was not a system of **Erastianism** and, although the Ordinances had been scrutinized carefully on various levels of the city’s representative and ruling bodies, and contained provision for governmental involvement in ecclesiastical administration, continued conflict with the civil powers—in particular over responsibility for **excommunication**, an issue that was not resolved until 1555—was built into them.

The clerical fraternity, initially made up of the five ministers, or pastors, active in 1541, along with their three helpers, constituted the body known as the “Venerable Company of Pastors” (*vénérable compagnie des pasteurs*), meeting weekly on Fridays in their “congregation,” which assembled to study Scripture and consider doctrinal issues. The Venerable Company, comprising all the ministers of Geneva and its dependent countryside, chose new pastors, referring them for endorsement by the city government: pastors performed the functions of preaching, administering the **sacraments**, and rebuking those of “disordered life.”

The three other offices of the Church, as earlier outlined in Bucer’s model, were: the teaching office of doctors (Calvin himself was one of these); the deacons, appointed by the pastors to administer charitable relief and health care, replacing the medieval Genevan “procurators” and “hospitallers”; and the council-appointed lay elders, sharing responsibility with the pastors for moral discipline and the general oversight of congregations and being arbitrators of

any disagreements that might arise among the pastors. The Consistory (*consistoire*), meeting weekly on Thursdays and chaired by a council officer known as a syndic, was the court in which elders and pastors disciplined the errant and the heretical—but also counseled the troubled and dealt with marital problems.

Subject to institutional modifications with the passage of the years and an increase in Calvin's own authority, the Ecclesiastical Ordinances provided a model of organization for Calvinist churches through Europe and North America. *See also* CALVINISM; CHURCH ORDERS.

ECK, JOHANN (OR JOHANNES) MAIER (OR MAYER) VON (1486–1543). Johann Maier was born into a family of farmers in Egg an der Günz in Swabia in southwest **Germany** and pursued philosophical and theological studies at Heidelberg, in the Rhineland Palatinate; Tübingen in **Württemberg**, Cologne (Köln) in the north Rhineland; and Freiburg-in-Breisgau, southwest Germany. He came under humanist influences, was ordained in 1508, took his doctorate of theology from Freiburg in 1510, accepted a professorial post at the University of Ingolstadt in **Bavaria** in the same year, and wrote on philosophical and theological questions.

Like **Martin Luther** a promoter of reform in the university system, Eck initially enjoyed cordial relations with Luther, but in March 1518 his *Obelisci* ("Obelisks") countered Luther's Ninety-Five Theses and elicited a riposte from **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** as well as Luther's reply, the *Asterisci* ("Asterisks"). The upshot of this exchange was the **Leipzig Disputation**, following which Eck prevailed on the conservative universities of Cologne and Louvain (Leuven, in the **Low Countries**) to condemn Luther's writing and published his defense of the papal primacy, *De Primatu Petri* ("Concerning the Primacy of Peter") in 1519. He arrived in **Rome** in the spring of 1520 and, along with **Tommaso de Vio, Cajetan**, was appointed to a commission to draw up the papal bull for Luther's **excommunication**, for whose distribution in parts of Germany he was to be responsible. Books by Eck were among the items consigned to the fire when Luther burned the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* in December 1520.

Eck thereafter continued his work as an anti-Lutheran campaigner. In 1526 he was on the victorious Catholic side in a disputation against **Johannes Œcolampadius** in Baden in southwest Germany,

helping to consolidate the commitment of key Swiss cantons to the Catholic faith. He campaigned against the **Anabaptists** in southern Germany and in support of their persecution. In 1530, commissioned by **Charles V**, Eck coordinated the Catholic **Confutation** of the **Confession of Augsburg**. In 1541 he was, somewhat uncharacteristically, involved with **Philipp Melanchthon**, in producing a formula of agreement between **Lutherans** and Catholics on original sin and he approved of an agreed statement on **justification** that emerged from the **Colloquy** at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in that year, but his denunciation in the same year of the conciliatory “Regensburg Book” and of Lutherans as reborn heretics from the past delivered a heavy blow to unity hopes.

A canon of Eichstätt in Bavaria from 1510 until his death, and a parish priest in Ingolstadt from 1519, Eck held a lifelong professorship in, and served as chancellor at, the city’s university, and worked with dukes of Bavaria to secure the duchy as the nerve-center of a resurgent German Catholicism. His sermons, many of them published from 1530 onward, attacked the reformers, and he wrote on the cult of images, the **Mass**, the **sacraments** and **purgatory**, as well as producing a German translation of the **bible**, in 1537. His *Contra Lutherum*—“Against Luther”—came out in four volumes between 1530 and 1535.

EDWARD VI, KING (1537–1553). The only legitimate son of **Henry VIII**, with his third wife, Jane Seymour (1508/9–1537), the future Edward VI was born in October 1537 at Hampton Court Palace, near **London**, on the vigil of a feast of the English royal saint, Edward the Confessor (c. 1003–1066), after whom he was christened by **Thomas Cranmer**. His mother died of a hemorrhage consequent on postnatal complications, but the child himself was reported to be of excellent health and precious to his father. His early education, by a tutor, began in 1540. In 1543, as part of a scheme to unite **England** with **Scotland**, he went through a form of premarital contract—a betrothal—with the seven-month-old **Mary Queen of Scots**. His education, alongside a group of young aristocrats, proceeded under the direction of four leading humanist Protestants, Roger Ascham (1515–1568), the professor of Greek at the University of Cambridge; John Cheke (1514–1557); Anthony Cooke (1505–1576); and Richard

Cox (1580–1581). He was immersed in the Latin classics and from October 1546 took up the study of French.

By the time of his father's death in January 1547, Edward was a committed Protestant, educated in **humanism**. In February, as king he endorsed a governing council led by **Edward Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, in which **John Dudley** was also prominent. The announcement of the king's accession and the language and ritual involved in the coronation ceremonies in February all fulfilled Cranmer's and Somerset's vision of religious change to be introduced by, and unquestionably accepted as, the decrees of a royal authority ordained by God. In March, Somerset was confirmed as lord protector, heading a government in which intense personal rivalries were endemic.

Somerset was able to strengthen his hold over the king through an accelerated program of **Protestantism** that included the suppression of the chantries where **Masses** were offered for the souls in **purgatory** as well as the publication of the first **Book of Common Prayer**. However, the heavy costs of Somerset's aggressive foreign policy toward **France** and **Scotland**, plus the discontent and outright revolt in the regions occasioned by religious changes, ensured his fall and arrest in October, followed by Dudley's construction of a new security system for Edward, made up of Dudley himself and his own appointees and backed by a guard of 850 cavalry.

The months between November 1549 and February 1550 saw the tightening hold by Dudley, successively Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, and by his Protestant clientage on power, reforming the mechanism of government and introducing retrenchment from Somerset's overextended state policies and consequent government debt. In religion, in 1552–53, the capstones were being put on England's "Edwardine" Reformation, with Cranmer's Protestant second Book of Common Prayer and his equally Protestant Forty-Two **Articles of Religion**. However, from the end of 1552 the symptoms of what was to be Edward's death of tuberculosis were evident, requiring emergency measures—an alteration in the line of succession—that would save the Reformation and preserve Northumberland's power, too. It seems to have been early in 1553 that Edward himself drew up the mechanism—the "Devise"—that would preserve the changes made in religion by sacrificing the rights of a lawful successor, the Catholic **Mary**. In its final form, the Devise settled the

succession on a granddaughter of King Henry VII (1457–1509), the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley, 1537–1554), married to Dudley's son Guildford (d. 1554).

These plans were destroyed following Edward's death on 6 July 1553 by the swift and decisive seizure of power by Mary. Edward VI was buried in Westminster Abbey, near London, in August 1553, in an unmarked tomb.

ELIZABETH I, QUEEN (1533–1603). Elizabeth was born on 7 September 1533 at Greenwich Palace near **London**, the daughter of **Henry VIII** and his wife **Anne**, *née Boleyn*, following their marriage in the previous January, and was christened on 10 September. She was not the son Henry desired, but she was declared the due heir-ess to the throne, supplanting her half-sister **Mary**. In January 1536 Henry's Queen Anne had a miscarriage of a son, in May she was accused of adultery and incest and executed and Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, though she and Mary were restored to the line of royal succession by an Act of Parliament in 1544.

Elizabeth's education was to benefit from an interest in that period in the possibilities for the tuition of girls, and from 1548 her tutor was the humanist pedagogue who was also her half-brother Edward's teacher, Roger Ascham (1515–1568). Languages were essential to the humanist educational program, and before she was 10 Elizabeth was well grounded in Latin and went on to the study of French and Italian, as well, perhaps, of Spanish. She deepened her knowledge of the Latin classics, acquired Greek, practiced calligraphy and became a musical composer and talented performer. The religious influences on the princess included that of Henry VIII's last wife, Catherine Parr (1512–1548), and fused into an eclectic Protestantism of the type of the groups loosely labeled **evangelicals**—pious and prayerful, but relatively undogmatic.

Following her father's death in 1547, a potentially serious crisis warned the 14-year-old Elizabeth of the potential perils of sexual liaisons. Soon after Henry's death, his widow was married to **Edward Seymour**'s brother Thomas (1508?–1549) and when Catherine died in August 1548, Thomas proposed marriage to Elizabeth, a dangerous situation, since in February 1549 he was arrested for conspiracy against his brother and in March executed. Interrogated for any possible association with Thomas Seymour's plotting, Elizabeth managed

the inquisition adroitly, but undoubtedly learned lifelong lessons in prudence too—above all, that for persons of her rank sexual or romantic attraction must often give way to caution. A further key lasting influence from around that period was the establishment of Princess Elizabeth's enduring friendship with **William Cecil**. It was also in the late 1540s that Elizabeth laid the foundations of a substantial personal landed fortune, converting the cash legacy her father had left her into a string of estates that made her one of **England's** leading landowners.

In her half-sister Mary's reign, the 1554 rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger (1521?–1554)—staged in the name of Elizabeth—against the queen's marriage to **Philip II** presented the most serious jeopardy yet for the princess, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London in March. In April, Elizabeth was interrogated by the Privy Council and showed the same dexterity as she had over the Thomas Seymour affair, so that in May her imprisonment was downgraded to house arrest. Philip in fact viewed Elizabeth an alternative to an eventual French takeover of England if **Mary Queen of Scots** succeeded his wife, and it was Philip who gave orders that Elizabeth's involvement in Wyatt's attempted coup should not be probed.

When Mary died in November 1558, Elizabeth's was not to be an easy accession, for the state's coffers were depleted and the escape route from threats from **France** and **Scotland** was an overreliance on Philip of **Spain**. The new queen was illegitimate and disqualified in the eyes of **Rome**, while some Protestant voices tended to represent her political legitimacy as being dependent on her following their religious lead, while other opinions doubted the ability of a woman to rule at all. However, such misgivings were largely dismissed by Elizabeth's triumphant progress to London in November and coronation in January 1559.

Other difficulties to be tackled early on were the currency, whose intrinsic value was restored from February 1559 onward, and Scotland, where in 1559–1560 Cecil used a groundswell of Protestant agitation to eject the French. However, when parliament met following the coronation in January the most urgent item on its agenda was the settlement of religion. This, through decisive government action, including rigging the voting in the House of Lords, emerged in an **Act of Supremacy** altering the queen's title from Henry VIII's "supreme head" to Elizabeth's "supreme governor"—a concession to

both conservative and radical groups who, from various standpoints, doubted if a human being or a woman could head the Church. The **Act of Uniformity** reintroduced a modified form of the **Book of Common Prayer** of 1552.

Despite the conservatism of some features of the religious settlement, the Church of England was undoubtedly to be counted in the ranks of Europe's Protestant Churches and loyal Catholics—**recusants**—were ordered by Rome not to be present at its worship, though the group known as **Church papists** managed to avoid the escalating fines for nonattendance at worship by attending, as required by law. After a period of relative tacit tolerance of Catholics in the 1560s, the Catholic aristocratic rising known as the Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569, followed by Pope **Pius V**'s bull of **excommunication** of the queen, *Regnans in Excelsis*, in 1570 and the rise of a Catholic priestly mission to England as the decade proceeded resulted in a backlash: a statute of 1581 prescribed death by hanging, drawing, and quartering for priests seeking to reconcile English subjects to the Catholic Church and enacted severe measures against lay Catholics.

On the other extreme from "popery" was the advanced form of Protestantism labeled, from about 1565, "**puritans**." Broadly speaking, whereas the queen saw the religious settlement of 1559, including its conservative elements, as satisfactory and permanent, puritans tended to view that settlement as only a starting point from which further changes, for instance the abolition of the traditional vestments, upheld in the Act of Uniformity, were to be agitated for. In 1565 the issue of vestments, especially the wearing of the Catholic-style surplice, rose to the surface when Elizabeth wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, **Matthew Parker**, commanding him to compel dissident clergy to wear the required garb when officiating at services. The queen, however, gave no public backing to Parker over this campaign, sheltering her own royal supremacy behind a smokescreen of archiepiscopal authority: a longer-term result was to turn puritan criticism of the Church into a critique of the bishops, or even of **episcopacy** itself.

Elizabeth took more direct action against puritanism with a proclamation against the **Admonition** to Parliament in 1572, and in 1576 she entered into an outright collision with one puritan ideal, the exaltation of the sermon, when she suspended her puritan-inclined archbishop of Canterbury, **Edmund Grindal**, for his refusal to sup-

press the preaching sessions known as “prophesyings.” In the 1580s Elizabeth faced another kind of puritan agitation, that to introduce a Calvinist-style presbyterian structure into the Church of England. However, the emergence of **Separatism** in the 1590s persuaded the more moderate puritans to draw back from association with radicalism, and at the end of her reign the queen was able to hand over to her successor a relatively stable English Church.

Confronting the political nation from the beginning of the reign was a further momentous question, the queen’s marriage and delivery of an heir to the throne. Early prospective husbands included Philip II and the Protestant king of **Sweden**, Erik XIV (1533–1577), while, if Elizabeth had been able to follow her heart rather than her head, her choice would have settled on **Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester**, a married man. Even so, there were sound political arguments against a sovereign’s marrying a subject, while the death in mysterious circumstances of Leicester’s wife in 1560 created more than a whiff of scandal around the Leicester marriage project. Nevertheless, the queen’s near-death through smallpox in October 1562 reawoke anxieties about the frailty of the succession, and marriage plans were dusted off, including what proved to be abortive schemes involving the Catholic Charles of **Habsburg** (1540–1590) in 1565–66. Another internationally oriented—and Catholic—marriage design involved between 1572 and 1578 the French prince François, duc d’Alençon (1554–1584, duc d’Anjou from 1574). However, and apart from predictable outrage in a xenophobic and increasingly Protestant country against a French Catholic marriage, in the mid-1570s Elizabeth was in her mid-40s, an age considered to be beyond childbirth, if not beyond marriage, and as time passed prospects of matrimony receded.

A closely linked dynastic issue was the ongoing irritant of **Mary Queen of Scots**. Following her escape from Scotland in 1568 and seeking refuge with her English cousin, Mary was incarcerated in several houses in England, inevitably the focus of Catholic plotting against Elizabeth until, in 1586, the conspiracy, conducted with Mary’s own full support, of the Catholic Anthony Babington (1561–1586) forced Elizabeth into reluctant action—against a sister queen constituted by divine right. Following her trial and conviction in 1586, Elizabeth consented to Mary’s execution in February 1587.

In the sphere of foreign policy Elizabeth inherited a country with anti-French traditions and a leaning toward **Spain** that was most

pronounced in her half-sister's marriage to Philip II, who between 1554 and 1558 was king of England. The most marked foreign policy development in Elizabeth's reign was the abandonment of the Habsburg alliance and its replacement by hostility and then outright war against Spain. Semiofficial English piracy in the New World, conducted by the likes of Francis Drake (1540–1596), poisoned Anglo-Spanish relations, but the real bone of contention between the two nations lay in the **Low Countries**, where in the mid-1580s the assassination in 1584 of the leader of the **Dutch Republic**, William (Willem) of Nassau, Prince of Orange (b. 1533), and the increasing military successes of Spain's general, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1546–1592), created a desperate situation requiring direct English intervention, which was agreed by the Privy Council late in 1584, followed by a treaty with the Dutch and the sending of an expeditionary force under Leicester. It was Leicester's acceptance of the title of governor-general of the provinces, suggesting that Elizabeth was their true ruler, that further provoked Philip to send the **Armada** against England in the spring and summer of 1588. The war continued until peace was made by Elizabeth's successor James I (1566–1625) in 1604.

The deaths of Leicester (1588), **Sir Francis Walsingham** (1590), and Cecil (1598) marked the passing of a generation and of an era for Elizabeth, but her last years saw a furtherance of English conquest in **Ireland**, despite a rebellion under Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ó Néill, third Earl of Tyrone, 1550–1616) and a heavy English defeat in 1598. Succeeding Leicester in the queen's favor, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (b. 1566), was sent as her lord lieutenant in Ireland and failed in his task of suppressing revolt: in February 1601 Essex mounted a conspiracy against the queen and was executed in the same month.

Elizabeth's last years represented conflicting currents: on the one hand, the cult of the seemingly ageless virgin—"Gloriana"—who had introduced true religion into her realm and kept Providence on its side reached new heights of adulation. On the other hand, there was friction within the government, notably between Essex and the Cecils, and the restlessness customary under a waning regime on the part of those with high hopes of its successor. Throughout the country, there was discontent at high taxation to pay for the war with Spain, as well as recession, unemployment, vagrancy, and epidemic. Elizabeth's later parliaments became the voices of complaint against

abuses such as state-awarded commercial monopolies. Even so, by the time of her death in April 1603, Elizabeth was able to pass on to her successor a kingdom that had survived the strains of Reformation, developed as a significant naval power, and played an important role in European diplomacy and international relations.

EMSER, HIERONYMUS (1478–1527). Born in Weidenstetten near Ulm in southern **Germany**, Hieronymus Emser studied theology at the University of Tübingen in **Württemberg** and went on to Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where he took his M.A. in 1490 and was ordained priest. He next joined the Italian Cardinal Peraudi as his secretary on a two-year preaching tour promoting **indulgences** around Germany. **Martin Luther** may have been in his audience when he delivered lectures on humanist themes in the University of Erfurt in Thuringia in 1504. In 1504–05, Emser took degrees in canon law and theology at the University of Leipzig in Ducal **Saxony**, where from 1505 to 1511 he served as secretary and chaplain to the ruling Duke Georg, known as *der Bärtige*, (Duke George, known as “the Bearded” 1471–1539).

Emser’s hostility to Luther can be dated from the time he formed part of **Johann Maier von Eck**’s team at the **Leipzig Disputation**. Backed by the ardently Catholic Duke George and by the papal legate to Germany, Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro (Hieronymus Aleander, 1480–1542), Emser—whose books Luther burned in 1520 along with the papal bull for his **excommunication**—subsequently took part in a series of pugnacious pamphlet exchanges with Luther, wrote against **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** and **Huldrych Zwingli**, and in 1524 produced a lengthy critique of Luther’s translation of the New Testament—even so, his own German version of the Testament (1527) was indebted to Luther’s work. Emser died in Dresden in Ducal Saxony in 1527.

ENGLAND. The pace and direction of religious change in 16th-century England were set by the authority of the crown, albeit often acting in close partnership with parliament.

During the reign of Henry VII (1457–1509) the country enjoyed peace abroad and internal stability. As elsewhere in Christendom, there was superstition in religious practice, and extensive corruption—for example, in the inflated incomes of some senior clerics,

especially when contrasted with widespread clerical poverty lower down the scale. Even so, many of the indications are that on the eve of the Reformation the English were a conventionally Catholic people, while the dissident movement of the **Lollards** attracted little popular support.

This tranquil picture continued into the reign of the devoutly Catholic **Henry VIII** who, by a papal dispensation of Julius II (r. 1503–13), was permitted in 1509 to defy scriptural mandates and marry **Catherine of Aragon**, the widow of his brother Prince Arthur (1486–1502). The Aragon marriage prospered at first and in 1516 produced a daughter, **Mary**. However, by the mid-1520s his wife's failure to produce the surviving male heir he considered essential to guarantee the future security of his realm convinced Henry that the earlier papal decision to allow him to wed Catherine was invalid and had to be revoked, freeing the king to marry the young courtier **Anne Boleyn**. From 1527 Henry put his leading minister **Thomas Wolsey** in charge of negotiations with **Rome** to annul the Aragon marriage, but the **pope** of the day, **Clement VII**, in enforced subservience from 1527 to Catherine's nephew **Charles V**, was unable to comply with the application from England, and Wolsey's failure to do the king's bidding brought about his dismissal in 1529, followed by an interval between 1529 and 1532 in which Sir **Thomas More** occupied the disgraced Wolsey's office of lord chancellor.

The style of the chancellorship of the committed Catholic More was not, however, to characterize the policies of the 1530s, when Henry, unleashing the anticlerical voice of the "Reformation Parliament" he summoned in 1529, mounted a campaign simultaneously to browbeat the English clergy into compliance with his policies toward the Church and to pressure Rome into granting his marital wishes—or if not to separate from the papacy. The architects of these policies were the ideological allies **Thomas Cranmer** and **Thomas Cromwell**.

In January 1531 Henry charged the whole of the English clerical body with criminal compliance—a *praemunire*—in Wolsey's alleged usurpation of ecclesiastical authority and with succumbing to an alien power, Rome. After voting the king a large grant of money, the clergy, in its own parliamentary body, the Convocation, surrendered to his demand that they admit him to be "supreme head" of the Church in England, a curtain raiser to the statutory declaration of his supremacy

in the Act of Parliament of that name in 1534. The “Submission of the Clergy” of 1532 brought to a close what remained of the historic autonomy from the state of the Catholic Church in England.

Meanwhile, the parallel offensive against the papacy was intensified. The Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates of 1532 threatened the pope, in the event of noncompliance with Henry’s wishes, with cancellation of papal taxes on English ecclesiastical benefices, and from that point on we can trace the acceleration of England’s drive toward full independence from the papacy. Following More’s resignation as lord chancellor in May 1532, and Henry’s secret marriage to Anne Boleyn in January 1533, in March of the same year Parliament passed the **Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome**, giving England complete juridical independence from the Holy See; in April Cromwell was made chancellor of the exchequer, and in May Cranmer declared the Aragon marriage invalid—an internal resolution of the “King’s Great Matter” that had triggered the crisis in the first place; Princess **Elizabeth** was born in September. The capstone of the whole process of Henrician change was put in place with the **Act of Supremacy** of January 1534, followed by the executions of the recalcitrant **John Fisher** in June and of More in July 1535. The next year saw the beginning of the dissolution, completed by 1540, of the monasteries, and in May 1536 an order was given that **bibles** in English were to be placed in all parish churches. Cromwell’s Injunctions of 1538 took the country further along the road to reform.

It is true that the Six **Articles of Religion** of 1539, with their insistence on Christ’s real presence in the **eucharist** and on clerical celibacy, began a retreat from the changes brought about in the 1530s, and Cromwell’s execution in 1540 represented a serious blow for the cause of reform, followed by severe restrictions in 1543 on the availability of the vernacular scriptures. For all that, it was Henry VIII who made the most decisive steps forward in the direction of the eventual emergence of England as a Protestant realm, independent of papal Rome.

Following Henry’s death, rapid progress toward a full-scale Protestant settlement was made in the reign of **Edward VI**, under the leadership successively of **Edward Seymour** and **John Dudley** and the inspiration of Cranmer. A cautious **Book of Common Prayer** in 1549 was replaced by a more radical version, in which the influence of **Huldrych Zwingli** was apparent, in 1552; the Forty-Two Articles

of Religion of 1553 gave a decisive Protestant doctrinal shape to the English Church.

All this was dramatically changed with the accession of **Mary I** in 1553 and the ascendancy of **Reginald Pole** as archbishop of Canterbury. Henry VIII and Cromwell had established a precedent whereby the legislation of religious change was made by the crown in Parliament and, in reversing the reforms put forward by the governments of her father and her half-brother, Mary followed this model, reintroducing the laws against heresy and reconciling her kingdom with the papacy. In November 1554 Parliament made an act of collective contrition for the kingdom's separation from Rome and in January 1555 repealed the statutes of the 1530s that had enacted the breach with the papacy.

Reforms included the provision of education and preaching and the increasing availability of Catholic literature in English. However, Mary's reinstatement of the Catholic England of her youth stopped short in one key matter that was dear to her heart. Henry's dissolution of the monasteries and sales of their estates had created within the landed class, which dominated Parliament's House of Commons, a vested interest in the permanence of the dissolution, and Mary was unable to persuade the members to reintroduce the religious houses. Among the 280 of her executions of Protestants were those of **Hugh Latimer** and **Nicholas Ridley** (October 1555), and Cranmer (March 1556).

Mary's death in November led to the accession of her Protestant half-sister Elizabeth and the cancellation of reunion with Rome. The settlement of religion contained in the parliamentary **Act of Supremacy** and **Act of Uniformity** in 1559 set a course broadly mapped on Cranmer's reforms under Edward VI, though the new Book of Common Prayer of 1559 contained enough ambiguity over the eucharist to accommodate conservatives. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion of 1563, based on Cranmer's Forty-Two Articles of 10 years earlier, showed that England had a Church whose doctrines were essentially those of the Reformation.

The Catholic **recusant** community, unreconciled to the Elizabethan Church, was tended from 1574 by priests trained on the Continent in **seminaries** such as in **Douai**, while the **puritan** attack on the Church, beginning with the question of vestments, turned in the hands of **Thomas Cartwright**, into a wider critique of **episcopacy**.

Elizabeth's relatively long reign allowed the Reformation to become embedded in English life and culture. Holding off a serious threat from Catholic **Spain**, with her death in 1603 she was able to hand over a secure realm to her heir, James VI (1566–1625) of **Scotland**.

EPISCOPACY. Episcopacy—government of the Church by bishops—became an issue of increasing contention in the course of the 16th century.

The 1528 “Instructions for the Visitors to Parishes in Electoral **Saxony**” by **Martin Luther** and **Philipp Melanchthon** described the decay of the early Church's system of visitation of parishes by holy bishops, and put in place a system of ecclesiastical administration by “superintendents,” ultimately dependent on the elector's government. While the Lutheran Churches of **Denmark** and **Sweden**, and the Church of **England** after 1559, retained bishops, and while in **Scotland** recurrent royal attempts were made to reintroduce the institution, the Protestant Churches of **Switzerland** abandoned episcopacy, and **John Calvin**'s claim that his ecclesiastical structure of pastors, teachers or doctors, elders, and deacons was the one sanctioned in the New Testament ruled out the rank of bishops. Calvinist Churches such as those of the **Dutch Republic** did away with the office of the bishop, and in England growing numbers of **puritans**, following **Thomas Cartwright**, demanded abolition of episcopacy and its replacement by a presbyterian system of ministers having equal status. Published between 1587 and 1589, the anonymous **Marprelate Tracts** directed a satirical campaign against episcopacy and personally against the English bishops.

On the face of it, the Catholic Church had no quarrel with the institution of episcopacy, since the bishop was one of its key ranks and the **pope** himself was bishop of **Rome**. The leading Catholic reformer **Gasparo Contarini** wrote a study of the office, and the **Council of Trent**—which was predominantly an assembly of bishops, with about 200 present in the final sessions—entrusted the implementation of its reforms, including the vital task of setting up **seminaries**, to the episcopate. Nevertheless, there were heated debates in the Council in the fall of 1562 about the standing of the episcopal ministry, a dispute which originated in a move to ensure that bishops should be present in their dioceses and not become absentees

living in Rome, as the pope's courtiers and administrators, dispensed by him from the obligation of residence.

That practical question of reform then broadened out into a more theoretical one: had Christ instituted the episcopal order, were all bishops the heirs of the Apostles, and did bishops therefore operate "by divine right" (*jure divino*)? Or, alternatively, did Jesus choose only Peter, held to be the first pope, as His vicar, and, if so, were bishops simply agents of the papacy? A compromise formula devised by the joint legate, Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–1580)—"It is a divine command that bishops shall nourish their flocks" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 62)—left the issue largely unresolved, though the Catholic Church's subsequent institutional history, until the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) tended to shift ecclesiastical authority from the episcopate to the papacy.

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS (HERASMUS GERRITSZON, GEERT HEERTSZON) (1466/9–1536). Erasmus was born in Rotterdam (or perhaps Gouda) in Holland, in the northern **Low Countries**, at some point between 1466 and 1469: the uncertainty of his birth-date probably arose from later attempts on his part to conceal the illegitimacy of his birth, to a doctor's daughter and a young man who later entered the clergy.

Erasmus was sent to school in Gouda and became a chorister in the cathedral in Utrecht, followed by schooling with the Brethren of the Common Life—exponents of the *devotio moderna*—in Deventer, where he began to learn Greek. He returned to Gouda following his mother's death and, when his father soon afterward also died, Erasmus and his brother were placed by guardians in another school of the Brethren, in s'Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc). Back in Gouda to escape the plague, he came under pressure from his guardians to enter a monastery and reluctantly joined the house of the **Augustinian** Canons at Steyn near Gouda: his miserable six years there, until his abandonment of the monastery in 1492, left him with his abiding detestation of monks and **monasticism**.

Release came when Henri de Bergen, bishop of Cambrai, in the southern Low Countries, chose him as his secretary. Ordained priest in Utrecht in 1492, Erasmus was sent to study for the degree of bachelor of theology in **Paris**, at the Collège de Montaigu, founded according to the ideals of the Brethren of the Common Life: its old-

fashioned, prehumanist curriculum, centered on **Scholasticism**, its filthy living conditions, and its poor diet all appalled the intellectually innovative and physically fastidious young scholar, though he took his degree in 1498. He paid a visit to Cambrai, but in Paris made ends meet through taking paying pupils, one of whom, the English aristocrat William Blount, fourth Baron Mountjoy (c. 1478–1534), in 1499 invited Erasmus to his country, where he was to be based in Oxford. The visit to **England** exposed him to new influences—those of **John Colet**, and of Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524), who taught him Greek. He met the future **Henry VIII** and entered into what was to be his lasting friendship with **Thomas More**.

Returning to Paris in 1500, Erasmus published the first edition of his best-selling and frequently reissued collection of proverbs from classical Greek and Latin literature, accompanied with his own essays drawing out their religious and moral meaning, the *Adagia*. There followed in 1501 an edition of a work by the Roman statesman and orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC), the *De officiis*, which was a handbook on moral behavior, and in 1503 his treatise on practical piety in the tradition of the *devotio moderna*, the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, or “Manual of a Christian Soldier.”

In 1506 Erasmus was back in England, where he renewed his friendship with More and struck up a friendship with the archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham (1450?–1532), and in the same year he traveled to **Italy** as tutor to the illegitimate son of King James IV of Scotland (1473–1513), the archbishop of St. Andrews (southeast **Scotland**), Alexander Stewart (c. 1493–1513). He was warmly welcomed in Italy, awarded a doctorate of divinity in Turin (Torino), in the northwest, and was acclaimed in **Rome**—even though the military exploits of Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) filled him with horror. A further invitation from Mountjoy made it possible for him to witness the new England of Henry VIII, and he worked rapidly on his satire on the then current abuses among rulers and ecclesiastics, the *Encomium Moriae* (or *Laus Stultitiae*), the “Praise of Folly,” completed in 1509, published in 1511, and carrying in its title a pun on More’s name. In this visit to England, Erasmus reached the pinnacle of his success in the kingdom, for in the University of Cambridge he was appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity as well as professor of Greek. Between 1514 and 1521 he was based in the Low Countries, with occasional visits to England.

In 1516 Erasmus published what was perhaps his most influential work, the *Novum Instrumentum*, an edition of the New Testament in its original Greek, printed in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** by **Johann Froben**, with a parallel Latin translation. The *Novum Instrumentum*, printed 229 times in the 16th century, was also the basis for key translations into vernaculars, including **Martin Luther's** German version of 1522. His *Institutio Principis Christiani* or "Education of a Christian Prince" (1516), dedicated to **Charles V**, argued for the primacy of morals in politics, and the *Querela Pacis*, or "Complaint of Peace," of 1517, set out his abiding pacificism. Erasmus's *Colloquia familiaria*—"Familiar Conversations," a set of imaginary dialogues on political, social, and religious issues—came out in 1518, and in 1519 his edition of the writings of the **Father of the Church** St. Jerome. In 1521 Erasmus left his Low Countries base in Louvain (Leuven) for Basel, remaining there until 1529, when the city formally adopted Protestantism and he removed to Catholic Freiburg-im-Breisgau, just over the German border.

His theological polemic against Luther's stance on the will, *De Libero Arbitrio . . . collatio* ("A Discourse on Free Will") of September 1524, argued that Luther's position amounted to unwarranted curiosity over matters which were "hidden, not to say superfluous" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 172). Erasmus's *Hyperaspistes . . .*, or "Shield-Bearer," his response to *De Servo Arbitrio*—"On the Bondage of the Will," Luther's riposte to his original offensive—came out in two parts in 1526–27.

The acknowledged leader of the **humanists**, reviled by both conservatives and reformers, and yet having a deep, extensive, and abiding influence, through his vast repertoire of writings and scholarship, Erasmus returned to Basel in 1535, dying there in June 1536.

ERASTIANISM. Thomas Lüber, Lieber, or Liebler, known as Erastus, was born in Baden in southwest **Germany** in 1524 and from an early age encountered **Huldrych Zwingli's** ideas. At the University of Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, he studied theology, the classics, and mathematics, and proceeded to study philosophy and medicine in the universities of Bologna, northern **Italy**, and Padua (Padova), northeast Italy. He acted as physician to the counts of Henneberg and was appointed professor of medicine at the University of Heidelberg,

in the Rhineland **Palatinate**, being made rector and court physician in 1558.

Alongside his dedication to medicine, Erastus retained theological interests, having close links with **Théodore Beza** and **Heinrich Bullinger**. His doctrinal influence reached a high point in 1559 with the accession of a new elector of the Palatinate, Friedrich III, known as *der Fromme* (Frederick III, known as “the Pious,” 1515–1576), who in 1561 abandoned the **Lutheranism** he had professed since 1546 and introduced the **Reformed** faith: the Calvinistic **Heidelberg Catechism** was issued under Elector Friedrich’s authority in 1563. Erastus, however, in 1560 and again in 1564, argued in favor of Zwingli’s, not **John Calvin**’s, doctrine of the **eucharist** and also dissented from the Calvinist system of moral discipline exercised by the Church, as established in the **Ecclesiastical Ordinances** in operation in **Geneva**, by which the consistory independently excommunicated the errant.

Erastus instead demanded a higher degree of state involvement in those procedures and, in a hundred published theses, denied the scriptural authority for the placing of **excommunication** in the hands of elders. Bullinger, who inherited Zwingli’s acceptance of extensive authority exercised by the state over the Church—giving the final verdict on excommunication to the secular power—accepted Erastus’s views; Beza, on the other hand, with his Calvinist background of favoring greater ecclesiastical autonomy, voiced opposition.

In 1570 Elector Friedrich took it upon himself to introduce an ecclesiastical discipline in the Palatinate. Erastus was excommunicated in 1574 and in 1575 was accused of denying the doctrine of the Trinity, though that charge was dismissed. The death of Friedrich III in 1576 and the accession of a new Lutheran elector, Ludwig VI (reigned 1576–1583), brought about Erastus’s withdrawal to Basel, where in 1580 he was appointed professor of ethics and where he died in 1583.

Posthumously, in 1589, his hundred theses and a reply he wrote to Beza’s defense of the claims of the Church to control discipline were issued in **London**. In these he denied that excommunication was exercised by the **Jews** in the Old Testament or was to be found anywhere in the New and stressed the prerogatives of the ruler to exercise ecclesiastical discipline. However, Erastus also denied any

doctrinal competence to the state, and the depiction of Erastianism as a theory of state autocracy over the Church is a distortion of Erastus's views. Even so, the influence of his interpretation of the role of government vis-à-vis the Church was extensive, especially in **England**, where an already high degree of royal authority over the Church encouraged thinkers such as **Richard Hooker** to magnify the state's claims.

Alongside his writings on Church-state relations, Erastus wrote condemning witchcraft and against the German alchemist and physician Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493–1541). *See also* GOVERNMENT, ATTITUDES TOWARD.

ESCHATOLOGY. Grounded in the final book of the Christian Scriptures, the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John the Divine, eschatological, or apocalyptic, concerns with the “last things,” and especially with the end of the world and the return of Christ as judge, have occupied a central place in Christian faith and expectation. In the Middle Ages the prophetic teachings of the Italian monk and mystic Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202) forecast a glorious future for the Church and for monastic life; and in Florence (Firenze), central **Italy**, between 1494 and his execution in 1498 the **Dominican** preacher Girolamo Savonarola (b. 1452) heralded a perfect future for the city as a Christian republic ruled by God's law. The explorer Christopher Columbus (Cristoforo Colombo, Cristóbal Colón, 1451–1506) saw himself, through his **discoveries in the New World**, as the agent of a Joachimist “age of the spirit” to take place before the end of time.

Significant times, seasons, and anniversaries added to a prevailing eschatological excitement: the year 1500, for instance, was thought to represent a millennium and a half from Christ's birth, a key date for those who expected Christ to return and set up a millenarian kingdom that would last a thousand (in Latin *mille*) years. For **Melchior Hoffmann** the key date was to be 1533, the 15th centenary, it was believed, of the Crucifixion of Christ and therefore an expected trigger to His second advent.

The Reformation was both the outcome and the stimulus to a raising of apocalyptic expectation, and **Martin Luther**, who was for many the realization of earlier eschatological anticipations, himself had a pronounced sense of the end time: in a work of 1539, “On the Councils and the Church,” for example, he wrote, “if the Last Days

were not close at hand, it would be no wonder if heaven and earth were to crumble because of such [papal] blasphemy,” and added that before plans for a Church council could materialize “we shall all be dead and the Last Days will have long since come” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 230).

Central to his eschatological mind-set was the conviction Luther held that the **pope** was the realization of a character who was at the heart the apocalyptic agenda, **Antichrist**, the man of sin. That identification was intensified by Luther’s awareness of the mounting threat of the **Turks** against Christendom, reaching a new height with the siege of Vienna (Wien) in **Austria** in 1529: Luther was convinced that if that mighty empire should take **Rome**, the seat of the Antichrist, all that would be left was the end of the world and the day of judgement.

Luther’s eschatological scenario did not include the social radicalism of the millenarian ideology, grounded in Scripture, espoused by **Thomas Müntzer**, a revolutionary and militant eschatological momentum carried over into the **Anabaptist** domination of **Münster** in 1534–35.

EUCCHARIST. The traditional teaching of the Catholic Church on the **sacrament** of the eucharist, or holy communion, proclaimed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and subsequently refined and defined by the leading medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), proceeded from the assumption that Christ’s words at His Last Supper, “This is my body . . . this is my blood” (Matthew 26:26, 28, Mark 14:22, 24), had to be understood in an absolutely literal sense, as coming from the very source of truth. At Christ’s command, when the “words of institution” were recited by the priest in the **Mass**, the “elements” or “species” of bread and wine were entirely transformed in their inner reality—their “substance”—into Christ’s body and blood, and His “real presence” was established, even though the external appearance, or “accidents,” of the elements—sight, smell, touch, and taste—remained unchanged: the alteration was a total interior transformation known as transubstantiation.

The medieval English dissident John Wyclif (mid-1320s–1384) challenged Aquinas’s formulation of transubstantiation, putting in its place a eucharistic doctrine termed “remanence” (from the Latin verb *remanere*, to remain), or “consubstantiation” because of the

coexistence of Christ with the elements, according to which Christ was truly present in the sacrament, albeit alongside the bread and wine. While **Martin Luther** rejected the actual terminology derived from the terminology of **Scholasticism** that was employed, it was this kind of understanding of the eucharist that characterized him. However, in the course of the 1520s **Huldrych Zwingli**, influenced by a work by the Dutchman Corneliszoon Hendrixzoon Hoen (d. 1524), was developing a eucharistic theology according to which communion was a ritual meal having symbolic and spiritual significance and eaten in commemoration of the Last Supper and of Christ's saving death. Such views, which Luther initially linked with **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt**, spread rapidly in **Switzerland**—**Johannes Œcolampadius** adopted them in Basel (Bâle, Basle)—and in the neighboring cities of south Germany, and confirmed Luther in his insistence on a real and indeed physical presence of the Lord in the eucharist: in 1526 he set out this belief with typical forcefulness in a published sermon on "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics."

The issue continued to reverberate in literary exchanges between Wittenberg and **Zürich** in 1527–28—until politics intruded with the crisis for Protestantism consequent on a recovery of **Habsburg** power and the Catholic reaction evident in the second **Diet of Speyer**. However, an attempt by **Philipp of Hesse** to defend the Reformation by forging intra-Protestant unity over the now chronically divisive issue of the sacrament in the **Marburg Colloquy** in October 1529, exposed the depth and width of the gulf between the opposing positions, Luther establishing the immovability of his stance by chalking on the conference table the Latin words of institution, "*Hoc est corpus meum*," "This is my body."

The Reformation century was fertile in propounding diverse eucharistic interpretations of those few words. **John Calvin's** eucharistic doctrine derived from **Fathers of the Church**, especially St. Augustine (354–430), as well as from **Martin Bucer**, and drove a middle course between the Lutheran and Zwinglian positions, denying any merely symbolic interpretation, but seeing this sacrament as confirmation of God's **grace** to the believer, united in communication with the Risen Lord. The **Anabaptists** inclined toward a commemorative view of the eucharist, the **Mennonites**, for example,

condemning acceptance of the real presence as idolatrous, while at the same time valuing the sacrament as a lasting reminder of Christ's love and sacrifice.

In **England** while Zwingli's influence was strong, especially with **Thomas Cranmer**, the **Book of Common Prayer** of 1559 put forward a formula of studied ambiguity: the announcement to the communicant prior to reception ran, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving" (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 256); reception was to be made kneeling, though this was not to imply "adoration." Queen **Elizabeth** endorsed a real presence with her verse,

'Twas God the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe, and take it.

(Partington, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 274)

One further divisive issue over the eucharist arose from the collision between Luther's claim, following that of **Jan Hus**, that the **laity** must have access to the chalice and the confirmation by the **Council of Trent** of the traditional Catholic ruling that no such right existed—even though the Council authorized the **pope** to relax the restriction, a concession that was taken up in **Germany** as part of a search for compromise—for example in 1564, when Pope **Pius IV** allowed bishops in five of the country's ecclesiastical provinces to permit the lay people to receive the chalice. Trent itself endorsed transubstantiation, in the decree drafted in the 13th session, October 1551: "By the consecration of the bread and wine a change is brought about of the whole substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body of Christ . . . and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood . . . , transubstantiation" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 48). This reaffirmation helped generate the eucharistic **Forty Hours Devotion**, *Quarant' Ore*.

EVANGELICALS. From the Greek *euangelion*—the "good news"—the term "Evangelical," in German *evangelisch*, has been the preferred label for Churches subscribing to the **Augsburg Confession**

and seen as receiving their faith not from **Martin Luther** but from the gospels themselves.

Doctrines of redemption akin to those put forward by Luther, traceable to St. Augustine (354–430) and ultimately to St. Paul (d. c. 62–67), and emphasizing reliance on Christ’s atoning sacrifice and **justification by faith** were held by some Catholics, especially in **Italy** in the devout group, also known as *evangelici*—“evangelicals”—or *spirituali*—“spirituals”—including **Gasparo Contarini**, **Reginald Pole**, and **Pietro Martire Vermigli**, the Benedictine abbot Gregorio Cortese (1482–1548), **Bernardino Ochino** and the priest Marc’Antonio Flaminio (d. 1550). They were largely inspired by the writings of **Juan de Valdés**, and enjoyed patronage from the aristocratic ladies **Vittoria Colonna** and **Giulia Gonzaga**, and **Michelangelo** was closely associated with them. With the promotion to the College of Cardinals of Pole, Contarini, and Cortese by Pope **Paul III**, and the sending of Contarini to the **Colloquy** of Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541, the evangelicals were reaching new heights of prestige in Italian ecclesiastical and papal circles.

However, the increasingly polarized religious atmosphere in the early 1540s, following the failure of the Regensburg talks, circumscribed life for the evangelical group. While the death of Contarini in 1542 weakened their influence, the publication in 1543 of a work on the all-sufficiency of Christ’s sacrifice, the *Beneficio di Cristo Crocifisso*, with inclusions by Flaminio from **John Calvin**’s “**Institutes**,” created a scandal around the *spirituali*, as did the conversions to Protestantism and sudden departures from Italy of Ochino and Vermigli. The initiative now lay with nonevangelical conservatives, led by **Gian Pietro Carafa**, later pope as **Paul IV**, and Pole’s failure to carry an evangelical formula on justification by faith in the sixth session of the **Council of Trent** in January 1547—and his retreat from the Council itself—marked a major defeat for the Catholic evangelical movement.

EXCOMMUNICATION. In the Catholic tradition, excommunication came in two forms: the major excommunication involving withdrawal of communion with the Church and tantamount to the formal censure known as anathema; and the minor form of deprivation of access to the **sacraments**. In either case it was the penalty by which a person was cut off from the fellowship and life of the Church, without his

or her expulsion from that body, into which the individual had been inducted by the irreversible sacrament of **baptism**.

Notable victims of Catholic excommunication in the 16th century included: **Martin Luther**, in Pope **Clement VII**'s provisional bull *Exsurge Domine* (June 1520) and the definitive pronouncement, *Decet Romanum* in May 1521; **Henry VIII** by Pope **Paul III** in July 1538; and Queen **Elizabeth** in Pope **Pius V**'s bull *Regnans in Excelsis* of February 1570.

Excommunication had social and legal implications: in **England**, for example, an excommunicate could not bring action in the law courts, and the sheriff of the county might be obliged to act on a writ of *De excommunicato capiendo*, requiring him to arrest the offender in order to enforce his or her submission to the Church courts, processes which survived the Reformation.

Protestant Churches held varying attitudes toward excommunication. Martin Luther maintained that only God knew the identity of true Christians, so that the Church should not exclude anyone from full fellowship, except as a penalty for serious sin, and the result was that the Lutheran Churches were not heavily concerned with the issue. Both **Huldrych Zwingli** and **Heinrich Bullinger** in **Zürich** stressed the inclusiveness of the Church within the community, thus placing limits on the liberal use of this penalty, though in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** **Johannes Œcolampadius** insisted on the Church's right, independent of the state, to use excommunication as the ultimate disciplinary weapon in its armory, a model that influenced both **Martin Bucer**, as well as **John Calvin**, who, in the **Ecclesiastical Ordinances**, made excommunication the prerogative of the Church alone. The question of the state's role in excommunication was also central to the rise of **Erastianism**.

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FAITH. Much of the discussion of faith in the 16th century concerned its role in the process whereby sinners were made righteous in God's sight—**justification**. In the Catholic tradition, faith was seen as acceptance of revealed divine truth, but, as the **Council of Trent** reaffirmed in the sixth session, January 1547, citing the authority of St. Paul, faith was also the property without which it would be impossible

to win God's favor or secure justification: "[W]hen the Apostle [Paul] says that man is justified by faith and freely, these words are to be understood in the sense that we are said to be justified by faith because faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 44).

According to this formulation, faith was not simply intellectual assent but was essentially efficacious, a faith by which justification was activated, which was why St. Paul was cited by the Council, since in his Epistle to the Romans, he had explained that we are justified through the "free gift of [God's] grace by being redeemed in Christ Jesus who was appointed by God to sacrifice his life so as to win reconciliation through faith . . . by faith we are judged righteous and at peace with God" (Romans 3:24–25, 5:1 [Jerusalem Version]).

However, it was a perception of what faith did, without the good works that Trent insisted were a necessary supplement, that **Martin Luther** seized upon: as he explained in his 1515–16 lecture commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, God "*justifies*, through his grace . . . every man *who has faith* . . . *On what principle? On the principle of works?* No . . . *but on the principle of faith* . . . *a man is justified*, reckoned righteous before God . . . *by faith, apart from the works of the Law* (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 61).

Thus, justifying faith might be better described as trust, in Latin *fiducia*, and confidence in the reliability of God's promises and assurances, found in Scripture, that He was a God to save: because the believer believes that he or she is saved, the believer *is* saved and, being justified by faith, goes on to perform good works as the consequence, though not the cause, of justification, as Luther showed in his 1520 work "The Freedom of a Christian."

All the major reformers likewise emphasized the role of faith in justification. **Huldrych Zwingli** wrote, "We believe that by faith the forgiveness of sins is most assuredly granted to man as often as he prays to God through Christ But we say sins are forgiven through faith." **Martin Bucer** said, "God, on account of the death of Christ undergone on our behalf, forgives us all our sins, absolves us from all guilt, and passes judgment in our favour against Satan and all the ills we may have deserved." And **John Calvin** maintained, "Justified by faith is he who, excluded from the righteousness of works, grasps the righteousness of Christ through faith and, clothed in it, appears in God's sight not as a sinner but as a righteous man"

(Cameron, *The European Reformation*, p. 122). The English Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion** declared, “that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 616).

With their inclination to affirm the role of **free will** and good works in justification, **Anabaptists** held to differing analyses of faith from those of the mainstream reformers. In the eyes of the founder of the **Mennonites**, Menno Simons, for example, the effect of justification was restorative, enabling Christians to return to the perfection humankind enjoyed before Adam’s fall.

FAMILY OF LOVE. The group known as the Family of Love, or Familists, was set up in around 1540 by a wealthy merchant from the region between northwest **Germany** and the northeast **Low Countries**, Hendrik (or Heinrich) Niklaes (or Niclaes) (1502–c. 1580). In the early 1530s Niklaes turned toward the inner spirituality found in the poet and artist David Joriszoon (1501–1556) and developed a mystical system that focused on the absorption of believers into the deity. As a result of Niklaes’s missionary efforts in the reign of **Edward VI**, and perhaps that of **Mary**, the movement spread to **England**, where it was discovered in the 1580s that some of the personnel and the captain of Queen **Elizabeth’s** security staff, the Yeomen of the Guard, were secret members, and it has been speculated that the queen herself may have been drawn to this grouping.

The absence of a definitive dogmatic core to the Familists’ beliefs, plus their ability to profess their convictions under the camouflage of membership of official Churches, made them attractive to people whose positions in life demanded discretion, as was the case with **Philip II’s** official printer (“typographer royal”) of Catholic literature for the Low Countries, the Frenchman Christophe Plantin (1514–1589) and the painter Pieter Brueghel (Bruegel or Breughel), the Younger (1564?–1638). In the village of Balsham in Cambridgeshire, eastern England, the minister and Cambridge academic Andrew Perne (d. 1589) permitted the establishment of a Familist cell in his parish, some of its members acting as officials of the parish church. Though Niklaes’s works were still being published in the 1650s, the movement may gradually have merged with new streams, especially the Quakers, who professed belief in an inner light.

FAREL, GUILLAUME (1489–1565). Farel was born in Gap in Dauphiné in southeast **France** into a family involved with the law and the Church. In 1509 he commenced his studies of philosophy at **Paris**, where he fell under the influence of **Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples**, at that time serving as a priest in the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. In 1517 Farel was appointed a lecturer at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine, and between 1521 and 1523 he joined Lefèvre and **Guillaume Briçonnet** in the reforms they were undertaking in the diocese of Meaux, east of Paris, subsequently returning to Paris, and then moving in 1523 to Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where in 1524 he defended 30 theses with a pronounced alignment to the Reformation. He opposed **Desiderius Erasmus** and was banished, possibly at the latter's instigation. Farel went on to preach in **Strassburg**; at Lausanne in eastern Switzerland; Montbéliard in southeastern France, whence he was expelled; and in Neuchâtel (in modern eastern Switzerland) where he instigated **iconoclasm**.

In 1526 Farel was in Aigle in the territory of the Swiss canton of Bern (Berne) and in 1528 he assisted in the conversion of Bern itself to **Protestantism**. He spent some years as a peripatetic preacher in Switzerland and, in October 1532, along with his fellow-reformer Pierre Viret (1511–1571) and with backing from the government of Bern, he arrived in Geneva, but was driven out, returning in the winter of 1533–34. In January 1534, with Viret, Farel took part in a public **disputation** in Geneva and in the course of that year the process of dismantling the Catholic system in the city got under way.

In May 1536 Geneva officially adopted the Reformation and in August Farel's role was that of persuading **John Calvin** to stay in Geneva in order to implement a well-controlled change of religion. In October 1536 he took part, along with Calvin and Viret, in a disputation that resulted in the introduction of the Reformation into Lausanne; his disputation articles were largely derived from **Huldrych Zwingli's** Sixty-Seven **Zürich** Theses of 1523. When, with Calvin, he was expelled from Geneva in 1538, he returned to Neuchâtel (which had accepted Protestantism in 1530) to serve as the city's pastor.

In 1557 Farel and **Théodore Beza** undertook a visit to **Germany's** Protestant princes to seek their assistance on behalf of hard-pressed survivors of the dissenting religious group, the **Waldensians**, with whom he had had contact in 1523, and he subsequently took up mis-

sionary work in eastern France's Jura mountains. In 1554, at the age of 69, he married a woman considerably younger than himself, much to Calvin's annoyance, and in 1560 he opened an anti-Catholic preaching offensive in his homeland, Dauphiné, and was imprisoned in 1561. The first begetter of the Reformation in Geneva, Farel died in Neuchâtel. His 15 books included a short teaching manual, the *Summaire et briefve déclaration . . .*, "Summary and Brief Declaration . . .," and, probably, part-authorship with Calvin of the first Geneva **Catechism** (1537).

FATHERS OF THE CHURCH. The term "Fathers of the Church" is used for the group of early "patristic" teachers in the post-Apostolic age of the Church, whose writings formed much of the later corpus of Christian belief. They are subdivided into an eastern, Greek-language group, including Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200), Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), Origen (185?–254), Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373), Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–c. 386), Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 328–390), John Chrysostom (347–407), and Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–c. 394), and a western grouping, including Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165), Tertullian (c. 160–220), Cyprian of Carthage (c. 200–258), Jerome (c. 342–420), Ambrose (c. 339–397), Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and Gregory, bishop of Rome (c. 540–604), who all wrote in Latin.

Humanism, with its disparagement of the **Scholasticism** of the Middle Ages, sought inspiration in patristic sources, voices from an earlier and, it was generally believed, purer age of the Church, and **Desiderius Erasmus** gave the lead in promoting study of the Fathers, editing Irenaeus's five-volume attack on heresy, *Adversus Haereses*, in 1526. However, Erasmus's most important contribution to patristic study was his nine-volume 1519 edition of the work of St. Jerome.

The greatest of the Fathers, Augustine, has had a lasting impact on Christian thought, and his legacy was perpetuated through the Middle Ages, especially by theologians belonging to the **Augustinian** religious orders, Augustinian Canons and Augustinian Eremites (or friars), who both claimed their foundation from him. Augustine's emphases, set out in his 412 work "On the Spirit and the Letter," on the corruption of humanity as a result of the Fall, on mankind's bias toward sin, our inability to work out our own salvation and our total

reliance on **grace**, and the fact of **predestination**, were regularly reiterated in Catholic thought.

Martin Luther was of the Order of Augustinian Eremites who, **Philipp Melanchthon** recalled, in the monastery “most often read all of Augustine’s works and remembered them best of all” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 39). He fully absorbed Augustine’s awareness of human weakness and total dependence on divine rescue. At the same time, the Augustinian tradition, with its influence on the Italian **evangelicals** and on figures such as **John Colet** and **Gasparo Contarini** retained its vigor within the Catholic Church of the 16th century. Finally, we may describe **John Calvin**’s “Institutes” as an adaptation of Augustine for 16th-century needs.

FERDINAND I, KING AND EMPEROR (1503–1564). Charles V’s younger brother Ferdinand was born in Alcalá de Henares, 20 miles east of Madrid, central **Spain**, the son of Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Archduke of **Austria**, known as “the Fair” or “the Handsome” (Philippe, known as *le Bel* or *el Hermoso*, 1478–1506) and his wife, the Spanish royal princess Juana (1479–1555). In 1521 Charles in effect made Ferdinand his viceroy in **Germany**, giving him responsibility for the governance of the **Habsburg** lands in **Austria** as archduke and appointing him president of the executive body (*Reichs-regiment*) of the **Holy Roman Empire**.

Brought up in ardently Catholic Spain, Ferdinand took grave objection to **Lutheranism**: in 1523 he published an accusation that **Martin Luther** was in effect denying Christ’s divinity and in 1524 he and other German Catholic leaders met the papal legate to Germany, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio (or Campeggi, 1474–1539), to press for the enforcement of the **Edict of Worms** against Luther and his followers, as well as to seek ecclesiastical reform. In 1526 Ferdinand demanded of the **Diet of Speyer** that the Edict of Worms be enforced and in 1529, at the second Diet of Speyer, he voiced disapproval at the religious change so far made and called for a reexamination of the recess of the earlier, 1526, Speyer Diet, which had in effect permitted Lutheran worship. In the same year he also pledged himself to come to the aid of the Catholic cantons of **Switzerland**, creating the Catholic alliance called the Christian Union. Wherever he could, Ferdinand took severe measures against **Anabaptists** and himself ordered the burning of **Jakob Hutter** in 1536.

Ferdinand was married in 1521 to Anna, the sister of the ruler of the kingdoms of **Bohemia** and **Hungary**, King Lajos, or Louis II (b. 1506), who was killed at the battle of Mohács against the **Turks** in April 1526, at which point Ferdinand laid claim to his realms. One of these, Bohemia, accepted him (though he had to suppress a rebellion in the kingdom in 1547), but in Hungary Ferdinand faced resistance, led by the Magyar prince of the northeastern province of Transylvania and claimant to the throne, Jan (or János) Zapolya (or Szapolyai, 1487–1540), supported by the Turks. In the event Zapolya was installed as ruler of Transylvania as a Turkish vassal, while Ferdinand held the northwest of the country and the Turks the south and east.

Ferdinand won election as King of the Romans, in effect heir apparent as emperor, in 1531 but a temporary breach between him and Charles took place when the latter tried to promote the claims of his son **Philip** to succeed to the Empire. After completing the negotiations of the 1552 Peace of Passau with **Moritz of Saxony** and the passage of the **Peace of Augsburg** in 1555, in which his persistent desire for the restoration of religious unity in Germany was thwarted, in 1556 Ferdinand was designated his successor as emperor by his brother, a decision that was endorsed by the electors of the Empire in 1558.

In religion, Ferdinand often had conciliatory solutions imposed on him. In 1525 the representative estates of his territory of Upper (northwestern) Austria (Oberösterreich) compelled him to allow Lutheran preaching in those lands, and following his accession to the crown of Bohemia, similar pressure was put upon him to tolerate Czech dissenters in the lineage of **Jan Hus**, and he had in 1550 to endorse religious diversity in his lands in Moravia (modern Czech Republic), though he attempted to make the country's nobility cease tolerating **Anabaptists**. In 1538, with the elector of **Brandenburg**, Joachim II Hektor (1505–1571), he worked out a scheme that would overlook religious differences in order to allow German states to ally against the Turks.

Ferdinand himself developed an ability to seek out compromises over inessentials, as was shown in his suggestion that the **Council of Trent** meet in an Italian city that was also in the German Empire, and in his moves to allow clerical **marriage** in parts of Austria and to permit the **laity** to partake of the chalice in the **eucharist**. His

politically motivated quests for compromise explain why the hardline Pope **Paul IV** would not grant him recognition as emperor, though Paul's successor, Pope **Pius V**, recognized his title and also endorsed his search for the middle ground through the grant of the chalice to the laity. Ferdinand also took an interest in **Catholic reform** and introduced the **Jesuits** into Austria. In March 1563 he played a key role in the reconvening of the Council for its crucial final session when he wrote to the **pope** urging a resumption of business, and in its 25th session later that year the assembly complimented him as "the most serene Emperor Ferdinand, ever august, orthodox and peaceful" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 67).

FINLAND. Incorporated into **Sweden** since 1157, Finland underwent the introduction of the **Lutheranism** that took place under **Gustav Vasa**, who in 1556 made the country a duchy for his second son, Johan (John, 1537–1592), change being introduced by Peter Särkilahti, a former student in **Germany** who took up Lutheran preaching in 1524, followed by the bishop of Åbo (or Turku) from 1544, Mikael Agricola (c. 1508–1557), who had graduated from Wittenberg in 1539 and who issued the New Testament in Finnish in 1548 and versions of the Psalms and some Old Testament prophets in 1551, translations that made him the major architect of literary Finnish.

Agricola was also the sponsor of a moderate Finnish Reformation that retained features of medieval piety, such as devotion to the Passion of Jesus, to the **eucharist** and to the **Blessed Virgin Mary**. Two Finnish bishoprics, at Åbo and Viborg, were eventually established.

FISHER, JOHN (1469–1535). John Fisher was born in Beverley in Yorkshire, northeast **England**, to Robert Fisher, a prominent mercer, and his wife, and went to school at Beverley Minster. In the early 1480s he proceeded to the Cambridge college of Michaelhouse. He received his B.A. in 1488 and his M.A. in 1491, when he was made a fellow of his college, becoming a university proctor in 1494 and around the same time, friend, chaplain, and subsequently confessor to the mother of King Henry VII (1457–1509), the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (1443–1509), who was to support him in his program of university reform and improvement, including the building of two new colleges, St. John's and Christ's.

Fisher became Master of Michaelhouse in 1497, took his doctorate of divinity, and became vice-chancellor of the university in 1501. In 1503 he was the first occupant of Lady Margaret's endowed professorial chair of divinity and in 1504 became bishop of Rochester in Kent, east of **London**, England's smallest and poorest bishoprics, to which he devoted intense, long-term care, though retaining his connection with Cambridge, where, on the initiative of Lady Margaret, he was appointed president of Queens' College, serving until 1508. By now a celebrated preacher, with a direct style and approach, he was chosen to deliver the funeral sermons of Henry VII and, later, his mother, both in 1509. In 1516, encouraged by **Desiderius Erasmus**, Fisher studied Greek and in 1518 Hebrew.

As England began to feel the early Reformation influences, Fisher set his face against them. In May 1521 **Thomas Wolsey** ordered a public burning in London of **Lutheran** books, and it was Fisher who delivered the accompanying sermon. He may have encouraged **Henry VIII** in writing his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Adversus Martinum Lutherum*—"The Defense of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther," 1521, and in 1522 published a reassertion of the claim that St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome. In 1523 there appeared his 200,000-word Latin *Confutatio* of Luther's 1520 "Assertion of All the Articles Condemned by the Last Bull of Antichrist"—the bull of excommunication—and he issued, in 1525, *Defensio Regiae Assertionis*—"A Vindication of the Royal Defense"—of the seven sacraments. In 1525–27 Fisher published an affirmation of the traditional doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the **eucharist**, *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*—"Concerning the Reality of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist"—aimed against the spiritual interpretation of the sacrament upheld by **Johannes Œcolampadius**.

In the 1520s Fisher's relationship with Henry VIII was soured by the king's plans to end his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, for Fisher, who served as chaplain to the queen and who in 1528 was appointed one of her legal counsellors, consistently upheld the rightness of the **pope's** original dispensation that had allowed the king and queen to marry, and in 1529, to Henry's fury, he boldly declared the marriage to be indissoluble. However, it was not only over the king's marriage that the bishop and the monarch were at loggerheads, for

Fisher also opposed the measures being taken toward an eventual royal supremacy over the Church: when in 1531 the clergy in their Convocation were compelled to recognize Henry VIII as head of the church and clergy, Fisher supported the insertion of the clause specifying that this went only as far as Christ's law allowed it. In the following year he also opposed the Submission of the Clergy, which ended the traditional independence of the Church from the crown.

By that point in time, it was clear that Fisher and his ally **Thomas More** (who resigned as lord chancellor in that same year) were lonely islands standing out against a rising sea of religious change. In April 1533 Fisher was consigned to virtual house arrest but in June was given leave to retire to his Rochester diocese. There he became implicated with Elizabeth Barton, the "Nun" or "Holy Maid" of Kent (1506–1534), a visionary who was voicing opposition to the king's actions. As a result of this involvement, Fisher's name was entered, along with More's, in the January 1534 Act of Attainder against Barton and her accomplices, though in the event his punishment was reduced to a fine.

Yet Fisher was far from safe, for once again the momentum of events was leaving him (and More) dangerously isolated. In January 1534, Parliament passed the first **Act of Supremacy** and an Act of Succession, designating the children of Henry VIII and **Anne Boleyn** as the due heirs to the crown and demanding an oath to uphold its terms. In April, Fisher was twice required to swear and twice refused, and was sent to the Tower of London for what was to be a harsh imprisonment, undergoing ill health and forfeiting his bishopric.

The enactment of a new Treasons Act in 1535 made Fisher's position even more dangerous, for, as with More, refusing to take the succession oath could be seen as denying the king's title, and hence outright sedition. All efforts to persuade him to swear were in vain, but up to that point he had adopted a relatively safe passive stance toward the oath, neither being willing to take it nor being prepared to say why. However, in May an emissary from **Thomas Cromwell** persuaded him that the king really wanted to know his inner thoughts—without any harm coming to him—and when he revealed them, he provided incriminating evidence against himself. What then finally sealed Fisher's fate, however, was his appointment, while still a prisoner in the Tower, by Pope **Clement VII** as a cardinal, a pro-

motion regarded by Henry VIII as the ultimate provocation. Fisher was tried for high treason in June 1535, convicted, and sentenced to death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, though the sentence was moderated to beheading, when it took place on the 22nd of the month. He was canonized in 1935.

FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, MATTHIAS (MATIJA VLAČIĆ-ILIRIK, OR MATIJA FRANKOVIĆ ILIR, OR MATTHÄUS VLACICH) (1520–1575). Flacius Illyricus was born in Albona in Istria in the east of modern Croatia. He pursued a **humanist** course of study in **Venice** and further studies in the universities of Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** and Tübingen in **Württemberg**, and arrived as a student in 1541 in Wittenberg, where he became professor of Hebrew in 1544. His acceptance of **Martin Luther's** doctrine of **justification** by **faith** resolved a religious crisis he underwent and made him a firm upholder of **Lutheranism**, including a denial of **free will**. Along with his fellow **Gnesio-Lutheran**, **Nikolaus von Amsdorf**, Flacius was opposed to the doctrinal compromises, including those over *adiaphora*, championed by **Philipp Melancthon** and enshrined in the 1548 **Interims**.

From 1549, as the emergent leader of the Gnesio-Lutherans, Flacius Illyricus established in Magdeburg, northeastern **Germany**, a center from which to defend orthodox Lutheranism; denounced the Interims; demanded that Melancthon repent his opinions; and put pressure on the Lutheran prince **Moritz of Saxony** to take up arms against **Charles V**. In 1557 Flacius Illyricus was made a professor in the University of Jena in Thuringia, eastern Germany, and condemned Melancthon's doctrine of synergism—the belief that the will may cooperate with **grace** and the Holy Spirit. In 1560 he was involved in Jena in a debate with a leading **Philippist**, Victorinus Strigel (or Strigelius, 1524–1569), and he was dismissed from his academic post in 1561.

Flacius Illyricus traveled through the years down to 1575 between Regensburg, southeast Germany—where he attempted to set up a university with a fundamentalist Lutheran syllabus—Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers), in the southern **Low Countries**, **Strassburg**, and Frankfurt-am-Main, central Germany. He died in Frankfurt on the eve of another expulsion order, in March 1575. Two years later, aiming to strike a compromise between Philippist and Gnesio-Lutheran

views, the **Formula and Book of Concord** rejected Flacius's teachings on the will.

As a theologian, Flacius took a pessimistic view of the human condition, insisting that its nature is sinful, that the image of God within it is changed into that of Satan, that mankind over the course of time had become morally worse, that human beings reject God's will and oppose the motions of the Spirit, and that they play no active role in their justification, which comes entirely from outside of themselves.

Flacius Illyricus is also known for his direction of the compilation of Church history based on primary documents, the "**Magdeburg Centuries**." He was also, along with **John Foxe**, one of the major Protestant authors of **martyrology**, the author of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis Qui ante Nostram Aetatem Reclamaverunt Papae* or "Catalogue of Witnesses to the Truth who before Our Times Have Cried Out in Protest at the Pope" (Basel, 1556), tracing Lutheranism's medieval antecedents. His *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*, or "Key to Holy Scripture," a work of biblical interpretation, came out in 1567, and his *Ecclesiastica Historia*—"History of the Church"—over the years 1559–74.

FORTY HOURS DEVOTION (QUARANT' ORE). This devotion involved the exposition, from the main altars of churches, of consecrated hosts of the **eucharist** in glass-fronted vessels known as monstrances. The period of continuous display, 40 hours, in Italian *quarant'ore*, extending between two celebrations of **Mass**, was believed to correspond to the number of hours that the buried Christ spent in the tomb before His resurrection, and during the period of exposition, rotas of members of congregations, who were typically members of pious **confraternities**, kept watch, venerating the host. The cult, which can be traced to **Milan** in 1527 and was observed in association with the great festivals of the year, became a popular event in times of danger and disaster.

Quarant'ore was promoted by the founder of the **Barnabites**, Antonio Maria Zaccaria (1502–1549), was favored by the **Capuchins**, **Oratorians**, and **Jesuits**, approved by Pope **Pius V** in 1560, and encouraged by **Carlo Borromeo** in Milan.

FOX, JOHN (1516–1587). John Foxe was born into a citizen family in the town of Boston, in Lincolnshire, eastern **England**. He entered Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1534, studied Hebrew, Latin, and

Greek, took his B.A. degree in 1537, becoming a university lecturer in logic in 1539 and in the same year a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, taking his M.A. in 1543.

Foxe's developing Protestantism convinced him that clerical **celibacy** was unnecessary, so that he refused ordination to the priesthood, a condition of his fellowship, which he forfeited in c. 1545 and took up the post of tutor with a family in Warwickshire, in the Midlands, married in 1547, and moved to **London**, where he acquired a position as tutor in an aristocratic household. **Nicholas Ridley** ordained Foxe a deacon in 1550 but the accession of the Catholic **Mary I** in 1553 forced his departure for the Continent. In **Strassburg**, Foxe published the Latin first edition of an ecclesiastical history, the *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* ("Commentaries on Ecclesiastical Events") on which he had been working in **England**, the prototype of his later *Actes and Monuments . . . of the Church . . .*. He migrated to Frankfurt-am-Main, central **Germany**, and then to Basel (Bâle, Basle), in **Switzerland**, where he worked in a printing establishment, was a negotiator in disputes among the English Protestant émigrés, and, between 1556 and 1559, prepared an extended version of his church history.

Foxe stayed on the Continent until 1559, finalizing the production of his *Commentarii*. On his return to England, in 1560 he was ordained a priest of the Church of **England** by **Edmund Grindal** and in 1563 published the *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes, Touching Matters of the Church*. Dedicated to Queen **Elizabeth**, the great history, with its vivid prose and detailed illustrations of martyrdoms, was an instant and massive success. In 1571 the Church of England's Convocation ordered that a copy of the work be placed in each cathedral in the country. Attacked by Catholic controversialists, the *Actes and Monuments*, popularly known as "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," went through subsequent editions in 1570, when it was doubled in length, and in 1576 and 1583, with a definitive posthumous edition in 1596. Foxe died and was buried in London in April 1587.

Foxe opposed religious persecution and denounced the execution of **Michael Servetus**. His writings included a study of canon law, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*—"The Reform of Church Law," 1571—and a religious drama in Latin, *Christus Triumphans* ("Christ Victorious," Basel, 1556) but he is best known for the

“Book of Martyrs.” Published at a point near the inauguration of the Elizabethan Reformation, his history offered Protestant England an eschatological self-understanding in terms of God’s Providence in favor of an elect nation under the rule of a godly monarch.

FRANCE. A long-standing feature of institutional French religious life was the high degree of independence from Rome of the Catholic Church in the country, a system known as Gallicanism. In 1438, under King Charles VII (1403–1461), the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges legislated for the French Church to administer its own affairs without reference to the papacy, gave the crown major ecclesiastical prerogatives and restricted appeals from the French legal system to **Rome**. With the agreement between **Francis I** and Pope **Leo X** known as the **Concordat of Bologna**, 1516, canceling the Pragmatic Sanction, the crown’s control over the French Church was extended: it was the king who was henceforward to nominate the kingdom’s 10 archbishops and 82 bishops, giving the crown control of the heads of an institution that directed education, opinion, culture, and belief in early modern France.

An important initiative in **Catholic reform** in early 16th-century France was encountered in the diocese of Meaux, east of **Paris**, during the episcopate of **Guillaume Briçonnet**, appointed bishop in 1516. Key features of this program, beginning in 1518, were the moral improvement of priests and vigorous preaching to congregations. Direction of the preaching work was given by **Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples**. A doctrinal inspiration for this initiative focused on the epistles of St. Paul and stressed the unique role of Christ as the redeemer. The **bible** was widely available in the vernacular. Their **evangelical** viewpoint led the Meaux reformers to strip the churches in the diocese bare of all images save those of Christ and to replace the popular prayer to Mary, the *Ave Maria* or “Hail Mary,” with the Lord’s Prayer, the *Pater Noster*, the “Our Father,” recited in French.

If some of these changes smacked of **Protestantism**—and we should remember that **John Calvin**’s later colleague **Guillaume Farel** received his early training in Meaux—it is also important to emphasize their alignment with moderate Catholic reform. However, the polarized religious atmosphere in the France of the 1520s encouraged the enemies of the Meaux evangelicals in their suspicion and attacks. In 1521 the University of Paris, the Sorbonne, condemned

Lefèvre for unorthodoxy, and by the mid-1520s the Meaux experiment was at an end, though **Marguerite d'Angoulême** continued to shelter the reformists.

Confrontation was the dominant mood in the religious life of France from the mid-1520s, when the first burnings of French Protestants took place. The reformers were themselves committed to aggression and particularly to **iconoclasm**: the destruction of a statue of the **Blessed Virgin Mary in Paris** in 1528 was followed in October 1534 by the "Affair of the Placards," when printed attacks on the **Mass** were posted in Paris and around the country, leading to executions.

Though Francis I's religious policies could be inconsistent—driven by his preoccupation with checking **Charles V**—under his son and successor **Henry II** persecution of the Protestants was intensified, legislated for in the 1551 Edict of Châteaubriant, and directed by the tribunals known as *chambres ardentes*, literally the "burning courts." Yet repression did nothing to stop the growth of an underground Calvinist Church, served by ministers trained in **Geneva** and winning support within the gentry and middling classes, while members of the nobility, such as **Gaspard de Coligny** and **Louis, Prince de Condé**, provided leadership. By 1559, when Henry II's premature death caused a succession crisis, France had an alternative Church in waiting. Despite attempts to avert conflict—the **Colloquy** of Poissy, September–October 1561, and an Edict of Toleration in January 1562—the country, further divided by the **Conspiracy of Amboise** and the massacre of **Huguenots** by **François, duc de Guise** in March 1562, at Vassy, northeast France, was heading inexorably toward the **Wars of Religion**.

The overall result of those wars was the defeat of the Huguenots' bid to become the recognized Church of France—though not the extinction of French **Calvinism**, for **Henry of Navarre's** **Edict of Nantes** gave guarantees for the **Reformed** community's continued existence. Nevertheless, in the century following the ratification of the Edict, France emerged as the power-house of the post-Reformation Catholic resurgence in Europe.

FRANCIS I, KING (1494–1547). The son of Charles, comte d'Angoulême (1460–1496), and Louise de Savoie (Louise of Savoy), Francis (François) was born in September 1494 in Cognac in

the Aquitaine basin, in southwestern **France**. In 1514 he married Claude (or Claudia) de France (1499–1524), the daughter of his uncle, King Louis XII (1462–1515). She was debarred by France’s Salic law of the royal succession from succeeding her father. Francis acceded to the throne in January 1515 and took up his predecessor’s wars in **Italy**, winning the battle of Marignano, en route to **Milan**, in September 1515, and thereby gaining the Duchy of Milan. Francis’s **Concordat of Bologna** with Pope **Leo X** in 1516 gave the crown extended powers over the Catholic Church in the kingdom, conferring on the king the appointment of all its senior clergy.

Failing to overcome **Charles V** in the 1519 contest for election as Holy Roman Emperor, in the following year Francis led attacks on Charles’s territories in the **Low Countries** and in June met **Henry VIII** at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in Picardy, northeastern France, a resplendent pageant of **Renaissance** monarchy. Francis was crushingly defeated by Charles in February 1525 at Pavia, in northern Italy, and imprisoned in Madrid. In the Treaty of Madrid of 1526, Francis secured his release with extensive concessions to Charles, including the surrender of the Duchy of Burgundy, along with Flanders and Artois in the southern Low Countries; his sons were made hostages.

Released from his treaty oaths by Pope **Clement VII**, between 1527 and 1529 Francis was once more at war with Charles, but was forced to give up French claims to Italy, while France retained Burgundy but gave up Flanders and Artois, in the Treaty known as the *Paix des Dames*, or “Ladies’ Peace,” signed by Francis’s mother Louise de Savoie and Charles’s aunt, Marguerite d’Autriche, duchesse de Savoie (Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy, 1480–1530) at Cambrai in the southern Low Countries in August 1529. Francis resumed war against Charles between 1536 and 1538—when Francis agreed with Charles the 10-year Truce of Nice, giving Savoy, to the southeast of the country, to France. Now allies, Henry VIII and Charles V invaded France’s eastern and northern provinces in 1542, but after striking French victories at Enghien (Edingen in the southern Low Countries) and Ceresole Alba (Cérisole) in Piedmont, Francis came to terms with Charles in the Peace of Crépy in 1544 and with Henry VIII in the Treaty of Ardres in 1546.

Although Francis’s reign is associated with the rapid development of royal absolutism in France, with the administrative reforms prom-

ulgated by the chancellor Antoine Duprat (1463–1535), and also with the adoption by the crown of patronage of Renaissance culture, architecture, and the arts, the *Leitmotif* of his rule was the constant struggle to offset **Habsburg** hegemony in Europe, which induced him to form an alliance with the **Turks**, beginning with a commercial treaty in 1536.

Francis's religious policies, both external and domestic, were largely driven by political calculations. Over the years 1529–32, when the king was seeking to use the German Protestant rulers as a counterpoise against the Habsburgs, persecution was relaxed. In 1533, he was angling for a diplomatic alliance with the papacy, so he released a bull of Clement VII condemning heresy. In the following year, Francis was again looking for a *rapprochement* with the **Lutherans** and consequently allowed some freedom to the **Huguenots**, only to be faced with the printed attacks on the **Mass** in the “Placards” of October 1534, leading to a campaign of repression given statutory force in the Edict of Fontainebleau of 1540.

Francis died at Rambouillet, near **Paris**, in March 1547.

FRANCISCAN ORDER. From soon after its foundation by St. Francis of Assisi (1181–1226), the Franciscan Order of “Friars Minor” had been divided over the question of accepting papal relaxations of Francis's guiding principle of voluntary poverty and mendicancy. In 1517 Pope **Leo X** recognized the existence of two distinct Franciscan congregations—“Observants,” who from the later 14th century were insisting on strict adherence to the rule of St. Francis and of poverty, and “Conventuals,” who were prepared to accept modifications of it and common ownership of property.

With the onset of the Reformation, former Franciscans were to be found in the ranks of Protestant activists: the Swiss Conrad (or Konrad) Kürschner (or Kürsner), known as Pellikan or Pellicanus, 1478–1556), a Heidelberg-educated **humanist** and Hebrew scholar, joined the Order—and left it in the mid-1520s. With the adoption of the **Reformation** in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, along with **Johannes Ecolampadius**, he was appointed professor of theology by the city council and went on to become librarian and theology professor in **Zürich**, aiding **Huldrych Zwingli** in preaching reform to the city magistrates, assisting in the publication of the whole **bible** in the vernacular in the city in 1530 and producing his seven-volume

scriptural commentary, *Commentaria Bibliorum*, between 1532 and 1539. The former Franciscan **Johann Eberlin von Günzburg**, who preached at Ulm in Swabia, southern Germany, and who in his *Die 15 Bundtgenossen* (“The Fifteen Covenanted Comrades”) of 1521 described a utopian society, “Wolfaria,” injected into his teaching echoes of the traditional concern of the Friars Minor with issues of social and economic justice. The Lutheran theologian Friedrich Mecon, known as Myconius (1491–1546), who accompanied **Martin Luther** to the **Marburg Colloquy** in 1529 and who was part of a delegation visiting **England** in 1538, entered the Franciscan Order in 1510 and was ordained in 1510 but by 1524 was preaching Lutheran sermons in Gotha in Thuringia, eastern **Germany**.

Within the Catholic Church the most significant events in the history of the Franciscan family in the 16th century were the papal ratifications between 1528 and 1536 of a reaffirmation of Observant ideals in the shape of the **Capuchins**. The Franciscan “Poor Clares” are a female Order, established in 1215, and the “Tertiaries,” founded in 1216, are lay people associated with either the male or female Franciscans. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

FRANCIS XAVIER (FRANCISCO DE JAVIER) (1506–1552). *See* XAVIER, FRANCIS.

FRANCK, FRANK, OR FRANCK VON WÖRD, SEBASTIAN 1499–1542). Born in Donauwörth, near Augsburg in southern **Germany**, Franck began his studies in the University of Ingolstadt and moved on to Heidelberg, in the Rhineland **Palatinate**, meeting **Martin Bucer** there in 1518 at the time of **Martin Luther’s** **disputation** in the city. He was ordained a priest of the diocese of Augsburg in 1524 but moved into the Lutheran camp in 1526, acted as a village pastor in the **Nuremberg** area, and married. However, Franck soon became disillusioned at the apparent lack of any moral change brought about by **Lutheranism**, abandoned his clerical position and moved to **Strassburg**, where he met **Caspar Schwenckfeld**. He published a denunciation of drunkenness in 1528, and in 1530 his *Türkenchronik* (“Chronicle of the Turks”), a translation of a Latin work which showed Muslim life and faith in a better light than Christianity, with its schisms and abuses, and

which identified a new “fourth faith,” guided by the “eternal, invisible Word of God” (Dickens, *Reformation and Society*, p. 146). The year 1531 saw the production of his three-volume history of Christianity in German, the *Chronica, Zeytbuch und Geschichtsbibel* (“A Chronicle, Book of the Ages, and History Book”), proposing universal religious toleration, condemning all the various Churches, and attacking **Desiderius Erasmus** as a heretic: the work brought about his imprisonment in, and then expulsion from, Strassburg in 1532.

Franck next moved to Esslingen in **Württemberg**, where he was employed as a soap-boiler, then transferred to nearby Ulm and worked as a printer, publishing his own writings, but was banished in 1539 as a delayed result of the publication of his *Paradoxa*, an anthology of 280 mystical aphorisms, published in 1534. He moved to Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, remarried following his first wife’s death, took up work as a printer, and in 1541 brought out a Latin and Greek version of the New Testament. He died in Basel in the autumn of 1542.

Franck’s 20 published writings included a German translation of Erasmus’s “Praise of Folly,” the 1534 *Weltbuch: Spiegel und Bildniss des ganzen Erdbodens* (“A Book of the World: A Mirror and Image of the Entire Earth”), *Chronica des ganzen teutschne Lands* (“A Chronicle of the Entire German Lands,” 1538), the 1539 mystical treatise *Das . . . mit sieben Siegeln verschlossene Buch* (“The Sevenfold-Sealed Book”), and, in 1541, his two-volume collection of German proverbs, *Die goldene Arche* (“The Golden Arch”), influenced by Erasmus’s compilation, the *Adagia*.

Franck was influenced by the late medieval German mystical tradition, mingling it with **humanism** and a rationalist outlook. He rejected all organized Churches as at best part-possessors of truth and at worst temples of the **Antichrist**, doomed to face God’s wrath. The true Church was a universal but unseen assembly of those under the guidance of the Spirit, regardless of their specific religious traditions, and needing no external apparatus, preaching, ministers, or sacraments. His most remarkable trait, in a 16th-century context, was his sympathy for Muslims and Islam and for the Jewish people and their faith.

FRANÇOIS DE SALES (1567–1622). See SALES, FRANÇOIS DE.

FREDERICK THE WISE, ELECTOR (1463–1525). The grandson of Friedrich II (1412–1464), Frederick (Friedrich) became duke and elector of **Saxony** in 1486 and established the University of Wittenberg in his capital in 1502.

Frederick was a traditional Catholic, owning a vast collection of **indulgence**-accruing relics, so that when **Johann Tetzel** was selling his papal indulgences on behalf of Albrecht (Albert) von Hohenzollern (1490–1545), archbishop of Mainz, long-standing rivalry between the Hohenzollerns and Frederick's Wettin dynasty, plus Frederick's desire to safeguard the value of his own indulgence collection, led him to impose a ban on Tetzel's sales drive. It was the migration of people from Wittenberg across the Saxon border to acquire the Tetzel indulgence that provoked **Martin Luther's** outburst in the Ninety-Five Theses.

Subsequently, Frederick stood staunchly by the controversial professor at his University, insisting that his case be examined in **Germany**, not in Rome, arranged for Luther to have an interview with **Tommaso de Vio, Cajetan**, at Augsburg in October 1518 and in December, refused to surrender his protégé. Preceding and following the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (b. 1459) in January 1519, Frederick was the candidate favored by the papacy to succeed as emperor, in order to avoid a further concentration of **Habsburg** power in the person of Maximilian's grandson, **Charles**. The result of the diplomatic offensive to win over Frederick was a slowing of the prosecution of Luther, at a key stage in the crisis, so as not to offend his patron.

In 1521 Frederick, having insisted that Luther be given a chance to state his case at the **Diet of Worms**, came to his aid at a critical juncture when, with the **Edict of Worms** threatening his life, the elector had him spirited away into hiding in his hunting lodge, the castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach in Thuringia—a move that protected both Luther's life and Frederick's reputation for orthodoxy and his political relationship with his overlord, Charles V. In February 1522 Frederick issued an instruction to the Wittenberg city council—in the midst of the radical reforms steered through by **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt**—to the effect that change must be halted, pending a national religious settlement. Then, in defiance of his ruler's instruction to the contrary, Luther returned to Wittenberg in March 1522. In 1524 Frederick complied with Luther's insistence on the suppres-

sion of the traditional liturgy in Wittenberg's church of All Saints (*Allerheiligen*). Having offered to negotiate with the insurgents in the **Peasants' Revolt**, Frederick died in May 1525 and was succeeded by his brother Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as "the Constant" or "Steadfast," 1468–1532).

Frederick was a cultured prince and a patron of **Albrecht Dürer** and **Lukas Cranach**. Seemingly, he and Luther never met—the intermediary between them was Luther's friend and Frederick's chaplain Georg Burckhardt, known as Spalatin (1484–1545)—and his protection of the reformer was guided by legal and political considerations rather than by doctrinal sympathy, even though, on his deathbed he received the **eucharist** in the Lutheran fashion, with the chalice as well as the host, and Luther preached at his funeral.

FREE WILL. Theologians of the 16th century inherited from the Middle Ages a vigorous debate on the nature, extent, and freedom of the human will, in the area of mankind's ability to decide on any course of action conferring merit and leading to **justification**. Whereas the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430) maintained that the Fall of humanity in Adam and Eve and the original sin inherited from it damaged human nature in such a way as to leave mankind with freedom to choose only sin, unless freed by **grace**, the leading medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) upheld free choice as the ability to select one object or course of action over another. Other medieval Scholastic theologians, William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347) and Gabriel Biel (c. 1420–1495), denied the incapacity of the will to move toward God and earn merit.

The issue was concerned not only with an "anthropological" debate about human nature but also involved a perceived power relation between God and humanity: the more freedom that was conceded to human will, the less scope God's sovereignty enjoyed, and vice-versa.

True to his place in the theological tradition of St. Augustine, **Martin Luther** rejected Biel's position: the sovereignty of the deity according to the formula "let God be God" could not admit liberty to the human will. The denial of free will implicit in the formula of justification by **faith** alone became more clearly articulated when Luther was challenged by **Desiderius Erasmus** in the September 1524 *De Libero Arbitrio . . . collatio* ("A Discourse on Free Will"), in which

Erasmus found some place for the operation of free choice. Luther's delayed response, widely regarded as his masterpiece, *De Servo Arbitrio*—"On the Bondage of the Will"—of December 1525 made it clear that the matter of the will involved not only humanity but vitally concerned the nature of God Himself, so that, in a simple axiom, our liberty of choice impugned God's omnipotence and omniscience, whereas His divine omnipotence shattered our freedom, for the deity of its very nature "foresees and purposes and does all things by his immutable, eternal and infallible will. Here is the thunderbolt by which free will is completely prostrated and shattered" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 176). Yet this was not mere fatalism, for in this work Luther explained that, in the helplessness of our wills enslaved to evil, our rescue from sin and death must come from God's mercy dispensed in Christ.

The **Council of Trent** took in some of the late medieval theological perceptions of the freedom of the will, and in its decree on justification, propounded in the sixth session, January 1547, the Council stated that, though the freedom of our wills is limited as a consequence of the Fall, that liberty has not been completely destroyed. Yet though Trent anathematized those who denied free will, the issue would not go away. While the Spanish theologian **Luis de Molina** found a place for the liberty of the human will within an overall awareness of God's majesty, the theologian of Louvain (Leuven) in the **Low Countries**, Michael Baius (Michel de Bay, 1513–1589), whose opinions were condemned by the papacy in 1567 and 1579, reiterated the tradition coming from St. Augustine of skepticism about the autonomy of the human will.

FROBEN, OR FROBENIUS, JOHANN (c. 1460?–1527). Froben was born in Hammelburg in **Bavaria** and set up his printing press in 1491 in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where he published editions of **Fathers of the Church** including Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrose, and Tertullian, along with the **bible** in Latin. He was the printer of the New Testament in its original Greek in **Desiderius Erasmus's** classic edition, first published in 1516, the *Novum Instrumentum*. Both Erasmus and **Johannes Cœcolompadius** assisted him in correcting proofs, and the German painter Hans Holbein (1497/8–1543) provided illustrations to his printed texts.

Within the relatively early years of **printing**, Froben established new and exacting standards of accuracy and quality for the medium, issuing 300 books, operating as printer to Erasmus, a close friend who stayed with him between 1521 and 1529, and making Basel an international headquarters of the industry. Froben also made an important contribution to the close relationship between the Reformation and the printing press: in 1518 and 1519 he published all of **Martin Luther's** works written up to those points in time and sent 600 copies of his early writings into **France** and **Spain** in February 1519.

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GAISMAIR (OR GAISMAYR), MICHAEL (c. 1491–1532). A leader in the **German Peasants' Revolt**, Michael Gaismair came from the district of Sterzing (modern Vipiteno) in the south of the province of Tyrol (Tirol) in **Austria**. The details of his early life are unclear, but the fact that he operated as secretary to the governor of the province of Tyrol and the prince-bishop of Brixen (Bressanone) and as a customs official suggests a university education. In 1525 Gaismair was elected their leader by rebel peasants assembled at Brixen, with a program of massacre of the “godless” and the formation of a popular government made up of men deeply familiar with Scripture. Plans put forward also involved **community of goods**, the surrender of all property belonging to the Church, and state direction of commerce and industry.

Having escaped to **Switzerland**, in the spring and summer of 1526, in the final stages of the Peasants' Revolt, Gaismair took part in the siege of Rastadt. Following the suppression of the rising, he drew up his *Tiroler Landesordnung* (“Regional Plan for Tyrol”), a vision of a utopian, egalitarian, and theocratic society. In 1526 Gaismair took part in an uprising in Salzburg in Austria, escaped into northern **Italy**, attempted to create an anti-**Habsburg** alliance and was assassinated in 1532, probably with Habsburg complicity.

GALILEI, GALILEO (1564–1642). Galileo was born in Pisa in Tuscany, central **Italy**, where he began his studies in medicine at the

university in 1581, but gave up medicine in favor of mathematics in 1585, conducted experiments in clock design, and wrote a paper on specific gravity.

In 1592 Galileo was appointed professor of mathematics at the University of Padua, (Padova), northeast Italy, where he remained until 1610, and where his use of the astronomical telescope convinced him of the validity of **Nikolaus Copernicus's** heliocentric model of the universe. In *Sidereus Nuncius* ("The Starry Messenger," 1610) he published discoveries about the moon's surface, on the makeup of the Milky Way, Jupiter's satellites, and the rotation of the sun until in 1610 Cosimo II (1590–1620), grand duke of Tuscany, called him to his capital, Florence (Firenze), paying him a high salary as his court mathematician and philosopher.

Galileo was now free to continue his astronomical research, making key discoveries on the planets. When he visited Rome in 1611, he was made a member of the prestigious Accademia dei Lincei. His work of 1613, *Historia e Dimostrazioni intorno alle Macchie Solari* ("An Account and Demonstration of Solar Spots"), in which he defended Copernican astronomy, was in opposition to those who insisted that the cosmology of the astronomer Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus, c. 90–168), making the earth the center of the universe, was essential to the maintenance of religious orthodoxy and to the authority of Scripture, which, in various Old Testament passages, depicts the earth as stable and the sun as in motion.

Instructed by the Church not to propagate the Copernican cosmology, in 1632 Galileo nevertheless published his *Dialogo sopra i due massimi Sistemi del Mondo* ("A Dialogue on the Two Great World Systems"), a three-part discussion between defenders of the Copernican, Ptolemaic, and Aristotelian cosmologies which confirmed Galileo's repudiation of the Ptolemaic universe. The book was handed over to the **Inquisition** and, in his 70th year, in poor health, its author was brought before the court in 1633, imprisoned, tried at great length, and in the end forced to renounce by oath, on his knees, his astronomical beliefs. Further incarceration followed until, thanks to the intervention of the grand duke, he was released, lived in Siena, in central Italy, and finally settled in Arcetri near Florence, where, despite his increasing blindness and deafness, he continued his scientific investigations and in 1638 he produced what is widely regarded

as his finest work, the *Discorsi* . . . —the “Discourses Concerning Two New Sciences.” Galileo died in Florence in 1642.

GALLICAN CONFESSION (*CONFESSIO GALLICANA*) (1559).

One of the many **Confessions** produced in the course of the 16th century, the *Confessio Gallicana*, a modification of a text by **John Calvin**, was accepted in May 1559 by the elders and pastors who made up the first nationwide general assembly of the **Reformed Church of France**, meeting in **Paris** over the course of four days.

The 40 clauses in the Confession identified the ecclesiastical ministries of pastor, deacon, and elder and provided for a national federal organization of local congregations grouped into regional presbyterial bodies in a pyramid whose apex was the national synod. The accompanying *Discipline ecclésiastique*, or “Church Discipline,” provided guidance on oversight of morals and the Confession was revised in La Rochelle, western France, in 1571. The Gallican Confession pioneered other formulations, such as the confessions of the **Calvinist Churches in the Low Countries** (*Confessio Belgica*, The **Belgic Confession of Faith**, 1561) and **Scotland** (*Confessio Scotiana* or *Scotica*, The Scottish Confession, 1560) and the **Heidelberg Catechism**, 1563.

GARDINER, STEPHEN (c. 1497–1555). A cloth merchant’s son, born in the town of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, eastern **England**, Stephen Gardiner studied Greek and then in c. 1511 went to Cambridge, where he studied civil and canon law at Trinity Hall. He became a fellow of the college, and gained the doctorate of civil law in 1520 and of canon law in 1521. Gardiner was appointed a university lecturer in Cambridge in 1524 and became tutor to the son of his later conservative ally, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554). In 1525 he was elected master of Trinity Hall, the office he retained for the rest of his life, apart from his dismissal from it in the reign of **Edward VI**.

Gardiner entered crown employment via service as secretary to **Thomas Wolsey**, to whom he was introduced by Norfolk, and between 1527 and 1529 he was in **Rome** to negotiate the annulment of **Henry VIII**’s marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. In 1529 he became secretary to the king, a post he retained until 1534, and in 1530 he

was in Cambridge attempting to win university support for the annulment; he was appointed bishop of Winchester in Hampshire, southern England, in 1531. Gardiner led an embassy to **France** in 1531 and was counsel for the king in the tribunal which in 1533 declared the Aragon marriage invalid. Having subscribed in February 1535 to the declaration rejecting the **pope's** authority in England, Gardiner published in the same year his major work of political theory, *De Vera Obedientia* ("Concerning True Obedience"), a justification of the royal supremacy over the Church, as in the state, and a pioneer work in the English tradition of what became known as **Erastianism**. Even so, Gardiner's commitment to the royal supremacy was combined with a traditional doctrinal Catholicism which created rifts with both **Thomas Cromwell** and **Thomas Cranmer**.

The 1539 anti-Protestant Act of Six **Articles of Religion** was attributed to Gardiner, and the fall of Cromwell, in which he was instrumental—having helped, with Norfolk, to persuade Henry that the minister was responsible for his unsuccessful marriage with Anne of Cleves—advanced his rise to power. He was elected chancellor of the University of Cambridge in 1540, and Henry sent him to present a Catholic image of England at the **Colloquy** of Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541. However, Gardiner was omitted from the government chosen by Henry VIII for his son's minority, which was dominated by Protestants, against whose religious policies Gardiner led the opposition. He was demoted from the mastership of Trinity Hall and lost the office of chancellor of Cambridge in 1547 and his bishopric in 1551. Refusing to abandon his belief in transubstantiation, Gardiner was imprisoned for the five years of Edward's reign. He argued, however, for acceptance of the first, 1549, **Book of Common Prayer**, claiming that it upheld faith in Christ's actual presence in the **eucharist**.

With **Mary's** accession in 1553 Gardiner was released, given back his bishopric and the mastership of his college and was made lord chancellor, the highest office of state. Initially, he opposed Mary's marriage to **Philip II**, but in the event negotiated the treaty leading to the marriage and presided over the wedding at his cathedral of Winchester. He obtained a statement by parliament that **Elizabeth** was illegitimate, managed the reintroduction in 1554 of the laws against heresy and took part in the trials of **John Hooper** and other Protestants. Nevertheless, he attempted to save the lives of Cranmer

and **John Dudley**, protected **Pietro Martire Vermigli**, and carried out no executions for heresy in his diocese.

Gardiner died in Whitehall, London, in November 1555. His writings include controversial works against **Martin Bucer**.

GEILER VON KAYSERSBERG (KEYSERSBERG OR KAYSERSBERG), JOHANN (1445–1510). The leading preacher of **Catholic reform** in pre-Reformation **Germany**, Geiler von Kaysersberg was born in Kaysersberg in Alsace, western Germany, and worked as an endowed civic preacher in **Strassburg** between 1478 and 1510. He became a popular pulpit orator, packing out the city's vast cathedral with his sharply observed anecdotes and criticism of the abuses and superstitions of his day—the cult of relics, the misuse of **indulgences**, the decadence of religious orders and the self-indulgence of priests.

Geiler was also an advocate of reform, stressing the bishop's duty to oversee the diocese, the parish priest the parish, and the abbot the monastery, and he operated an educational program in Strassburg aimed at producing an elite corps of preachers, ecclesiastical administrators, and confessors to administer the **sacrament of penance**. Geiler's devotional writings and printed sermons continued to enjoy a popular following down to at least 1520. His *Die Emeis . . .* ("The Ant"), published in 1516 and 1517, contrasted human indolence with the ant's industry.

GENDER. Attitudes in the 16th century to gender and the relationships between the sexes formed a mind-set that has been termed "patriarchalism," an ideology of male superiority and mastery and of female inferiority and subordination. It had three main sources. The first came from physiological theories to the effect that **women** were dominated by the demands of their insatiable wombs, were for that reason incapable of rational thought or control and needed constantly to be guided and ruled by men. As a view of politics, patriarchalism was voiced, for example, by **John Knox**, whose *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) explained that "regiment"—governance—by women was "monstrous," that is, against natural law.

The second source of misogynistic theory was a Christian one, according to which women inherited the guilt of humanity's first

mother, Eve, who had initiated the temptation of Adam, which in turn led to the Fall of humanity. The **Father of the Church** Tertullian (c. 160–220) claimed that all women must show penitence and mourning for the catastrophic sin of the first woman.

A third contribution to misogyny in the 16th and 17th centuries was made with the publication in 1487 of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or “Hammer of Witches,” by two German **Dominican** officials of the **Inquisition**, Heinrich Krämer, known as “Henricus Institoris” (1430–1505), and Jakob Sprenger (1436–1495). The issue of witchcraft brought together the allegation that women were physiologically and mentally defective with the accusation that they were morally debased.

Religious ministry, both in Catholicism and the Churches of the Reformation, was reserved for males, and the radicalism of the **Anabaptists** stopped short at gender equality. Even so, religious leadership was exercised by Catholic females such as **Madame Acarie**, and **Teresa of Ávila**; by patronesses of Christian humanist reform, including **Marguerite d’Angoulême**; and by the aristocratic supporters of Italian **evangelicals**, **Vittoria Colonna** and **Giulia Gonzaga**. A boost to female education within Catholic Europe was provided by the **Ursulines**, established by **Angela Merici**.

On the Reformation side, the ending of female monasticism and the suppression of convents had mixed effects, since many women had found purpose and fulfilment within the religious life, though for many former nuns, such as **Katharina von Bora**—who had been consigned to a nunnery as a girl, without her consent—the opening of the convent gates amounted to emancipation. The case of **Argula von Grumbach**, who was imprisoned late in life for a religious offense, confirms the continuing restrictions on women’s self-expression in the Reformation.

While, in Protestant circles, dilution of the cult of the **Blessed Virgin Mary** represented the marginalization of a female focus of piety, compensation came in the dignity and honor given in Protestant thought to **marriage**, including that of the clergy, and to family life. In the debate around those issues, an active contributor was Katharina Zell, *née* Schütz, of **Strassburg** (1497–1562), a Protestant **hymn**-writer and pamphleteer. English noblewomen played a vital part in sheltering Protestant exiles in the reign of **Mary**, and under **Elizabeth**, aristocratic ladies such as Lady Margaret Hoby (baptized

1571, d. 1633) oversaw the running of “godly” households. In **England**, too, the legal pressures on male **recusants** encouraged Catholic women to assume roles of religious leadership in the home.

GENEVA. Geneva (Genève, Genf), in Savoy, southwest of **France**, and since 1815 in western **Switzerland**, is situated where the river Rhône leaves Lake Geneva (Lac Léman) and on its confluence with the river Arve, and thus on a natural geographic communications point. Its economic life, which was in decline by the early 16th century, was traditionally based on an international market held four times a year and it had a population of 10,000 by 1537. Control of Geneva had long been contested between its bishops and the dukes of neighboring Savoy. However, between 1533 and 1536, with assistance from **Guillaume Farel**’s backers, the Swiss Protestant canton of Bern (Berne), Geneva won its independence, both from its bishop and from Savoy, introduced the Reformation under the leadership of Farel, and became an autonomous republic in alliance with Bern, with a government—the *seigneurie*—centered on two elected councils.

John Calvin made his first arrival in Geneva in August 1536, to begin, with Farel, a campaign to transform the city’s life into a model of moral purity. Opposition from the republic’s government led to the expulsion of the two reformers in April 1538, followed in September 1541 by Calvin’s return, to resume his work of changing the face of Geneva. The November 1541 **Ecclesiastical Ordinances** provided an organizational framework for the life of the city’s Church, based on a model which Calvin derived from the New Testament. Moral discipline was administered through the elders (*anciens*), who were installed in office by the city government in discussion with the “Venerable Company” of the pastors (*vénérable compagnie des pasteurs*) and by the Consistory (*consistoire*), made up of the pastors and the elders.

The task of these bodies was to alter completely the whole of private and public moral life and behavior in the city, overturning traditional patterns of conduct in areas across the spectrum, from dancing and dress to economic policy, commercial malpractice, and domestic consumption, the last being investigated in the course of household visits by the pastors, as legislated for by the city government in 1550.

Conflict was often latent between church and state in the self-governing **cities and towns** that adopted Reformation in the 16th century, for while many city councils were agents of religious change, they also tended to insist on their own control of the social aspects of ecclesiastical life, with a particular focus on the question of **excommunication**, an issue that gave rise to **Erastianism**. Although it took Calvin some years to win the conflict over control of excommunication, by the middle of the 1550s he had swept aside both theological dissent from the likes of **Michael Servetus** and political challenge orchestrated from 1547–48 by an opposition leader, Ami Perrin.

However, and while the lay government of Geneva continued to exercise religious and ecclesiastical powers, Calvin was never a dictator in the city, and sometimes had to recognize the force of opinion and the weight of reality: perhaps the best-known example of capitulation to the facts of the real world came in 1546, with the abandonment of the experiment of scriptural reading rooms that had been intended to replace the taverns. Yet Calvin did alter Geneva profoundly, his major contribution to making the once rather inward-looking place the center of the **Calvinist** world being his establishment of the Geneva Academy in 1559. Firm leadership was subsequently exercised in the long pastorate of **Théodore Beza**. In 1602 the Genevans repulsed an attempt by the Catholic Duchy of Savoy to take back control of the city.

GERMANY. *See* HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

GIBERTI, GIAN MATTEO (1495–1543). Giberti was born in Palermo in Sicily in September 1495, the illegitimate son of a merchant of Genoa (Genova, northwest **Italy**), studied at the University of Bologna, in northern Italy, and entered the service of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, later **pope** as **Clement VII**. A **humanist** classical scholar who edited works of **Fathers of the Church**, in the 1520s Giberti combined high-ranking service in the papal court—the Curia—of Popes **Leo X** and Clement VII with close attention to the spiritual life, as witnessed by his membership of the **Oratory of Divine Love**. As the pope's senior foreign policy advisor, it was Giberti who promoted the papacy's anti-**Habsburg** and pro-French diplomacy, designed to preserve Italian freedom—*libertas Italiae*—and sealed in the 1526 **League of Cognac**. It was this diplomatic and

military cycle that induced **Charles V** once more to intervene in Italian affairs, leading to the **Sack of Rome** in 1527—when Giberti was himself taken hostage—and to the discrediting of all his diplomatic strategies. In the wake of that crisis Giberti gained Pope Clement's approval to move to his diocese of Verona, in northeast Italy, in 1528, taking up residence to replace his nonresident predecessor.

Once installed, Giberti paid close attention to the state of the religious orders in his bishopric, regularly visited parishes, ejecting unqualified priests and removing women from their houses, insisting on priests' residence in their parishes, encouraging good-quality preaching and setting up a diocesan college—a prototype **seminary**—for the training of future model priests. He attended to the welfare of the peasants, established a poor relief body, the *Società della Carità*—the “Charity Society”—and suppressed the area's endemic family feuds. Giberti was also a liturgical reformer who suppressed polyphonic **church music** in favor of simple plain chant, and who fostered devotion to the **Mass** and the **eucharist**.

Even before the **Council of Trent**, which adopted some of his rulings on the lives of parish priests, Giberti was a leading member of a group of practitioners of the diocesan renewal within **Catholic reform** of the 16th century: others included **Gian Pietro Carafa** in the diocese of Chieti, in southern Italy, and **Jacopo Sadoletto**, bishop of Carpentras (part of a papal enclave in southeastern France). The Verona model, known as the *Constitutiones Gibertinae*—“Giberti's Ordinances”—or *Gibertalis Disciplina*—“Giberti's system”—guided the continuation of his reforms in his diocese by his successor, Pietro Lippomano (or Lippomani, d. 1548). The aura of harshness surrounding Giberti's disciplinarianism, and evident in a free use of **excommunication** of errant individuals, was later modified by **Carlo Borromeo** in a gentler approach to episcopal reform in **Milan**.

Dedicated as he was to the complete overhaul of his diocese, Giberti was also involved in the wider concerns of the Church—a participant in the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia*, 1537, and in discussions with **Lutherans** at Worms, in southern **Germany**, 1540, as well as continuing in the role of an unofficial papal foreign policy advisor.

GNESIO-LUTHERANS. In the period following **Martin Luther's** death and in the crisis for his movement occasioned by the 1548

Interims, the Lutheran Church fell into acute discords, as a party of compromise headed by **Philipp Melanchthon** and known as **Philippists** was opposed by the Gnesio-Lutherans (“Real Lutherans,” from the Greek *gnesios* = genuine), led by **Matthias Flacius Illyricus** and based in Magdeburg, in eastern Germany, and later in the newly founded (1588) University of Jena in Thuringia.

One issue of contention between the rival schools was that of *adiaphora*—questions such as **episcopacy**, which Melanchthon’s followers believed did not concern doctrinal essentials and where Melanchthon himself believed that concessions could be made to **Moritz of Saxony** and the Leipzig Interim. For the Gnesio-Lutherans, on the other hand, all religious questions were essential, not peripheral.

A further arena of dispute between the parties opened up over two closely related topics concerned with human involvement in **justification**: while Flacius Illyricus’s fellow Gnesio-Lutheran **Nikolaus von Amsdorf** denounced Georg Major (1502–1574), the Philippist professor at Wittenberg—along with **Johannes Bugenhagen**—for accepting the role of good works as the fruit of justifying **faith** in redemption, the subject of **antinomianism** resurfaced, with the Gnesio-Lutherans insisting on absolute justification by faith alone, without good works and moral law, and both Amsdorf and Flacius condemned Melanchthon’s “synergistic” doctrine that the will may collaborate with **grace** and the Holy Spirit. The 1559 “Book of Confutation and Condemnation,” published by order of the elector of Saxony, Johann Friedrich II, known as *der Mittlere* (John Frederick II, known as “the Middle,” 1529–1595) censured such opinions. In 1577, the **Formula and Book of Concord** rejected the synergism associated with Melanchthon but also drew back from a totally predestinarian Gnesio-Lutheran view of the operation of the will.

The spread of **Crypto-Calvinism** into Germany gave rise to further dispute within the Lutheran Churches, when Melanchthon was denounced by Gnesio-Lutherans for leaning toward the semispiritual understanding of the **eucharist** to be found in the *Consensus Tigurinus* endorsed by **John Calvin**. See also LUTHERANISM.

GOA. Goa, lying on the Arabian Sea on the west coast of **India**, approximately 250 miles from Mumbai (Bombay), was seized from the Indian Mughal Empire by the Portuguese viceroy of India, Afonso de Albuquerque (“Afonso o Grande” or Afonso the Great,

1453–1515), in 1510 and made the chief fortress and commercial and political hub of **Portugal**'s Asian empire. The original cathedral, in what is today known as Velha, or Old, Goa was built in 1512 and reconstructed in 1623. Goa was made an archbishopric, with six assistant bishops, in 1558 and in 1600 became the primatial diocese of the Catholic Church in Asia and the east.

Goa was also the headquarters of Catholic missions in Asia. **Francis Xavier** arrived in the colony in 1542 and spent the following seven years working among the Indian inhabitants and Portuguese settlers: he is buried in the magnificent church of Bom Jesus ("The Good Jesus"), built between 1594 and 1603, and his shrine became a magnet of pilgrimages. Expansion of the Portuguese Catholic mission continued after Xavier's death. **Catechisms** were issued in indigenous languages, and the **Jesuits'** college, open to both Portuguese and Indian pupils, provided educational leadership.

Politics, though, governed the success or failure of the Goan mission, and tension continued between, on the one hand, the prospects of success for the Church's mission and, on the other, the Portuguese insistence both on the primacy of their empire's economic and political advantage and on the equation between Catholic faith and Portuguese language, culture, and race. There was a reluctance to ordain native priests, though a breakthrough occurred in 1625 when the convert Matheus de Castro, who had been refused ordination within Goa, traveled overland to **Rome** and was ordained priest there, subsequently rising to the rank of bishop.

GONZAGA, GIULIA (1513–1566). Giulia Gonzaga, of Sabbioneta, the cousin of **Vittoria Colonna**, was born into the princely family of the Duchy of Mantua (Mantova) in northern **Italy**. As the widowed Countess of Fondi, becoming a nun later in life, she was a prominent member of the devout grouping in Naples (Napoli) associated with **Juan de Valdés**—who composed for her, and dedicated to her, his *Alfabeto Christiano*, or "Christian Alphabet," in the form of a dialogue between them—and she was a leading light in Italy's **evangelical** circles. *See also* WOMEN.

GONZAGA, LUIGI (OR ALOYSIUS) (1568–1591). Luigi Gonzaga was born the eldest son of the Marquis of Castiglione in the family's castle of Castiglione, near Brescia, in northern **Italy**, in March

1568 and was brought up in the expectation of an army career. The Gonzaga family had by that point in time become firmly anchored to the interests of **Spain** and to military service under the **Habsburgs** and in 1581 Luigi entered the court of **Philip II**, but made the decision to enter the **Jesuits**. Overcoming his father's opposition, in 1585 he renounced his inherited title of marquis and entered the Jesuit novitiate of the Society in Rome, studying philosophy in the Roman College and taking full vows in 1587. In 1591 Gonzaga was working in the Jesuits' plague hospital in **Rome**, where he succumbed to the infection and died within three months. He was canonized in 1726 and made the patron saint of young people in 1926.

GOVERNMENT, ATTITUDES TOWARD. **Martin Luther** was the first of the Reformers to address the issue of relations between Church and state, his outlook being determined by his prioritization of the interests of the "gospel." In 1520 in his *An den christlichen Adel Deutscher Nation: von des christlichen Standes Besserung*—"The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Amelioration of the Christian Estate"—he called on the well-born and powerful to act under **Charles V's** leadership and take in hand the reform of the Church. However, when in November 1522 Duke Georg, known as *der Bärtige* (George, known as "the Bearded," 1471–1539) of Ducal **Saxony**, imposed a ban on the distribution of his German New Testament, Luther reacted with fury in the following March in a work of political theory, *Von Weltlicher Uberkeyt* . . . —"Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed."

In its language and content this was a highly negative work, both toward Duke George in particular and to rulers and states in general because, as "God's jailers and hangmen" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 153), they operated under the aegis of sin and law, as opposed to that of **grace** and freedom. And it was because states and rulers functioned under the shadow of sin that they could have no jurisdiction over the spirits or consciences of Christian men and women. Even so, Christians were bound to serve the state in whatever capacity, including that of soldiers, it called on them to do so.

Yet it was the support for his cause of the Saxon Electorate in the reign, from 1525, of Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as the "Constant" or "the Steadfast," 1468–1532), that turned Luther's attitude to the state around, from hostility to friendship, so

that, in Luther's and **Philipp Melancthon's** "Instructions to the Visitors to Parishes in Electoral Saxony" (1528), a much more positive view was taken of the state's rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis the Church, and much of the pro-state tone of the 1520 "Address" had returned.

A remaining question for Luther to address was that of "resistance." If, for whatever reason—as an antidote to sin or otherwise—God set up states, and they therefore governed "by divine right" (*jure divino*), what right had subjects to refuse a ruler's commands, or actively resist or rebel against the ruler? As far as Luther was concerned, the rise of **Lutheran** resistance by German princes to Charles V, resulting in the formation of the **Schmalkaldic League**, called for the articulation of a theory of morally justifiable resistance to the emperor, which Luther produced, with reservations against taking opposition too far, in his 1531 *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*—"Warning to His Dear German People."

Attitudes toward government within the **Radical Reformation** were varied. On the one hand, as his July 1524 "Sermon to the Princes" (*Fürstenpredigt*) shows, **Thomas Müntzer** was a political activist determined to take over the machinery of state, and the millenarian **Anabaptists** in **Münster** did precisely that. **Peter Riedemann**, in contrast, like Michael Sattler (b. between 1490 and 1500, d. 1527) in the **Schleitheim Confession**, ruled out active involvement by believers in government.

Reliance on the civic municipality to introduce the religious changes he promoted was a key factor in making **Huldrych Zwingli** a strong supporter of the state, drawing the balance of power between state and Church decisively in favor of the former: "The jurisdiction which the churchmen have arrogated to themselves," he wrote, "belongs wholly to the secular magistracy" (Michael Mullett, "Zwingli and the Urban Reformation," *History Review* 28 [September 1997]: 19).

John Calvin's attitude toward political authority contained discordant elements. While he deferentially dedicated his "**Institutes of the Christian Religion**" to **Francis I**, his actual relations with political authority in **Geneva** were marked by a continuous negotiation over the authority and autonomy of the Church vis-à-vis the state. From his **humanist** education, Calvin found precedents in the history of ancient Greece and Rome that would justify properly constituted

representative bodies in the kingdoms of his own day in resistance to tyrannical kings, when these persecuted members of his faith, as in **France** under **Henry II** and **Francis I**. Subsequently there emerged in the course of the French **Wars of Religion** a body of **Huguenot** literature on the rights of the subject over the state, especially as the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre** alienated the French Protestants from the monarchy. **François Hotman's** *Franco-gallia* argued that in its early history France enjoyed popular sovereignty and that the growth of royal absolutism was a more recent encroachment. **Théodore Beza's** *Du droit des magistrats sur les sujets* ("The Rights of Rulers over Subjects," 1574) set out to justify the removal of a king who violated the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the contractual conditions of his rule. In these and other works of the genre of Huguenot resistance theory, modern democratic assumptions of the answerability of the state to the people can trace some of their origins.

Reliance on the monarchy for religious change in **England** created a royalist authoritarian character in some English Protestant political thought, as for example with **William Tyndale**, while the Catholic opposition to the crown generated a body of political resistance theory, for example, from **William Allen** and **Robert Parsons**. The Spanish **Jesuit Francisco Suárez** (1548–1617), in his *De Legibus* ("Concerning the Laws," 1612) and *Defensio Fidei Catholicae* ("A Defense of the Catholic Faith," 1613) dismissed the idea of the divine right of kings. The doctrine of tyrannicide—that rulers adjudged to be despotic may be killed—was also put forward: the Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1536–1624), for example, in his *De Rege et Regis Institutione Libri III* ("Three Books Concerning the King and Monarchy," 1599) defended the deposition and killing of those considered tyrants.

GRACE. Christian doctrine defines grace—from the Latin *gratia*, meaning favor—as God's aid to a person in attaining his or her salvation.

By the end of the Middle Ages there existed two opposed viewpoints on the operation of grace. On the one hand, there was the school of thought following Gabriel Biel (c. 1420–1495), which emphasized the human contribution, with God endorsing the efforts the individual made—*quod in se est*—"what you have in you." By

contrast, **Martin Luther** was within the theological traditions of the **Augustinian Order** going back to the Order's assumed founder, the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430) and its medieval theological authorities such as Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358), stressing humanity's absolute reliance on grace, with the correlates of **justification** by **faith** alone, denial of **free will**, and an acceptance of **predestination**.

In this interpretation, grace was not won *by* us, but freely bestowed *on* us, flowing into us from outside ourselves and not dependent on any inherent merits: the position was put with particular force by Luther in his literary debate with **Desiderius Erasmus** in the mid-1520s over the freedom of the will. In turn, the scope for grace was one of the issues that divided the **Lutheran** community after 1546 into **Gnesio-Lutherans** and **Philippists**. The Lutheran **Confession** known as the **Formula and Book of Concord** reaffirmed Luther's basic stance on grace, though it rejected the notion that God's grace was irresistible—its “indefectibility”—which **John Calvin** taught.

The **Council of Trent**, in its resolution of January 1547 (sixth session), found a place for human cooperation in the working of justifying grace: “If anyone says that the sinner is justified by faith alone, meaning that nothing else is required in order to obtain the grace of justification, and that it is not in any way necessary that he be prepared and disposed by the action of his own will, let him be anathema [solemnly cursed]” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 44).

The Spanish **Jesuit Luis de Molina** went on to argue that the effectiveness of grace comes through God's foreknowledge that the recipient will cooperate with its working.

GRAVAMINA NATIONIS TEUTONICAE. Between the late 15th and early 16th centuries, **Germany's** social and political problems, exacerbated by the ineffectiveness of the emperors Frederick III (1415–1493) and Maximilian (1459–1519), created a need for the **Diet** to act as a sounding board for a pervasive sense of national complaint, regularly presented in the assembly as a schedule of grievances—the *Gravamina Nationis Teutonicae*, or “The Grievances of the German People”—requiring redress. Because the German monarchy did not have the political strength to secure from the papacy control of the Church in its lands and to keep **Rome** out of its ecclesiastical affairs—as was the case in **England**, **France**, and **Spain** by the earlier

decades of the 16th century—there was a perception in all classes in Germany that Rome was free to raid German wealth to fill its own coffers. For this reason, much of the content of the *Gravamina* consisted of bitter criticism of the papacy on financial grounds.

Although the *Gravamina* expressed a mood of resentment that aided **Martin Luther**'s cause, they did not necessarily indicate rejection of Catholicism: it was the **Diet of Worms** in 1521 which, while condemning Luther, also adopted a long list of 102 complaints, including attacks on the citing of legal cases to Rome and on the immunity of priests and monks from secular competence. The *Gravamina* were renewed at the **Diet of Nuremberg** in 1522–23. *See also* POPES.

GREBEL, CONRAD OR KONRAD (c. 1498–1526). The founder of the “Swiss Brethren” of **Anabaptists**, Conrad Grebel was born into a leading **Zürich** family, the son of a city councillor. At the universities of **Paris** and **Vienna (Wien)**, he encountered **humanism**, became attracted to the idea of Church reform, and studied the New Testament in its original Greek. Initially, Grebel was an ally and disciple of **Huldrych Zwingli**, yet in the Zürich **disputations** of January and October 1523, Grebel voiced impatience at Zwingli's gradual pace of change: **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** and **Thomas Müntzer** were seen by him as allies advocating a voluntary Church based on its lay members.

Grebel's vision of the Church was as a fellowship of those who entered into it by **baptism**, not as children, but as believers, confessing their faith, rejecting sin, repudiating war, refusing to swear oaths (Matthew 5:34), and withdrawing from a sinful world. The brethren were to be visible saints, born into newness of life through hearing the word of God preached, living according to Christ's Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:3–12) and in accordance with the Ten Commandments and accepting (as Grebel wrote to Müntzer in 1524) “anguish and tribulation, persecution, suffering, and death” as their lot (MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p. 169).

In August 1524, while peasants outside Zürich were refusing to have their children baptized, the city council ordered that the practice of infant baptism be observed, and, following a debate between Grebel with his associates against Zwingli in January 1525, the government repeated its order, in line with Zwingli's view of the

necessity and validity of infant baptism. Grebel and Felix Mantz (c. 1500–1527) were ordered not to express their opinions. Immediately, however, Grebel, in response to an invitation by Georg Cajakob (or Blaurock, c. 1492–1529), who had made a profession of his faith, administered believers' baptism to Blaurock, who then baptized 15 others present. Within a few days, Grebel was present at a service consisting of Scripture readings, believers' baptism, and the **eucharist** at Zollikon, near Zürich.

Attempting to disseminate the Anabaptists' worship, message, and practice of believers' baptism more widely in the countryside around Zürich, Grebel, Mantz, and Blaurock were imprisoned and then expelled, but in November the trio returned to Zürich and were once more put in prison. They were freed in March 1526 but, in line with a death sentence imposed by the Zürich government in 1526, Mantz was executed by drowning in January 1527; Grebel had died of plague in May 1526, and Blaurock was burned to death in **Austria** in September 1529.

GREGORY XIII (UGO BUONCOMPAGNI OR BONCOMPAGNI), POPE (1502–1585). Ugo Buoncompagni was born the fourth son of a merchant in Bologna, in northern Italy, in January 1502, took a doctorate of law at the University of Bologna, and was a law professor there from 1531 to 1539 (teaching **Carlo Borromeo**, **Stanisław Hozjusz**, and **Reginald Pole**), until he gave up his chair, took up residence in **Rome** in 1539, and was ordained. Buoncompagni acted as a papal civil servant under Pope **Paul III**, and under Pope **Paul IV** served on diplomatic visits to **France** in 1556 and to the **Low Countries** in 1557. In 1558 he was made bishop of Vieste, in southeastern **Italy**, and between 1561 and 1563 he served as a consultant in canon law at the **Council of Trent**. In March 1565 Buoncompagni was made cardinal and appointed a papal ambassador—"legate"—to **Spain**, where he struck up a close relationship with **Philip II**, which helped facilitate his election as **pope** in the short conclave (papal election) following the death of **Pius V**.

As pope, coming under the influence of Borromeo, Gregory took up the momentum of **Catholic reform**, setting up a commission of cardinals to oversee the execution of the Council's decrees and paying close attention to the selection of pastorally minded bishops. Gregory's special concern was with education, on which he spent

vast sums in the foundation of colleges—the Roman College (later the Gregorian University) which was reestablished in 1572, the English College set up in 1579, and an existing German College, given a new lease of life by the pope. Opening **seminaries** for nationalities such as the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Hungarians, Gregory converted Rome into Catholicism's main educational center, one of its foci being the mission of reconversion in Protestant northern Europe. A darker side of his zealous commitment to the **Counter-Reformation** and its militancy was seen in his commissioning of a recital of the *Te Deum laudamus* ("Thee, God, We Praise"), the Catholic Church's hymn and praise and thanksgiving, to celebrate the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**, along with the striking of a celebratory medallion.

Gregory was one of the most active of 16th-century popes in the fields of diplomacy and international relations. However, his diplomatic offensives were directed not, as with some of his predecessors, at advancing the interests of the Papal States as a principality but at promoting the Counter-Reformation through political and military means. Thus he backed the **Guises** and the **Holy League** in France, supported vigorous campaigning by Philip II in the Low Countries, encouraged resistance to **England** by the Irish, and supported assassination attempts against **Elizabeth I**. While his attempts to win **Sweden** back to Catholicism collapsed and his plan for an ecclesiastical union with Russia likewise failed, Gregory's pontificate saw marked Catholic recovery in **Poland**, the southern Low Countries, and **Germany**, as well as missionary expansion in the world beyond Europe, in **China, Japan, India**, and Brazil.

The expansion of the religious orders proceeded rapidly, with **Filippo Neri's Congregation of the Oratory** given approval in 1575 and **Teresa of Ávila's Carmelites** in 1580. Gregory also promoted the **Jesuits**, extending their educational work and attending to the completion of their church in Rome, the Gesù, whose facade was added in 1575. His preparations for the Roman jubilee in the same year put the papal city—*Roma sancta*, "holy Rome"—firmly on the map as the main place of pilgrimage of the Catholic world, and his encouragement of the discovery of the catacombs of Rome in 1578 underscored Rome's claims to be the matrix of Christianity in the west. Gregory's 1582 reform of the calendar, giving us the variant we

use today, was long overdue, and a revised edition of the canon law was published in the same year. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

GRINDAL, EDMUND (b. BETWEEN 1515 AND 1520; d. 1583).

Grindal was born into a farming family in St. Bees, on the coast of the county of Cumberland in northwest **England**. At the age of 15, he entered Cambridge, studying in Magdalene and Christ's colleges, as well as at Pembroke College, where his tutor was **Nicholas Ridley**. He became a fellow of Pembroke in 1538, took his M.A. in 1541 and was ordained in 1547. His reading of **Heinrich Bullinger's** writings on the **eucharist** induced him to question the reality of Christ's presence in it and in 1549, chosen by Ridley, he denied the doctrine in a public debate at the university. He was appointed Lady Margaret preacher at the university and vice-master of his college in the same year, met **Martin Bucer** in Cambridge and in 1551 became chaplain to Ridley and precentor (leader of the choir) of St. Paul's cathedral, **London**, soon afterward rising to the post of chaplain to **Edward VI**.

The accession of **Mary I** drove Grindal out of the country, and he took up residence in **Strassburg** and attempted to heal the discords over which liturgy to use within the English Protestant expatriate community in Frankfurt-am-Main (central Germany). Following Mary's death, Grindal arrived back in England in time for **Elizabeth's** coronation in January 1559, worked on the revision of the **Book of Common Prayer**, and was involved in the drawing up of the Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion**.

In December 1559 Grindal was consecrated as bishop of London, where he was to encounter difficulties with the capital's numerous **puritan**-inclined clergy and their lay supporters. Grindal's own problem was his Protestant inner sympathy with the dissidents over the use of Catholic-style vestments, and his dismissal in 1566 of 37 London clergy who objected to wearing the surplice went against the grain of his conscience, for he himself wore the vestments for the sake of good order and obedience; he was, however, more comfortable in harring London's underground Catholic priests. His Protestant zeal in fact fitted him more for work in the still heavily **recusant** north, where in 1569 the Revolt of the Northern Earls revealed the political dangers of the survival of "popery" in the region. So, in 1570, Grindal moved to the archbishopric of the north's main city, York.

Grindal met with considerable success in the archdiocese of York, clamping down on the region's Catholic gentry. Then the death of **Matthew Parker** in 1575 prompted **William Cecil** to persuade Elizabeth to promote him to the vacant archbishopric of Canterbury, involving the ecclesiastical primacy of all England. His occupancy of this office was soon to lead to a collision over priorities between the archbishop and the queen, for Grindal subscribed to the Protestant insistence on the centrality of preaching, while deploring the inability of many parish clergy to deliver good sermons.

A solution presented itself to Grindal in the form of the "prophesyings," clerical conferences for the discussion of Scripture, to which selected lay people might be invited. For the queen, however, the prophesyings suggested a different form of Church from the one over which she presided, and in 1576 she ordered her archbishop to suppress the meetings. His refusal to do so was followed by a renewed command from Elizabeth that the gatherings cease. Grindal's fresh refusal resulted in his arrest in the spring of 1577 and his suspension from office—though not his dismissal, since he enjoyed considerable sympathy among committed Protestants. The prophesyings were ended by royal order and for the rest of his life, sick and blind, until his death in July 1583 Edmund Grindal was archbishop of Canterbury in name only.

GRUMBACH, ARGULA VON (c. 1492–c. 1568). Argula von Stauff was born in **Bavaria** into a noble family, was orphaned and served at the ducal court in Munich (München) as lady-in-waiting to the duchess of Bavaria, who encouraged her education, and in 1526 she married the knight von Grumbach. In 1523, by which time she had read, she said, all of **Martin Luther's** writings published up to that point, and, "impelled by God's comand" to give out "the word of God as a member of the Christian church" and "a Christian lady of the nobility" (Merry Wiesner, "Women's Response to the Reformation," in Po-chia Hsia, R., ed., *The German People and the Reformation*, p. 169) she wrote to Bavaria's University of Ingolstadt, headed by **Johann Maier von Eck**, raising objections to its disciplinary measures against a professor named Arsacius Seehofer (born between 1495 and 1505, d. between 1542 and 1545), who was found guilty of holding **Lutheran** opinions.

Von Grumbach followed up this protest with a letter of complaint to William (Wilhelm) IV, Duke of Bavaria (1492–1550). She received no answer from the university or the duke, though her husband was ordered to restrain her, and lost a government post for his failure to do so. She proceeded to write letters to the ruling council of the city of Ingolstadt, to **Frederick the Wise**, and to Luther, who admired her Christian profession immensely, and demanded a hearing of the case at the **Diet**. Her various letters were published, without her consent, an Ingolstadt student responded with a verse satire advising von Grumbach to restrict herself to her spinning, and she replied with a lengthy poem citing many examples from Scripture of **women's** religious testimony.

Other letters to Luther and his fellow-reformers followed, and in 1530, in which year she was widowed, she visited Luther during his stay at the Feste Coburg, at the time of the **Diet of Augsburg**. Argula von Grumbach remarried, was again widowed, and governed her deceased husband's lands, and when 70 years old was, apparently, imprisoned in Straubing, near Ingolstadt, for the offense of reading Protestant literature or making available Protestant writings to her people. *See also* WOMEN.

GUISE, CHARLES DE, CARDINAL OF LORRAINE (1524–1574).

Charles de Guise, son of Claude, first duc de Guise (1496–1550); brother of Mary of Guise (Marie de Guise, 1515–1560, queen of **Scotland**) and of **François de Guise**; and uncle of **Mary Queen of Scots**; was made archbishop of Reims (Rheims), northeast **France**, in 1538 (at the age of 14); cardinal of Guise in 1547; and cardinal of Lorraine in 1550, acting as a protector of the radical philosopher **Pierre Ramus**. Often criticized as a relentless foe of the **Huguenots**, Guise in fact took a leading part in the search for agreement that led to the **Colloquy** of Poissy in September 1561, and in 1562 was proposing concessions such as Church services in French and the giving of the chalice as well as the host to the **laity** in the **eucharist**. He was also a conciliatory diplomat who had kept open the lines of contact between **Rome** and the always independent-minded French Catholic Church.

The later sessions of the **Council of Trent** saw heated debates over **episcopacy**, and on the relationship between the bishops' authority

and that of the **pope**, with particular reference to the bishops' right and duty to reside in their dioceses. In November 1562, the arrival of Guise at the head of the French delegation brought a powerful reinforcement to the party of episcopal autonomy, and in December Guise was advancing the proposition that the bishops were directly appointed by Christ, making them officers of the Church by "divine right"—*jure divino*—rather than deputies of the pope. Early in 1563 Guise, as in effect leader of the episcopalian group, traveled to Innsbruck in **Austria** to secure the intervention of **Ferdinand** in order to break the deadlock over the episcopal issue that was threatening to thwart the completion of the Council's business.

However, in the course of the year Guise, accepting the office of apostolic (papal) legate to France, was won over to a compromise formula put forward by the joint chair of the Council, Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–1580), making it a divine command that bishops tend their flocks. The advocates of episcopal rights were now left leaderless, and by the time of the opening of the 23rd session of the Council in July 1563, its work could proceed, no longer impeded by what had been a crippling dispute. Following his return to France in 1563, Guise became a leading proponent of the adoption of the Council's decrees, while also beginning the process of assembling Catholic parishes into anti-Huguenot federations that was to lead to the setting up of the **Holy League**.

GUISE, FRANÇOIS (FRANCIS) DE LORRAINE, DUC DE (DUKE OF) (1519–1563). Of a dynasty that had built up a formidable system of political patronage among the *seigneurs*, or gentry, of northeastern **France**, François de Guise, second duc de Guise, known as *le Balafré*—"Scarface"—was the son of Claude, first duc de Guise (1496–1550). François de Guise was brother to Mary of Guise (Marie de Guise, 1515–1560, queen of **Scotland**) and to **Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine**, and was the uncle of **Mary Queen of Scots**. He defended the west-German city of Metz against **Charles V's** attempt in 1552–53 to retrieve it from French control, and, after campaigning in **Italy**, his military career reached a new peak with the defense of **Paris** against the Spanish and the capture of the northern coastal town of Calais from the English in 1558, victories paving the way for the **Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis**.

On a Sunday in March 1562, traveling to Paris with 200 troops, Guise encountered a community of **Huguenots** holding their worship in a barn near the little town of Vassy in Champagne, in northeastern France. Whether the members of the congregation started trouble by throwing stones at Guise's men or the latter first went on the offensive, is unclear, but the outcome was the massacre of at least 48 and perhaps up to 74 of the worshippers. The violence, copied in Orléans, in central **France** (where 3,000 Protestants were slain), in the southern city of Toulouse, and elsewhere, sparked off the first of the French **Wars of Religion**, in which Guise, having secured custody of King Charles IX (1550–1574) and taken part in a major victory over Protestant forces at Dreux, in Normandy, northwest **France**, in 1562, was killed by the pistol-shot of the Protestant Poltrot de Méré during the siege of Orléans in 1563. Guise's memoirs shed much light on the deeply troubled events of his day.

GUISE, HENRI (HENRY) DE LORRAINE, THIRD DUC DE (DUKE OF) GUISE (1550–1588). The son of **François de Lorraine**, second duc de Guise, Henri, who was, like his father known as *le Balafré*, or “Scarface,” from a war wound, took a leading role in the war against the **Huguenots** in 1567–69, fighting their forces at Jarnac, in Aquitaine, southwest **France**, and Montcontour, in Normandy, northwest France, in 1569, and freeing the city of Poitiers, in west-central France from its siege by **Gaspard de Coligny** in the same year. Believing that Coligny was implicated in his father's murder, Guise was a strong influence in the events leading up to the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre** and was prominent in the establishment of the **Holy League** in 1576, heading it when it was reestablished in 1584 and strengthening its manpower out of the extensive Guise patronal network.

In December 1584 Guise signed the Treaty of Joinville to receive support from **Philip II**; and in the course of the subsequent installment of the French **Wars of Religion**, known as “The War of the Three Henrys,” 1585–89, King **Henry III** showed mounting resentment at the unconcealed challenge to his rule by Guise, aided by his younger brother, the Cardinal Louis II de Guise (b. 1555), archbishop of Reims (Rheims), both popular symbols of intransigent Catholicism against the alleged pro-Huguenot stance of the king. In May

1588 Guise disobeyed the orders of the king, who was driven out of his own capital in the Parisian League's pro-Guise "Day of the Barricades," that he stay away from **Paris**. The murders of the brothers at Blois, central France—first Henri and on the following day Louis—by the royal guards whom Henry ordered to take the action in December 1588 made the Guises iconic martyrs to the ultra-Catholic cause and resulted in the king's own murder by a Catholic fanatic, Jacques Clément, in August of the following year.

Henri's brother, Charles de Lorraine, duc de Mayenne (1554–1611), assumed command of the League forces but surrendered to **Henry IV** in 1596.

GUNPOWDER PLOT, 1605. Before his accession to the throne of **England** in 1603, James VI (1566–1625) of **Scotland**, son of **Mary Queen of Scots**, had been seeking to strengthen his claim to succeed **Elizabeth** by bidding for support from the country's beleaguered Catholic **recusants**, and at the beginning of the reign James put a stop to executions of Catholic priests. The reinvigoration of English Catholicism that followed resulted in vociferous complaints from the new king's markedly Protestant parliament and so the anti-Catholic penal laws were reenforced and priests were driven out of the country. In response, a group led by Robert Catesby (1573–1605) and including the Catholic convert Sir Everard Digby (1578–1606), who was to lead a rising in the Midland counties, Thomas Percy (1560–1605), Ambrose Rookwood (or Rokewode, 1578?–1606), and the brothers Robert (d. 1606) and Thomas (1572–1606) Winter, resolved on a plan to kill the king, his heir Prince Henry Frederick (1594–1612), the king's Council, and the whole membership of the Houses of Lords and Commons on the day parliament was to assemble, 5 November 1605.

The intended direct agent of the murders of the king in parliament was a Catholic convert and military veteran, Guy Fawkes (1570–1606). The conspiracy was, however, leaked by Francis Tresham (1567?–1605)—who had been familiarized with it—to his brother-in-law William Parker, Lord Monteagle (1575–1622), who in turn revealed it to the king's leading minister, Robert Cecil (1563–1612). On the night of 4–5 November 1605 Fawkes was arrested on his way into the cellars of the House of Commons, the dark vaults being packed with barrels of gunpowder. By 9 November, under torture,

Fawkes gave the names of the plotters and he was tried and executed on 31 January of the following year. The intended Catholic rebellion having evaporated, Catesby and Percy were fatally wounded trying to escape arrest, the remaining conspirators were executed in the course of 1606 and the anti-Catholic laws were tightened up, with a new oath of allegiance imposed on the recusants.

The Gunpowder Conspiracy did not typify the political attitudes of the great majority of the English Catholic community, who inclined to the belief that the whole plot was invented by Cecil in order to strengthen his faltering position with the king. Nevertheless, and for many years to come, the “gunpowder, treason, and plot” of 1605 confirmed in the eyes of most English people a perception of Catholics, and especially **Jesuits**—who were believed to have been involved in the conspiracy—as ruthless and violent extremists.

GÜNZBURG, JOHANN EBERLIN (EBERLEIN, EBERL, APRILUS) VON (c. 1455–1534). Born in Leutershausen near Ansbach, in the neighborhood of **Nuremberg**, Eberlin von Günzburg studied at Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where he graduated M.A. in 1490. A **Franciscan**, he was influenced by **Martin Luther**’s writing and was ejected from his friary in 1520; he proceeded to write a series of pro-**Lutheran** pamphlets, and preached in the city of Ulm, in southwest **Germany**. His pamphlet collection, *Die 15 Bundtgenossen* (“The Fifteen Covenanted Comrades,” 1521), set out a wide-ranging program of social reform within which his 11th in the series, *Wolfaria*, described a utopian society. Eberlin joined the service of the ruler Georg (George) of Wertheim in 1525 and wrote historical works.

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HABSBURG DYNASTY. The House of Habsburg had its origins in the Swiss castle of Habichtsburg, or “Hawk’s Castle,” built in 1020. The Habsburg German king Rudolf I (1218–1291) established the dynasty’s powerful position in central Europe and its close links with **Austria**. The marriage of the Habsburg **Holy Roman Emperor** Maximilian (1459–1519) with Mary of Burgundy (Marie de Bourgogne, 1457–1482) brought into the family’s estate Burgundy, the

Low Countries, and Luxembourg, while the marriage with the Spanish Princess Juana (1479–1555) which he arranged for his son Philip, known as “the Handsome” or “the Fair” (Philippe, known as *le Bel* or *el Hermoso*, 1478–1506), duke of Burgundy and archduke of Austria, added to the Habsburg inheritance the kingdoms of **Spain**, with its vast and expanding empire, and the Italian territories of Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily: thus the inheritance of Maximilian’s grandson **Charles V** made him the mightiest European ruler of his day.

Charles’s younger brother **Ferdinand I** laid claim to **Bohemia** and **Hungary** in 1526, and Ferdinand’s reign saw the partitioning of the dynasty’s domains and focus of interest between the eastern section, centered on Austria and central Europe, and the western segment, based on the Low Countries and Spain, ruled by Charles’s son, **Philip II**.

Ferdinand’s son Maximilian II (1527–1576) reigned as Holy Roman Emperor from 1564 until his death and pursued a conciliatory policy toward the Protestants in his domains. Maximilian’s son, Rudolf II (1552–1612), educated in the court of Spain by **Jesuits**, reigned from 1576 to his death and switched his religious policies toward repression of non-Catholics, though he was forced to concede religious liberty in Bohemia in 1609. He was succeeded by his younger brother Matthias (1557–1619), who was elected emperor in 1612, but who failed to prevent the drift into the Thirty Years War, sparked off by revolt in Bohemia in 1617–1618. Habsburg Catholic militancy was further accelerated with the accession as emperor of the Jesuit-educated Ferdinand II (1578–1637) in 1619.

In Spain, Philip II’s son Philip (Felipe) III (1578–1621) succeeded his father in 1598 and was compelled to make peace with the **Dutch Republic** in 1609.

HAEMSTEDE, ADRIAAN CORNELISZOOM VAN (c. 1525–1562).

A priest who became a Protestant in c. 1555, van Haemstede served as a Calvinist pastor in Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers) in the **Low Countries** and in 1559 took refuge in **London** as minister to an expatriate congregation from the Low Countries. His *De Gheschiedenesse ende den doodt der vromer Martelaren*—“The History and Deaths of the Pious Martyrs”—published in 1559, was the most important Protestant **martyrology** of the Low Countries and provided accounts

of the burnings of **Anabaptists**. Like his fellow martyrologist **John Foxe**, van Haemstede opposed all executions for religion and was deprived of his ministry in **London** on account of his insistence that the Anabaptists were also his spiritual brethren.

HEIDELBERG CATECHISM. In the 1550s the elector Friedrich III, known as *der Fromme* (Frederick III, known as “the Pious,” 1515–1576) of the Rhineland Palatinate was seeking to forge a new theological accord for his state. In response to his invitation, what became known as the the Heidelberg **Catechism** was drafted in 1562 by a group of theologians of the University city of Heidelberg in the Palatinate, probably led by Professors Kaspar von Olevig, called Olevianus (1536–1587), and Zacharias Beer, known as Ursinus (1534–1583). Its contents were scrutinized by other theologians and the elector himself made changes. In 1563 the catechism was endorsed by a synod as a standard **confession** of faith for the state and also became a widely accepted norm of **Calvinism**, establishing Heidelberg’s intellectual leadership among the **Reformed Churches** internationally and being accepted by the **Synod of Dort** as an authoritative formulation of faith.

HELVETIC CONFESSIONS. The First Helvetic (that is, Swiss) **Confession**, the *Confessio Helvetica Prior* (also termed the Second Basel Confession), was drawn up in 1536 by **Heinrich Bullinger** and two assistants in an attempt to produce a common, largely Zwinglian-based, creed for all of non-Catholic **Switzerland**, reflecting **Lutheran** influences and a conception of the **eucharist** that saw it as more than merely a commemoration.

Acting on a request from Elector Friedrich III, known as *der Fromme* (Frederick III, known as “the Pious,” 1515–1576) of the Rhineland **Palatinate**, Bullinger, aided by **Pietro Martire Vermigli**, also produced in 1566 the lengthy Second Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Posterior*) in 36 articles. This, with its acknowledgment of Christ’s spiritual presence in the eucharist, won acceptance as an agreed formula of doctrine for the **Reformed** in Switzerland, and beyond, including **France**, eastern Europe, and **Scotland**.

HENRY II, KING OF FRANCE (1519–1559). Henry (Henri), the second son of **Francis I**, was born at Saint-Germain-en-Laye near **Paris**. Following his father's defeat by **Charles V** at Pavia in February 1525, and along with his elder brother the *dauphin* (or heir to the throne), François, he spent the years 1526–30 as a hostage in **Spain**. In 1533 he married **Catherine de' Medici** and in 1536, with the death of the *dauphin*, he became heir apparent to the throne of **France**, succeeding upon his father's death in 1547.

As king, Henry came under the joint influence of his mistress, Diane de Poitiers (1499–1566) and the constable (*connétable*) of France, Anne, duc de Montmorency (1493–1567). He continued his father's policies of building an authoritarian monarchy, weakening the powers of the constitutional law courts known as *parlements*. In religion, Henry gave early support to the **Jesuits** and in 1551 made moves in the direction of **Catholic reform** and the renewal of the French dioceses. Henry also intensified the persecution of the **Huguenots**, enforcing the 1551 Edicts of Châteaubriant and Compiègne and between 1547 and 1550 using the tribunals known as *chambres ardentes*—literally, the “burning courts”—to implement repression, rounding up more than 300 dissidents. There were strict measures against reading “heretical” literature, especially books from **Geneva**, and Henry set up a chain of courts in the provinces to curb religious dissent. Though repression did little to check the spread of **Protestantism** in France, Henry II's measures encouraged the attitude of defensive militancy that characterized the Huguenots in the run-up to and in the course of the **Wars of Religion**.

In 1550 Henry recaptured Boulogne, on the northern French coast, from the English. In the January 1552 Treaty of Chambord, and despite his reputation for stern Catholicism at home, he made a subsidy agreement with German **Lutheran** princes which allowed him to seize (as “imperial vicar”) the three strategically vital western German bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun from **Charles V**. In his wars against the **Habsburgs**, and their ally **England**, Calais, on the northern coast, was recovered from the English in 1558, though France suffered major defeats in the **Low Countries**, at St. Quentin in August 1557 and Gravelines in July 1558, and the Kingdom of Naples could not be won back from the Spanish.

The long wars were brought to a close by the **Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis**, during the celebrations for which Henry died in July

1559 as a result of the accidental penetration of his eye with a lance in the course of a tournament. Cateau-Cambrésis was intended to free both Henry and **Philip II** to concentrate on, and even cooperate in, crushing Protestantism in their domains, but what Henry left behind him was a debt-laden crown and a divided regency to face a mounting tide of religious confrontation.

HENRY III, KING OF FRANCE (1551–1589). The third and youngest son of **Henry II** and **Catherine de' Medici**, Henry was born in September 1551 in the royal palace of Fontainebleau near **Paris**. In the **Wars of Religion**, as duc d'Anjou, he was given the credit for winning victories over **Gaspard de Coligny** and **Louis, prince de Condé**, at Jarnac, in Aquitaine, southwest **France**, and Montcontour, in Normandy, in northwestern France, in 1569 and was involved with his mother in plotting the chain of events that led to the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**.

In 1573 Henry was elected to the throne of **Poland**, but in June 1574, on the death of his brother King Charles IX (b. 1550), he returned to France to assume its crown. In order to counterbalance the growing power of the **Holy League** and to head off the threat to his throne posed by the **Guises**, Henry, though a devout Catholic, adopted a conciliatory approach to the **Huguenots**. In the 1576 Edict of Beaulieu, known after its author, Henry's brother François, duc d'Anjou (1554–1584, before 1574, duc d'Alençon) as the "Peace of Monsieur" (*Paix de Monsieur*), legal guarantees were given to the Protestants, and in the Peace of Bergerac of 1577 limited freedom of religion was conceded.

Thereby, however, the king forfeited extremist Catholic political support, though he agreed to the Treaty of Nemours of July 1585 with the League and followed it up with a royal edict declaring the Catholic faith to be France's only legal religion. However, following the May 1588 "Day of the Barricades" in favor of **Henri de Lorraine, third duc de Guise**, when Catholic Parisians barred entry to his Swiss mercenary troops, Henry was forced to quit his capital. Following a meeting of the national assembly, the Estates-General (*états généraux*), at Blois, central France, which marked a further low point in his authority, he ordered the murder in December 1588 of Guise and his brother the Cardinal Louis II de Guise (b. 1555), archbishop of Reims (Rheims). The king, who was then faced with the

threat of an **excommunication** by Pope **Sixtus V**, committed himself to **Henry of Navarre** and, along with him, advanced to take Paris, where he was murdered by a Catholic fanatic, Jacques Clément, in May 1589, endorsing before his death the succession of Navarre.

Able and intelligent, and accused by his enemies of what they saw as sexual vice, the last of France's kings of the dynasty of Valois was incapable of mastering a political situation which had gone beyond the limits of the manageable.

HENRY IV (HENRY OF NAVARRE), KING OF FRANCE (1553–

1610). Henry of Navarre (Henri de Navarre) was born in December 1553 in Pau, the capital of the Pyrenean kingdom of Béarn and Spanish Navarre, the son of Antoine de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme (d. 1562) and Jeanne d'Albret (d. 1572), daughter of **Marguerite d'Angoulême** and heiress of King Henri II (Henry II, 1503–1555) of Béarn and Navarre. His father died when he was nine years old, and his firmly **Calvinist** mother brought him up in her faith. In the **Wars of Religion** Jeanne d'Albret took her son in 1569 to the **Huguenot** base at La Rochelle in Poitou, western **France**, and introduced him to their forces, which he commanded at the battle of Jarnac, in Aquitaine, southwest France, in 1569.

In 1570, when Henry succeeded his mother as King Henry III of Béarn-Navarre, peace between the warring factions in France was made at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, near **Paris**, accompanied by a marriage in August 1572 between Henry and the sister of King Charles IX (1550–1574), Marguerite de France (Marguerite de Valois—"la Reine Margot," 1553–1615). Then, in the course of the subsequent **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**, Henry was offered his life in return for his conversion to Catholicism, and from 1572 to 1576 lived in virtual captivity at the royal court of the Louvre in Paris, escaping in 1576 to Alençon in Normandy, northwestern France, throwing off his Catholic conversion and resuming command of the Huguenot army. In 1577 he helped negotiate the Treaty of Bergerac, which offered concessions to members of his party.

In 1584 **Henry III's** brother and heir presumptive, François, duc d'Anjou (b. 1554, until 1574, duc d'Alençon) died, and the presumptive right of succession to the king passed to Henry of Navarre, a "prince of the blood" in the Bourbon line, descended from King Louis IX (St. Louis, 1214–1270) of France—though in December

1584 the Treaty of Joinville between **Philip II** and the Guises was drawn up to block his succession. By 1587 Navarre was in control of southwest France and formed alliances with **Elizabeth I** and German **Lutheran** princes. Then, the murder of Henry III in August 1589 made Henry direct heir to the throne, although excommunicated by Pope **Sixtus V**.

Indeed, the succession of a Protestant was hotly contested by many French people and Navarre faced a formidable hostile coalition of Philip II, **Henri de Guise**, third duc de Guise, and the **Holy League**. Even so, following his withdrawal to the more strongly Calvinist south of the country to recoup his forces and finances, Navarre overcame League forces under the command of the surviving Guise brother, Charles, duc de Mayenne (1554–1611), at Arques-la-Bataille, in Normandy, northwest France in 1589 (which he regarded as his most important victory), and at Ivry-la-Bataille, near Paris, in March 1590. Henry's siege of Paris in 1590, thwarted by the intervention of Philip II's general Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1546–1592), led to the deaths from starvation of perhaps 13,000 of the city's inhabitants.

It was Parma, once again, who checked Navarre's attempt to take the city of Rouen in Normandy in 1592. Even so, the forces ranged against the Huguenot leader were far from invincible, for the opposition was divided, especially between popular and aristocratic factions within the League, especially in Paris, while many were tired, not only of seemingly endless war but also of the link between the ultra-Catholic cause and Philip II's dynastic ambitions. In July 1593, recognizing the impossibility of a Protestant's succeeding to the throne of France, Navarre—who was never an ardent Calvinist, but a politically motivated realist, a *politique*—took the decisive step along the road to national reconciliation by once more professing Catholicism.

Led by overwhelmingly Catholic Paris, which he entered in March 1594, hearing **Mass** in the city's cathedral of Notre Dame, the major cities of the kingdom one after another capitulated to him and he was crowned king in the cathedral of Chartres, southwest of the capital, in February. His declaration of war against Spain in 1595 consolidated his profile as a patriotic focus and in the same year Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) absolved him from his earlier abandonment of the Catholic faith. Three years later, in May 1598, Henry made peace

with **Spain** in the Treaty of Vervins, having in April issued the **Edict of Nantes** guaranteeing freedom of worship and legal rights to the Huguenots. His marriage to Marguerite de Valois was dissolved by the **pope** in 1599.

Henry IV proved to be a reforming and popular monarch, healing much of the damage left by four decades of debilitating conflict, restoring the much-diminished prestige and power of the crown, curbing exploitation of ordinary subjects by tax officials, encouraging agricultural development and constructing roads and canals to facilitate trade. His finance minister, Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1560–1641), a Huguenot, took in hand France’s shattered state finances, reducing government debt from 330 to 50 million *livres* while creating a permanent national army and in 1608 laying the foundations of France’s colony, *la Nouvelle France*—“New France”—in Canada. Forming a solid alliance with **England**, Henry IV did much to restore France’s foremost position in Europe.

Henry IV maintained the terms of the Nantes Edict but also tentatively began the process of royal encouragement of Catholic revival in France’s **Counter-Reformation**, even though he declined to approve the introduction into his kingdom of the decrees of the **Council of Trent**. Catholic zealots refused to come to terms with the former Huguenot commander, and the day following the crowning on 14 May 1610 of his second wife, the Italian Marie de Medicis (Maria de’ Medici, 1573–1642) and embarking on a military campaign in **Germany**, Henry was assassinated in a Paris street by the Catholic extremist François Ravallac (1578–1610).

HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND (1491–1547). Henry was born in June 1491, the younger son of Henry VII (1457–1509) and his wife, Elizabeth of York (1465–1503), daughter of King Edward IV (1442–1483). The prince was formally made lieutenant of Ireland in 1494, given a deep, well-rounded, and humanist-oriented education, and in 1503, with the death of his elder brother Arthur (b. 1486), was designated prince of **Wales**. A contract was drawn up to allow him to marry his brother’s widow, **Catherine of Aragon**, but disagreement over her dowry delayed its fulfillment until Henry’s accession, in succession to his father, in April 1509.

The new reign was greeted with widespread acclamation, especially by leaders of the humanist movement, including **John Colet**,

Desiderius Erasmus, and **Thomas More**, for all of whom the accession of a ruler himself schooled in the **humanism** of the **Renaissance** promised a golden age of learning. The atmosphere of happiness and promise was confirmed by the solemnization of Henry's marriage to Catherine in June, promising the perpetuation of the Tudor dynasty established by Henry's father. A dispensation from Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) dispelled anxieties about the ban in the Church's canon law, based on Scripture, in Leviticus 18:16, on a man's marrying his brother's widow.

Though the new king inherited the ample treasury that Henry VII had bequeathed, the aura of fiscal extortion that had clung to the parsimonious old king was dispelled with Henry's execution in 1510, on trumped-up charges and in a ruthless bid for popularity, of two of Henry VII's most assiduous revenue collectors, Edmund Dudley (b.1462?) and Sir Richard Empson. A further break with the recent past came with Henry VIII's abandonment of his father's cautious and inexpensive foreign policy, in favor of adventure and excitement. First, in 1511 he joined his Spanish father-in-law Ferdinand II, known as "the Catholic" (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*) of Aragon (1452–1516) in the alliance with Pope Julius II termed the Holy League, against King Louis XII (1462–1515) of **France**.

Then, in 1513, in imitation of his forebear and namesake Henry V (1387–1422), the conqueror of France, the king led an expedition into the country, winning, in alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), the battle of Guinegate (Enguinegate, in the Pas-de-Calais, northwest France), known as the Battle of the Spurs, in August, and capturing the French forts (in Burgundian territory) of Tournai (Doornik) and Théroutanne. While Henry was abroad, his army delivered a decisive blow against the Scots at Flodden, near the eastern Anglo-Scottish border, in September 1513, in which the King of **Scotland**, James IV (b. 1473), was killed. While the preparations for that victory were in the hands of the queen, the successful campaign in France was indebted to **Thomas Wolsey's** financial and military management. Indeed, the following period belonged to Wolsey, who was appointed lord chancellor, the highest office of state, in 1515 and enjoyed great power under the king, along with the wealth that allowed him to exercise artistic and architectural patronage on a princely scale.

Henry also aimed to excel on a European stage, displaying the glamour of Renaissance monarchy, as with his spectacular meeting with **Francis I** at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, near Guînes in Picardy, northeast France, in June 1520. Likewise part of Henry's ambition to cut a European figure was his 1521 attack on **Martin Luther**, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Adversus Martinum Lutherum*—"The Defense of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther"—for which he received from Pope **Leo X** the title *Fidei Defensor*—"Defender of the Faith"—in the following year.

From the mid-1520s Henry was becoming convinced that the absence from his marriage to Catherine of the male heir he felt was essential to avoid a future civil war over the succession to the crown was the accursed result of Pope Julius's dispensation, now seen by Henry as illicit. At the same time, the king's deepening infatuation with **Anne Boleyn** intensified his desire to break free of a marriage that was increasingly disagreeable to him. From 1527 Wolsey's primary task, to be achieved by whatever legal and diplomatic means were called for, was that of getting the Aragon marriage dissolved—an impossible goal, though, since the only person capable of granting the separation by annulment from Catherine was Julius's successor (at two removes), **Clement VII**, a **pope** who was, from the time of the **Sack of Rome** in the power of Catherine's nephew **Charles V**. Wolsey's failure to achieve the impossible led to his fall in 1529, opening up one of the most revolutionary periods in English history.

Following a brief spell from 1529 to 1532 when **Thomas More** was lord chancellor, under the guidance of **Thomas Cromwell** the "Reformation Parliament," which assembled in 1529, first set out to impose financial sanctions so as to browbeat **Rome** into submission to the king's wishes, but, when that tactic failed, a series of Acts of Parliament were passed in the 1530s to establish England's autonomy from the papacy. Following Henry's secret marriage to Boleyn in January 1533, in March of the same year parliament's **Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome** created a state that was legally independent of all outside authorities, including the papacy. Henry and Anne were publicly married, and she was crowned, in May. The first **Act of Supremacy**, of June 1534, made the king head of the Church of England, while the **Act Dissolving the Greater Monasteries** of 1539 swept away an ancient English Catholic institution. In government itself there was an increasing authoritarianism reflecting

Henry's own masterful personality and evident in the executions of **John Fisher**, More, and other opponents of the king's wishes.

Following the fall of Cromwell in 1540 Henry drew back from religious change. The 1539 the Act of Six **Articles of Religion** re-stated the Catholic doctrine of the **eucharist**, and the **bible**, officially available in English in 1538, was largely withdrawn from circulation in 1543. Further marriages followed after Anne Boleyn's execution in 1536 for adultery. His marriage of May 1536 with Jane Seymour (b.1508/9), who died in childbirth in October 1537, gave Henry the male heir he sought, the future **Edward VI**. His marriage in 1540 to the German Protestant princess Anne of Cleves (1515–1557) was dissolved by Parliament in the same year it was made, and his marriage to Catherine (or Katherine) Howard (born between 1518 and 1524) lasted from 1540 to her execution for adultery in 1542. Henry VIII's last wife, Catherine Parr (1512–1548), survived his death in January 1547.

HOFFMANN (OR HOFFMAN), MELCHIOR (c. 1500–c. 1543).

Hoffmann probably originated in the region of Swabia, in southwestern **Germany** and was apprenticed to a furrier. He was in **Zürich** in 1523 and was working in the fur and leather trade in 1523 in Livonia, in modern Latvia, along the Baltic Sea, where he was propagating **Lutheran** doctrines. However, he rejected **Martin Luther's** acceptance of an actual presence of Christ in the **eucharist** and, influenced by medieval mysticism, professed belief in direct illumination by the Holy Spirit and a Christology based on the notion of "celestial flesh," according to which Christ did not take on human flesh or nature from His mother.

Expelled from Livonia in 1525, he made his way to Stockholm, the capital of **Sweden**, preaching to German residents in 1526, and was thrown out of the city in January 1527. He visited **Denmark**, where he took part in a debate with **Johannes Bugenhagen** in April 1529, attacking Luther and his doctrines, and was expelled, and migrated to **Strassburg** in 1529, aligning himself with the **Anabaptists** there and being rebaptized. Two Strassburg women, Ursula Jost and Barbara Rebstock, heightened his eschatological expectations centered on the year 1533, the 15th centenary of the Crucifixion of Christ: Jost and Rebstock identified him as the reborn prophet Elijah, whose arrival was a sign of the coming of the Last Days.

Hoffmann's **eschatology** now showed Strassburg to be the new Jerusalem from which the saints, to the number of 144,000, according to the Book of Revelation (7:4), would go out to preach Christ's true gospel, to be followed by a thousand-year reign of the Lord and His elect. In the years 1530–33 Hoffmann conducted a missionary tour of northern Germany and the northern **Low Countries**, baptizing believers, but then suddenly ordering the cessation of all baptisms for two years until the Second Coming, of which the intensification of persecution of Anabaptists in the Low Countries was a sign. Hoffmann's calculations on the "figures" of Scripture convinced him that the year 1533 would be that of Christ's Second Advent, and in that year Hoffmann returned to Strassburg, where he was arrested and imprisoned without trial, dying in prison, probably in 1542. Now the prophetic vision of his followers shifted once more: it was not Strassburg that was the city of the promise but **Münster**, taken over by Hoffmann's "Melchiorite" disciples in 1533–35, in the extraordinary brief revolution in that city.

HOLLAND. *See* DUTCH REPUBLIC; THE LOW COUNTRIES.

THE HOLY LEAGUE. Since the early days of the **French Wars of Religion**, France's rural areas had seen the formation of Catholic alliances among the nobility and gentry and **Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine**, had assembled Catholic parishes into anti-**Huguenot** units. As the wars proceeded, the violence of religious division between Huguenots and Catholics ensured that any concessions offered to the former in order to avert conflict would be sure to arouse hostility in the latter. In 1576 new concessions were offered to the Huguenots in the May 1576 Edict of Beaulieu, known, after its author, **Henry III's** brother François, duc d'Anjou (1554–1584, before 1574 duc d'Alençon) as the "Peace of Monsieur" (*Paix de Monsieur*). These privileges—freedom to worship in most towns, admission to state office, military protection, and legal rights—provoked a Catholic reaction, which led to the formation of the Catholic League (*Ligue Catholique*) in 1576. Henry III's attempt to place himself at its head resulted in its dissolution.

The death of the Catholic heir apparent Anjou in June 1584 and the consequent prospect of the succession of the Huguenot leader **Henry of Navarre** reawoke the League, now to be led by **Henri de**

Lorraine, third duc de Guise. This body was assembled in **Paris** by clerics and bourgeois from among the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and civil servants of the city, a rank-and-file membership giving it a politically radical profile that became more apparent in later years. Leagues in other cities kept in contact with the Parisian organization. The League's military strength and popular support lay in the extensive patronage network of the Guises and in the Catholic population of Paris, and in December 1584 it received external support when Guise signed the Treaty of Joinville with **Philip II**. When the Wars of Religion were resumed in 1585—the “War of the Three Henrys,” Henry III, Henry of Navarre, and Henry de Guise—the League appeared to be the most powerful single force in the conflict.

The League's hostility was directed at Henry III and its loyalty at Henri de Lorraine. In May 1588, when the king attempted to send Swiss mercenaries into Paris in order to restore his rule over his capital, it was the League that organized the “Day of the Barricades” to resist the attempted royal military coup. Henry's ordering of the assassination of Guise and his brother Cardinal Louis II de Guise (b. 1555), archbishop of Reims (Rheims), by royal guards in December further inflamed the League, which designated the surviving Guise brother, Charles, duc de Mayenne (1554–1611), as lieutenant general of France. Yet now, seemingly at the height of its power and assurance, the Paris League exposed its own destructive divisions, between Mayenne's aristocratic conservatism, on the one hand, and the political radicalism of the League, marshaled by its committee of sixteen—the *seize*, representing the 16 quarters of the capital city: Mayenne arrested some of its members late in 1591.

Yet it was not its divisiveness that destroyed the League but Navarre's sudden announcement of his conversion to the Catholic faith in July 1593. The League's *raison d'être*—preventing the accession of a “heretic” to the throne—was pulled from under it. In March 1594 Henry IV rode in triumph into “Leaguer” Paris. Some of the movement's more dangerous demagogues were evicted from the city, and its noblemen, including Mayenne, were one by one reconciled to Henry. What was left, though, was a Catholic fervor that would go on to fuel France's **Counter-Reformation** in the century to come.

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. The German-speaking lands in central Europe formed the core of what had come by the end of the Middle Ages

to be known as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, whose head bore the titles—Caesar (in German *Kaiser*) and Augustus—of the all-powerful rulers of ancient Rome. The Holy Roman Emperor was supposed to enjoy sovereign authority coming directly from God Himself and, ideally, was to rule in harmony with the **pope**.

The reality, however, conflicted at several points with this ideal. For one thing, conflict, not cooperation, with popes was the typical historical picture, and certainly characterized the imperial reign of **Charles V**. Then, too, the Empire—in German the *Reich*—was so vast, consisting not only of the German heartland, but of a distinct, largely Czech-speaking kingdom, **Bohemia**, as well as—at least theoretically—**Switzerland** and parts of **Italy** and the **Low Countries**, that it was difficult to conceive of it as a homogeneous nation-state, under the rule of a powerful sovereign, on the lines of **England** or **France**.

Constitutionally, the Empire, though it acquired the central institutions of the **Diet**, the Aulic Council (*Hofrat*), the Imperial Supreme Court (*Reichskammergericht*), and the Imperial Executive (*Reichsregiment*), had a devolved rather than unitary nature, characterized by the independence of states from the imperial center. The episcopal rulers of the prince-bishoprics included three of the seven electors (*Kurfürsten*) who, under the Golden Bull (1356) of Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378), were responsible for choosing each new emperor: the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne (Köln). Territorial principedoms, including the electoral principalities of the Margravate of **Brandenburg**, the Rhineland **Palatinate**, and the Electorate of **Saxony**, often amounted, in terms of population and size, to significant powers in their own right, as was also the case with such a state as **Bavaria**, and there was a large number of lesser countships and knightly estates. The 80 or so Imperial cities (*Reichsstädte*), including such as **Nuremberg** and **Strassburg**, were in theory answerable to the emperor alone as his direct vassals, but, since imperial power was weak, they were in most respects self-governing urban republics and were able to go their own way over introducing the Reformation.

The political ineffectiveness of Germany's emperors—coming from 1440 onward from the house of **Habsburg**—was compounded by the deals, or “capitulations” (*Wahlkapitulationen*), made at imperial elections and ratifying the outflow of authority from the imperial

crown to the territorial princes. Deploying great power from outside the German Lands, especially in **Spain** and the Low Countries, Charles V might in other circumstances have been able to engineer some kind of imperial restoration and reunification during his reign, but the events of the Reformation, polarizing his Catholicism against the adoption of **Lutheranism** by many of the cities and territorial states, exacerbated national fragmentation. Thus the **Peace of Augsburg** was a recognition of political disunity as well as of religious discord. So, and despite earlier attempts at imperial **reform**, while the kingdoms of western Europe marched steadily onward toward national integration and the increase of royal power, Germany in the 16th century moved inexorably in the other direction.

HOOKER, RICHARD (c. 1554–1600). Hooker was born near Exeter in Devon, western **England**, where he attended school. He was sent to Oxford under the patronage of **John Jewel** and entered Corpus Christi College late in 1569. He graduated in 1573 and became a fellow of Corpus Christi. Following Jewel's death in 1571, Edwin Sandys (1516?–1588), archbishop of York from 1576 to 1588, became his patron, entrusting him with the tuition of his son. Hooker became reader in Hebrew at Oxford in 1579.

He was ordained in 1581 and preached the prestigious Paul's Cross sermon in **London**. In 1584–85 he was a parson in Oxfordshire, in the south Midlands, and in 1585, through the influence of **John Whitgift**, he became master of the Temple, one of the London centers of law school, known as the Inns of Court. Hooker married in 1588 and became rector of a parish in Wiltshire, in southwest England, in 1591, with a prebend—a canon's stall, with income attached—and subdeanship in the cathedral of Salisbury in the same county. He had completed four books of his *The Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie* by 1593 and it was published in the same year. Between 1595 and 1600 Hooker was rector of a parish in Kent, near London. The fifth book of the *Laws* was issued in 1597, and Hooker died in 1600.

Hooker's *Laws* provided a monumental and cogent statement of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical case for **Anglicanism** and the established worship and **sacraments** of the English Church—with space for *adiaphora*, though less emphasis on sermons, to which **puritans** were deeply attached.

HOOPER, JOHN (c. 1495–1555). Hooper was born probably in Devon, in western **England**, or Oxfordshire in the south Midlands, was educated in Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1519, and was in a monastery of the Cistercian Order in Cleeve in Somerset, western England, between c. 1519 and 1537. His reading of **Huldrych Zwingli** and **Heinrich Bullinger** converted him to the Reformation and he moved to **London**, debated with **Stephen Gardiner** and upheld Protestant doctrines in Oxford. With the passing of the conservative Act of Six **Articles of Religion**, in 1539 he left for the Continent. Hooper married in 1546 and took up residence in **Zürich** in 1547–49, where the influence of Heinrich Bullinger led him to a Zwinglian interpretation of the **eucharist**.

Hooker was back in England, under **Edward VI**, in 1549, acted as a chaplain to **Edward Seymour**, formed an alliance with **John Knox**, preached in London and in 1550 was nominated by **John Dudley** as bishop of Gloucester. However, as a deeply committed Protestant, Hooper—often called the “father of English puritanism”—had reservations about the wearing of traditional clerical vestments, and also over his oaths of induction, which contained references to the saints, so that his appointment was blocked and he was briefly jailed in a **London** prison. **Nicholas Ridley** insisted that Hooper must obey the law as it stood regarding vestment, and Hooper submitted and received episcopal consecration in March 1551, proving an assiduous pastoral bishop. In 1552 he was given charge of the newly merged western diocese of Worcester with Gloucester. In the reign of **Mary I**, of whose accession he had approved, in September 1553 Hooper was once more imprisoned in London, was deprived of his episcopal office in March 1554, and in February 1555 was burned to death in Gloucester.

HÔPITAL (OR HOSPITAL), MICHEL DE L' (1505/6–1573).

Michel de l'Hôpital was born in Aigueperse in the provinces of the Auvergne, in south-central **France**, and studied law at Toulouse in the south of his own country and in Padua (Padova) in northeast **Italy**. Returning to France, he practiced as a lawyer in **Paris** and was selected to represent **Henry II** in the sessions of the **Council of Trent** in 1547–48. He then moved up through the posts of *maître des requêtes*, the official dealing with crown petitions, and in 1554 *surintendant des finances*, or chief inspector of state finances. In 1560

de l'Hôpital became chancellor of France and convened the national assembly, the Estates-General (*états généraux*).

As the dark clouds of civil war gathered, partnering **Catherine de' Medici**, he pursued peace through toleration, publishing the Edict of Orléans in favor of the **Huguenots** in 1561. Drawn up on his advice, the 1562 Edict of January allowed Protestant worship outside towns and permitted the setting up of Geneva-style consistories but provoked the Catholic resentment that led to the Massacre of Vassy in March.

A number of individuals joined his so-called *politique* grouping, which aimed to place patriotism above religious faction and unite the country under a powerful monarchy, using the slogan, *une foi, une loi, un roi*—"one faith, one law, one king." Even so, it was difficult to maintain de l'Hôpital's conciliatory outlook amid the violence and extremism of the period, and in 1568 he lost office, returning to his estates at Étampes, south of Paris, and dying in March 1573. De l'Hôpital's writing, including political speeches and Latin poems, were published in five volumes in 1824.

HOTMAN (OR HOTMANUS), FRANÇOIS, SIEUR DE VILLIERS SAINT-PAUL (1524–1590). Born in **Paris** and studying there and in Orléans, central France, Hotman was an early convert to **Protestantism** and moved in 1548 to **Geneva**, where he acted as **John Calvin**'s secretary, and in 1555 became a professor in **Strassburg**. From 1562, he was active in seeking to involve German Protestants on the **Huguenot** side in the **French Wars of Religion**.

Even before the 1572 **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**, with such works as *Le Tigre*—"The Tiger" of 1560—Hotman was writing in defense of his fellow Huguenots. The massacre then gave rise to a Protestant literature of opposition to the monarchy, of which Hotman's 1574 *Franco-gallia* was a key component, though it was largely written before the massacre took place. The book took its message from Hotman's interpretation of French history, according to which early French government—which Hotman maintained was France's true form of the state—was not an absolute monarchy, since that was a more recent development, but a mixed constitution in which the people and their assembly retained sovereignty, electing their kings as lifetime magistrates and able to depose them for incompetence or tyranny.

Hotman left France for **Switzerland** following the massacre. His other writings included a study of the early Church, *De Statu Primitivae Ecclesiae*, 1553, a legal work, *Jurisconsultus* (1559) and an account of the massacre *De Furoribus Gallicis*—"The French Furies" (1573)—blaming the atrocities on the monarchy. *See also* GOVERNMENT, ATTITUDES TO.

HOZJUSZ, STANISLAW (STANISLAUS HOSIUS), CARDINAL (1504–1579). Born in Kraków in southern **Poland**, Hozjusz undertook law studies in Bologna, in northern **Italy**, being taught by the future Pope **Gregory XIII**. He was appointed bishop of Chelmno (Kulm), in northern Poland, in 1549 and of Ermeland, in Poland, in 1551. He was appointed papal diplomatic representative to **Ferdinand** in 1560 and was made cardinal in 1561. When the **Council of Trent** resumed its sessions in January 1562, Hozjusz was one of the four presiding legates, providing vital guidance in steering the Council toward its successful conclusion.

In 1564 Hozjusz returned to Poland and worked closely with the King Zygmunt II August (Sigismund II Augustus, 1520–1572) in the earlier stages of Catholic recovery in the kingdom, and in 1564 Hozjusz introduced the **Jesuits** to their first Polish outpost. From 1569 he was back in **Rome**, employed in the papal administration and as an emissary of the Polish crown. His 1551 *Confessio Fidei Christianae Catholicae* ("Confession of the Catholic Christian Faith"), of which 30 editions appeared before his death, and in which he set out to prove the identification of Catholicism with Christianity, was approved by the Polish Synod of Piotrków in 1557.

HUBMAIER, HUBMÖR, FRIEDBERGER, OR PACIMONTANUS, BALTHASAR (c. 1481–1528). Born in Friedberg near Augsburg in southern **Germany**, Hubmaier began his studies at the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau in Baden, southwest Germany, and took his doctorate from the University of Ingolstadt in **Bavaria** in 1512. As preacher at the cathedral at nearby Regensburg, appointed in 1516, in 1519 he orchestrated a campaign against the city's long-established local Jewish community: the **Jews** were expelled from the city, a new chapel dedicated to "the Beautiful Mary"—the **Blessed Virgin Mary**—was erected on demolished Jewish property, and the events were celebrated in a widely disseminated ballad.

Following his appointment as priest in Waldshut in Austrian territory in the Rhineland, Hubmaier visited **Desiderius Erasmus** in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** in 1522, adopted **Huldrych Zwingli**'s doctrines, and was instrumental in 1523 in persuading the Waldshut town council to introduce Reformation. He published his first book during his stay in Schaffhausen in northern Switzerland—an argument for toleration, *Von Ketzern und ihren Verbrennern*, “Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them.” Returning to Waldshut, in January 1525 Hubmaier declared that God had directed him to renounce the **baptism** of infants, and at Easter he himself, along with the majority of his congregation, accepted believers’ baptism and he proceeded to baptize other adults, setting out his rationale in a work of 1525 on what he termed the “Christian baptism of believers.” After playing a leading role in the **Peasants’ Revolt**, when he campaigned against the **Habsburgs** in Waldshut in 1524–25, he sought asylum in **Zürich**, where he was arrested, tortured, and twice made to retract his beliefs about baptism.

Expelled from Zürich, he traveled in Switzerland and southern Germany—to Constance (Konstanz), Regensburg, and Augsburg (where in April 1526 he baptized **Hans Denck**)—and then migrated in July 1526 to Nikolsburg in southern Moravia (Mikulov, in the modern Czech Republic), where he furthered the religious changes that were already under way, converted local Hussites, along with **Lutherans**, including the pastor, to **Anabaptist** beliefs, gained influence over the ruling count, Leonhard von Liechtenstein, and helped form the growing Anabaptist community in the territory; he also published 16 theological tracts. In May 1527 Hubmaier took part in public **disputations** with **Hans Hut** in which, while condemning warfare, he spoke against total pacificism. Like **Martin Luther**, as he made clear in his work *Von dem Schwert*,—“Concerning the Sword”—he upheld the legitimacy of officeholding and bearing arms by Christians.

The relationship between Hubmaier and Leonhard von Liechtenstein created a peaceful asylum for an Anabaptist community led by a theologian who accepted the moral claims of **government**, but it was not to last, for in July 1527 **Ferdinand I** demanded Hubmaier’s extradition to Austria—a delayed reprisal for his anti-Habsburg activities in Waldshut in 1524–25. He was burned to death in Vienna in March 1528, his wife being executed by drowning in the Danube

a few days later, opening up a wave of persecution of Anabaptists throughout the Habsburgs' domains. Hubmaier's disciples were removed from Nikolsburg and set up communitarian settlements near Austerlitz in Moravia (today Slavkov in the Czech Republic).

HUGUENOTS. This term for the Protestant party in **France** may have originated in a group of citizens of **Geneva** who opposed the rule of their bishop Jean (r. 1513–20) and who formed an alliance of *Eigenots* or *Eiguenots*, a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*—"sworn comrades" or "confederates."

On account of the strong influence of **Martin Luther**, a favored early term for French Protestants was *luthériens* but by 1560 the expression Huguenots—a pejorative one, for the French Protestants themselves preferred to speak of their movement as an *église réformée*—a "reformed Church"—had become current. The "**Reformed**" had suffered intermittent persecution under **Francis I** and mounting repression under **Henry II**, but by the time of the latter's death in July 1559, aided by the sending of 88 trained pastors from Geneva between 1555 and 1562, and supported by leading nobles such as **Gaspard de Coligny** and **Louis, prince de Condé**, and with important recruitment from among the lesser nobility and the bourgeoisie, the Huguenots had assembled an imposing national federation of churches, perhaps poised to supplant Catholicism as the faith of France.

While the March 1560 **Conspiracy of Amboise** represented an attempt by Huguenot leaders to topple the ultra-Catholic **Guises**, in the **Colloquy** of Poissy of September–October 1561 efforts were under way to avert conflict through establishing a religious consensus between Catholics and Huguenots. In January 1562 concessions to the Huguenots were made in the first edict of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, but the massacre of numbers of them at Vassy in March made the onset of the first of the **French Wars of Religion** certain. Seven separate Catholic-Huguenot conflicts followed down to 1580, punctuated by the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre** of Huguenots and the killing of their leader Coligny in 1572. The May 1576 Edict of Beaulieu, known as the "Peace of Monsieur," after its author **Henry III**'s brother François, duc d'Anjou (1554–1574, before 1574, duc d'Alençon), granted extensive terms to the Huguenots—freedom to worship in most of the towns, entry into state office, armed protec-

tion, and legal recognition—but a backlash against it resulted in the formation of the **Holy League**.

While the death of the heir apparent, the duc d'Anjou, in June 1584 made the Huguenot leader **Henry of Navarre** heir apparent, the murder of Henry III in August 1589 established Navarre as outright claimant to the throne, a position he confirmed militarily with his victories at Arques-la-Bataille in Normandy in 1589 and Ivry-la-Bataille, near Paris, in March 1590. Henry's announcement in July 1593 of his conversion to Catholicism left the Huguenots leaderless, but the action opened his avenue to the throne, and his accession allowed him to issue the 1598 **Edict of Nantes**, the final installment of a series of earlier agreements (1570, 1575, 1576, 1580) that had been designed to end armed conflict by offering the Huguenots guarantees.

Yet the position of the Huguenots in Bourbon France became increasingly exposed. In alliance with the English, they revolted against the crown and, after the fall of their coastal fortress at La Rochelle in western France in 1629, in the Edict of Grace of Alès of 1629 the political and military sanctions buttressing the Nantes Edict were taken away. In 1661 King Louis XIV (1638–1715) opened a campaign to make the position of the Huguenots untenable, culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

HUMANISM. Though the word “humanism” originates from historical writing of the late 18th or early 19th centuries, within the 16th century the term *humanista* was used to describe someone following the *studia humanitatis*—“the study of human nature”—with particular attention to ancient Latin and Greek models in prose, literary style, poetry, philosophy, rhetoric, drama, and history. Humanist heroes from the classical past included the Greek philosopher Plato (427–347 BC) and, among the Romans, the orator, philosopher, and statesmen Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) and the poet Publius Vergilius Maro, Vergil or Virgil (70–19 BC). While a *humanista* was differentiated from a *legista*—a student of Roman law—or a *canonista*—one who studied ecclesiastical law—a sharp dividing line between typical humanists and traditional learning was the humanists' disparagement of **Scholasticism**.

Some humanists sought a new synthesis between Christian revelation and classical philosophy. The Florentine Marsiglio Ficino (1433–1499), for example, undertook to reconcile Plato and

Christianity. A further feature of the humanistic approach was its focus on humanity and on mankind's potential for greatness: as a leading figure in this academic ideology, the Italian Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), wrote in his 1486 “Oration on the Dignity of Man,” it was humanity's destiny “to be reborn into the higher forms which are divine” (Black et al., *Cultural Atlas of the Renaissance*, p. 17).

Yet it would be a mistake to confuse **Renaissance** humanism with atheism or even with a belief in man, in the words of the ancient Greek philosopher Protagoras (b. c. 485 BC), as “the measure of all things.” By the same token, the common phrase “Christian humanist” is also something of a misnomer, since all the leading figures in this “movement” were, almost by definition, Christian. In fact, what “Christian humanism” means is a preparedness to deploy the techniques developed in Renaissance humanism—exact study of the ancient languages and their literature, meticulous attention to the text, sensitive awareness of the meaning of words and their nuances—to Christian data, to study of the **Fathers of the Church** and above all to the reading of Scripture.

The humanistic method could indeed be destructive, especially of traditional credulity. Thus the Italian Lorenzo (or Laurentius) Valla (c. 1406–1457), in his work of 1440 *De Donazione Constantini Magni*—“Concerning the Donation of Constantine the Great”—used humanist methods of literary and linguistic criticism to expose as a forgery the document known as the Donation of Constantine on which the papacy's claim to temporal dominion were based.

A production that represented the highest standards of humanistic scholarship, **Desiderius Erasmus**'s edition of the New Testament in its original Greek, the *Novum Instrumentum*, first published, with an accompanying Latin translation, in 1516, made it possible to see clearly into the mind of the early Christian Church. **Martin Luther** could not be described in any straightforward terms as a humanist—he had none of the confidence in humanity's capacity for glory that was present in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola—but he was familiarized with humanistic techniques while at university, where, as **Philipp Melancthon**, recalled, he “read most of the . . . ancient Latin writers, Cicero, Virgil, Livy [the Roman historian Titus Livius, 59 BC–AD 18] and others” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 34), and he later made use of Erasmus's Greek New Testament, which was pub-

lished when he was halfway through his commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, using the Erasmus version to clarify the meaning of the Scripture text. Luther subsequently employed it, helped by the humanist professor of Greek Melanchthon at Wittenberg, as the basis for his German translation of the New Testament of 1522.

John Calvin was exceptionally well versed in humanist studies, and made his *entrée* into the world of scholarship with an edition in 1532 of a work by the ancient Roman Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 BC–AD 65), the *De Clementia*—"Concerning Clemency."

On the Catholic side, too, Christian humanism, with its aim of restoring the original purity of the Church, inspired figures as diverse as **John Colet**, **Gian Matteo Giberti**, and **Thomas More**. The educational curriculum of the **Jesuits** had humanism at its heart.

HUNGARY. In the 15th century, after earlier conquests by the **Turks**, Hungary underwent a revival under the kings János Hunyadi (c. 1387–1456) and his son Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490), but in 1490 the Polish-Lithuanian Jagiello dynasty took possession of the throne, making Hungary part of an immense imperial monarchy in central and eastern Europe. However, Hungary's progress was menaced by the depredations of a landed aristocracy owning vast estates and imposing onerous manorial obligations on the peasantry, occasioning revolt in 1514. Above all, though, Hungary's stability was endangered by its exposure to Turkish expansion in eastern Europe, involved in all five Turkish campaigns under Sultan Suleyman (known as the "Magnificent," 1495–1566), in 1526, 1528–29, 1532, 1541, and 1543.

In the first of this series, in August 1526 the sweeping Turkish victory at Mohács on the plains of Hungary involved the death of Lajos, or Louis II (b. 1506), whose succession was claimed by **Ferdinand I**, though disputed by the native *vojvode*—prince—Jan (or János) Zapolya (or Szapolyai, 1487–1540), with the backing of the majority of the nobility. Mohács now gave the country's central and southern regions—two-thirds of its landmass—including the cities of Buda and Pest, to the Turks, who maintained a long-term presence from 1541, while the eastern province of Transylvania, under Zapolya, gained quasi-independence as a Turkish dependency, and Ferdinand, claiming the inheritance of his deceased brother-in-law, Lajos, held on to the north and west of the realm.

It was Ferdinand who, through patient diplomacy, turned the fluid Hungarian situation to the best advantage of the **Habsburgs** for the longer term. Elected by a minority group of the nobility as king in 1526 and contracted to exercise a limited and nonhereditary monarchy, Ferdinand, who was involved in constant anti-Turkish campaigning down to 1545, consolidated his authority following Zápolya's death in 1540 and was able to exploit the position of the Habsburgs as the only realistic defender of Hungarian interests against the Turks. Before his death, Ferdinand gained recognition of a Habsburg succession in the crown of Hungary in the person of his son Maximilian II (1527–1576).

Strong interest in **Martin Luther** in Hungary, especially among German-speaking communities, was evident from an early point in time, while sons of Magyar noble families were attracted to **Lutheranism** through their studies in **Germany**. The **humanist** scholar Matthias Dévai Biró (d. 1545) studied in Wittenberg and, following his return to his country in 1531, conducted missionary work, being several times imprisoned by both Ferdinand and Zápolya. The New Testament was translated into Magyar by another Wittenberg alumnus, Silvester Erdösy (d. 1560). In the face of repression from Ferdinand, a group of Hungarian cities signed the *Confessio Pentapolitana*—the “Creed of the Five Cities,” grounded on the **Augsburg Confession**—and most of the country's ethnic Germans continued to abide by Lutheranism.

Calvinism also made rapid strides, attracting noble support, patronage, and protection. The **Heidelberg Catechism** was accepted and, it has been estimated, at the beginning of the 17th century of the 5,000 parishes in Hungary and Transylvania, three-quarters had gone over to **Protestantism**—and of these half could be designated Calvinist. In the century to come re-Catholicization was promoted by the Habsburgs, for a mixture of political and religious motives. Young Hungarians in increasing numbers were attending the Austrian **Jesuit** University of Graz (1586), and missionary orders including the **Barnabites** and Jesuits were being introduced. The fluctuating forces of both the Reformation and the **Counter-Reformation** can be observed in Hungary in the early modern period.

HUS, JAN (c. 1372–1415). Hus was born into a peasant family in Husinec, to the northwest of Budějovice in southern **Bohemia**. He

graduated M.A. at the University of Prague (Praha) in 1396 and in 1398 took up the teaching of theology in the university, of which he was appointed rector in 1402. In the same year, aligning himself with an already existing Prague tradition of moralistic and reform-minded preaching going back to the 1360s, he commenced a series of sermons in the Czech language in the endowed Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, voicing sharp criticisms of clerical abuse, so that in 1408 charges were lodged against him by conservative clergy and he was deprived of his priestly faculties. Both in the university and beyond, Hus was the spokesman and champion of Czech national interests against an entrenched German-speaking establishment and in October 1409 he was reelected rector of the university, while the Decree of Kutná Hora of the Bohemian King Wenzel (Vaclav, Wenceslaus, 1361–1419) altered the balance of power in the academic community in favor of the Czechs. However, in October 1409 Archbishop Zbyněk of Prague, a former supporter, set up an inquisitorial tribunal to examine allegations of heresy made against Hus and in December Alexander V (reigned, as a schismatical “antipope,” June 1409–May 1410) restricted sermons to parochial and monastic churches, aiming to suppress Hus’s public preaching.

Hus’s defiance of this banning order led to his **excommunication** in July 1410, followed by rioting by his supporters in Prague. Hus maintained his defiance and continued preaching so that in 1411 the city was faced with an interdict—a suspension of all religious provisions—and in December 1411 he complied with a request from King Wenzel that he withdraw from Prague.

As a theologian, Hus had been strongly influenced by the writings of the condemned English dissident academic John Wyclif (mid-1320s–1384), whose philosophic positioning within **Scholasticism** he and his fellow-Czech colleagues shared, and in his exile he worked on a study of the Church as an institution, the *De Ecclesia* (1413). Though the work is not entirely dependent on Wyclif’s thinking, it was sufficiently close to his ideas for Hus to be considered Wyclif’s Czech alter ego. A general council of the Church was to be summoned to the German city of Constance (Konstanz) to bring to a close the division, or Schism, in the papacy that had prevailed since 1478 and to this gathering Hus was summoned to appear, protected by a safe conduct issued by the Emperor Sigismund (1368–1437).

Hus arrived in Constance in November 1414, took up public preaching, and, later in the same month, was arrested and imprisoned. It was to become clear that his case and Wyclif's were closely linked in the minds of the Council fathers, and the Council's condemnation of Wyclif's writings in May 1415 led into Hus's three-day trial for Wyclifite heresy early in June. Having defended himself staunchly, he was required to make an unconditional retraction of views that he insisted were not his, refused, and was condemned to be burned to death, the sentence being carried out, despite Sigismund's safe conduct, on 6 July 1415.

News of the execution of a man who had become a national hero was greeted with grief and fury across the whole spectrum of Czech society. Before his death Hus had endorsed the custom of granting the chalice to the **laity** in the **eucharist** as a mark of their equal status with the priesthood, and this arrangement came to characterize the movement that sprung up in Bohemia known as Calixtine, from the Latin for chalice, *calix*, or Utraquist, from the Latin *sub utraque specie*, "under both forms." In the Four Articles of Prague of 1420 Hus's ideological legacy was maintained through demands for preaching in Czech, communion in both kinds, and an end to clerical abuses, wealth, and political power. To the left, a radical millenarian movement was led by Jan Zizka (d. 1424). In the compromise of 1436 known as the *Compactata* reunion with the papacy was negotiated by the Calixtine mainstream around the granting of the chalice to the laity.

Jan Hus was a leading 15th-century Catholic reformist who attacked the sale of **indulgences** and of clerical offices but was not a herald of **Protestantism**, even though **Martin Luther**, from the time of the **Leipzig Disputation**, saw him as a spiritual forebear, especially in his espousal of equality in the dispensing of the eucharistic chalice.

HUT (OR HUTH), HANS (c. 1490–1527). A bookbinder, bookseller, and member of **Thomas Müntzer's** forces in the **German Peasants' Revolt**, **Hans Hut** clung to Müntzer's eschatological ideology, though stripping it of its violence. He was rebaptized by **Hans Denck** in April 1526 and preached around central and southern **Germany** and in the southern city of Augsburg. In 1527 he moved to Nikolsburg in Moravia (Mikulov, in the modern Czech Republic),

where he disputed **Balthasar Hubmaier**'s variant of **Anabaptism**, which recognized the moral claims of the state. Hut was imprisoned and escaped but was again arrested in 1527 in Augsburg, where he had traveled to meet Denck and about 60 associates in the Anabaptists' "martyrs' synod" of August of that year—so-called because of the number of subsequent victims of persecution who attended it—and was tortured, dying in December in a fire in his prison cell.

Hut's theology of **baptism** resembled Denck's in that he envisaged it as the second stage in a process taking place in three installments, conversion, the reception of the **sacrament**, and martyrdom.

HUTTEN, ULRICH VON (1488–1523). Von Hutten was born in April 1488 in the castle Burg Steckelberg, near Fulda, in the neighborhood of Frankfurt-am-Main, central **Germany**, into an impoverished family of the Imperial Knights (*Reichsritter*), a military gentry who were by tradition vassals of the **Holy Roman Empire**. When he was 11 years old, he was placed in a Benedictine monastery at Fulda, with the aim of making him a monk, but after a few years left the monastery to visit universities in Germany—in Cologne (Köln), northern Rhineland; Erfurt in Thuringia and Wittenberg; Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, in eastern Germany; and Greifswald, near the northeast German coast—and Bologna and Pavia in northern **Italy**.

Back in Germany, von Hutten enrolled in the army of Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519) and in 1514 was attached, as a scholar-counselor, to the court, in Mainz in the Rhineland, of Albrecht (Albert) von Hohenzollern (1490–1545), the archbishop and elector. In 1517 von Hutten published a Latin literary attack, in the form of a dialogue, the *Phalarismus*, against Duke Ulrich of **Württemberg** (1487–1550), who was accused of the murder of a relative of his, Hans von Hutten: the work broadened out into an attack on princely tyranny in general. Von Hutten was in Italy again between 1515 and 1517, in Bologna and **Rome**, and in 1517, in recognition of his Latin poetry, he was made poet laureate by Maximilian. He was involved in the defense of **Johann Reuchlin**, and part-authorship of the satire on Reuchlin's conservative opponents, *Epistolae Virorum Obscurorum* (*Dunkelmännerbriefe*, "Letters of Shady Characters") is attributed to him. In 1518 von Hutten published his *Colloquia* ("Discourses"), which appeared in a German translation in 1518 to 1521, and in 1519 he fought with the Swabian League (an organization of cities and

princes set up by Maximilian in 1488 to bring order to southwest Germany) against Duke Ulrich of Württemberg.

In 1519 von Hutten published three Latin works—the *Fortuna*, a Latin dialogue on his aims and ambitions; a dialogue on his illness, syphilis; and a study of cures for it, *De Morbo Gallico* (“Concerning the French Sickness”). The publication of his nationalist and anti-papal work in dialogue form, *Vadiscus*, 1520, resulted in the withdrawal of the patronage of Archbishop von Hohenzollern. Converted to **Martin Luther**’s cause by **Franz von Sickingen**, in his work of 1520, *Aufwecker der deutschen Nation*—“Awakener of the German Nation”—he proclaimed his commitment to Luther and left Germany for Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where he tried to win support from **Desiderius Erasmus**, though the two quarreled.

In 1521 von Hutten published a German collection of dialogues, *Gesprächsbüchlein* (“A Little Book of Discourses”), containing his nationalist essay, *Arminius*, which was a tribute to the ancient German hero, Arminius, Armin or Hermann (17 BC–AD 21), who won a victory over the Romans. In 1522 von Hutten was involved with von Sickingen in the failed Knights’ War against Richard von Greiffenklau (1467–1531), the prince bishop of Trier, in western Germany, and in 1523 he fled to Switzerland, where **Huldrych Zwingli** offered him protection, and he died of his illness in August 1523 on the island of Ufenau on Lake Zürich.

Von Hutten’s aim, that of linking the **Lutheran** movement to the militant nationalist and imperialist ideology of the Imperial Knights in order to bring about a resurgent Germany, won no support from Luther himself.

HUTTERITES. Following the execution of **Balthasar Hubmaier**, his disciples from Nikolsburg in the Margravate of Moravia (Mikulov, in the modern Czech Republic) regrouped in the vicinity of Austerlitz (modern Slavkov) in Moravia on the estates of the Baron (*Freiherr*) von Kaunitz, where their numbers were augmented late in 1529 by **Anabaptist** migrants from Tyrol in **Austria** under the leadership of Jakob Hutter (c. 1500–1536). In his work in Moravia in 1533–35 and before his death by burning in Innsbruck in Austria in 1536, Hutter developed over 80 communities in the territory of Moravia. These groupings—*Bruderhöfe*, or brotherhoods—were based on **community of goods**, as set out in the New Testament,

in Acts 2:44–45. Common ownership and cooperative agriculture were adopted as fixed principles in 1529, and pacificism was upheld. **Peter Riedemann** drew up an account of their beliefs and practices, the *Rechenschaft unserer Glaubens* . . . —“The Account of the Religion, Teaching, and Beliefs of the People Called Hutterities”—in 1540.

Each *Bruderhof* was governed by a committee of elders under a superintendent; consisted of workshops, residential quarters, and school premises; practiced cooperative agriculture and communal living; and managed its own provisions for health and the communal education of children, aiming at **literacy** for all. Private property was ruled out, though group enterprise was encouraged.

The Hutterites encountered persecution in the mid-16th century, especially from **Ferdinand I** in 1547 and 1548, though their hard work and high-quality manufactures were highly esteemed. They paid taxes, though withholding taxation for military purposes, and abjured oaths, in line with Matthew 5:34. By the early 17th century they may have numbered around 20,000 members, grouped in perhaps 100 *Bruderhöfe*. The Thirty Years War, 1618–48, however, meant disaster for the Hutterites: in 1620 Hubmaier’s original settlement in Nikolsburg was ransacked by soldiers, and in September 1622 the communities faced expulsion from Moravia. Long years of exodus, with migrations to such regions as **Hungary**, eventually brought them in the 1870s to North Dakota and Canada, where, as well as in Ukraine, the legacy of Jakob Hutter is still upheld.

HYMNS AND HYMNALS. Christian worship in medieval Europe frequently featured congregational hymn-singing, often in Latin. In pre-Reformation Germany, *Leisen*, or responses, were sung by the **laity** during **Mass**. With the Reformation, **Martin Luther**’s key concept of the priesthood of all believers and his insistence, based on that principle, that the liturgy must be in the language of the people gave a momentum to the production of **church music** in the vernacular, while the increasing use of **printing** made it possible to distribute standardized hymn books. In 1524 there appeared the earliest Lutheran book of hymns, *Etliche christlich Lieder*—“Some Christian Songs”—eight in all, four of which were by Luther. Luther also adopted the traditions of the *Leisen* and gave German renditions of the medieval chants.

While the expansion of **Lutheranism** beyond Germany fostered the adoption of hymnals in other vernaculars, for example, in Sweden in 1526, **Calvinist** hymnody relied heavily on the Psalms. In 1539 **John Calvin** published his French-language *Aulcuns Psaumes et Cantiques Mis en Chant*—"Some Psalms and Canticles Arranged for Singing"—with five Psalms translated by Calvin himself and a further eight by the poet Clément Marot (1497–1544). Fifty of the Psalms in Marot's French were published in a collection in **Geneva** in 1543 and were subsequently given musical notation, becoming the staple of **Huguenot** congregational worship in **France**. A comprehensive Genevan version of the Psalms was issued by **Théodore Beza** in 1562.

The **Anabaptist** concept of congregational worship also led to the production of vernacular hymns and hymnals, for example, their *Geistliches Liederbuch* or "Spiritual Song Book" of 1529. In his *Deutsches Kirchenamt* ("German **Mass**") of 1523 and *Deutsch-evangelisch Messe* ("German Evangelical Mass") of 1524, **Thomas Müntzer** incorporated a wide range of types of sacred song.

In **England** it was the Psalms that formed the mainstay of congregational participation in worship, in the metrical version of Thomas Sternhold (1500–1549) and John Hopkins (d. 1570).

A major contribution to Catholic hymnody was made by **Filippo Neri**, through the development of the musical form known as the *oratorio*.



ICONOCLASM. "Iconoclasm," from the Greek meaning the breaking of icons, or images, was a widespread Reformation response to the presence of religious images, especially depictions in statues and pictures of the deity, Christ, and the saints—and was based on the assumption that the objects in question were idolatrous and forbidden in Scripture, in Exodus 20, and Deuteronomy 4.

Iconoclasm might be carried out either by popular and spontaneous agitation or by state-sanctioned initiatives or by a combination of both. Mass action was adopted in Wittenberg, where it was encouraged by **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt** between 1521 and 1522, beginning in December 1521 with the destruction of a **Mass** altar in the convent of the **Franciscans** and spreading out into a wave

of iconoclasm in February 1522, until **Martin Luther**'s return to the city in March. Thereupon, Luther, who insisted that an obsession with smashing images—as *adiaphora*—was just as servile as venerating them and that in fact they were useful “for recognition, for witness, for commemoration, for a sign” (MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p.144), brought the attacks to a close.

Following Luther, the **Evangelical** Churches generally adopted a relaxed attitude to images—retaining them, for example, in **Nuremberg** and, under the guidance of **Johannes Bugenhagen**, in northern **Germany**—and, as the 16th century progressed, a new Lutheran iconography emerged in the hands of artists such as **Lucas Cranach**.

State-supported iconoclasm tended to accompany religious change in **Switzerland**. In 1523 **Huldrych Zwingli** stated his objections to the presence of crucifixes and other images in the city's churches, and, following the third **Zürich disputation**, in January 1524, in June of the same year the ruling council ordered their removal from the buildings. Elsewhere in Switzerland, for instance in 1526 in Sankt Gallen (St. Gall) and in 1527–28 in Basel (Bâle, Basle), and in south Germany, in **Strassburg** from 1524, Constance (Konstanz) in 1528–29 and Augsburg in 1534, the introduction of Reformation was accompanied by the removal or destruction of images, as was also the case with the introduction of **Calvinism** into the previously **Lutheran Rhineland Palatinate**, in western Germany, under the elector Friedrich (Frederick) III (1515–1576) in the years after 1560.

England saw the first wave of official iconoclasm alongside the Dissolution of its Monasteries in 1536–40 and destruction of images was encouraged by **Thomas Cromwell** in his campaign against “superstition”: the celebrated shrine of the martyr St. Thomas Becket (1118?–1170) at Canterbury near **London** was demolished in 1538. A further wave of iconoclasm, largely under the Swiss doctrinal influences that inspired religious change in England under **Edward VI**, took place between 1547 and 1553 and again under **Elizabeth**.

Elsewhere, iconoclasm was a popular initiative. In **France** anti-Catholic iconoclasm opened with the smashing of a statue of the **Blessed Virgin Mary** in **Paris** in 1528 and remained a marked feature of **Huguenot** activism throughout the **Wars of Religion**. In 1566 the churches of the **Low Countries** were engulfed in a popularly directed iconoclastic campaign culminating in the attack on the image

of Mary in the cathedral of Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers), prompting **Philip II** to send a huge punitive Spanish army into the provinces.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA (IÑIGO DE OÑEZ Y LOYOLA, c. 1491–1556). Loyola was born the youngest son of a family of the lower nobility—an *hidalgo*—in Azpeitia in the Basque country of northern **Spain** in about 1491 and, following a spell as a page at the royal court, after his father's death when he was 14, he took up the traditional military career of his family and his class. In 1521, he was wounded in an engagement against the French at Pamplona in northern Spain and in his protracted recovery—not so much from the injury as from incompetent surgical treatment of it—he turned to two medieval religious works, the *Vita Christi* (“Life of Christ”) by Ludolph the Carthusian (or Ludolph the Saxon, d. 1378) and a collection of saints’ lives, the *Flos Sanctorum* or “Flower of the Saints,” popularly known as the “Golden Legend,” by the **Dominican** and archbishop of Genoa (Genova), Jacopo di Voragine (Jacobus de Voragine, 1230?–1298).

The religious conversion that then ensued led him to take up the life of a contemplative in the northeastern Spanish Benedictine monastery at Montserrat and in 1522–23 in the nearby hermitage at Manresa, where he began work on what was to become his devotional classic, the *Ejercicios Espirituales* or “Spiritual Exercises.” This period was followed by pilgrimages to **Rome**, and from March 1523 to January 1524 to Jerusalem.

Increasingly aware of a calling to the priesthood, and therefore conscious of his need for a proper education, starting with Latin, Loyola attended school in Barcelona, and then university, in Alcalá de Henares, near Madrid, between March 1526 and June 1527, studying **Scholasticism**, and in Salamanca, in western Spain. He also carried out preaching, which aroused suspicion from the **Inquisition** and led to periods of imprisonment in both cities: he was suspected of adhering to the mystical movement of the *alumbrados*, or “illuminationists.”

Pursuing his educational goals as a mature student, Loyola proceeded in February 1528 to the University of **Paris**, taking his M.A. there in April 1534. In August of that year he initiated the **Society of Jesus**, when he and six companions, including **Francis Xavier**, climbed to Montmartre, the steep hill above the city, where they

vowed to observe poverty and chastity, to work in the Holy Land, to carry out pastoral tasks, and to put themselves at the **pope's** disposal for whatever roles he had in mind for them. Loyola and his associates were ordained in **Italy** in June 1537 and, thwarted by war between **Venice** and the **Turks** in their intention to travel to the Holy Land, made for Rome. There, attracting further recruits from among younger priests and overcoming some opposition, in September 1540 they obtained the ratification of their Society of Jesus from Pope **Paul III** in the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*.

Loyola was chosen the first general of the Jesuits, for whom in 1547–50 he drew up their “Constitutions.” In 1548 the “Spiritual Exercises” were completed—a training booklet for all Jesuits and a manual of meditation through which each individual was to be guided by an expert counselor. The founder of the Jesuits spent his remaining years building up the Society, which, even by the time of his death in 1556 had shot up in numbers from the 10 of 1540 to 1,000, and rising to 5,000 by 1600, a versatile and practical organization whose stress on, and skill in, education mirrored Loyola’s concern with teaching. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS. The invention and rapid dissemination of **printing** evoked a new awareness on the part of the Catholic Church’s leadership of the need to control book production, and in 1501 Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) ordered the establishment of a system of prepublication licensing in ecclesiastical provinces of **Germany**. The Fifth **Lateran Council** also passed legislation on the inspection of books. Following the establishment of a universally applicable Index of Prohibited Books (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*) by Pope **Paul IV** in 1557 and 1559, in February 1562 the **Council of Trent** turned to the revision of Pope Paul’s list, which had proscribed all of **Desiderius Erasmus’s** writings and which two leading **Jesuits**, **Petrus Canisius** and **Diego Lainez**, criticized for its excessive rigor. A revised version was published by Pope **Pius IV** in the bull *Domini Gregis* of March 1564, and in 1571 Pope **Pius V** set up the Congregation of the Index, whose scope and authority were confirmed by Pope **Sixtus V**. This Congregation consisted of a number of cardinals, a **Dominican** as secretary, and theological consultants.

Works placed on the Index were viewed as endangering faith or morals and, on pain of **excommunication**, Catholics, unless for

special reasons, were forbidden to read or even own them. (In 1966 the Index was brought to an end by Pope Paul VI [r. 1963–78].)

INDIA. India's community of "Thomas Christians," located in the Kerala region on the country's southwestern Malabar Coast, derives its origins from the mission of the Apostle St. Thomas in the 1st century: his supposed tomb is a place of pilgrimage, near Madras on India's southeastern coast. Long cut off from Western Christendom, in the fourth century the Thomas Christians were strongly influenced by the East-Syrian Church and took up what is known as the Chaldean, or Assyro-Chaldean, rite, celebrating the liturgy in the ancient Syriac language.

The arrival of Portuguese settlers from 1498 onward confronted the indigenous Christians of the sub-Continent with a stark choice: either accept a Western Catholic system—as did those who today form the Syro-Malabar Catholic Church, in communion with **Rome** from 1599 and acquiring its own bishop—or retain their traditional customs, the option favored by what eventually emerged as the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, in communion with the Patriarch of Antioch (Antakia in modern Turkey).

A boost to the Catholic cause in India was given in 1513 when the merchant and convert João de Cruz persuaded the impoverished and oppressed pearl fishers of south India's Coromandel (or Fisher) coast to seek Portuguese protection by converting to Catholicism, which 20,000 of them are reputed to have done.

A further milestone in the history of Catholicism in India was put in place with the arrival in 1542 of **Francis Xavier** to **Goa** (north of the Malabar Coast), which was made an archbishopric in 1558. As recommended by Xavier, a branch of the Portuguese **Inquisition** was set up in 1561, and five provincial councils were convened between 1567 and 1606. Through book publishing in indigenous languages, beginning with a **catechism** in the south Indian Tamil language in 1554, and schooling—the **Jesuit** college of São Paulo (St. Paul) in Goa already had 110 students by 1556—the mission established by Xavier expanded to a high point by the beginning of the 17th century. The Italian Jesuit missionary **Roberto de Nobili**, who arrived in India in 1605, developed an intense admiration for its ancient and rich civilization, dressed as an Indian holy man and learned classical

Sanskrit and south India's Tamil language. His Indianization of Catholicism was opposed by the Portuguese, and his case was appealed to Rome—which defended his objectives in 1623.

INDULGENCES. The evolution of the doctrine and practice of indulgences should be understood with reference to their connection with the **sacrament** of **penance** and the doctrine of **purgatory**. Within this conceptual triangle, sins were viewed as being absolved in the sacrament of penance, but left a detritus of personal guilt to be cleared through “satisfaction”—acts of penance, such as going on pilgrimages—after the actual sins had been forgiven. Then, if this accumulation of guilt were not discharged by the time of a person's death, he or she would need to undergo temporary, but intensely painful, cleansing in purgatory. Indulgences were seen as mechanisms for eliminating the burden of guilt.

Their practical origins can be traced to the First Crusade of 1096–99, when indulgences could be applied to the credit of those who fought in those conflicts, and in the course of the next century it was accepted that these benefits were applicable to those who, without themselves fighting, contributed financially to the Crusading cause. A further step in the expansion of the scope of indulgences was made in 1300 by Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303), who applied them to all pilgrims traveling to **Rome** for the city's recurrent “holy years” or “jubilees,” held first every 100, and eventually every 25, years.

Over the course of time, theologians devised a theoretical underpinning for indulgences. In particular, the English theological writer Alexander of Hales (c. 1180–1240) explained that their source was a “treasury of merit,” a kind of surplus of virtue accumulated by Christ and the saints, placed at the disposal of **popes** to unlock and dispense into the empty accounts of sinners. This was the analysis adopted by Pope Clement VI (r. 1342–52) in the bull *Unigenitus*, which explained that Christ had left a legacy of “treasure for the Church militant” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 70).

Subsequent popes expanded on the efficacy and applicability of indulgences: Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404) defined them as total abrogations of penalty and guilt, and Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) made them transferable to the souls in purgatory. By the end of the Middle Ages, though, there was an evident tendency to leave out of the process the necessity in the first place for contrition, in the sacrament of penance, in order for sins to be absolved, and it was a fellow member of

Martin Luther's Augustinian Order in the mid-15th century who issued the reminder "Repentance is better than indulgences" (ibid., p. 71). To set against that, the 1517 indulgence preached by **Johann Tetzel**, against which Luther protested in the Ninety-Five Theses, was accompanied by the declaration "Nor is it necessary for those who contribute to the fund for this purpose to be contrite or to confess" (ibid.). Thus Luther's role—in which he was not alone—can be seen as one of calling into question the ongoing process of expanding the power of papal indulgences beyond due limits.

In its 25th session, in December 1563, the **Council of Trent** invoked Scripture, in Matthew 16:19 and 18:18, in defense of the principle of indulgences, but banned their sale.

INQUISITION. The rise of religious dissent in Europe in the central Middle Ages gave rise to an official ecclesiastical sense of a need for investigation and control of unorthodox groups, individuals, and opinions, and in 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council issued a request to governments to assist in the prosecution of heresy. The bull of Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–41) *Excommunicamus* set up the legal processes for investigating dissidents, and itinerant courts, staffed largely by **Dominicans** and **Franciscans**, carried out their investigations in parts of **Germany**, **France**, and **Italy**. Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54) in 1252 sanctioned the use of torture to elicit confessions.

The Inquisition was set up, with the approval of Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), by Isabella, known as "the Catholic" (Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451–1504) and Ferdinand II, known as "the Catholic" (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*, 1452–1516) in the kingdoms of **Spain**, first in Isabella's central kingdom of Castile in 1480 and then, by extension, and in the face of considerable local opposition in the years 1484–87, into its eastern neighbor, Ferdinand's Aragon. Its principal task was the detection of Jewish converts to Catholicism and their descendants alleged to be continuing the practices and beliefs of Judaism. Its grand inquisitor, between 1483 and 1493, was the Dominican Tomás de Torquemada (1420?–1498) and the institution was run from the beginning as a department of state under the direction of the grand inquisitor, who was nominated by the monarch and confirmed by the **pope**. This official chaired the Inquisition's governing body, the five-man *Consejo Supremo*, the

Supreme Council, aided by expert consultants, mostly recruited from the Dominicans.

With its 19 local branches set up by 1538, the Inquisition acted as in effect a crown office for controlling the Church in Spain, with jurisdiction over the religious orders and, from 1531, over the bishops of the kingdoms. It heard appeals from other legal bodies, but no appeals to **Rome** against its verdicts were allowed. It investigated **Ignatius Loyola** and seized the manuscript of **Teresa of Ávila**'s autobiography. Though the Spanish Inquisition allowed legal counsel to defendants, the courts held their hearings *in camera*, kept the identity of accusers secret from the accused and used torture to secure admissions of guilt.

Having been responsible for the burning of thousands of converted **Jews** and their descendants, in the 16th century the Inquisition crushed whatever pockets of **Protestantism** existed in the country, with a wave of burnings in *autos-da-fé*—literally “acts of faith”—in 1558–60. Subsequently, the institution adapted its brief to policing the morality and orthodoxy of the Spanish people as a whole, being particularly vigilant in its investigations of religious self-expression by **women** and the activities of alleged witches. Its jurisdiction was extended to Spanish possessions in Italy as well as to Spain's territories in the New World. An Inquisition had been established in **Portugal** in the 1530s.

In order to combat the spread of Protestant ideas into Italy, evident in the discovery of a Protestant cell in the city of Lucca in the northeast of the peninsula, in July 1542, in the bull *Licet ab Initio* Pope **Paul III** set up the Roman Inquisition, answerable to the Congregation of the Holy Office and with Cardinal **Gian Pietro Carafa** one of six inquisitors general. This tribunal, exercising real authority within the Papal States, was empowered to imprison persons on suspicion alone, to withhold the identity of accusing witnesses, to seize property, and to carry out executions, pardons being dispensed at the discretion of the pope only. Its scope and powers were expanded by a former inquisitor, Pope **Pius V**. However, the directive that all Catholics were subject to the authority of the Roman Inquisition was in practice nullified by the subjugation of the Church to the state in Catholic as well as in Protestant lands: **Venice**, for example, ran its own Inquisition.

INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. In March 1536 in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** **John Calvin** first published his *Institutio Religionis Christianae*, a work in six chapters, dealing with such questions as the Creed, the law, the Lord's Prayer, and the **sacraments**. The work's Latin title might be translated into English along such lines as "A Handbook of Christian Piety," but the slightly misleading version "Institutes of the Christian Religion" has been endorsed by use over the centuries and can be retained.

The work opens on a note of mystery: considering the repression unleashed by **Francis I** following the Protestant vilification of the **Mass** in the affair of the "Placards" in **France** in 1534, it may appear odd that one of the dissidents forced to leave the country in its aftermath should have opened his work with a dedication to Francis I as a **confession** of Christian faith. The loyal preface, identifying the author as one of the king's subjects, can, however, be explained as an appeal to a king who had in the past shown sympathy for Church reform. The king, and readers at large, were being offered in this work a synopsis of core and basic common Christian beliefs.

With what justification, then, may the "Institutes" be seen as a compendium of "basic" Christianity? Certainly, in their reliance on a whole range of widely accepted authorities—not just the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430) and the medieval monastic leader Bernard of Clairvaux (1190–1253)—the "Institutes" have an ecumenical flavor, as they do in stressing the issues on which Christian Churches in nearly all their variants stand or fall, such as the centrality of the Incarnation and Christ's atoning sacrifice. That said, however, on the key theological issues that **Martin Luther** had raised—**predestination** and its correlates **justification** by **faith** alone as well as the question of the **free** or unfree **will**—Calvin's book was unmistakably a work of the Reformation.

Calvin put out a series of expanded versions of the "Institutes," in Latin and French, in 1539, 1541, 1543, 1545, 1550, 1551, 1553, 1554, and 1557, until a definitive Latin edition, in four books and five times the length of the first version, appeared in 1559.

INTERIMS, 1548. Following his Peace of Crêpy with **Francis I** in 1544, **Charles V** was able to take advantage of the **Turks'** war with Persia and turn his attention to German affairs, with, on the face of it, the prospect of success in his bid both to stamp out **Lutheranism**

in the **Holy Roman Empire** and to rebuild imperial political power. Charles paved his renewed German policy through an alliance with the Lutheran **Moritz of Saxony**, who sought the lands and dignity of title of elector belonging to his firmly Protestant relative Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as “the Magnanimous,” 1503–1554), and with the **Schmalkaldic League** much weakened, the emperor was able to attack Electoral Saxony. As a result of the brief but decisive Battle of Mühlberg of April 1547 not just Saxony, most of which was awarded to Moritz, but Germany lay at Charles’s mercy.

Tabled before the **Diet** meeting at **Augsburg** between November 1547 and June 1548 were various constitutional proposals to increase the emperor’s authority, none of which had any substantive outcome. On the religious front, Charles’s May 1548 “Imperial Clarification of Religion,” or Interim of Augsburg, consisted of recommendations drawn up by a panel of theologians. In its 26 clauses, it proposed a temporary settlement—pending a general council of the Church—that would recognize the marriages of the Lutheran clergy, subject to papal dispensations, and allow the **laity** to use the chalice in the **eucharist**, while at the same time insisting on the seven **sacraments** of the Catholic Church, implying the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eucharist, and stating the **pope**’s role as the Church’s chief bishop.

In Wittenberg, meanwhile, **Philipp Melancthon**, always ready to seek agreement, above all in the area of *adiaphora*, helped work out with Moritz a second agreement, of November–December 1548, known as the Leipzig Interim, whose doctrines could be understood in a Lutheran sense but which recognized the Catholic number of seven sacraments, accepted Latin and traditional vestments in religious services, and upheld **episcopacy**, along with days of fasting. Though this Interim was adopted in Moritz’s Saxony and in **Brandenburg**, clergy and their congregations in heavily Lutheranized northern **Germany** largely ignored it and major northern Lutheran cities such as Bremen and Magdeburg withstood it.

Indeed, the Interim regime—which led to the flight of **Martin Bucer** to **England**, **Johann Brenz**’s departure from Schwäbisch-Hall, and **Andreas Osiander**’s expulsion from **Nuremberg**—took little account of the affection in which the Lutheran Reformation had become accepted by many Germans, so that it encountered a passive,

but nonetheless effective, people's resistance movement: where it was enforced, it was by Charles's Spanish soldiers in southern Germany, for example in the **Duchy of Württemberg**. However, discord over the Interims and, in particular, Melancthon's reputation as a traitor among the unreconciled **Gnesio-Lutherans**, led by **Matthias Flacius Illyricus** and **Nikolaus von Amsdorf**, had the effect of creating injurious rifts in Lutheran ranks.

By 1552 the Interim system was in ruins: it had dazzled Charles V into believing that England, Scandinavia, and even Russia could be embraced in its terms but, suspected by Catholics, largely disowned by the papacy (until **Paul III** before his death in 1549 belatedly endorsed it), and opposed by Protestants, it represented a dream of settlement and agreement resting only on one military victory.

IRELAND. By the beginning of the 16th century, Ireland was a lordship of the English crown, though direct rule was exercised only in an enclave, known as the Pale, around the capital, Dublin (Baile atha Cliath). Amid some decadence in its late medieval Church, from the late 15th century, the country underwent a Catholic revival, largely under the direction of the Observant **Franciscans**. In the course of the 16th century, an emergent Irish national consciousness, linked to anti-English opinion and action, was becoming enmeshed with Catholic faith. For example, in his 1534 rebellion against **Henry VIII**, the king's alienated deputy-governor of the country, Thomas Fitzgerald, tenth Earl of Kildare (1513–1537), whose rising was backed by Pope **Paul III**, required of his followers that they take an oath of allegiance to the **pope**.

Following the suppression of Fitzgerald's revolt in 1535, the Irish Parliament made the declarations, in 1536, that Henry VIII was head of the Church in Ireland and in 1541 that he was now king, rather than, as earlier, "lord," of Ireland. Even so, the crown proceeded only hesitatingly in introducing religious change into the island. The main agent in bringing in such change was the Englishman and former **Augustinian** friar George Browne (d. 1556), made archbishop of Dublin in 1536, an ardent advocate of the royal supremacy over the Church of Ireland. Browne, however, faced intense unpopularity and resistance from the Irish clergy, and resentment even from the governing council, and over the course of his episcopate lapsed into inertia over bringing in any program of religious innovation.

Thereafter, under the crown's lord deputy of Ireland, Sir Anthony St. Leger (1496?–1559) more rapid strides were made, both in enforcing royal control and in steering through religious reforms, though St. Leger himself was dismissed in 1551 for his alleged Catholic sympathies. The oath of supremacy was accepted by most of the Irish bishops, and in 1549 the first **Book of Common Prayer** was brought in, with reasonable levels of acceptance, even though it appeared only in English and Latin, and not in the Irish (or “Gaelic”) language.

Indeed, it becomes apparent that major barriers to Protestantization in Tudor Ireland were Irish Celtic language and culture, for, while the religious positioning of the anglophone elite known as “Old English” may have hung in the balance, Irish-speaking Ireland was becoming increasingly resistant to religious change, above all in the heartlands of Gaelic culture and speech, the northern province of Ulster. There the Catholic archbishop of Armagh (and therefore primate of Ireland), George Dowdall (1487–1558), was dismissed from his offices in 1550 under the Protestant government of **Edward VI** and fled the country.

Mary's reinstatement of the Catholic religion was greeted warmly in Ireland, bringing in Catholic reforms encouraged by **Reginald Pole**. The reintroduction of Catholicism was reversed on **Elizabeth's** accession, but the new religion was not to be widely accepted. While it would be wrong to assume that the defeat of the Irish Reformation was a foregone conclusion, yet, following the adoption of a Protestant settlement by the Irish Parliament in 1560, by the late 1560s—when in 1568 the crown tried in vain to forbid the **Mass** in Ireland—there were clear signs of a loss of vitality in the drive to alter faith, while the colonizing policies known as “Plantations,” involving confiscations of land, gave rise to intense conflict in the 1570s and 1590s.

Though there had been some attempts among some Catholic clerics to reconcile their faith with loyalty to Elizabeth, the publication in 1570 of Pope **Pius V's** bull of excommunication and deposition, *Regnans in Excelsis*, dispelled that possibility. In 1572 Pope **Gregory XIII** considered a plan for an invasion of Ireland, to be launched from the Papal States, and in 1579 sent the priest Nicholas Sanders (1530–1581) to stir up rebellion against Elizabeth among the Irish. Between 1594 and 1603 the resistance movement led by Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ó Néill), third Earl of Tyrone (c. 1550–1616), based

on Ulster and in alliance with Spain, posed a serious, long-lasting and Catholic threat to English rule in the island.

The defeat of Tyrone drove him and 90 of his fellow Ulster nobles into flight to the Continent in 1607; then a new Plantation scheme—that of Ulster—took place on the confiscated estate of the exiles and introduced a new immigrant Scots **Calvinist** element into Irish life. Meanwhile, the departure of the Gaelic aristocracy should be seen as a particularly dramatic instance of the increasing orientation of Ireland's Catholic elites, not to England, but to Catholic Europe and above all to **Spain** and **Portugal**, where six colleges for the training of priests and education of young Irish Catholic laymen were established between 1590 and the mid-17th century.

As far as educational initiatives in Ireland were concerned, the royal foundation in 1594 of Trinity College, Dublin, might in other circumstances have made an important contribution to a more widely accepted Irish Reformation, but by that juncture and thereafter the College was offering its services specifically to a Protestant upper class. Likewise, the production of a **catechism** in Irish in 1571 and a faster flow of Protestant books in the language after 1600 came at points in time when what had earlier been a more fluent situation had hardened into rigid lines of demarcation, according to which “Irishness”—including that of the “Old English”—was equated with Catholicity.

Increasingly, too, **Counter-Reformation** Ireland was recolonized for the Catholic Church, using missionary methods adapted to Irish language and culture and making use of the skills of the Franciscans, and, from 1597, the **Jesuits**.

ISLAM (MUSLIMS). Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries experienced regular military and naval conflict with the power that most effectively represented Islam as a political and strategic presence, the **Turks**. At the same time, Islam and Muslim populations were present within Europe as a demographic fact, while Islam loomed as a conceptual issue with eschatological resonances, and European expansion beyond the Continent itself brought about encounters—typically violent ones—with Muslim populations.

Pockets of Muslim population existed within Europe, for example in **Poland** and **Lithuania**, but the region of the Continent that inherited the largest number of Muslims consisted of the Spanish king-

doms. In 711 the Iberian peninsula had been overcome by Muslim “Moorish” forces and the following centuries witnessed a long struggle to return control of the peninsula into Christian hands, culminating in the fall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada in the southeast of the country in 1492. This conquest left the Spanish kingdoms, under the rule of Ferdinand II, known as “the Catholic” (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*, 1452–1516) of Aragon and Isabella, known as “the Catholic” (Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451–1504) of Castile, with decisions to make about future Christian-Islamic relations and the status of the Muslim inhabitants, known as *mudéjares*, who were now taken into the domains of the “Catholic kings.”

In the first instance, Islam was to remain permitted in Granada, but actions by Catholic clerics provoked a rising which in turn led Isabella in 1500 to order the Muslims of Granada to convert to Catholicism. This requirement was extended to the remainder of the Kingdom of Castile in 1502, creating a new population of forcibly, and on the whole only formally, converted Muslims known as *moriscos*, though in Aragon Ferdinand maintained the original framework of legal tolerance.

In the longer run, government treatment of the *moriscos* stored up grievances that were to explode in fresh revolt. The *moriscos* retained much of their traditional culture, language and, probably, their Islamic faith. Their alienation meant that the perception of them as a fifth column who might facilitate aggression by the Turks could turn out to be valid, while government mismanagement of the *morisco* question sparked off a revolt in the province of Granada from Christmas 1568, taking two years for the government to suppress. Defeat of the *moriscos* led to the enforced breakup of their large demographic blocs in the former kingdom of Granada and their dispersal in smaller communities throughout Castile and its sister kingdom, León. These processes culminated in the expulsion of the *moriscos* by King Philip III (Felipe III, 1578–1621) in 1609.

Islam, and the associated threat of Turkish expansion into eastern and central Europe, were presented to the European Christian collective imagination very much in terms of **eschatology**, and **Martin Luther** encapsulated his contemporaries’ visions of dread—and also of hope—associated with the Turks and their faith. With Vienna (Wien) under a Turkish siege in 1529, Luther penned a national German prayer for deliverance and in the following year he wrote

to **Philipp Melanchthon** that he was “stirred up against the Turks and Mohammed, even passionately when I see the intolerable fury of Satan waxing proud against body and soul” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 239). Yet Luther’s perception of the Turks and Islam also inspired him with apocalyptic optimism, since all was in God’s hands, and “the possibility also exists that the Turks, as well as the pope, will collapse. For the two kingdoms, that of the Turks and that of the **pope**, are the last two plagues of the wrath of God, as the Apocalypse calls them” (ibid., p. 240).

A further feature of interaction between Christendom and Islam arose with Western expansion beyond Europe and was marked to a considerable extent by violence, for instance in the Portuguese massacre of 6,000 Muslims in **Goa** in 1510. In the 1540s the Portuguese assisted the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia in resistance to Islamic forces. Within Europe and the Mediterranean, the encounter between Islam and Christianity was characterized by military drama, such as the battle of Mohács in **Hungary**, in August 1526, the siege of Malta in the southern central Mediterranean in May–September 1565, and the Battle of **Lepanto** in October 1571.

ITALY. There is some evidence of corruption and decadence in the pre-Reformation Italian Catholic Church, in a period when the political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) wrote, “We Italians are more irreligious and corrupt than others . . . because the Church and its representatives set us the worst example” (Chadwick, *The Reformation*, p. 23), and when the experience of his visit to **Rome** in 1510–11 convinced **Martin Luther** of the mercenary cynicism of so many Italian priests. As for providing a moral lead, it was **popes** who gave only the “worst examples,” including Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), with his relentless pursuit of the dynastic advancement of his Borgia family, and Julius II (r. 1503–13) and his concerns with power politics, war, diplomacy, and the expansion of the Papal States and with artistic patronage for the sake of self-advertisement.

Yet Alexander VI’s misdeeds aroused in the **Dominican** preacher of Florence (Firenze), Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) a protest movement that fed into an Italian Catholic religious revival of the 16th century. Early **Catholic reform** was present in Rome in the **Oratory of Divine Love** and in the endorsement in 1525 by Pope **Clement VII** of the setting up of the **Capuchins**. The major edifice

of Italian Catholic religious reform would have to await the legislation of the **Council of Trent**, the work of reforming bishops led by **Gian Matteo Giberti** and **Carlo Borromeo**, and transformations evident in the lives and characters of popes, but it is clear that the foundations of the Italian Catholic revival of the 16th and 17th centuries were laid by the 1520s.

Protestant developments in 16th-century Italy were far from negligible, and **Pietro Martire Vermigli** was responsible for the creation of a reformist cell in the northern city of Lucca. As the inspiration of the Italian **evangelicals**, **Juan de Valdés** incorporated **Lutheran** influences into his teachings, and **Bernardino Ochino** represented the point at which evangelical convictions shaded into outright **Protestantism**. While the eventual demise of Italian Protestantism should not be regarded as a foregone conclusion, the vigilance of the **Inquisition**, plus the work of new orders of clerks regular and the effectiveness of diocesan reform were factors in generating a marked Catholic revival in 16th-century Italy.

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JAPAN. Japan's so-called Christian century opened with the mission of **Francis Xavier** in 1549 and prospered, to the extent that by 1577 one optimistic missionary was predicting that within a decade Japan would be a Christian country. Indeed, the figures available do show remarkable growth—a possible increase of Christians from between 20,000 and 30,000 in 1570, 100,000 in 1579 to 150,000 in 1582, and 200,000 in 1587; by 1582 the island of Kyushu alone had a Christian population of 130,000. By 1587 Japan had an estimated 240 churches, two colleges run by the **Jesuits**—who exercised an ascendancy, confirmed by Pope **Gregory XIII** in 1585, over the mission—and a school for the sons of the aristocracy. Valuable protection came from converted noblemen, the first of whom, a *daimyo*, or leading magnate, was baptized in 1563 and who also encouraged their tenants to convert. **Seminaries** were set up, and by the beginning of the 17th century, ordinations of native priests were beginning. The increase in Christian numbers is said to have reached, 300,000 by 1614, a growth assisted by the openness of the Jesuits to Japanese culture and language, as pioneered by a leading Jesuit advocate of acculturation

to Japanese civilization, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), who visited the country three times, spending in all 10 years there.

From around the 1580s, however, the political situation created a downturn in the fortunes of the Christian Church in Japan, and above all the fear in the hearts of Japan's rulers that Spanish missions would facilitate Spanish conquest, as had happened in the Philippines. An exclusion order against missionaries issued in 1587 by the regent appointed by the emperor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), was not enforced for 10 years, and a further 65,000 conversions were made over that period, but the arrival in 1593 of **Franciscan** missionaries, bringing with them a more suspicious view of Japanese civilization, reinforced a belief among some Japanese that Christian proselytizing spelled westernization, and, in the consequent anti-Christian reaction, 26 Catholics were executed—by crucifixion—in Nagasaki (in the far south of the islands) in February 1597, including 17 Japanese laymen, three Japanese Jesuits, and six Spanish Franciscans.

Conversions continued, the religious orders continued their work, and 50 native priests were ordained, but the backlash set in more firmly between 1606 and 1613, when the Tokugawa shogun (or supreme ruler) Ieasu (Iyeyasu or Ieyasu, 1542–1516), victorious in the civil war following Hideyoshi's death in 1598, introduced a number of anti-Christian measures, and a banishment order was promulgated in 1614. Following the death of Ieasu in 1616, persecution was sharply intensified under the Tokugawa shogunate and the executions of Christians began in earnest, often accompanied with crucifixion, and resulting in the deaths of some thousands of members of the Japanese Catholic Church.

Further legislation, in 1623, required residents of selected areas to produce papers confirming their official status as non-Christians. There were 4,000 executions in 1630 and in 1637–38 involvement of Christians in a peasant revolt resulted in the massacre of 30,000 of their number, followed by an exclusion order in 1640 against all foreign entrants into the country: 18 Jesuits who defied the ban in 1642 and 1643 were tortured. Before the end of the 17th century, the Catholic Church in Japan, starved of missionary support from outside and with its indigenous members continually harassed, had become a tiny underground sect nourished by lay-led devotions such as the rosary.

JEANNE OF NAVARRE (JEANNE D'ALBRET) (1528–1572).

Jeanne d'Albret was the daughter of Henri (Henry) d'Albret (1503–1555), who between 1517 and 1555 was king of the independent small kingdom of Navarre in the Pyrenees (most of the kingdom being in Spanish possession from 1516), and ruler of the Duchy of Béarn. Her mother was **Marguerite d'Angoulême**. Jeanne, a fifth-generation descendant of King Charles V (1337–1380), was born into the heart of the French royal Valois dynasty, and her uncle was **Francis I**. In 1548 she married Antoine (Anthony) de Bourbon, duc de Vendôme, a descendant of King Louis IX (1214–1270) of France. Antoine reigned as king of Navarre between 1555 and his death in battle, at Rouen, in Normandy, northwestern **France**, in 1562 (having adopted **Calvinism** and subsequently returned to Catholicism).

Jeanne's announcement of her conversion to **Protestantism** in December 1560 was symptomatic of a large-scale move in that direction on the part of some in the highest ranks of French society at around that point in time. The queen helped introduce the Protestant religion into Béarn, leading to Catholic revolt in the territory and a papal **excommunication** against her; in 1566 she set up a Protestant college at Orthez in Béarn. Jeanne d'Albret died of tuberculosis, in 1572 just prior to the marriage of her son **Henry of Navarre**, (**Henry IV**), whose Protestant education she had carefully supervised. *See also* WOMEN.

JESUITS. *See* SOCIETY OF JESUS.

JEWEL, JOHN (1522–1571). Jewel was born in Berrynarbor on the north coast of the County of Devon, in the west of **England**, and was educated in the town of Barnstaple near his birthplace and, from 1575, at Merton College, Oxford. He graduated B.A. in 1540 and won a fellowship at Corpus Christi College, which he held between 1542 and 1553. When **Pietro Martire Vermigli** arrived in Oxford in 1547, Jewel was strongly influenced by his views. He graduated with the bachelor of divinity degree in 1552 and was appointed university public orator, making the congratulatory address on the accession of the Catholic **Mary**. Having outwardly conformed to Catholicism, Jewel escaped to Frankfurt-am-Main in central **Germany** in 1555 and openly professed **Protestantism**, visiting **Strassburg** (where he

stayed with Vermigli), **Zürich** (where he became a friend and correspondent of **Heinrich Bullinger**), and **Italy**.

In March 1559, following **Elizabeth**'s accession, Jewel was back in England, where he defended the Protestant side in a public **disputation** at Westminster, near **London**, and in January 1560 was appointed bishop of Salisbury in Wiltshire, in the southwest of the country. Like some other figures who had been exposed to continental Protestant influences, such as **John Foxe** (one of his cathedral clergy in Salisbury) and **John Hooper**, Jewel had no liking for the traditional vestments retained in the Church of England. At the same time, though, he was aware that the vestments were essentially inconsequential matters—*adiaphora*—when set alongside the need to uphold the doctrine of his Church.

Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*—"Defense of the Church of England," 1562—was commissioned by the government and was aimed, in Latin, at a pan-European readership; it appeared anonymously and, being translated into English in 1564 as the *Apology of the Church of England*, became known as "Jewel's Apology." Even if the *Apologia* was jointly authored, Jewel took the leading role in what became a cornerstone justification of **Anglicanism**, making its appearance near the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, just as **Richard Hooker**'s vindication of the Church of England came out toward the reign's end. Jewel's *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England*, a riposte to a Catholic counter-attack, was published in 1567.

JEWS AND JUDAISM. Following a wave of anti-Jewish riots across much of the Iberian peninsula in 1391, large numbers of Jews in the Spanish kingdoms converted to Catholicism, creating a new community of ethnic Jews coerced (for the most part) into Christianity. With their traditions of high-quality education and with none of the barriers to advancement that had confronted them as Jews, many of these "new Christians" (*nuevos cristianos*), or "converts" (*conversos*) and their descendants flourished in various areas of Spanish life, the Church included, thereby, however, creating resentment directed against them by many of the majority population of "old Christians" (*viejos cristianos*), fueled by the suspicion that their conversions were insincere and that they were in fact corrupting the purity of Catholicism. In 1480 Ferdinand II, known as "the Catholic" (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*, 1452–1516) of Aragon, and Isabella,

known as “the Catholic” (Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451–1504) of Castile won from Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) the right to set up an **Inquisition** in order to examine the beliefs and practices of the *conversos*, but the investigations carried out by the tribunal seemed to show that genuine conversions could not be achieved while an unconverted Jewish community continued to exist in **Spain**, allegedly seducing the “new Christians” back into their former faith. Therefore, in March 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella took the drastic step of expelling Spain’s ancient Jewish community, in unknown numbers of probably up to 40,000. The refugees migrated around the Mediterranean lands, including the Ottoman Empire; many moved to **Portugal**, whence they were driven out in 1497, and others made their way to the Papal States in central **Italy**, ruled by the Spanish pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503).

There followed an extraordinary period of papal favor toward Jews, when successive popes such as Alexander himself, Julius II (r. 1503–13), **Leo X**, and **Clement VII**, inspired by the **Renaissance** priorities of promoting learning and the arts, rather than by religious zeal, gave their patronage to talented Jewish individuals: in particular, it became standard practice for each pope to employ a Jewish doctor as his personal physician. Leo X was particularly to the fore in promoting Jewish studies, building Hebrew into the curriculum of his refounded University of Rome and upholding **Johann Reuchlin**’s insistence on the value of the study of Jewish literature. The arrival of printing made possible the large-scale production of sacred text, especially the legal compilation, the Talmud, produced in **Venice** by the printer Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549).

It would be easy to contrast these enlightened papal attitudes and actions with the anti-Judaism prevailing in much of northern Europe, where even the apostle of **tolerance Desiderius Erasmus** voiced harsh anti-Jewish views and where groundless stories abounded to the effect that Jews ritually murdered Christian children and desecrated the host in the **eucharist**; both **Martin Bucer** and **Martin Luther** proposed harsh anti-Jewish measures, though, within the **Radical Reformation**, **Melchior Hoffmann** saw himself in a role of enabling the Jewish people to fulfill their eschatological destiny.

In Catholic circles the zealous spirit that inspired the **Counter-Reformation** had the downside of bringing about a return to earlier, medieval anti-Judaic attitudes, seen at their most intense in Pope **Paul IV** and his bitterly anti-Jewish bull of 1555, *Cum Nimis Absurdum*,

which set out to downgrade the Jewish people and to confine those in Rome and the Papal States to the ghetto, the walled town-within-a-town first devised in **Venice**; large-scale burning of the Talmud on papal orders took place. In 1569, Pope **Pius V** ordered the expulsion of Jews from territories in the Papal States lying beyond Rome itself.

The period following 1492 was thus one of protracted crisis for the Jewish people in Europe, even though, from the 1590s, the **Dutch Republic** began to open its doors to an informal migration of Jews from Spain and Portugal. Not surprisingly, that age of widespread oppression saw a resurgence of the ancient Jewish hope of rescue by the messiah, with messianic claimants springing up at various points in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the Holy Land itself, a new fusion of mysticism and messianism was developed by the Palestine-based scholar Isaac Luria (1534–1572).

JOHN OF THE CROSS (JUAN DE YEPES Y ÁLVAREZ, OR JUAN DE LA CRUZ) (1542–1591). Juan de Yepes was born in Fontiveros near Ávila, in Old Castile, central **Spain**, into an upper-class family of Jewish *converso* extraction that had fallen on hard times. He worked as a nurse in a hospital that treated syphilis and other chronic ailments and in 1563 became a **Carmelite** friar under the name of Juan de San Matias—“John of Saint Matthias.” He studied at the University of Salamanca, western Spain, and was ordained in 1567, in which year he met **Teresa of Ávila** and proceeded to work with her to further the cause of the austere “Discalced”—shoeless—wing of order, extending her reforms to its men members.

He himself entered the Discalced convent for men in Duruelo in November 1568 under the new name of Juan de la Cruz, served as head of a college at Alcalá, and in 1572 took up the position of chaplain in the convent of the Incarnation in Ávila, of which Teresa was prioress, and worked untiringly to promote the Teresian renewal. However, following a meeting in 1575 of the General Chapter of the Carmelites who opposed reform, known as “Calced”—“Shoe-Wearing”—or “Mitigated,” in December 1577 he was seized by friars of the unreformed Carmelites, put in prison in Ávila and then in Toledo, in central Spain. Amid his harsh treatment and mental abuse, aimed at forcing him to abandon the Discalced reform, in his “Spiritual Canticle” he began writing the mystical poetry for which he was to

become celebrated. He escaped after nine months of imprisonment, moving first into a reformed friary in Beas de Segura and then into a hermitage. In 1579–80 the Calced and Discalced Carmelite branches agreed to go their separate ways.

Promotion in the ranks of his order followed: John of the Cross was principal of the Carmelite college in Baeza between 1579 and 1581, prior of Granada (in the far south of Spain) in 1581, and vicar provincial of the order's province of Andalusia, covering southern Spain, and in 1588 the office of first definitor of the order fell to him. He was, however, to be once more the victim of rivalries within the Carmelite family, was stripped of his offices and exiled to the isolated convent at La Peñuela in Andalusia; he fell ill and was brought to the friary at Ubeda, in central Spain, where, after undergoing further hardships, he died in December 1591. John of the Cross was canonized in 1726 and in 1926 declared a doctor of the Church.

The most important of John of the Cross's writings are his three poetic masterpieces of mystical theology, each with its accompanying commentary, *Noche oscura*—"The Dark Night of the Soul"; *Cántico espiritual*—"The Spiritual Canticle"; and *Llama de amor viva*—"The Living Flame of Love." *Noche oscura* gave rise to a second commentary, to which he gave the title *Subida del Monte Carmelo*—"The Ascent of Mount Carmel." One of the greatest of Christian mystics, John of the Cross wrote in Spanish verse and prose of great beauty, and with profound insights into the life of contemplation, of the progress of the soul, through suffering and purification, to peace, perfection, and union with the divine. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

JORIS (JAN JORISZ OR JORISZOOM), DAVID (c. 1501–1556).

The poet and painter of stained glass David Joris, of the Dutch city of Delft in the **Low Countries**, first came into prominence in 1528, when he led the disruption of a procession honoring the **Blessed Virgin Mary** in his native city: he was flogged and his tongue was bored through. He joined the **Anabaptists** in 1534, receiving **baptism** and becoming a disciple of **Melchior Hoffmann**. Acclaimed by a woman disciple as a prophet, he established his own wing of the movement, known as Davidists, Davidians, or Jorists, and, inspired by visions he received in 1536, he designated himself the third David, the great Jewish king of that name being the first and Christ the second. He saw himself as the possessor of the true key to the **bible's**

eschatological texts. In the tradition of Hoffmann, he called on his adherents—31 of whom were put to death in Delft in 1539—to withdraw from a wicked world that was about to be severely judged in Christ's Second Coming.

Joris formed a friendship with **Sebastian Castellio**, whose hatred of persecution he shared, since in his view the true Church suffered and did not impose punishment. He published a collection of his writings, *t Wonderboek*—"The Book of Miracles"—in 1542, and in 1543, with his family and some disciples (including educated and wealthy followers who helped pay for the publication of his writings) and under an alias, he moved to Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**. There he lived a life of quiet respectability—though writing epistles full of eschatological predictions to his devotees—until his death, after which, in 1559, his identity being revealed by a disillusioned follower, his remains were dug up and burned along with his books and a portrait.

Along with other leading figures of the **Radical Reformation** such as **Thomas Müntzer**, Joris taught a gospel of the necessity and holiness of suffering: "All the godly must drink, / From the chalice of bitterness, 'pure red wine'" (Reardon, *Religious Thought of the Reformation*, p. 224).

Joris's views on the primacy of spirit rather than creed—the true baptism being spiritual baptism, the only valid reading of the Scripture being spirit-led—anticipated those of such movements as the Quakers from the mid-17th century onward, while his theory of the *Vergottung*—the divinization—of the believer had powerful attractions for pious followers. However, dependence of his sect on the charisma of his personal leadership ensured its rapid disappearance following his death.

JOSEL OF ROSHEIM (c. 1478–1554). Josef ben Gershon, known as Joselman or Josel of Rosheim, was born in Hagenau (Haguenau) in Alsace in western **Germany**, the son of the physician to the Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519). In 1509 Josel was ordained as a rabbi and was made official representative of the Jewish community in his own part of Alsace. His diplomatic skills were much in demand in defense of his fellow **Jews** during the **German Peasants' Revolt**, and he was able to prevail on **Ferdinand I** to withdraw an expulsion order against the Jewish people in Alsace.

By 1530, when the **Diet** met in **Augsburg**, Josel of Rosheim had become the official envoy for his country's Jews, in a dangerous period for them, but was able to win from **Charles V** a new, nationwide charter of Jewish privileges. Even so, real power to control Jewish life in Germany now lay with the government of the cities and with the territorial rulers, and in 1537 Josel appealed to one of the latter, Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as "the Magnanimous," 1503–1554) of Saxony, to lift an exclusion order on Jews in his state, thereby arousing **Martin Luther's** wrath. In 1544, however, a new charter of concessions from Charles V to Jews crowned Josel's life work by giving them freedom of movement, suppressing local expulsion orders, and clarifying their legal rights in the courts.

JULIUS III (GIOVANNI MARIA CIOCCHI DEL MONTE), POPE (1487–1555). Giovanni Maria Cioocchi del Monte was born in **Rome** in September 1487, the son of a lawyer. He studied law at the universities of Perugia and Siena in central **Italy**, was appointed chamberlain to Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13), in 1511 followed an uncle as archbishop of Siponto, and then in 1520 was created bishop of Pavia near **Milan**. In the pontificate of **Clement VII**, del Monte twice acted as governor of Rome: he was a prisoner in the **Sack** of the city in 1527. Pope **Paul III** sent him as vice-legate of the papal city of Bologna, northern Italy, in 1534; he became cardinal priest in December 1536 and was promoted cardinal bishop of the diocese of Palestrina, near Rome, in 1543. As one of the presiding legates, representing the **pope**, del Monte oversaw the opening of the **Council of Trent**, whose agenda he had earlier helped prepare, but he infuriated **Charles V** in 1547 by moving the Council out of imperial territory, at Trent, and back to papal Bologna.

Charles's resentment endangered del Monte's chances of election to the papacy in the protracted and divided conclave called to elect a successor to Paul III in 1550, and his fellow legate at Trent, **Reginald Pole**, was defeated by del Monte by only one vote. The new pope (taking his papal name from his early patron, Julius II) had been one of a group of candidates for the papacy who had taken a solemn oath in the conclave to restart the Council and, once elected, in November 1550, following an agreement with the emperor, he issued the bull *Cum ad Tollenda*, summoning the Council fathers to convene at

Trent in May of the following year. In the event, though, the continuance of the Council was thwarted by the political and military situation in Italy, for Paul III's grandson Ottavio Farnese (1524–1586) had been installed in possession of the Duchy of Parma, in the north of Italy, and Charles V's aim to evict him from it brought **Henry II** into the peninsula on Farnese's side; the ensuing chaos, plus the news that **Moritz of Saxony** was advancing on Trent, brought about the adjournment of the Council's sessions in April 1552.

The suspension of the Council transferred some of the momentum of reform from it into the pope's hands, with papal measures regulating pluralism (the holding of multiple ecclesiastical benefices), regulating the monasteries, and reforming the papal administration, the Curia. Julius also strengthened the links between the papacy and the **Jesuits** by endorsing the Society's Constitutions in July 1550, and he upgraded the **Barnabites** from a simple "congregation" to an "order." He encouraged the missions to the Americas and the Far East and also oversaw some of the steps by which Rome aimed to win back the initiative from the Protestants in northern Europe, establishing the Collegium Germanicum in Rome in August 1552 to train priests for the German mission and assigning his defeated conclave rival Pole as legate to **England** in the Catholic reign of **Mary**. Julius also continued the traditions of **Renaissance**-style papal artistic patronage: **Michelangelo** was the main architect on the reconstruction of St. Peter's basilica and **Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina**, whose work he had known as bishop of Palestrina, was his *maestro di capella*, or musical master of the papal chapel. Pope Julius III died in March 1555.

JUSTIFICATION. "Justification" is the term used for the process by which sinful men and women are made or considered righteous by God. The topic has been a major focus of discourse since early Christian times, starting with St. Paul's (d. 62–67) coverage of it in his Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, where Paul taught that sinners are justified by their **faith** in the effects of Christ's saving death and rising again: by believing and trusting that they are thereby justified, they *are* justified "freely by [God's] **grace** through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Romans 3:24). Of the **Fathers of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430), the *doctor gratiae*, or "teacher of grace," countered the opinions of Pelagius (c. 360–c. 420), who

taught the freedom of the will and the need for good works. Augustine established that we rely solely on God for our redemption from sin and death and are made acceptable in God's sight not through holiness of life but by faith in Christ.

The influential medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) taught that justification was God's unmerited gift, and doctrinal thinkers who were members of the **Augustinian Order**, such as Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358), continued to stress the indispensability of divine grace for fallen humanity. On the other hand, much of the emphases of late medieval Catholic religious teaching, in such figures as Gabriel Biel (c. 1420–1495), highlighted the part that human beings, through their good works, play in gaining God's favor. **Martin Luther's** mentor **Johann von Staupitz**, in contrast, belonged to the Pauline-Augustinian tradition, and in Luther's lectures on the Old Testament Psalms between 1513 and 1515 he saw how God's righteousness and His mercy meet, not to judge men and women for their failings but to forgive them freely, while in his exposition of the Epistle to the Romans in 1515–16 Luther discovered that people are "justified by faith without the works of the law" (Romans 3:28). That Epistle was, in fact, as Luther later wrote in his preface to it in the German New Testament of 1522, the supreme *gospel*, since it made sense of, and gave meaning to, the narratives of Christ's work recounted in the actual gospels: Christ died to save sinners who, precisely because they *were* sinners, could not save themselves.

Justification by faith became the hallmark of Reformation doctrine, incorporated in the main Protestant **catechisms** and **confessions**, starting with the **Confession of Augsburg**, and central to the thinking of both **John Calvin** and **Huldrych Zwingli**. Article XI, "Of the Justification of Man," of the Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion** of the Church of **England** states, "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings" (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 616).

The Augustinian tradition of emphasis on the operation of grace and faith to secure salvation was also significant in devout circles in the Catholic Church in the 16th century, especially with the **evangelical** school influenced by **Juan de Valdés**, and because of the strength of the Augustinian tradition, the debates on justification in the **Council of Trent** were heated and protracted. They issued in

the resolutions of the sixth session, in January 1547, (a) “that we are said to be justified by faith, because faith is the beginning of human salvation,” but (b) “if anyone says that the sinner is justified by faith alone, meaning that nothing else is required to cooperate to obtain the grace of justification . . . let him be anathema [cursed]” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, pp. 44–45). The professor at the University of Louvain (Leuven) in the **Low Countries**, Baius (Michel de Bay, 1513–1589) revived a strong Augustinian approach to these questions and was condemned by the papacy in 1567 and 1579, and **Luis de Molina** was accused of veering toward the heresy of Pelagius.

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KAPPEL, BATTLES OF. In the 1520s, the **Reformation** made steady progress in **Switzerland** in the urban-oriented cantons and the city republics of Basel (Bâle, Basle), Bern (Berne), Schaffhausen, and **Zürich**, which were all independent territories of the Swiss Confederation, exercising their sovereignty in their choice of faith. Where tension arose was in deciding on the form of religion to be taken up in the subordinate “common” or “mandated” territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*), such as the Thurgau and parts of the canton Vaud, which were ruled jointly by the Confederation. The central, rural, and Catholic “forest cantons,” Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug, with Lucerne (Luzern), insisted that no change be made in the faith of the common territories, and commenced persecuting their Protestants, thereby inciting Zürich’s intervention on their behalf in one of the common territories, the Thurgau in northeast Switzerland. Fearing that Zürich aimed to absorb the Thurgau, in April 1529 the Catholic cantons formed an alliance with **Ferdinand I**, and war was declared in June.

Even so, jealousy between the cantons, as well as the fear in Bern and Basel that, were Zürich to defeat the forest cantons and the **Habsburgs**, it might go on to dominate the Confederation, proved more powerful a factor than confessional allegiances. There was also a widespread patriotic view that conflict between the Swiss should be avoided, so that when Protestant and Catholic forces faced each other at Kappel-am-Albis (Cappel), 10 miles south of Zürich, in June 1529, they refused to fight, and a truce conceded freedom of religion

in the common territories, while the Catholic cantons were required to give up their Habsburg alliance.

Huldrych Zwingli had warned at Kappel that conflict was unavoidable, and that prediction seemed to be borne out with a renewal of tension following the truce of Kappel, when the Protestant League of the Grisons (*Graubünden*), allied to the Confederation, appealed for its assistance against aggression by an Italian nobleman thought to be acting on behalf of the Habsburgs. When the Catholic cantons refused the assistance requested, Zwingli, accusing them of failing in their obligations to the Confederation, proposed the subordination of the Catholic cantons to Zürich and the rule of the whole Confederation by a Protestant partnership of Zürich and Bern, calling in addition for a trade embargo against the already impoverished forest cantons.

These then responded with a declaration of war and an invasion of Zürich territory in October 1531. On that occasion, heavily outnumbered Zürich forces, with Zwingli, fully armed, in their ranks, encountered those of the Catholic cantons, once more at Kappel. This time, battle was for real: Zwingli himself was wounded and then slain, and the Zürich army crushed. The subsequent second truce of Kappel left each canton free to decide on the version of the Christian faith it chose to adopt and mandated territories reverted to Catholicism.

KNOX, JOHN (c. 1514–1572). Knox was born in Haddington in Lothian, southeastern **Scotland**, attended university at St. Andrews in Fife, southeast Scotland, but did not take a degree, was ordained to the Catholic priesthood in the late 1530s, and between 1540 and 1543 served as a lawyer in the Haddington area. In 1544 he went on to act as tutor to Protestant-inclined gentry families in Lothian, where he came under the influence of the Protestant preacher George Wishart (b. c. 1513), and in 1547, with his pupils, he took shelter in St. Andrews castle, which was in the possession of the assassins of the Catholic Cardinal David Beaton (or Bethune, b. 1494), killed in May 1546 in revenge for his role in the execution of Wishart.

Knox took up preaching in the castle, but when the French, intervening in Scottish affairs on the Catholic side, seized St. Andrews in July 1547, they arrested him and sentenced him to serve as a galley slave, an ordeal of 19 months that had serious long-term

effects on his health, but he was able to read and thereby deepened his Protestant beliefs and his anti-Catholicism. Freed in February 1549, probably through English intervention, he traveled to **England**, ministered for two years in the border town of Berwick-on-Tweed, and in spring 1551 moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in northeast England. Then, under the patronage of **Edward Seymour**, in October 1551 Knox settled in **London**, where he was to play a leading role over the course of the following four years in the implementation of the Reformation, was appointed a royal chaplain in 1551, was consulted by **Thomas Cranmer** over the Forty-Two **Articles of Religion**, and contributed to a distinctly Protestant interpretation of the **eucharist** in the 1552 **Book of Common Prayer**. He turned down the offer of an English bishopric.

Initially a protégé of **John Dudley**, in 1553 Knox was delivering vehement sermons condemning the self-interest of leading politicians. Following the accession of Catholic **Mary I** in 1553, Knox fled to Dieppe on the northern coast of **France**, visited **Heinrich Bullinger** in **Zürich** and **John Calvin** in **Geneva**, and in November 1554 was invited to minister to the expatriate English Protestant community in Frankfurt-am-Main, central **Germany**, where he spent some months and was at the center of disputes over which version of the Book of Common Prayer to use, promoting the use of a form that broke decisively with the Catholic past. Expelled from Frankfurt in March 1555, Knox retreated with his followers to Geneva. He carried out an underground preaching tour of Scotland between September 1555 and July 1556, discovered how Protestantization had flourished in the country during his absence, and married (probably in spring 1556), gained protection from Protestant nobles, and avoided a prosecution for heresy in May 1556. By the September of 1556 Knox returned to spend the following two years in Geneva, where he observed the model of **Calvinist** discipline that he was to try to implement in his native country.

Knox left Geneva in September 1557 for Dieppe, where over the course of the winter of 1557–58 he composed an attack on the rule by Catholic queens in England and Scotland, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, a work that broadened out into a savage critique of government, or “regiment,” by **women** in general as being “monstrous,” that is to say unnatural, by the standards of reason, nature, Scripture, the **Fathers of the**

Church, and the authors of classical antiquity. The misogynistic book, which argued that women rulers were by definition usurpers who could and should be deposed, if necessary by the people as a whole, was to make Knox persona non grata in the England of **Elizabeth I** after 1558.

Knox revisited Geneva in March 1558 and wrote a defense of Calvin's doctrine of **predestination**. However, from May 1559, invited to return home by the Protestant noblemen known as the Lords of the Congregation, he emerged as the principal architect of his country's Reformation, preaching in the eastern towns of Dundee, Perth, and St. Andrews against the **Mass**, images, and the Catholic priesthood, and gaining vital influence in the capital, Edinburgh. In the fall of 1559 he was appointed minister of the city of St. Andrews, and in the summer of 1560 was made minister of the main church in Edinburgh, St. Giles's, giving him over the years to come a powerful platform for his attacks on Catholicism and the Mass and his calls for the Scottish nation's repentance of its sins.

Knox, with aid from Elizabeth and **Cecil**, with popular support and collaboration with the Lords of the Congregation, was a leader in engineering the anti-French, anti-Catholic revolution that saw Scotland in 1560 join the group of **Reformed** states in Europe, abolishing the **pope's** authority and proscribing the Mass. He was one of a committee of six ministers who in August 1560 composed a Calvinist **Confession** of Faith—the *Confessio Scoticana* or *Scotiana*—for the Church ("Kirk") of Scotland; the First Book of Discipline of 1561 outlined a presbyterian **church order** based on that of Geneva and its **Ecclesiastical Ordinances**, along with a program of moral surveillance on Genevan lines. Knox conducted a visitation of churches in the southeast of the country in 1562, and, a widower since 1560, he remarried in 1564.

From the time of her return to Scotland in August 1561, Knox was in conflict over religion with **Mary Queen of Scots**, though they met on only a few occasions. From March 1566, he retreated to Ayrshire in the southwest of Scotland, and between December 1566 and June 1567 was in England, possibly visiting **London**, but in June 1567 he came back to Edinburgh and preached the sermon at the coronation of Mary's son James VI (1566–1625), who was to be educated a Protestant.

In view of political reversals in Edinburgh and the danger resulting from his attacks on Mary Queen of Scots' supporters, Knox took

refuge in St. Andrews in the spring of 1571 but he returned to preach in Edinburgh in August 1572 and died there in November 1572.

Knox published a number of works, including his *Godly Letter of Warning and Admonition to the Faithful* (1554), which called for opposition to ungodly rulers; the *Treatise on Predestination* of 1560; and his account of the Reformation he had done so much to forge—the *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realme of Scotland*, first published in 1587.

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LAINEZ (OR LAYNEZ), DIEGO (1512–1565). Of Spanish Jewish descent, Diego Lainez was one of the six who, in Paris in 1534, joined **Ignatius Loyola** in the foundation of the **Society of Jesus**. He was ordained in 1537, when he traveled to **Rome**, and was made professor of theology in the city's university, the Sapienza. In the 1540s Lainez set up Jesuit houses in Padua (Padova) and **Venice**, in northeast **Italy**, and in 1548 preached to vast numbers in the cathedral in Florence (Firenze, central Italy). He was a leading and highly influential theological consultant at the **Council of Trent**, and in March 1547, in the Council's sixth session, his influence was crucial in propounding the Council's eventual resolutions on **justification** and **free will**.

In the Council's proceedings of 1551–52, when, with his fellow Jesuit Alfonso Salmerón (1515–1585), Lainez occupied the position of papal theologian, he defended the proposition that each **Mass** was Christ's sacrifice on Calvary, and, with another Spaniard the **Dominican** Melchior Cano (1509–1560), he guided the Council fathers through a series of three-hour sessions on the **sacrament of penance**, linking the coverage of the subject to Trent's earlier discussion of justification; his and Salmerón's thinking can be read into the decrees first promulgated in 1551–22 (13th and 14th sessions) of the Council on the sacraments of penance, the **eucharist**, and the sacrament of the last anointing, or extreme unction. He took part in the **Colloquy** of Poissy, opening in September in 1561, and in the later sessions of the Council, with Salmerón, he presented the case for a high degree of papal authority in the Catholic Church. In those late sessions of the Council, Lainez also led the opposition of the southern European

members of the Council to granting the chalice to the **laity** in the eucharist.

When Loyola died in 1556, Lainez followed him as “vicar-general,” and in 1558 as actual general of the Society, serving until 1565 and enhancing the authority of the general within the Society. Much concerned with the education of the young, and a defender of the special position of **Scholasticism** in the teaching of the Catholic Church, Lainez was a relative liberal over the question of censorship, criticizing the **Index** of Pope **Paul IV** for its excessive rigor. Despite Loyola’s urging, he wrote no major systematic theological treatise.

LAITY. From the Greek *laos*, meaning “people,” or *laos theou*, “the people of God,” the word “laity” is used to describe the members of Christian Churches not enrolled in holy orders or the religious life.

It is possible to trace a long-range development in the history of the Christian Church in which the laity’s role in its life was progressively marginalized over the course of time, with lay people being increasingly seen by clerics as second-class subjects. Various restrictions were imposed, for example, on lay preaching (as early as 692) and involvement in the election of bishops. However, one of the clearest instances of the disfranchisement of the laity may be seen in the progressive withdrawal of access to the chalice in the **eucharist**, a trend observable from the 11th century onward, and justified by avoidance of spilling Christ’s blood believed to be contained in the cup: increasingly, the laity received holy communion in only one form, that of the host of bread—Christ’s body. It is, then, noteworthy that moves to restore parity between priests and people should be accompanied by the restoration of the chalice to the latter, as was the case with the Bohemian reformer **Jan Hus**.

The equal standing of ministers and laity was central to **Martin Luther**’s vision of the Church: as he wrote in his 1520 work “The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Amelioration of the Christian Estate,” “our **baptism** . . . makes us all priests . . . each and all of us are priests, because we all have the one faith, the one gospel” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 105). True, there were differences of function between ministers and people, but the role of ministry—preaching, teaching, and exercising authority—was one of service, and a further implication was a kind of democracy:

Luther wrote in 1523 on the right of congregations in possession of the gospel to elect their pastors.

As far as the **sacrament** of the eucharist was concerned, the withdrawal of the chalice that had taken place between the 11th and 13th centuries was seen as an unwarranted usurpation of rights and a violation of Christ's words in Matthew 26:27–28. Consequently, the availability of the chalice for lay people quickly became a badge of all **Lutheran** Churches and indeed of all the Churches of the Reformation.

The **Council of Trent** reverted to medieval tradition, and in particular to the decisions of its predecessors, the Councils of Constance (Konstanz, 1414–18, which condemned Hus in 1415), and Basel (Bâle, Basle, 1431–37), over access to the eucharistic chalice as a valid distinction between clergy and laity, declaring in its 21st session, in July 1562, that there was no divine command obliging both priests and people to receive the cup. At the same time, the Council's ruling that the offer or withholding of the chalice was a matter not of principle but only of ecclesiastical discipline, making it possible to work out local and ad hoc arrangements to grant the chalice to the laity as a route to reconciliation in areas heavily influenced by Lutheran eucharistic procedures.

Indeed, the chalice for the laity had already been a key feature of **Charles V's Augsburg Interim**; in 1563, a territorial Diet in **Bavaria** approved the sharing of the cup by priests and people, and in 1564 Pope **Pius IV** gave permission for bishops in five of **Germany's** ecclesiastical provinces to let the laity drink from the chalice, a concession, however, that was withdrawn by Pope **Gregory XIII**, as part of a wider process of the resumption of Catholic confidence as the **Counter-Reformation** gained ground.

ŁASKI, JAN (A LASCO, JOHANNES) (1499–1560). A Polish nobleman, the nephew of a chancellor and episcopal primate of his country, Łaski received part of his education in Bologna, northern **Italy**, between 1514 and 1518, and in 1519 returned to **Poland**, where he was ordained in 1521, and acquired high office in the Church. In 1524, en route to a diplomatic visit to **France**, he met **Desiderius Erasmus** in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, and then in France encountered individuals concerned with Church reform. In a second meeting with Erasmus, he arranged to purchase the latter's library, leaving him the use of it during Erasmus's lifetime. Back in Poland

in 1526, he gained a position in the royal administration and was appointed to a bishopric in **Hungary** in 1529.

By 1538, when he left his country, he had converted to **Protestantism** and he married in 1540. Łaski moved first to Louvain (Leuven) in the southern **Low Countries**, and then to Emden, in northwest **Germany**, which, as its church superintendent between 1542 and 1548, he was able to develop as a Protestant city. A European traveler on a grand scale, Łaski visited **England** in 1539 and 1548–49 and in 1550 accepted an invitation from **Thomas Cranmer** and **John Hooper** to return to the country, where, with an ample state salary, he was appointed superintendent of all the refugee Protestant congregations in **London** and acted as an advocate of far-reaching religious reform. The Catholic **Mary I**'s accession in 1553 forced him to return to Emden. After visiting **Denmark** and Frankfurt-am-Main, central Germany, he reentered Poland in 1556, assisting, especially by his pamphlets, in the progress of the Reformation there. Łaski wrote a Latin history of the London émigré congregation and a history in Polish of the persecution of religious dissenters in his own country and was involved in the translation of the **bible** into Polish, published posthumously, in 1563.

LATERAN COUNCIL, 1512–1517. The General Council of the Catholic Church that met in **Rome**'s cathedral, the Lateran Basilica (San Giovanni in Laterano, or the *Basilica Salvatoris*—the Basilica of the Most Holy Redeemer), between 1512 and 1517 was the fifth and last to be convened there (its predecessors being held in 1123, 1139, 1179, and 1215). It was opened in July 1512 by Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) as a counter to an assembly of dissident ecclesiastics convoked in 1511 in Pisa, in central **Italy**, by King Louis XII of **France** (1462–1515) in order to unseat Pope Julius; it was continued by **Leo X**, true to an oath he had made during the conclave (the papal electoral process), with a sixth session in April 1513.

Lateran V's members, most of them Italian, consisted of 15 cardinals and of 79 bishops, whose numbers eventually rose to 120. In its eighth session, in December 1513, the Lateran Council declared the proceedings of the Council of Pisa, which had declared Julius deposed, null and void. Lateran V subsequently endorsed the 1516 **Concordat of Bologna**, the treaty between **Francis I** and Pope Leo X which created a virtual royal supremacy over the French Church.

The Council's decree *Pastor aeternus* upheld papal authority "over all councils," while its doctrinal statement *Apostolici regiminis* reaffirmed the immortality of the soul in the context of some of the influences of **Renaissance** skepticism on the subject. Lateran V also paved the way for the **Council of Trent**'s reforms when it passed decrees on monastic abuses and on the regular oversight of religious orders by bishops, on sound preaching, on the scrutiny of candidates for the priesthood and episcopate, on "rules for university studies" that anticipated the legislation of Trent setting up **seminaries**, and on the examination by the ecclesiastical authorities of all books—a precursor to the later **Index**. Lateran V was dissolved by Leo X in March 1517 with the announcement of a crusade against the **Turks** and a tax on clerical benefices spread over four years to pay for it, and, following his election, Pope **Clement VII** set up a commission of cardinals to enforce its decrees.

LATIMER, HUGH (c. 1485–1555). Latimer was born in the village of Thurcaston in Leicestershire, in the east Midlands of **England**, the son of an independent farmer—a yeoman—who was able to send him to school and then, in 1506, to Cambridge, where, in 1510, he was awarded a fellowship at Clare Hall and was ordained priest in 1516, and was made university preacher in 1522, graduating with a Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) degree in 1524. At that point in time he was, by his own account, an intransigent Catholic, delivering a B.D. thesis denouncing **Philipp Melanchthon**'s views. He was, however, influenced in the direction of **Protestantism** by the reformist Thomas Bilney (1495?–1531), and was investigated by one of **Thomas Wolsey**'s chaplains. Latimer was now also supporting the annulment of **Henry VIII**'s marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. He was chosen to preach before the king in 1530, was appointed chaplain to **Anne Boleyn**, and in 1531 was made a parish priest in Wiltshire, in south-west England.

Latimer caused a stir in Wiltshire with his attacks on Catholic practices and beliefs, including prayers to the saints and the doctrine of **purgatory**. In 1532 he was summoned to appear before Bishop John Stokeley (1475–1539) of **London** and confessed his errors before the clergy's assembly, the Convocation, but in 1533 Latimer was in trouble again over his preaching in Bristol, in the west of England. Even so, he preached sermons to the king in the Lent of

1534 and was made bishop of Worcester, in the west Midlands, in the following year.

In the Worcester diocese, as well as in Convocation in June 1536, his sermons advocating Church reform took on an increasingly angry tone, mingling **anticlericalism** with calls for social justice. His Protestantism and support for the Dissolution of the Monasteries, made him, with **Thomas Cranmer**, a leading villain in the eyes of the Catholic rebels of the **Pilgrimage of Grace**. With the passage of the doctrinally Catholic Act of Six **Articles of Religion** in 1539, Latimer gave up his bishopric and spent over a year as a prisoner. He was rearrested and imprisoned in 1546 but freed under an amnesty at the beginning of **Edward VI**'s reign.

Under Edward's Protestant regime, Latimer came into his own as a preacher, at St. Paul's in London in 1548, in Westminster, and at court, where he preached Lenten sermons before the king in 1549, resuming his demands for justice for the poor. By 1548 it was being reported that he had adopted **Huldrych Zwingli**'s doctrine of the **eucharist**. Inevitably, the accession of the Catholic **Mary I** in 1553 presented him with great danger. Though he had warning of a warrant issued for his arrest in September 1553, he refused to escape and in March 1554, along with Cranmer and **Nicholas Ridley**, he was sent to Oxford for a **disputation** on the subject of the **Mass**, resulting in his condemnation, along with Ridley, for heresy. Thanks to the **maryrtology** of **John Foxe**, his words at his execution in Oxford in October 1555 passed into the English Protestant collective memory: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as (I trust) shall never be put out" (Partington, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 411).

LEFÈVRE D'ÉTAPLES, JACQUES (FABER, OR FABRI, STAPULENSIS, JACOBUS) (c. 1455–1536). Born in Étapes in Picardy, northeastern **France**, Lefèvre studied in **Paris**, was appointed librarian at the Paris monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés under the abbacy of **Guillaume Briçonnet**, and in 1509 published his *Psalterium Quintuplex*, presenting five variant Latin versions of the Psalms, along with a commentary. In 1512 he issued a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul and in 1513 published in an anthology of medieval mystical texts, *Liber Trium Virorum et Spiritualium*

Virginum—“The Book of Three Men and Spiritual Virgins.” After Briçonnet began to reform the bishopric of Meaux, east of Paris, from 1518, in 1521 Lefèvre was brought in, as episcopal vicar-general, to help create an exemplary diocese providing a model of **Catholic reform**. His speciality was the religious education of the **laity** through making the New Testament available in the form of a French-language compilation, *Les Épistres et Évangiles des cinquante et deux dimanches de l’An avecques briefves et très utiles expositions d’ycelles*—“The Epistles and Gospels for the Fifty-Two Sundays of the Year, with Short and Most Useful Introductions to Them.”

As a **humanist** scriptural scholar and commentator, Lefèvre, along with contemporaries such as **John Colet in England**, was influenced by the teaching of St. Paul, finding in his Epistles a stress on the operation of **grace** won by Christ rather than good works, in human redemption—insights strengthened by his study of the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430). Though these emphases aligned Lefèvre somewhat with the theology of **Martin Luther**—who made considerable use of his scriptural commentaries—Lefèvre, whose doctrinal position approximated more to that of **Desiderius Erasmus**, could never be accurately described as an adherent of **Lutheranism**.

However, France’s increasingly tense religious atmosphere resulted in the condemnation of his Scripture commentaries by the conservative University of Paris, the Sorbonne, in 1521. Having published a commentary on the gospels in 1522, the New Testament in French in 1523, and the Psalms in a French version, accused of sympathy with the Reformation, Lefèvre left for **Strassburg** in 1525. He was subsequently brought back to France by **Francis I** in 1526, served as a tutor in the royal family, and king’s librarian in the city of Blois, in central France, published the Old Testament in French in 1528, and from 1531 found shelter with **Marguerite d’Angoulême** at Nérac, in Aquitaine, southwest France, where he died at the age of 82.

LEICESTER, ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF (1533–1588). Born in June 1533, the son of **John Dudley**, Robert Dudley received a good education, including Latin, and was taught by the schoolmaster he shared with **Elizabeth**, Roger Ascham (1515–1568). In 1540 he married Amy, *née* Robsart (b. 1532), in 1552 was elected Member of Parliament for the county of Norfolk, and in 1553 he shared in

his father's efforts to divert the succession away from **Mary**, and in favor of his brother Lord Guildford Dudley (c. 1535–1554) and his wife Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley, 1537–1554). He was arrested and imprisoned and in January 1554 was sentenced to death, though the sentence was never carried out: in January 1555—perhaps because Mary's husband **Philip II** was anxious to conciliate the English aristocracy—he was freed and given a pardon, and in August 1557 he served in Philip's army in the sweeping victory of St. Quentin, in the **Low Countries**, against the French.

With Elizabeth's accession, Dudley was appointed to the post of master of the queen's horse and in April 1559 was made a knight of the garter. His rapid advancement led to rumors of his becoming king through marriage to Elizabeth. He was, however, a married man and unable to wed the queen, despite her evident love for him, though the accidental death of his wife in September 1560 did remove that obstacle. Further promotions followed: in 1562 he was brought on to the Privy Council and made high steward of Cambridge University, and in the following year Elizabeth put forward the surprising suggestion that he should marry **Mary Queen of Scots**, though Mary's marriage to Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, in July 1565 squashed the project. In 1564 Dudley entered the peerage as Baron Denbigh and Earl of Leicester and became chancellor of the University of Oxford. From 1566, Leicester also began to emerge as a friend at court of the **puritans**.

Following Mary Queen of Scots' arrival in England in 1567, he backed plans that she should marry Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1536–1572), but though this scheme was linked to a dangerous Catholic rising in the north of England—the 1569 Revolt of the Northern Earls—Leicester's support for the match did not forfeit Elizabeth's benevolence to him, nor did his affair with an aristocratic widow and fathering with her of an illegitimate son, whom he acknowledged. What did, however, endanger Leicester's relationship with the queen was his actual marriage, in 1578, without Elizabeth's approval or even knowledge, to Lettice Devereux, Dowager Countess of Essex (b. after 1540, d. 1634)—yet even in this case, once Elizabeth's fury had cooled, Leicester was pardoned. Though he had by now given up on any possibility of marrying Elizabeth, he retained high hopes for the future of his own dynasty, proposing that his son with the former Countess of Essex should marry a niece of Mary Queen of Scots, and even that one of his wife's daughters

from her first marriage should wed Mary's son, James VI of Scotland (1566–1625).

In religion, both at home and abroad Leicester was a focus of religious discord. He was especially prominent in anti-Catholic policies, and in 1584 he was the target of a satire by the **Jesuit Robert Parsons**, *The Copy of a Letter Written by a Master of Arts at Cambridge*, popularly known as “Leicester's Commonwealth.” Leicester was also a central figure in religious conflict on the Continent, and in December 1585 landed in the Low Countries at the head of Elizabeth's expeditionary force to aid the Dutch Revolt. Leicester's acceptance in January 1586 of the title “governor of the United Provinces” went beyond the queen's commission to him and, since it implied that she was the real sovereign of the Low Countries provinces, was bound to intensify the hostility to England of their lawful overlord, Philip II.

Elizabeth's anger was not appeased by Leicester's political and military failures in the Low Countries, even though, when he returned to England at the end of 1586, he managed, once more, to be reconciled to her. Returning to his Low Countries command in June 1587, he achieved nothing of significance and returned to England for good in November 1587. In the following year, as captain general of the queen's armies, he played some part in England's defense against the **Armada**. He died at a house of his in Oxfordshire, apparently of malaria, in September 1588.

LEIPZIG DISPUTATION. **Johann Maier von Eck's** attack on **Martin Luther's** Ninety-Five Theses, the *Obelisci* (“Oberlinks”) of March 1518 evoked the latter's *Asterisci* (“Asterisks”)—the opening literary rounds in a confrontation that would lead to the encounter between the two adversaries at Leipzig in Ducal **Saxony**. Aware of his opponent's debating skills, Luther prepared himself for the debate throughout the first half of 1519, focusing particularly on the subject of Church history that seemed likely to loom large in the **disputation**. The debate at Leipzig was to be held under the patronage and chairmanship of the Catholic Duke Georg, known as *der Bärtige* (George, known as “the Bearded, 1471–1539) of Ducal (“Albertine”) Saxony in the duke's Pleissenburg castle and under the auspices of the city's university.

Initially, the leading position for the University of Wittenberg was taken by Luther's senior colleague **Andreas Bodenstein von Carl-**

stadt, who arrived in Leipzig in June 1519. Following arguments over recording the sessions and about the availability of books to the participants, the proceedings opened with a week's debate between Carlstadt and Eck on **grace** and **free will**. Then on 4 July, Luther entered the contest, addressing first the topic of papal primacy and its scriptural sources. Then the emphasis shifted to the more recent Council of Constance (Konstanz, 1414–1418), which had condemned the Czech dissident **Jan Hus**. Eck's attempt to bracket Luther with Hus seemed a tactically effective way of vilifying Luther, since the part of Germany in which Leipzig lay had in the previous century been invaded by Hus's followers, while the university itself had been founded by disgruntled German academics, affronted by the rise in Prague University of Hus and his fellow Czechs.

However, being equated with Hus had a dramatic impact on Luther's self-understanding, since it gave him a historic pedigree of truths taught by Hus and, beyond him, as he wrote, back through Augustine and Paul to Christ himself. Further to that, in cornering Luther into owning Hus, Eck was coercing him into *disowning* the Council of Constance, convicting Constance of error and, in addition, questioning the value of councils in general as norms of truth and authority in the Church. Leipzig, then, was crucial in the unfolding process by which Luther discovered that the sole source of certainty for the Christian lay in Scripture.

LEO X (GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI), POPE (1475–1521). Giovanni de' Medici was born in Florence (Firenze) in central **Italy** in December 1475, the second son of the city's ruler Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492). Marked out for a clerical career, he was given the priestly tonsure at the age of seven and made a cardinal when he was 13. **Humanist** influences were to the fore in his education and he studied canon law and theology at the University of Pisa (east of Florence) between 1489 and 1491, returning to Florence following Lorenzo's death; he left the city once more when Medici rule ended there in 1494. Between 1494 and 1500 he visited **France**, the **Low Countries** (where he met **Desiderius Erasmus**), and **Germany**. From May 1500, he was in **Rome**, and in the pontificate of Julius II (1503–1513) he began operating as a political, military, and administrative agent, in command of Pope Julius's army; he was captured by the French at Ravenna in eastern Italy but escaped. In 1512 Medici

achieved his goal of restoring his family to power in Florence and took the city's government into his own hands.

At the exceptionally young age of 37, Medici was elected **pope** in a short conclave (papal election) in March 1513. One of his first actions, in April 1513, was to fulfill a preelection promise and renew the **Lateran Council**. As pope, however, his priorities, as with his predecessor, Julius, were political, military, and diplomatic, and his main concerns were with keeping Rome, the Papal States, Italy at large, and Florence in particular free from outside interference. His agreement with **Francis I** at Bologna in 1516 left Florence in papal hands and also, in the **Concordat of Bologna**, set up what was in effect a royal supremacy over the Church in France.

In 1516 Leo launched a financially and politically catastrophic war to make his nephew Lorenzo II (1492–1519) duke of Urbino (in eastern Italy) and in 1517 he executed the ringleader of an attempt on his life by a group of dissident cardinals, creating a loyal college of cardinals by making 31 new appointments. The approaching death of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), posing the prospect of a massive concentration of **Habsburg** power in the hands of Maximilian's grandson Charles, threatening papal independence, taxed Leo's diplomatic ingenuity to the limits in attempts to find alternative candidates for the vacant elective throne, including **Fredrick the Wise**, but once **Charles V** was elected Leo came to terms with him and in 1521 entered an anti-French alliance with him.

Leo's generous patronage of learning and the arts, involving the refoundation in 1513 of Rome's university, the Sapienza, and the continuation of the building of St. Peter's basilica, was hugely expensive, and financial need, compounded by the costs of war in Italy, led the pope to sanction the **indulgence** of 1517, which aroused **Martin Luther's** protest. Early in 1518 Leo ordered the **Augustinian** general, Gabriele della Volta (1468–1537), to silence Luther. In June 1520, he approved the bull of provisional **excommunication** of Luther, *Exsurge Domine*, and, after Luther burned the bull in December, in January 1521 a mandate preceded the definitive bull of excommunication, *Decet Romanum* in May. Leo X's last intervention in doctrinal matters, before his death from malaria in December 1521, was his conferment of the title *Fidei Defensor*—"Defender of the Faith"—on **Henry VIII**.

LEPANTO. The **Turks** having, in 1570, invaded the eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus, held by **Venice** since 1489, Pope **Pius V** was prompted to build a “Holy Alliance,” using the diplomatic skills of the third general of the **Jesuits**, **Francisco Borgia**, to recruit support for naval action from **Portugal**, **Spain**, and throughout **Italy**. In the event, Venice, the papacy, and Spain assembled a fleet, placed under the supreme command of **Charles V**’s illegitimate son Don Juan de Austria (Don John of Austria, 1547–1578). The great allied navy of over 200 ships, largely Venetian galleys, containing 50,000 sailors and 28,000 troops—German, Spanish, and Italian—set sail from Messina in Sicily, and on 7 October 1571 encountered the Turkish fleet of 300 ships, with 100,000 fighting men, in the Gulf of Corinth, or Gulf of Lepanto (modern Nafpatkos), east of Athens in Greece, and delivered a crushing victory, with massive loss of life in which the Turkish admiral was killed, though the ships of the League escaped largely unscathed: thousands of Christian galley slaves were liberated.

Although—in part because Philip was concerned with the mounting crisis in the **Low Countries**—this triumph was not followed up by a deeper offensive into the Ottoman Empire, and the Turks were able to attack coastal Italy in 1573 and take Tunis in north Africa in 1574, Lepanto weakened Turkish control of the Mediterranean, destroyed the myth of Turkish invincibility and handed over supremacy of the western division of the sea to Spain. Pius attributed the victory to the **Blessed Virgin Mary**, invoked through recital of the rosary, and created a new Marian feast of Our Lady of Victory, celebrated annually on 7 October. The victory was also commemorated in the painting by El Greco (Kyriakos Theotokopoulos, or Domingo Teotócopuli, 1541–1614), “The Victory of the Holy League” (1577–1580), also known as “The Adoration of the Name of Jesus” and “The Dream of Philip II.”

LITERACY. Levels of literacy in the period of the Reformation are hard to measure, partly because the surviving evidence, largely consisting of signatures on official documents, such as wills, petitions, and marriage papers, may reflect the numbers who could write to some extent or other, but they conceal the perhaps greater number who could read but not write on account of the way that reading was

taught in school before writing so that early school-leavers had reading, but not writing, skills.

There is no doubt that the greater availability and cheapness, through **printing**, of books and **pamphlets** produced and bought for purposes of entertainment, amusement, self-improvement, and utility—cookbooks, works on etiquette, astrology, sermon collections, plays, poetry, ballads, saints' lives, romances, works of religious controversy, and so on—intensified both the incentive and the opportunity to read. Estimates of 10–30 percent of literates in early 16th-century German **cities and towns** partly reflect the differences between rural and urban areas in these respects. Indeed, any account of patterns of literacy in early modern Europe must take account of geographical factors and of overall patterns of economic and social development: eastern Europe was less literate than western; northern—and, increasingly, Protestant—Europe tending to be more literate than southern—though this differentiation must not be pressed too far, since research has shown that Catalonia, in eastern **Spain**, had higher rates of literacy than **Germany** under the auspices of **Lutheranism**.

Undoubtedly, though, the basic assumption that **Protestantism** encouraged reading—though not necessarily always autonomous lay reading of the **bible** but rather of approved **catechisms**—remains largely valid and is confirmed by the Swedish Lutheran requirement that couples applying to marry must produce for their pastors proofs of literacy. The effect of confessional differences in driving differential rates of literacy may be seen vividly in the **Hutterites'** requirement of reading and writing skills from all members.

If religion was a factor in determining literacy rates, so were wealth and social class, occupation, and sex. The English gentry was a literate class by 1600, and occupations requiring reading and writing skills—preeminently the clergy and the medical and legal professions—obviously had high literacy rates; levels of literacy for urban artisans ranged around 50–70 percent, but fell off in trades such as gardening, building, and unskilled laboring, and farm workers on the whole were not readers or writers. Even as late as the second half of the 17th century, only 2 percent of women in the northern English diocese of Durham could (or would) sign their names. As far as the 16th century is concerned, a reasonable estimate is no more than

30 percent of Europe's people could be classed as literate. *See also* LITERATURE.

LITERATURE. Religious change in 16th-century Europe, plus the longer-term effects of **printing**, resulted in an upsurge in the production of printed literature. The **bible**, in its many vernacular translations, was a prime candidate for mass distribution, and it has been calculated that between the 1520s and the 1640s over 1.3 million copies of Scripture (complete bibles or New Testaments) came off presses in **England**. **Catechisms** were also a prime element in production, with over 1,000 variant editions being produced in England over the two centuries from 1530 to 1740, while in every decade after 1550 **Lutheran** presses in **Germany** turned out up to 40 new editions of catechisms. The Catholic Church was not far behind, and **Petrus Canisius**'s 1556 German translation of his own *Summa Doctrinae Christianae*—"A Summary of Christian Doctrine"—made a substantial contribution to re-Catholicization in Germany.

Rising rates of **literacy** formed an alliance with printing to deliver a vast array of secular literature, much of it having to do with practical concerns, such as the almanacs designed to help farmers time their sowing and harvesting, the cookbooks supplying ideas for the kitchen, and the books of manners aimed at children. At the same time, the 16th century formed a golden age of prose fiction. A best-seller in the traditional chivalric genre, strongly influencing the young **Ignatius Loyala**, was the knightly romance published in Spanish in Zaragoza in 1508 and translated into several languages, *Amadis de Gaula* by Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo. New levels of realism were to be found in the crime-related Spanish "picaresque" novels, the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), and Mateo Alemán's (1547?–1610) *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599, 1604), translated into English, French, and Latin.

It is the fantasies of *Amadis de Gaula* that turn the head of the hero of the pioneer novel, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (in two parts, 1605, 1615) by the Spanish **Lepanto** veteran Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616). Fantasy, as well as stark realism, also fill the pages of *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534) by François Rabelais (1494?–1553). Yet despite the fact that the period under review saw the birth of the novel, religion, in all its literary variants,

from catechesis, Scripture, Church history, and hagiography, to piety, theology, controversy, and devotion, still led the production lists by a long head: in England between the beginning of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries—the age that saw the flowering of the country’s secular literature, above all in William Shakespeare (1564–1616)—an estimated 7.5 million religious titles outsold about 1.5 million works of poetry and drama; in the period 1580 to c. 1640 the **Calvinist** classics of **William Perkins** outsold Shakespeare by a total of 188 to 97 editions. *See also* MORE, THOMAS; PAMPHLETS.

LITHUANIA. From 1386, **Poland** and Lithuania were joined in a dynastic union, under the originally Lithuanian Jagellon house, through which the kings of Poland ruled as grand dukes of Lithuania, as well as being overlords of Ukraine. (The full unification of Poland and Lithuania came with the Union of Lublin in 1569.)

By the beginning of the 16th century, this vast dynastic conglomerate was threatened not only by the advance of the **Turks’** empire toward southern Lithuania, taking over southern Ukraine by 1500, but also by the expansion of the Russian Grand Dukedom under Ivan III Vasilievich (“Ivan the Great,” 1440–1505), who set out to retrieve from Lithuania the old Russian possession of Ukrainian Kiev, invaded Lithuania in 1492 and 1501, and by a treaty of 1503 took Lithuanian territory into Russia. His son and successor, Vasily III Ivanovich (1479–1533), took Lithuanian Smolensk in 1514.

In religious terms, Lithuania contained a historic community of Ruthenian Orthodox Christians professing allegiance to the Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev as well as **Islamic** groups. The indigenous Lithuanian population had some cause to resent the Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy because its best positions were reserved for Polish-speaking members of the aristocracy, and on the basis of that unpopularity **Martin Luther’s** teaching took root, the first printed book to appear in the Lithuanian language being a translation in 1547 of Luther’s “Short **Catechism**.”

While ethnic Germans who were settled in the Grand Duchy were attracted to Luther’s teaching, aristocratic patronage of **Calvinism** came from the Lithuanian-Polish Radziwiłł family, who held princely rank: Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1515–1565), known as *Czarny*—“the Black”—*voivode* (governor) of Vilnius, the historic capital of the Grand Duchy, and Lithuanian chancellor, was a com-

mitted Calvinist who translated and published the **bible** in Polish. Subsequent **Counter-Reformation** Catholic recovery was evident in the setting up of a Jesuit academy in Vilnius from the late 1570s, as it was in the conversion of the *voivode*, and erstwhile leader of the Calvinists in Poland and Lithuania, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616). Attacks by Catholic mobs on Protestant churches in Vilnius furthered the erosion of Lithuanian Protestantism.

LOLLARDS. The Lollards of **England** were one of a group of medieval dissident movements, including the followers of the Czech reformist **Jan Hus** and the **Waldensians**, that survived into the age of the Reformation. Ostensibly deriving their origins from the heterodox Oxford professor John Wyclif (mid-1320s–1384), as they developed, the Lollards' views, and particularly their criticisms of the abuses, beliefs, and practices of the Catholic Church, were more inspired by their reading of the New Testament in manuscript vernacular translation and of their tracts and written sermon cycles, than by Wyclif's erudite Latin lectures.

Potentially destructive persecution was directed against them by the Act of Parliament, *De Heretico Comburendo*—"Concerning the Burning of Heretics"—of 1401, but the statute's actual implementation depended on readiness to act on the part of individual diocesan bishops, who were for the most part hard-pressed senior government servants ordained as clerics. There was, however, a stepping-up of persecution in the early 16th century, for example around 1511–12. Lollards themselves were not always eager for martyrdom, many recanted when faced with prosecution (and the prospect of being burned to death), and their attendance at parish church services was widespread.

Socially, the Lollards, along with a sprinkling of better-off **London** merchants, tended to be lay artisans, characteristically found in the textile industry, with its effective lines of commercial and industrial, and hence of ideological, communication. Geographically, they were located in a broad band, mostly across the south of the country, for example in the Chiltern Hills, east of London, the Thames Valley, parts of the Midlands and, in eastern England, in Norfolk, Essex, and Kent. (There had been earlier signs of Lollardy in **Scotland**.) **Women** were prominent in the organization of their local conventicles.

The relationship between the Lollards and the English Reformation is a matter for discussion. For **John Foxe**, who saw them as

clandestine and numerous true believers (though they were never numerous), and those in the English Protestant historiographical tradition he established, they were a vital pre-Reformation ancestor of Protestantism. Yet while they undoubtedly prepared a reservoir of criticism of the Catholic Church—attacking pilgrimages, auricular confession, prayers for the dead and to the saints, clerical **celibacy**, **indulgences**, and the veneration of images, and denying transubstantiation in the **eucharist**—there is little evidence that they anticipated the mainstream positive doctrines of **Protestantism** such as **justification by faith**.

LONDON. Early 16th-century London had several sources of Catholic strength—its dozens of local neighborhood churches, for example, served by well-educated clergy, a third to a half of whom had been to university. The city's Observant Carthusian convent, the Charterhouse, established in 1471 under the city walls, and strongly influencing the religious development of **Thomas More**, was a model of monastic observance, and two born-and-bred Londoners, **John Colet**, who used his pulpit at St. Paul's cathedral in the heart of the city to call for the purification of the clergy, and More himself, who brought a layman's **humanist** and Erasmian outlook to the agenda of Church reform, exemplified London's ability to provide a lead, throughout England, and perhaps the rest of Europe, in these areas.

There were, however, factors that favored Protestantization, including the cosmopolitanism of London as an international entrepôt. The resident German merchants had one of the city's churches made over to them—and, as **Lutherans**, in 1526 decided to suppress the **Mass** in it, though they were promptly required by the authorities to reverse their decision. It is true, then, that the cosmopolitan capital was an importer of dissident ideas from its Continental trading partners, but **Henry VIII's** London, for all its rapidly growing size, was remarkably well watched and policed, as 14 **Anabaptists** from the **Low Countries**, burned in 1535, found to their cost.

Yet, as the Tudor state took up Reformation, London's Protestantization was officially promulgated, using migration into the city as a stimulus to change: thus under **Edward VI**, **Thomas Cranmer** empowered foreign religious refugees to set up an autonomous congregation within the dissolved friary of the **Augustinian Order**, and in 1550 **Jan Łaski** was placed by the government in one of the

city's major churches, with a full salary, to act as superintendent of the foreign congregations in London. The example of such "stranger churches," reinforced from 1567 onward by religious refugees from Spanish repression in the Low Countries, undoubtedly made an important contribution to the gradual conversion of London into a Protestant city, as did the work, especially in prosecuting Catholic priests, of **Edmund Grindal** during his episcopate between 1559 and 1570. In Elizabethan Tudor London one could listen to an estimated 100 sermons every week, some delivered by star preachers such as **John Foxe**, and over the course of time the effect of a Protestant program of education and indoctrination was to turn London into one of Europe's most important Protestant cities.

Even so, the city's older London Catholic tradition was far from dead, albeit driven underground, and Grindal warned of a London Catholic revival in the 1560s. While London's place of execution, Tyburn, saw the largest number of deaths of Catholic priests and their lay abettors of any execution center in England, the large number of lay **recusants** in London's jails, often outnumbering the clerical prisoners, testified to the continuing persistence of their faith in the capital.

THE LOW COUNTRIES. The low-lying provinces of northwest Europe known as the "Low Countries" were grouped together politically in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries by a branch of the French Valois royal family, the House of Burgundy. These "Burgundian" Low Countries passed into **Habsburg** possession as a result of the marriage in 1477 of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519) with Mary of Burgundy (Marie de Bourgogne, 1457–1482), daughter of Charles the Bold (*le Téméraire*, 1433–1477), duke of Burgundy. Their son Philip, known as "the Fair," or "the Handsome" (Philippe, known as *le Bel* or *el Hermoso*, b. 1478), duke of Burgundy from 1482, married in 1496 Juana (1479–1555), daughter of Ferdinand II, known as "the Catholic" (Fernando, known as *el Católico*, 1452–1516) of Aragon and Isabella, known as "the Catholic" (Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451–1504) of Castile. Philip and Juana's son Charles—later **Charles V**—became duke of Burgundy on the death of his father in 1506.

The Burgundian dukes had worked to amalgamate the various Low Countries provinces into a more unitary state by conferring on

them common institutions such as a federal representative assembly, the States General, but the individual units had long-standing habits of independence, each preferring its own local forms of government and representation. There were also deeply rooted traditions of constitutional government and of statutory restrictions on the dukes' authority, summed up in the bill of rights of one of the most important provinces, the southern Duchy of Brabant, the charter known as the "Joyous Entry" (in French, *Joyeuse Entrée*, in Dutch, *Blijde Inkomst*), which each new duke swore to uphold on entering into his inheritance.

Attempts to create anything like a royal nation-state in the Low Countries were also undermined by the sharp differences, especially economic and linguistic, between the provinces. Traditionally the southwestern province of Flanders was the power-house of the Low Countries economy, with thriving textile industries in centers such as Bruges (Brugge) and Ghent (Gent, Gand). The Burgundian dukes aimed to construct a focus of federal government and court life in Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel), also in the south, in the province of Brabant, and Brabant was also home to the commercial and financial magnet, Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers), which reached the meridian of its importance within the 16th century. The economic rise of the northern territories centered on Amsterdam in the province of Holland lay in the future, from the 17th century.

Besides economic differentiations, there were linguistic fissures obstructing the creation of any kind of national identity in a would-be royal state: variants of Dutch were spoken in northern regions, including Holland and Zeeland, as well as in the southern provinces of Flanders and Brabant, and French dialects in the far south, as in Namur, Artois, and Hainaut.

Yet as duke, Charles, himself born in Ghent, took important steps to continue his ancestors' work of state-building in the Low Countries, adding to them six new territories, making 17 in all, and converting the provinces as a whole into a distinct "circle" (*Kreis*) of the **Holy Roman Empire**. However, in two respects Charles rode roughshod over Low Countries traditions. First, in religion the provinces were the original home of the *devotio moderna*, with its simple and practical piety, based on works of charity, a religious background which the Dutchman **Desiderius Erasmus** inherited, along with the Low Countries legacy of religious **toleration**, vital to the success of

an industrial and commercial civilization sited on the crossroads of Europe.

However, Charles had no intention of allowing **Lutheranism** to cross over from **Germany** into his inherited ducal possessions, and the executions of two Lutheran members of the **Augustinian Order** in Brussels in July 1523 gave early warning of that determination, followed by the burning of nearly 2,000 dissidents, mostly **Anabaptists**, between 1523 and 1555. Even so, persecution did little to staunch the spread of **Protestantism**, and **Calvinism** was firmly entrenched in the Low Countries by 1561, when the **Belgic Confession of Faith** was drawn up. On the political front, too, Charles showed clear signs of disregarding the long-standing constitutional inheritance of the provinces. Their commercial and industrial wealth offered a constant temptation to their rulers—above all to Charles himself—to take as much tax out of them as they could, and when his birthplace, Ghent, rose in revolt against a fiscal demand in 1540, the emperor crushed the resistance peremptorily, canceled the city's charter of self-government, and installed a garrison in the city.

Here, then, there arose a clash of visions of state, religion, and society between ruler and ruled. A widespread rising would have been unthinkable under the “Flemish” Charles, but his son **Philip II**'s determination, especially from 1559, to intensify the application to the Low Countries of alien models of government, religion, and society was bound to lead to the resistance that exploded in the revolt that created the **Dutch Republic**.

LOYOLA. *See* IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546). Luther was born in November 1483, the son of Hans Luther (d. 1530), a mining industrialist from a prosperous farming background, and his wife Margarethe (d. 1531), of the bourgeois family of Lindemann in Eisenach in Thuringia, eastern Germany. He attended school in Magdeburg, eastern Germany, in 1497, and in 1498 school in Eisenach, entering the University of Erfurt in Thuringia in 1501 and taking his B.A. in September 1502 and his M.A. in July 1505. His father planned a career in law for him but he later recalled how a trauma in a thunderstorm in July 1505 evoked from him a vow to enter the religious life. He joined the house of the

Augustinian Eremites in 1505 and was ordained priest in April 1507, saying his first **Mass** in May.

The Augustinians had a strong academic profile and, in line with that, Luther began his teaching career at the new University of Wittenberg in Electoral **Saxony** in 1508, returning to Erfurt in October 1509. In 1510 he visited **Rome** on business of the Augustinian Order and in 1511 he was transferred to his Order's house in Wittenberg, where, in October 1512 he took his doctorate in Scripture. His later recollections spoke of a period of despair—*Anfechtung*—about his sinfulness and his inability to win God's favor, but in 1513 Luther began a series of expository lectures on the Psalms of the Old Testament, in which he began to discover a formula of divine mercy that would resolve his own painful anxieties about the "righteousness of God," which he had felt condemned him. In a second series of lectures, in 1515–16, on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Luther found that people were made acceptable in God's sight, not through the personal efforts by which he had tried—to his way of thinking in vain—to win the Almighty's favor, but by a simple trust in the accreditation to them of the merits of Christ's saving death: "a man is justified by **faith** without the works of the law" (Romans 3:28).

At Wittenberg Luther also led an attack on the ascendancy of **Scholasticism** in the curriculum and in September 1517 issued his "Disputation against Scholastic Theology," followed in October by the Ninety-Five Theses calling into question the efficacy of **indulgences**. In April 1518 he clarified his views on **grace** at the triennial chapter of the Augustinian Order in Heidelberg, in the Rhineland **Palatinate**. In October he held a confrontatory meeting in Augsburg, south Germany, with **Tommaso de Vio, Cajetan**, and in July 1519 he was involved with **Johann Maier von Eck** in debates in Leipzig, Ducal Saxony, on the issues raised in the Ninety-Five Theses.

In June 1520 the papal bull of **excommunication**, *Exsurge Domine*, was issued, and in that year Luther published his three "Reformation classics": in August *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation; von des christlichen Standes Besserung*—"The Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Amelioration of the Christian Estate," a wide-ranging program of religious and social reform; the antipapal Latin work, *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium Martini Lutheri*—"Martin Luther's First Trumpet Blast on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church" in October, also appear-

ing in German; and in November a devotional work, *An der Freiheit eines Christen Menschen*—"The Freedom of a Christian," showing the practical implications of **justification** by faith and appearing in German. He burned the **pope's** bull in December.

In January 1521 Luther's excommunication was finalized in a mandate, to be confirmed in the bull *Decet Romanum* of May. In April he appeared before **Charles V** and the estates at the **Diet of Worms** and, in view of his refusal to recant, the **Edict of Worms** was issued against him and his followers. By arrangement with **Frederick the Wise**, he was then taken into safe custody in the castle of the Wartburg (near Eisenach), where he worked on his translation of the New Testament into German, which was to appear in September 1522. In March 1522 Luther returned to Wittenberg to halt the radical changes brought in by **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt**.

The year 1523 saw the publication of his pro-Jewish work, *Das Jhesus Christus eyn geborner Jude sey*—"That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew"—and his critique of excessive state power, *Von Weltlicher Uberkeyt* . . .—"Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should be Obeyed." His harsh reaction to the **Peasants' Revolt**, *Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern*—"Against the Thieving and Murdering Hordes of Peasants"—came out in 1525, in which year he married **Katharina von Bora** in June, and in December there appeared his *De Servo Arbitrio*—"On the Bondage of the Will," his attack on **Desiderius Erasmus's** defense of **free will**.

Luther's Large and Small **Catechisms** were published in 1529, and in October of that year he encountered **Huldrych Zwingli** in the **Marburg Colloquy**. During the **Diet of Augsburg** in 1530, with his outlawry still hanging over him, he was kept away from the proceedings and accommodated in the castle known as the Feste Coburg in south Saxony, where he wrote his own statement of beliefs, published in June, "Exhortation to All Clergy Assembled at Augsburg." Luther has always been cautious about active resistance to constituted political authority. Nevertheless, the outright rejection by the Augsburg Diet even of **Philipp Melanchthon's** conciliatory **Augsburg Confession** elicited from him his *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*, or "Warning to His Dear German People," published in 1531. Following the foundation of the **Schmalkaldic League**, the "Warning" made an authoritative contribution to the emergence of a moral code of Lutheran resistance theory.

Luther's association with Scripture was lifelong, and since he had declared at the Diet of Worms that Scripture was the sole foundation of faith, translation of its contents into the language of the people was imperative. However, while his German version of the New Testament of 1522 was a sole work, the translation of the whole **bible** into German required a collaborative approach on the part of an editorial team, including Melancthon, that he oversaw. The result was the German bible, first published in 1534 and issued in a revised version in 1539. Meanwhile, Luther continued his work as a scriptural commentator, deriving his doctrines from the New Testament. Thus in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, published in 1531, Luther reaffirmed justification by faith alone. However, he was now the leader of a Church securely established in many populous German cities and states and to that extent was responsible for setting out a clear moral code for society compatible with his core doctrine. Thus in his "Disputation Concerning Justification" of October 1536 Luther restated what he had written in the "Freedom of a Christian" of 1520—that good works must of necessity follow on from justifying faith.

He had come to the conclusion that doctrines of justification other than the ones that he took from Paul were the common property of his various opponents, including **Anabaptists**, Catholics, **Jews**, and even the **Turks**, and a kind of theological paranoia drew from him a late series of extremist literary attacks. His vituperative contribution to the literature of **antisemitism**, *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*, "On the Jews and Their Lies," came out in 1543, and the hysterical "The Papacy in Rome: An Institution of the Devil" in 1545. Martin Luther was not a saint but he was a hero, and in 1521 he might easily have become a martyr. He died in February 1546, the immensely courageous and theologically unsurpassed first mover of the Reformation.

LUTHERAN, LUTHERANS. *See* LUTHERANISM.

LUTHERANISM. Lutheranism will here first be examined in its structures and then in terms of its doctrinal characteristics, presented in various formal statements.

Unlike **John Calvin**, who, in his **Ecclesiastical Ordinances**, 1541, provided a clear and early administrative structure for the Church, **Martin Luther** did not construct any initial comprehensive scheme

of church government. Instead, the ecclesiastical organization of Lutheranism evolved as a result of two key developments of the mid-1520s.

First, the accession as elector of **Saxony** of the professed Lutheran Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as the “Constant” or “the Steadfast,” 1468–1532) in May 1525 created a sympathetic environment for the creation of a model of institutional order—one in which secular governments would exercise considerable authority over the Church. Following that, the recess of the first **Diet of Speyer** in 1526 in effect made each territory and self-governing city in **Germany** answerable to God and the emperor for its choice of religion. The foundations were thus laid for governmental administration of religious change in German city- and territorial states.

Thus, the second development favoring the institutional establishment of Lutheranism was that, in the period following Luther’s firm stand against the **Peasants’ Revolt** in 1525, the Speyer recess was part of a process whereby many autonomous **cities and towns**, with **Nuremberg** and **Strassburg** in the lead, were formally adopting the Reformation, alongside various German territorial principalities, for example, Brandenburg-Ansbach in 1524–28, Mansfeld in 1525–26, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, initially in 1526, Anhalt-Köthen from 1526, Braunschweig-Lüneburg in 1526–27, Liegnitz in 1527, and Hesse in 1526–28. In these religious settlements, forms of ecclesiastical government would need to be set up in order to supervise the orderly process of transition from Catholicism, the transfer of ecclesiastical and monastic property, the adoption of new schemes of social discipline and welfare, reformed doctrinal teaching, and so on.

A visitation system proved an efficient way of administering change efficiently. As an eventual outcome of one particular round of visitations in Saxony in 1532, between 1539 and 1541 a consistorial court structure was established in Electoral Saxony by the elector Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, 1503–1554, known as “the Magnanimous”). Staffed by ecclesiastical lawyers and professional theologians—both groups were appointed by the ruler—this court exercised extensive jurisdiction over a wide range of issues of lay public worship and clerical morality, focusing closely on marital questions. This influential model of ecclesiastical government signaled the arrival of extensive **Erastian** control over Church life in Lutheran lands.

As well as acquiring structures of ecclesiastical government, Lutheranism was becoming increasingly defined in a series of theological and doctrinal resolutions, including: the early *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum* (1521), or “Memoranda on Theological Issues,” by **Philipp Melancthon**, and the latter’s **Augsburg Confession**, along with the “Varied” (*Variata*) version of 1540; Luther’s **Catechisms**—the Long and the Short—of spring 1529; the **Schmalkaldic Articles**, 1538; and the 1580 **Formula and Book of Concord** accepted by Lutherans in Germany. *See also* AMSDORF, NIKOLAUS VON; FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, MATTHIAS; GNE-SIO-LUTHERANS; ORTHODOXY; OSIANDER, ANDREAS.

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MAGDEBURG CENTURIATORS. The work of history known as the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*, or “Magdeburg Centuries,” by **Matthias Flacius Illyricus** and six collaborators known as the “Centuriators,” was prepared in the Lutheran city of Magdeburg, eastern **Germany**, and published between 1559 and 1574 in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** in 13 volumes (a volume for each of the centuries covered). It narrated Christian history down to 1308, when a decision was made to remove the papacy from **Rome** to Avignon, southeast of **France**. Both scholarly in its use of primary sources from many libraries and propagandist in its delineation of **Martin Luther** as a witness to truth and in its merciless unveiling of the abuses of the papal **Antichrist**, the history elicited as a confutation the 12-volume *Annales Ecclesiastici Christo Nato ad Annum 1198* (“Annals of the Church from the Birth of Christ to 1198,” 1588–1607), by the **Oratorian** historian Cesare Baronio (Caesar Baronius, 1538–1607).

MAGISTERIAL REFORMATION. From the Latin *magistratus*, meaning office or magistracy, the term “magisterial Reformation” is used to describe those processes of religious change in the 16th century that were steered to a considerable extent by state intervention.

The Reformation in **Zürich** provides a classic instance of the genus, especially because **Huldrych Zwingli**’s principles were that the gospel of Christ was not opposed to government, that the Church could not exist without it, and that the state was essential for the

punishment of sinners. For its part, the government of Zürich gave Zwingli its full support, and its order of 1520 that all preaching in the city and its subordinate territories must be based on the word of God can be read as an official vindication of his special status in their eyes. From then on, harmony and cooperation prevailed between the Zürich reformer and the city-state to introduce reforms. Its priority being that of maintaining law and order in the civic community, the Zürich government proceeded cautiously—but unmistakably—along the route to religious change, until by April 1525 the official abolition of the **Mass** brought the state-directed Reformation to its culmination.

In other **cities**, such as **Lutheran Nuremberg**, religious transformation was guided from beginning to end by the ruling urban political authorities. Though **John Calvin** had his disagreements with the city government, he also relied on its support during his ministry in **Geneva**, to which he had been recalled by the magistracy in 1541. In princely states such as Electoral **Saxony** its rulers took over the running of the Lutheran Churches to a high degree, as in the visitation and consistory systems. It was the kings of **Denmark** and **Sweden** who introduced Reformation in those countries, and **Henry VIII's** politically motivated initiatives that brought Reformation to **England**.

MARBURG COLLOQUY, 1529. For some years, **Martin Luther** had been voicing mistrust of **Huldrych Zwingli's** theology of the **eucharist** as a symbol and memorial. Luther perceived this interpretation as denying Christ's objective presence in this **sacrament**, a literal reality in which he placed much faith. However, the revival of **Habsburg** power in the late 1520s, and in particular the anti-**Lutheran** offensive declared by the second **Diet of Speyer**, induced **Philipp of Hesse** to maneuver in order to negotiate an intra-Protestant diplomatic and military alliance, one that would also require a doctrinal accord, crucially on that key issue of the eucharist.

Against his own skepticism over a successful outcome, Luther acceded to Philipp's request to take part in discussions that were to be held in the Hessian town of Marburg between 1 and 4 October 1529, Zwingli, **Johannes Œcolampadius**, and **Martin Bucer** traveling north from **Strassburg** and **Switzerland** to attend. After debates between **Philipp Melancthon** and Zwingli and Œcolampadius

and Luther, on the second day of proceedings the key confrontation between Luther and Zwingli got under way, Luther making clear his immovable position by chalking on the conference table the “words of institution,” which for him confirmed beyond any doubt Christ’s real presence in the eucharist: *Hoc est corpus meum*—“This is my body” (Matthew 26:26, Mark 14:22, Luke 22:19).

As at the **Diet of Worms**, Luther’s attitude was that he had no freedom of negotiation or movement from a position dictated by Scripture, for Christ’s words “hold me captive . . . I stand by my verse.” Anxious for agreement—“I want your friendship, not enmity”—Zwingli recognized that Luther could not be shifted, since he had “already made up his mind” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, pp. 196–97).

Marburg, whose formal proceedings were brought to a close by Philip on 4 October, was not without positive results, and on 14 out of 15 items of its agenda, including clerical **marriage**, the priesthood of all believers, **baptism**, and church-state relations, agreements were reached.

MARIAN EXILES. About 800 Protestants left **England** following Catholic **Mary I**’s accession to the throne in 1553, on the whole unimpeded, since the queen and **Stephen Gardiner** wanted the most determined dissidents out of the country. The gentry formed the largest single group among the émigrés, but there were also clergy, artisans (including printers), and merchants.

Most of the exiles made their way to **Germany**, maintaining links with the mother country: **Lutheran** Emden on Germany’s northwest coast, bordering the **Low Countries**, made a particularly convenient distribution center for sending printed Protestant religious **literature** back to England, and other colonies were settled in **Zürich**, **Strassburg**, Frankfurt-am-Main, and **Geneva**—where the English-language Geneva **bible** was produced. There were disagreements about churchmanship among the exiles in Frankfurt, but the forms of worship and church government they witnessed at first hand on the Continent made a deep impression on many of the expatriates and conditioned their attitudes to renewed religious change on their return to their country following **Elizabeth I**’s accession.

MARPRELATE TRACTS. This pseudonymous satirical and radical **puritan** series of **pamphlet** attacks on the bishops of the Church of

England, targeting in particular Archbishop **John Whitgift** and the bishop of London, John Aylmer (1521–1594), began appearing in 1587 and continued until 1589. They were printed in secret in various locations, including Manchester in northwest England, and distributed covertly, promising to establish in every diocese in the country a “young Martin” figure whose role in life would be to “mar a prelate” (McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, p. 246)—to wound a bishop.

The dramatist John Lyly (1554–1606), in *Pappe with an Hatchet* (1589), and the writer Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), in *A Counter-cuffe Given to Martin Junior* (1589) and other works, answered the pamphlets in kind, while a weightier riposte came in the form of the *Admonition to the People of England* (1589) by one of Marprelate’s victims, Thomas Cooper (or Couper, c. 1517–1594), bishop of Winchester, in southern England. The tracts’ ebullience worried some puritan leaders and led to a government campaign of investigation and repression.

The figures of John Penry (1562/3–1593), John Field (or Feild, d. 1588), Job Throckmorton (1545–1601), and John Udall (c. 1560–1592/3) have all been mentioned in connection with the pamphlets’ authorship.

MARRIAGE. In the early 16th century **Desiderius Erasmus** authored two major writings on marriage: the *Encomium Matrimonii*—“In Praise of Marriage” (1518)—and *Institutio Christiani Matrimonii*—“The Institution of Christian Marriage” (1526). In the former Erasmus wrote of the holiness of married life—a radical reversal of the traditional moral preference for celibacy, or “virginity,” over the married state: Erasmus was, then, providing a Catholic rationale for matrimony. In 1503 his close friend **Thomas More** faced a cross-roads decision between celibacy and the priesthood, on the one hand, and marriage and a secular public career, on the other. In choosing the latter, in 1505, More can be seen as providing an actualized role model for a Catholic ideal of the lay marital state.

Martin Luther’s thinking on marriage extended from his denial, in the “Babylonian Captivity of the Church” (1520), that matrimony was a **sacrament** to his denunciation, in “The Judgement of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows” (1522), of permanent vows of chastity taken by monks and nuns. In the same year Luther’s “Concerning Married Life” proclaimed the essential goodness of marriage, created

by God. Then, early in 1525 Luther issued a published sermon and an open letter to an academic colleague on the subject, once again declaring the invalidity of vows barring marriage, while acclaiming the suitability of the married state, and of sexual relations within it, to human nature, and commending the example of the married prophets, patriarchs, and apostles of Scripture.

Theory was converted into practice when a group of leading reformers, all ordained as Catholic priests under vows of chastity, led the way by marrying. In the year when “The Judgement of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows” appeared, the former **Dominican Martin Bucer** was a pioneer, and after being widowed, remarried in 1542; **Huldrych Zwingli** married a widow in 1524, the former monk Luther married the former nun **Katharina von Bora** in 1525, and **Thomas Cranmer** married **Andreas Osiander**’s niece in 1532. (**John Calvin**, never ordained priest, married the widow of an Anabaptist in 1539.)

The **Council of Trent**, having in 1547 reaffirmed the status of matrimony among the seven sacraments, returned to the subject of marriage in its 24th session, in November 1563. While the Council held marriage in high esteem, anathematizing those who denied its sacramental character, it denied that it was superior to chastity observed under religious vows, and insisted that celibacy was the superior condition, especially suitable for clerics. However, the Catholic Church does not insist on the absolute moral necessity of the celibate clerical state, may relax the requirement and has sometimes done so.

In the decree known as *Tametsi* of the 24th session, Trent also dealt with the question of the validity of secret marriages, leaving intact secret matches freely made, even if contracted without parental approval.

MARTYROLOGIES. A martyrology can be defined as an approved list of martyrs, originally, in the Christian tradition, in the form of listed dates and places of martyrdom. The long-standing canon of the sainted martyrs of the Church of the city of **Rome** was made in the 9th century by the monk Usuard (d. c. 875), was revised by the **Oratorian** Cesare Baronio (Caesar Baronius, 1538–1607) and his collaborators in 1584, and was then issued by Pope **Gregory XIII**.

While Protestant orthodoxy decried the cult of the saints as detracting from the worship of Christ alone, a Reformation martyrological

literature began to be compiled as the 16th century advanced: **Martin Luther** was an early contributor, with his ballad, *Eyn neues lyed wyr heben an*, “A New Song Here Shall Be Begun,” marking the executions in Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel) on July 1523 of two young **Lutheran** members of the **Augustinian** Order, based in Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers), Johann Esch and Heinrich Voes.

The purposes of the unfolding Protestant martyrological genre were those of establishing the Roman Church and allies as the persecuting **Antichrist** and of placing victims of persecution within a tradition of heroic deaths for faith, traceable over the centuries ultimately back to the early Church. In his *Livre des martyrs* (“Book of Martyrs”), published in **Geneva** in 1554, the French lawyer, religious exile, and martyrologist Jean Crespin (c. 1520–1572) linked the massacre of **Waldensians** in Provence in southeast **France** with **Huguenot** victims of repression under **Francis I** and **Henry II**, including five students burned to death in Lyon (Lyons, southeast France) in 1551.

Crespin’s work quickly became the main model of Protestant martyrology in the 16th century, some of its contents being included in the eight-volume *Historien der . . . Martyren* (“Histories of the Martyrs”), published in Ulm, in southern **Germany**, by Ludwig Rabe (or Rabus 1524–1592) between 1554 and 1557. While the intention of **Matthias Flacius Illyricus** in his martyrology, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis . . .* —“A Catalogue of the Witnesses to the Truth . . .” (1556)—was that of proving the historic testimony of martyrdom that lay over the long centuries preceding the Lutheran Reformation, in *Martyrum Historia* (“History of the Martyrs”), published in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** in 1563, Heinrich Pantaleon (1522–1595) had the different purpose of revealing the iniquity of religious persecution itself.

Three great “national” martyrologies of the second half of the 16th century were: for the **Low Countries**, **Adriaan Corneliszoon van Haemstede**’s *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer Martelaren* (“The History and Deaths of the Pious Martyrs,” 1559); for **England**, **John Foxe**’s *Actes and Monumentes of These Latter and Perilous Dayes, Touching Matters of the Church* (1563), strongly influenced by Crespin; and, for **Scotland**, the earlier passages of **John Knox**’s *History of the Reformation of Religion within . . . Scotland* (1587). The first **Anabaptist** martyrology was the Dutch-language *Het Offer des Heeren* (“The Lord’s Sacrifice,” 1562).

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN. General Catholic devotion to Mary steadily increased between the late medieval and Reformation periods, with a cycle of festivals dedicated to her, such as those of her Seven Sorrows, or Dolors, traceable to 1423. One feature of the evolution of Marian piety was the concept, promoted by **Franciscan** theologians, of the “Immaculate Conception,” or Mary’s freedom, when she was conceived in her mother’s womb, from the “original sin” with which all other human beings save she and her Son were infected. The Council of Basel (Bâle, Basle, 1431–1437) sanctioned acceptance of this doctrine, the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) issued a constitution in favor of its adoption, and the **Council of Trent** exempted Mary from its decree, drafted in the fifth session, June 1546, on the otherwise universal extent of original sin, and it endorsed the constitution of Sixtus IV.

In Catholic piety, Mary was also regarded as a benign miracle-working interventionist in human affairs, a view typified by Pope **Pius V**’s attribution of the victory of **Lepanto** to her intercession through the cycle of prayers addressed to her, the rosary: the new annual feast of Our Lady of Victory was to be celebrated on the day of the battle, 7 October, reestablished for certain churches by Pope **Gregory XIII** as Our Lady of the Rosary, on the first Sunday of October.

For many, too, Mary was an emblem of feminine and maternal grief, as in her anguish at the foot of her son’s cross represented, for example in the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (1510–1515) by Matthias (Mathis or Mathäus) Grünewald (Gothart Nithart, b. c.1480, d. before September 1528). The same theme was evoked in the **hymn** attributed to the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi (c. 1230–1306) *Stabat mater* . . . —“At the Cross her station keeping, /Stood the mournful mother weeping.” For **Ignatius Loyola** in his early postconversion days she was the focus of a kind of chivalric cult, though, as he evolved toward the composition of his “Spiritual Exercises,” he lessened emphasis on the mother to highlight devotion to Christ. On the other hand, his fellow **Jesuit**, **Francisco Suárez** explored ways in which Mary could be seen as a collaborator in human redemption. A reaction against alleged misplaced Marian piety was evident in some reform-minded Catholic circles, as at Meaux under the leadership of **Guillaume Briçonnet** and **Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples**.

Martin Luther both inherited a rich transmission of love of Mary from the medieval past and, at the same time, encountered the need to expand the space for the central importance of Christ as sole savior, dealing with what is known as “Mariolatry,” an allegedly unbalanced reverence for the Virgin Mary. He did so, for example, in his translation of September 1522 of the New Testament, when he altered the salutation of the Virgin in Luke 1:28 from “Thou, Mary, full of grace” (*Du vol gnaden Maria*)—as in the Catholic prayer *Ave, Maria, gratia plena*—“Hail, Mary, full of grace”—to “Greetings to thee, gracious one” (*Gegrüsset seist du, Holdselige*)—significant modifications in the direction, not of diminishing Mary, but of adjusting her ranking vis-à-vis Christ (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 150). In his rearrangements of the feasts of the Church only those Marian festivals that focused on Christ were retained, such as the Annunciation of His birth (25 March). Luther could then reconstruct Mary’s place as an exemplar of obedience, humility, and faith, as in his version in 1533 of her song of praise of God, the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55).

John Calvin took further than either Luther or **Huldrych Zwingli** the Reformation tendency to downgrade Mary: whereas in **Zürich** the “Hail Mary” survived in worship until 1563, Calvin thought it profoundly blasphemous.

MARY I, QUEEN (1516–1558). Mary, the only surviving child of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine of Aragon**, spent her earliest years in the care of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury (1473–1541), and was given a good education at the hands of the English **humanist** Thomas Linacre (1460–1524) and the Spanish scholar **Juan Luis Vives**. She learned French and Latin and in 1526 she left the court for Ludlow, on the Welsh border, to take up the titular government of **Wales**. From the late 1520s the strain that her father was putting on his marriage with her mother—whom she saw for the last time in 1531—was making life increasingly difficult for the princess, who was declared illegitimate and debarred from the succession in 1533, and forced in 1536 into a repudiation of her mother’s marriage and admission of her own illegitimacy. However, there followed a relatively tranquil period within which she was restored to the succession, in second place, in 1544. **Edward VI**’s reign and pressure on her Catholic faith brought fresh tribulations and, although Mary

made no renunciation of her religion, from 1551 she had to give up public attendance at **Mass**.

Mary's vindication and, in many ways her finest hour, came in July 1553 with her thwarting of **John Dudley's** plan to divert the succession away from her and in favor of the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley, 1537–1554) and her husband, Dudley's son, Lord Guildford Dudley (b. c. 1535): the moves she made, and the resolution and courage with which she accomplished them, were exactly what the moment required. She traveled to one of her properties, in the eastern county of Norfolk, and wrote to the governing Council promising an amnesty were she to be proclaimed queen immediately. Then, from Framlingham Castle in east Suffolk, eastern **England**, Mary made her own announcement of her accession, firmly denying that she had left the country or intended to do so. The bold stroke paid off handsomely, and Mary's proclamation was made on 19 July in **London**, which she entered in triumph on 3 August; she was crowned amid great magnificence on 1 October.

Mary's Catholic restoration was marked by the reinstallation of personnel dismissed under Edward VI: **Stephen Gardiner**, for example, was restored to his bishopric and was made lord chancellor. Though Dudley senior was executed, Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley, were spared. Mary's first Parliament, between October and December 1553, repealed the religious legislation of Edward VI's reign and affirmed her legitimacy, and the queen announced her intention of marrying **Philip II**—a marriage that made considerable sense, both in terms of England's traditional anti-French orientation and its commercial links with **Spain**, and with the king's possessions in the **Low Countries**. It was, however, the marriage project that provoked the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger (b. in or before 1521) in January 1554. When Wyatt arrived in the capital, Mary once more showed steely resolve, and the rebellion melted away; Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey, and her husband were executed, and **Elizabeth** was imprisoned.

The crushing of the revolt was followed by the adoption of more determined, and more decisively Catholic, policies in 1554: married clergy were dismissed, Mary married Philip in July, and the joint sovereigns opened the second Parliament of the reign, which, in November 1554, when **Reginald Pole** reentered the country, canceled Pole's earlier attainder, restored England's allegiance to the papacy, and

reintroduced the medieval antiheresy laws. Under that legislation, the burnings of 96 Protestants in 1555 prefigured the total of 280 by 1558; the approximately 800 **Marian exiles** escaped that fate.

Mary's reintroduction of the Catholic faith, in a test laboratory for **Counter-Reformation** measures, was implemented by Pole, made archbishop of Canterbury in March 1556. Throughout the realm, the rehabilitation of a parochial piety and liturgical life took place, with improvements in religious education and the provision of sermons, along with an upsurge in Catholic **literature**. Central to the queen's policies was the reintroduction of the monasteries dissolved by her father, but her Parliament, largely made up of Catholic landowners, many of whom had done well out of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, balked at bringing back the monks, and the queen was left alone to reinstall the regular orders in those houses that had been retained in the crown's hands.

Mary's relations with her husband deteriorated in 1555, when he left England in August. They met again at Greenwich, near London, in 1557, and Mary consented, before her husband's final departure, to enter her country into what turned out to be an expensive offensive against **France**, costing England the loss, in January 1558, of its last possession across the Channel, Calais, on the northern French coast.

The loss of Calais compounded a sense of failure and disappointment in Mary's last months before her relatively early death in November 1558. Her hopes for a permanent Catholic restoration rested on securing an heir through her Spanish marriage, but nothing came of that save phantom pregnancies, and in the end Mary had to designate her Protestant half-sister Elizabeth as her Tudor successor. Yet despite such failures, Mary's hard work as queen paid off in some remarkable results—efficiency in central government; the completion of improvements (begun by Dudley) to the public finances; overhaul of the customs service; army reforms, through the Militia Act of 1558; encouragement of trade—involving Russia through the setting up of the Muscovy Company in 1558; and the beginnings of English colonial settlement in **Ireland**.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1542–1587). Mary was born at Linlithgow Palace, east of the capital, Edinburgh, on 8 December 1542, the third surviving child of Mary of Guise (Marie de Guise, b. 1515) and King James V of **Scotland** (b. 1512), the son of James IV (1473–1513)

and of Margaret Tudor (1489–1541), daughter of Henry VII (1457–1509) of **England**, from whom Mary inherited her hereditary claim to the English throne. James V's death on 14 December, following a crushing Scottish defeat by the English at Solway Moss, just inside England's northwestern border with Scotland, on 24 November, made his daughter queen of her country at the age of one week. In July 1543 **Henry VIII** won the agreement of the Scots in the Treaty of Greenwich that Mary should eventually marry his son, the future **Edward VI**, and in September 1547 **Edward Seymour** overcame the Scots at Musselburgh (or Pinkie), near Edinburgh, in an attempt to enforce a marriage that was designed to lead to the eventual unification of the kingdoms.

Instead, in 1548 a marriage contract was sealed with **France**, where Mary sailed in August 1548 in order eventually to wed the eldest son of **Henry II** and **Catherine de' Medici**, the *dauphin* Francis (François, b. 1544). At the royal court of France, the young queen of Scots was given an education which included French language and culture, Greek and Latin, Spanish and Italian, as well as needlework and music, all underpinned by the orthodox Catholicism favored by Henry II. Her splendid wedding to the *dauphin* took place in front of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in **Paris** in April 1558: the marriage contract specifying that, were she to die without an heir, her kingdom of Scotland should fall to the king of France clearly envisaged a unification of those two realms. With the death of **Mary I** in November 1558, Mary Queen of Scots inherited a Catholic claim to succeed her, displacing **Elizabeth I**.

In the following year, the sudden accidental death of Henry II in July and the accession of Francis made the young queen of Scots and would-be queen of England also queen of France. Other deaths in 1560 further affected Mary's fortunes: since 1554 her mother had been regent of Scotland on her behalf, but Mary of Guise's death in June gave rise to an expectation that Mary should return to her kingdom to rule it in person; the premature death of her husband in December marginalized her position in France and likewise increased the likelihood of her return to Scotland.

Yet by the time the Catholic Mary arrived back in Scotland in August 1561, the religious face of her country had been swiftly transformed—by the preaching of **John Knox** and the legislation of the Scottish parliament in August 1560—into a society that had

already accepted **Protestantism**. However, those changes had been implemented in her absence, and Mary showed every indication of regarding them as a *fait accompli*. She heard **Mass** in her chapel in the Edinburgh palace of Holyrood House but did not attempt to subvert the Reformation already introduced; she built up harmonious relations with Elizabeth and used her graciousness and beauty to good effect in dealing with her subjects and nobles.

What really undermined her rule in Scotland was the chaos of her married life in 1565–67. In July 1565 the queen contracted a marriage with her young and Catholic cousin Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley (b. 1545). Trouble soon arose between the couple because, although Darnley was promoted in the peerage and given the title of king, he was not awarded what was known as the “crown matrimonial”—full parity of royal status and the right of succession to Mary. His jealousy was also aroused against the queen’s Italian musician and secretary, David Riccio (or Rizzio, b. c. 1533), whom he suspected of being her lover, and in March 1566 Darnley and a group of aristocratic accomplices broke into the chamber of the now pregnant Mary, seized Riccio, and murdered him.

Mary gave birth to her and Darnley’s son, the future James VI of Scotland and I of England (d. 1625), in June 1566 and was also forming a liaison with a powerful (and married) nobleman, James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell (1534/5–1578), who entered into a conspiracy with fellow aristocrats which resulted in the murder of Darnley in February 1567, followed by Bothwell’s abduction of the queen in April and Bothwell’s divorce and the marriage of Mary and the earl in May, along with his elevation in the peerage.

Mary’s behavior up to that point and the suspicions that clung to her of complicity in crime awoke intense opposition within Scotland and its nobility. In June 1567 at Carberry Hill near Edinburgh, Bothwell and Mary met an opposing force of the Scottish barons and, following negotiations, Mary surrendered to the lords, abdicated in favor of her son and was imprisoned, while Bothwell attempted to gather an army in support of her cause. In May 1568 she escaped and raised soldiers to face the regent acting for her infant son, James Stewart, Earl of Moray (1531–1570), who defeated the queen’s army at Langside, in south-central Scotland, followed by Mary’s departure for England, where, for the following 19 years she was to be incarcerated in 10 locations around the country. Inevitably, as a Catholic with

a hereditary title to Elizabeth's throne, Mary was the focus of a string of conspiracies against the English queen, but her direct involvement in the plot laid by Anthony Babington (1561–1586) sealed her fate, and after a trial and conviction, Elizabeth reluctantly signed the warrant for the execution of a sister queen, and Mary was beheaded at Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, in the east Midlands, in February 1587.

THE MASS. The central prayer of the Catholic Church, the Mass, was the focus of considerable theological interest within the 16th century and also represented a frontier of division between the Catholic and Protestant Churches.

Martin Luther's starting point on the subject was on the question of whether or not the Mass was the enactment of Christ's redemptive sacrifice on Calvary, a viewpoint that he dismissed as specious in "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church" (1520). A further contribution came in 1521 with his "The Abuse of the Mass," insisting that it must allow the full involvement of congregations. Much of Luther's liturgical work in the following decade concerned the practical implementation of those two basic positions. Between them, his major writings on the subject, the 1523 *Formula Missae*, or "Order of Mass" (with a liturgy still in Latin), and his *Deutsche Messe . . .*, or "German Mass and Order of Service" of 1526, incorporated sweeping changes in the rite—deleting the central section, the canon, which emphasized the sacrificial character of the Mass, making it a congregational celebration of the **eucharist** in which **laity** and clergy participated equally, all receiving the chalice, and turning it into the vernacular to facilitate the involvement of parishioners, a goal which Luther's **hymns** further encouraged. Even so, Luther's relative conservatism was revealed in his retaining the traditional vestments worn, and the priestly gestures used, in the Mass. That said, there was no mistaking the position that Luther put forward, for example, in the **Schalkmaldic Articles**—that the Catholic Mass was idolatry.

The Mass was also seen as a significant marker between Catholicism and **Protestantism**, and its suppression in cities or territories could be read as decisively indicating the introduction of religious change. Thus, in **Zürich** in the week before Easter—"Holy Week"—1525 **Huldrych Zwingli** led a eucharistic service in which Christ's words in Matthew 26:26, Mark 14:22, and Luke 22:19—the "words

of institution”—were read out in German, and Zwingli and other clergy distributed the bread and wine to the people: the Mass was no more, Zürich was reformed.

Opposing doctrinal claims about what the Mass was or was not could also be interpreted as vital border crossings between rival forms of Christianity in the 16th century. The Church of **England**, for example, in Article 31 of the Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion**, first ratified in 1563, declared “the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick [living] and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 624).

In the year before the first ratification of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the **Council of Trent** reiterated the doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice having limitless benefit. In the 22nd session, in September 1562, the Council adopted its own version of the view put forward by **Tommaso de Vio, Cajetan**, in 1510, when he had written in *De Celebratione Missae*, “Concerning the Celebration of the Mass”—“The efficacy [of the Mass] in itself is the immolation of Jesus Christ.” Trent stated, “For the victim is one and the same, the same now offering by the ministry of priests who then offered Himself on the cross, the manner alone of offering being different. The fruits of that bloody sacrifice . . . are received more abundantly through this unbloody one, so far is the latter in any way from derogating from the former” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, pp. 59–60).

The Mass was uniquely holy, not to be celebrated in the vernacular, to be free of all monetary deals, and was Christ’s saving sacrifice, for ever renewed.

MATTHIJSZOOM, OR MATTHIJS, JAN (JAN OF HAARLEM) (d. 1534). A baker from Haarlem in Holland, in the northern **Low Countries**, in November 1533 Matthijszoon assumed a leadership position among the disciples of **Melchior Hoffmann**, whom he persuaded to endorse him as one of the witnesses in the Book of Revelation, chapter 11, to whom it is promised (verse 5) “and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.” Sending out “apostles,” including **Jan Beukelszoon**, around the northern Low Countries, Matthijszoon identified adult **baptism** as the seal placed on the foreheads of the 144,000 saints in Revelation 7:4, without which unbelievers would be subject to God’s wrath and punished.

Matthijszoon radically altered Hoffmann's teaching on **eschatology**, the state, and baptism and challenged Hoffmann's instruction, given in the midst of intense persecution, that believers' baptism be abandoned pending Christ's Second Coming. The events of the Last Days, he announced, were to be played out, not in Hoffmann's favored Strassburg, but in **Münster**, where Matthijszoon made his way in February 1534, assuming dictatorial powers, destroying all books but the **bible**, introducing **community of goods**, and driving out the "ungodly." When he led a sortie—an action essential to vindicate his messianic invulnerability—against the besieging forces of Münster's bishop Franz von Waldeck (1491–1553) in April 1534, his death in that skirmish ushered in Beukelszoon's ascendancy.

MEDICI, CATHERINE DE' (1519–1589). Caterina de' Medici was born in Florence (Firenze, central **Italy**), the daughter of Pope **Leo X's** nephew, Lorenzo II de' Medici (1492–1519), duke of Urbino (1516–1519), and his French aristocratic wife, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne; she was also a niece of Giulio de' Medici, later **pope** as **Clement VII**. In 1533 Catherine was married to Henri, duc d'Orléans, the future King **Henry II of France**, and became queen of France on Henry's accession in 1547. With her husband's accidental death in July 1559, the accession to the throne of her eldest son, Francis (François, b. 1544), married in April 1558 to **Mary Queen of Scots**, gave Catherine a new political role, which was expanded when her second son, the 10-year-old Charles IX (d. 1574) succeeded his dead brother as king in December 1560, and she became regent until 1563, continuing to exercise considerable influence for the remainder of Charles's reign.

Catherine set herself the task of balancing the power of the brothers **Charles** and **François de Guise** by favoring the **Huguenot** nobility and pursuing a path of reconciliation that led to the **Colloquy of Poissy**, opening in September 1561; to the pro-Huguenot Edict of Orléans of 1561 (in collaboration with **Michel de l'Hôpital**); to the first Edict of Saint-Germain-des-Prés of January 1562, based on l'Hôpital's advice—it awarded to the Huguenots the right of worship outside fortified towns; and to the Peace of Amboise in 1563, which confirmed religious freedom, principally for the aristocracy.

In 1567 the Huguenot leaders **Gaspard de Coligny** and **Louis, prince de Condé**, attempted to seize the king's person and Cather-

ine herself, arousing the queen's lasting hatred for Coligny, but by the early 1570s Catherine had also become alarmed at the growing influence of Coligny over Charles IX. She negotiated the marriage of August 1572 between her daughter Marguerite de Valois (Marguerite de France—"la Reine Margot," 1553–1615) and the Huguenot leader **Henry of Navarre**, but her plan to kill Coligny, in the follow-up to her daughter's wedding, set off the chain of events that led into the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**.

In 1573 her third son, Henri, duc d'Anjou, was elected king of Poland, but on his brother Charles's death in June 1574, he returned to France to take the throne as **Henry III**. Catherine retained influence at court but was mistrusted on both sides of the sectarian divide. She died at Blois, in north-central France, in January 1589.

MELANCHTHON (SCHWARZERDT), PHILIPP (1497–1560).

A great-nephew of **Johann Reuchlin**, Melanchthon was born in the small town of Bretten in the southern Rhineland in southwest **Germany** (his accepted name is a hellenization of the German *Schwarzerdt*, meaning "black earth"). He was educated at the University of Heidelberg, in the Rhineland **Palatinate**, and at Tübingen, in the Duchy of **Württemberg**, he took his M.A. at the age of 15. From 1514 he lectured at Tübingen on the classics and on the philosophy of Aristotle (384–322 BC) and in 1518, recommended by Reuchlin, he was appointed professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg.

There he quickly became closely associated with **Martin Luther**, producing in 1521 the first summation of **Lutheranism**, the *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum*, or "Memoranda on Theological Issues." He put his Greek scholarship at Martin Luther's disposal for the latter's translation of the New Testament into German, published in September 1522. During Luther's absence from Wittenberg in 1521–22, Melanchthon was his *locum tenens* in Wittenberg but lost control of the pace of religious change to the radicals led by **Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt**, and in January 1522 Luther wrote to him criticizing his lack of resolve during the crisis.

Melanchthon became professor of theology at Wittenberg in 1526, and in 1528 composed the "Instructions for the Visitors to Parishes in Electoral Saxony," a blueprint for the organization of Lutheran Churches. At the **Marburg Colloquy** in the following year, he debated with **Huldrych Zwingli**. Melanchthon's greatest service to the

Lutheran cause was his composition of the **Augsburg Confession**, restating Lutheran convictions on issues such as **justification by faith** and the bondage of the will, but finding room for reconciliation with the Catholics in other areas, such as the real presence of Christ in the **eucharist** and the retention of holy days. Melanchthon published the “Wittenberg Concord” in 1536, and his “Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope” in 1537, and took part in the talks with Catholic representatives held in Regensburg (Ratisbon) between April and July 1541.

Melanchthon’s willingness to countenance the proposed bigamy of **Philipp of Hesse** damaged his reputation, but in the 1540s and 1550s it was his preparedness to make doctrinal and practical concessions, especially in the 1548 **Leipzig Interim**, and his defense of the concept of *adiaphora* that enraged the spokesmen for pure Lutheranism—the **Gnesio-Lutherans**, led by **Nikolaus von Am-sdorf** and **Matthias Flacius Illyricus**. His doctrine of synergism, according to which our converted wills may cooperate with the Holy Spirit, seemed a betrayal of Lutheran fundamentals. Then from 1552 Melanchthon’s **Philippist** followers were accused of adopting a crypto-Calvinist understanding of the eucharist. He died in Wittenberg in April 1560 and is buried next to Luther, his complementary opposite in many ways.

The *praeceptor Germaniae*—“Germany’s teacher”—Melanchthon left an impressive collection of published writings, including works on Latin and Greek grammar, scriptural and classical commentaries, and treatises on doctrine and morals.

MEMMINGEN, TWELVE ARTICLES OF, 1525. In the course of the **German Peasants’ Revolt** a large number of manifestos setting out the rebels’ grievances and demands were compiled and distributed, the best-known being the set drawn up in February 1525 in what became known as the “Peasants’ Parliament” assembled in Memmingen in Swabia, southwest Germany. The Memmingen Articles—*Zwölf Artikel der Bauernschaft in Schwaben*, the “Twelve Articles of the Peasantry in Swabia”—were a summary of other lists drawn up by insurgents and may have been compiled by a fur-trader of Memmingen, Sebastian Lotzer (b. 1490, d. after 1525), and a Zwinglian preacher, Christoph Schappeler (or Sertorius, c. 1472–1551).

In two dozen editions, and thousands of printed copies, the Memmingen Articles circulated widely around the German Lands.

In tone and content, the Twelve Articles reflected the relative conservatism of the better-off peasants who made up the recruitment base of the revolt and did not convey the radical **eschatology** associated with **Thomas Müntzer**'s wing of the rising. Rather, they broadly accepted the peasants' position within a hierarchical society, while voicing grievances against landlords' encroachments on common lands and resources and complaining at increased compulsory labor on lords' estates and steeply rising rents and dues. They also echoed, in the first article, the demand that **Martin Luther** made in a pamphlet of 1523 that Christian congregations should elect their pastors and, like Luther at the **Diet of Worms**, in their final article made an appeal to be heard and judged by Scripture and God's law.

In further detail, the Twelve Articles of Memmingen conceded the justice of the tithe—a 10 percent levy on grain—but expressed resentment at duties to be paid on other farm products (Article 2); denounced serfdom (3); demanded access to fishing, hunting, and timber (4, 5); called for the end of onerous feudal demands, compulsory labor, and extortionate rents (6, 7, and 8); insisted on the cancellation of new laws framed in the interests of landlords (9); condemned the privatization of common land without compensation (10); and demanded the end of inheritance taxes on peasant farms (11).

The tone of moderation was maintained through the peasants' insistence that they would use force only if negotiation failed and that the articles be submitted for adjudication by a panel made up of **Johannes Bugenhagen**, **Philipp Melancthon**, **Frederick the Wise**, and Luther.

MENNONITES. In the course of the 1530s a Catholic priest of Witmarsum in West Friesland in the northern **Low Countries**, Menno Simons (1492–1561), began to question his Church's teaching on the **eucharist** and then to reject the **baptism** of infants. Following the defeat of the revolution in **Münster** in 1535, he renounced his parish ministry in January 1536, joined the **Anabaptists** and acted as a preacher in the northern Rhineland and northern Low Countries. His writings, "The Spiritual Resurrection," of about 1536, "The New Birth" (c. 1537), and "Christian Baptism" of 1539, culminated in 1539 with his summary of beliefs, *Dat Fundament des Christelycken*

leers—"The Foundations of Christian Doctrine," known as the *Fundamentboek*, or "Book of Foundations."

Amid continuing persecution in the **Habsburg**-ruled Low Countries, Simons ministered in Holland during the years 1541–43, and then in Friesland and northern **Germany**, regrouping believers within all those areas into a reversion to a nonviolent form of their faith, which retained the **eschatology** of **Melchior Hoffmann**, though pruned of millenarian violence, and maintained Hoffmann's doctrine of the heavenly flesh of Christ. His emergent Church was also characterized by meticulous moral discipline, implemented by the use of the "ban," a form of shunning of errant individuals. Its members also adopted a doctrine of ascending personal holiness, according to which the soul progressed from fear, through repentance, to **faith**, to the restoration of human nature as it was before the Fall and to a genuine understanding of the gospel and love of God. In 1544 Simons met **Jan Łaski**, who devised the term (which the adherents themselves rejected) the *Mennisten*—followers of Menno, "Mennonites"—to indicate Simons's followers, who should, Łaski believed, as pacifists, not be threatened with harsh repression.

Believers' baptism, administered following the giving of a testimony of faith, remained a central Mennonite principle. Church members were not to swear oaths, in line with Matthew 5:34, were to abstain from war and have no active role in **government**, though they must obey the state as far as righteousness allowed. Scripture was pivotal to their faith. In contrast with the **Hutterites**, **community of goods** was not adopted, and eschatological hopes gradually gave way to a focus on the Church as a community of saints. Ministry was exercised by elders, preachers, and deacons. The celebration of the **eucharist**, held to be a memorial of Christ's saving death and a testimony of faith, was often accompanied by the washing of feet, as in John 13:5.

Within Simons's lifetime, the ultimate sanction in Mennonite discipline, the ban, became the subject of controversy, reaching a critical point in 1557 over the issue of avoidance between married couples. Used strictly by Simons's fellow-minister Leenart Bouwens (b. 1515), the ban created a schism on the part of the "Waterlanders," who aimed to find a *modus vivendi* with the world around them, including taking up positions in government. Following Simons's death, further divisions in his movement resulted in the emergence of

three variants, the Waterlanders and the “Frisian” and the “Flemish” Mennonites, all sections enjoying **toleration** under the **Dutch Republic** as *Dooptgezinden*—“Baptists”—making up, by the beginning of the 17th century, perhaps up to 25 percent of the population of the territory of Friesland.

A Mennonite community was established in Amsterdam in Holland in 1540, and some believers migrated from the Low Countries to **Poland**. The first Mennonite congregation in North America was established in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683, and members of the denomination in America were to the forefront in the campaign against slavery.

MERICI, ANGELA (1474–1540). Angela Merici was born the daughter of a local gentleman in Desenzano on Lake Garda in the territory of the Republic of **Venice** in northern **Italy** and was orphaned early in life. She lived in Desenzano and neighboring Salò until she was about 40. After joining the **Franciscan** Tertiaries, or “Third Order,” made up of lay affiliates of the Order proper, she taught the **catechism** to local children, and in 1516 was asked to extend her activities to nearby Brescia, where she became involved with a local group of the **Oratory of Divine Love**, creating a hospice for the incurably ill, making peace between enemies, looking after orphans, and teaching religion to girls. She went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and **Rome**, returned to her teaching and social work in Brescia, and then in Cremona, near **Milan**, gradually evolving a strategy of educating the young which would not involve the teachers in strict enclosure in convents or in the taking of irrevocable, religious vows.

In 1535 Merici and a group of 35 single and widowed female associates assembled in a church in Brescia, and undertook a commitment to serve God through observing poverty, chastity, and obedience, through teaching girls, as well as through tending the sick, and caring for orphans. Influenced by the model of Franciscan Tertiaries, in which Angela Merici remained, they formed themselves into the “Company of St. Ursula,” the patron saint of Merici, who was elected superior.

Living according to a simple rule that adopted features from the Tertiaries, they gained official approval from the bishop of Brescia in 1536 and over the next four years increased in numbers from 28 to 150 members. Though at first the members operated from their

own houses, attended their parish churches, and taught children at home, Merici's associates were the genesis of the pioneer **women's** teaching congregation, the **Ursulines**, whose organized communal life, habit, and vows evolved after Merici's death. Angela Merici was canonized in 1807.

MICHELANGELO (1475–1564). Michelangelo Buonarroti was born in Caprese in Tuscany, central **Italy**, in March 1475, the son of the town mayor. The family moved into Florence (Firenze), and Michelangelo was brought to **Rome** in 1496, where he worked for five years and executed his depiction of the grief of the **Blessed Virgin Mary** over the dead Christ, the *Pietà*. Returning to Florence in 1501, he carved the immense *David* for the city. He was summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) to work on the pope's tomb—he completed the figure of Moses between 1513 and 1515—and on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, adding the “Last Judgement” between 1536 and 1541. Between 1546 and 1564, Michelangelo turned his attention to architecture, making a major contribution the completion of Rome's basilica of St. Peter.

An early religious influence on Michelangelo was the **Dominican** preacher of Florence, Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). He was later drawn into the **evangelical** circles inspired by **Juan de Valdés**, linking him with **Vittoria Colonna**. His inclusion of himself as Nicodemus (or Joseph of Arimethia) in an unfinished sculpted *pietà* for his own tomb (c. 1555) expressed his deep piety and his reliance on the mercy of God. *See also* THE RENAISSANCE.

MILAN. The rich duchy and city of Milan (Milano), the gateway into **Italy** from the north, became the spur for the Italian wars of 1494–1559, when, in 1494, its duke, Ludovico “il Moro” (“the Moor”) Sforza (1451–1508), called in King Charles VIII of **France** (1470–1498) to assist him against a rival for the duchy. Early in 1495 Milan was occupied by Charles, and Sforza then joined an alliance against the French and Charles VIII was expelled. In 1499–1500 Charles's successor, Louis XII (1462–1515), a descendant of the previous ducal family of Visconti, defeated Sforza in battle, imprisoned him in France until his death, and took possession of Milan and its territory as its duke. Louis was subsequently expelled in 1512 by the Swiss, who brought in Ludovico il Moro's elder son, Massi-

miliano (1491–1530) as a token ruler on their behalf, between 1512 and 1515. **Francis I** retrieved the duchy for France with his victory over Massimiliano and the Swiss at Marignano, en route to Milan, in September 1515. In the summer of 1521 **Charles V** seized Milan as a vital strategic link in the chain of **Habsburg** possessions in **Spain**, Italy, and **Austria**, and awarded it to Ludovico il Moro's second son, Francesco Maria (b. 1495).

A brief resumption of control by Francis I was crushed by Charles V at the Battle of Pavia in February 1525. In the Treaty of Madrid of January 1526 Francis renounced all claims to the duchy, to which Sforza was reinstated as a Habsburg dependent, but in May the **League of Cognac** brought Francesco Maria into an alliance against the emperor, though in July Sforza was ejected from the duchy. On the latter's death in November 1535, Milan fell directly to Charles, whose possession was confirmed in the Truce of Nice of June 1538, making him provisional administrator until he granted it to his son Philip as a feudal dependency of the **Holy Roman Empire** in 1541. Thereafter, the **Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis** confirmed **Philip II** in possession and, until it was incorporated in the Austrian Empire in 1713, Milan was a Spanish viceroyalty, taxed heavily but with much of its traditional distinctiveness upheld by its **Borromeo** archbishops, **Carlo** and **Federigo**, who, between them, turned the city and its surrounding territory into a showcase of **Catholic reform** within the **Counter-Reformation**, a ritual city of churches, led by its great Gothic cathedral. Perhaps because of the city's loss of political independence, the Borromeo relatives were able to operate as foci of local civic patriotism, epitomized in the city's earlier bishop, and patron saint, Ambrose (c. 339–397), while at the same time fusing urban popular culture with a resurgent Catholic piety.

MOLINA, LUIS DE (1535–1600). Luis de Molina was born in Cuenca in Castile, central **Spain**, studied at the University of Coimbra in **Portugal**, entered the **Society of Jesus** in 1553, and served as professor of theology successively in the universities of Coimbra (1563–67), and Evora (1568–83) in Portugal, in 1590 retired to Cuenca, and toward the end of his life was made professor of moral theology in Madrid, where he died.

In its decrees of the sixth session, January 1547, on **free will**, **grace**, and **justification**, the **Council of Trent**, in determining

that sinners are justified by faith, but not by faith alone, did not end debate on those issues, and particularly on the proportion of involvement in human salvation between God, and especially His foreknowledge and **predestination**, and the operation of the human will and capacity for good works. From around 1580 controversies on these questions were conducted within the theology faculties of Europe's Catholic universities, with **Dominicans** stressing the divine initiative and **Jesuits** emphasizing the human contribution. In 1588 Molina published in Lisbon his *Liberi Arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, providentia, praedestinatione et reprobatione concordia* ("The Harmony between Free Will, the Gifts of Grace, God's Foreknowledge, Providence, Predestination, and Reprobation"), intended as a commentary on some of the writings of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).

Out of this work emerged the system that came to be known as "Molinism," according to which divine grace operates in the person not simply *ab intrinseco*—totally and autonomously of itself—but on the basis of God's prior knowledge of voluntary human cooperation with the award of such grace. Predestination is the outcome of God's anterior awareness of those who would consent to the effect of grace conferred upon them. Through *scientia media*—"intermediate knowledge"—the Almighty foresees the actual and potential consequences of all human decisions and yet leaves the person with freedom of choice to respond to grace, which is conferred on the sole basis of the merits of Christ crucified—a coexistence of human freedom and divine foreknowledge in a conceptual framework assembled through a distinction Molina made between God's predestination and His prescience.

The Dominican theologian Domingo Báñez (d. 1604) attacked these conclusions as betraying Aquinas, and they were widely criticized as a revival of those of Pelagius (c. 360–c. 420)—the antagonist of the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430)—who taught the freedom of the will. A counter-offensive to Báñez was delivered in the writings of the **Low Countries** theologian Michael Baius (Michel de Bay, 1513–1589), but to the papacy fell the task of maintaining a balance between views that fell too far on one side or the other of a conceptual equilibrium between human freedom, on the one hand, and God's omnipotence and omniscience, on the other, and Baius's works were condemned in 1567 and 1579. Yet in 1597 the majority

of members of a papal theological commission denounced Molina's book, he appealed, and a long series of doctrinal investigations were conducted in Rome by the papal *Congregatio de Auxiliis*—"The Congregation Concerning the Aids [in the way of salvation]"—involving **Roberto Bellarmino**, and culminating in an August 1607 decree of Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21) to the effect that the rival schools were free to propagate their views, on condition that they refrained from issuing censures against each other. Nor did the debates end there, for in the 17th and 18th centuries the same questions haunted and divided the Catholic Church over a revival of Augustine's teachings on grace and predestination in the form of Jansenism, while Jesuits inclined to the pastoral and practical application of "Molinism."

Molina also published *De Justitia et Jure*—"Concerning Justice and Law"—in 1592 and in 1593 a commentary on the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas.

MONASTICISM. The Reformation insistence on **justification** by **faith** alone, without human good works, made monasticism, which rested on the assumptions that human works play a part in salvation, redundant. Outright suppressions and seizures of monastic property consequently took place, for example in **Nuremberg**, where the monasteries were shut down in 1529, while **Geneva** lost its religious houses in August 1535. Rapid confiscation was also the pattern in the **Lutheran Duchy of Württemberg**, where complete closure was ordered by Duke Ulrich between 1534 and 1536.

The alternative policy was a gradualistic one that was adopted, for example in **Denmark**, **Sweden**, and **Scotland**, allowing religious houses to fade away over time with the deaths of their inmates: one convent of nuns in Maribo, in southeast Denmark, survived until as late as 1621. Given a widespread reaction against monasticism among religious houses themselves, a further option was self-dissolution, as with **Martin Luther's Augustinian** house in Wittenberg, whose members in the early 1520s simply vacated the premises, which were subsequently taken over by the Luther family.

One of the most spectacular and rapid suppressions of monasticism in Europe took place in **England**, with its c. 800 religious houses. In 1535 **Thomas Cromwell's** visitors to the monasteries of England and Wales compiled a damning report on their moral condition, leading to the closure of smaller houses—those worth less than £200 per

annum each—followed by the complete suppression of all abbeys by 1540 under the **Act Dissolving the Greater Monasteries, 1539**.

The theological outlook of the **Council of Trent**, twinning justification by faith with good works, found a secure role for monasticism, as long as it was properly run. In its 22-clause decree *De Regularibus et Monialibus*—“Concerning Regular Clergy and Nuns”—of the 25th session in December 1563, the Council insisted that the orders realign their everyday practice with their own rules, including fixity of place for monks and enclosure for nuns, the latter of whom were to be examined closely prior to admission for their voluntary and genuine vocations for the religious life. A dramatic revival in the male and female conventional and contemplative life came about with the **Car-melite** renewal launched by **Teresa of Ávila** and **John of the Cross**. See also CLERGY, REGULAR; PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

MORE, THOMAS (1478–1535). More was born in **London**, the son of Sir John More (c. 1451–1530), who was appointed a justice of the Court of King’s Bench in 1523, and his wife Agnes, *née* Graunger. Thomas More went to school in London, and in 1490 became a page in the household of the archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor of **England**, John Morton (d. 1500). In 1492, he was placed by Morton in Canterbury College, Oxford. Without taking a degree, by 1494 More was back in London, where he associated with **humanists** such as Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524) and undertook legal studies at New Inn and then in 1496 at Lincoln’s Inn, while striking up a close friendship with **John Colet** in 1497 and, in 1499, meeting **Desiderius Erasmus**. More studied Greek and wrote Latin verse and, in a London parish church, gave lectures on the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430).

More’s advancement in the legal profession eventually came into conflict with a plan to become a priest, and he spent some time in the strict London Carthusian monastery known as the Charterhouse. By late 1503, however, he had made a decision in favor of a lay life and a career in law and politics. In 1505 he married Jane Colt (c. 1489–1511), and the couple took up residence in the London district of Bucklersbury, bringing up four children and entertaining Erasmus as a guest. In 1508 More visited the continental universities of Louvain (Leuven) in the **Low Countries**, and **Paris**, and on his return continued his rise up the legal profession and political life, becoming

a senior member of Lincoln's Inn in 1509, one of the Members of Parliament for London in 1509, under-sheriff of London in 1510, and reader of Lincoln's Inn in 1511 and 1516.

On the death of his first wife in 1511, More, who had young children to look after, was quickly remarried, to a widow, Alice Middleton (b. in or after 1474, d. in or before 1551). He took part in 1515 in negotiations to safeguard English trade with the Low Countries and in 1515 was made a justice of the peace for the southern coastal county of Hampshire and was part of an embassy to **France** in 1516. In 1515 and 1516 More published the two parts of his Latin work—and international best-seller—*Utopia*, a depiction of a fictional island which satirized the evils of his own day.

He was now moving ever closer into **Henry VIII's** confidence and in 1518 became a member of the king's council, and master of requests—responsible for the royal court of law that heard pleas, complaints, and petitions to the monarch. His eloquence and linguistic gifts brought him into prominence as a court orator, and in June 1520 he accompanied Henry on his diplomatic visit to **Francis I** at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in Picardy in northern France. In the following year, when he was called in as advisor to help the king with his book, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, or "The Defense of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther," More was knighted and in 1522 and 1525 was granted estates in the southern counties of Kent and Oxfordshire.

In 1523 More was elected speaker—in effect chair—of the House of Commons, became high steward of the University of Cambridge in 1525, and in the same year assumed the major crown office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, furthering his diplomatic career with embassies to France in 1527 and 1529.

In the context of the rising religious polarization in Europe, More was also developing expertise as a Catholic controversialist, with his *A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More Knyghte . . . Touching the Pestilent Sect of Luther and Tyndale* (1529).

By the end of the decade and with the dismissal of **Thomas Wolsey**, More reached the pinnacle of his career as a crown servant in October 1529 with his appointment to the cardinal's former office of lord chancellor. Here, though, as **Thomas Cromwell's** offensive against the Church and clergy mounted in intensity and Henry pursued his goals of an annulment of his marriage to **Catherine of**

Aragon, More found himself increasingly isolated politically and came to see that he had no option but to resign his office, in May 1532, following the Submission of the Clergy to the king made by the ecclesiastical Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

In his retirement over the next two years, More's Catholic commitment resulted in a string of further polemical writings, including *The Answer to a Poisoned Book* (1534), a defense of the Catholic doctrine of the **eucharist**, and his *Debellation of Salem and Bysance* of 1533 against the advocate of the royal supremacy over the Church, Christopher St. German (1460–1541). A meditation on Christ's sufferings, the *Treatise on the Passion*, was left incomplete. However, More's withdrawal from the arena of state and into **literature** was not enough to shelter him from further exposure to danger. The affair of the "Nun of Kent," Elizabeth Barton (1506?–1534), who was predicting Henry's death should he marry **Anne Boleyn**, endangered More in 1533–34, and a parliamentary bill of attainder, carrying a capital penalty, implicated him, though his name was eventually removed from the bill.

The factors that did, however, ensure his destruction were the terms of the **Act of Succession** of 1534, which required acceptance of the legitimate succession of the heirs of Henry and Anne Boleyn. More was prepared to assent to this requirement, since he considered the change in the succession to be within parliament's legal competence, but the Act also demanded repudiation of the **pope's** authority, with which More could not comply, though he tried to escape death by not giving his reasons for refusal. In April 1534, however, along with **John Fisher**, he was imprisoned on a charge of high treason in the Tower of London, where he composed his *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulacion . . .*, in which he likened the plight of **Hungary** under the **Turks** to the sufferings of the Catholic Church in his own country. In October, he and Fisher were the objects of a bill of attainder and, in now harsher imprisonment, More composed his final work, the Latin *De Tristitia Christi* "Concerning Christ's Woe." He was tried and sentenced on 1 July 1525 under a newly enacted Treasons Act and executed by decapitation five days later. Thomas More was canonized in May 1935.

Humanist scholar, lawyer, patron of the arts and literature, statesman, and Catholic reformer, Thomas More was an author on an ambitious scale, with scholarly Latin works, and English writings. The

latter included: a translation in 1510 of a life of the Italian humanist philosopher Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), the *Life of John Picus, Earl of Mirandola*; a “History of Richard III,” first published in 1543; and his religious writings, for example, the *Supplicacyon of Soulys* in 1529, his *Confutacyon of Tyndale’s Answer* in 1532, and his self-defense, *An Apology of Syr Thomas More Knyght* in 1533.

MORITZ (MAURICE) OF SAXONY (1521–1553). Moritz was born in Freiberg in **Saxony**, the son of Heinrich, known as *der Fromme* (Henry, known as “the Pious,” 1473–1541), the first Protestant duke of Saxony, who reigned from 1539 to 1541, when Moritz succeeded him. Dating back to an agreement between members of the Saxon Wettin dynasty of 1485, the senior, or Ernestine, division of the family, of Saxe-Wittenberg, had taken the title of elector (*Kurfürst*) and domains including Thuringia; and the younger, or Albertine, section, of Saxe-Meissen, to which Moritz belonged, a lesser, ducal, title and territories to both east and west. The family contract in fact sowed seeds of lasting bitterness between the two branches, albeit both becoming Lutheran.

The immediate causes of Moritz’s alienation from his cousin Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as “the Magnanimous,” 1503–1554) was the latter’s appointment of **Nikolaus von Amsdorf** to a vacant bishopric and a dispute concerning episcopal lands, and Moritz prepared to gain advantage over his cousin by entering into an alliance with **Charles V**, as the emperor moved on to the offensive against the **Schmalkaldic League**. Moritz, who was invited to negotiate with Charles during the **Diet** meeting in Regensburg in June 1546, was to be allowed by the emperor the continued practice of **Lutheranism** in his lands and was encouraged by Charles to aim to capture the major city of Magdeburg.

In November 1546 Moritz invaded Electoral Saxony, diverting the Schmalkaldic League’s army northward to defend the Electorate. Charles’s decisive victory over Johann Friedrich at Mühlberg in Electoral Saxony in April 1547, the capture of Johann Friedrich, and the formal surrender the latter made in Wittenberg in May put Charles in a position to pay off Moritz with most of the territory of the Electorate (except for its region of Thuringia), the role of administrator of the dioceses of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and the title

of elector. Alongside Charles V's Augsburg **Interim**, Moritz and **Philipp Melanchthon** devised a supplement, the Leipzig Interim of December 1548.

As late as 1550 Moritz was still in alliance with Charles, acting on his behalf to subdue the recalcitrant Lutheran city of Magdeburg. However, resenting Charles's preservation of Johann Friedrich's Ernestine line and the continued imprisonment of Moritz's father-in-law, **Philipp of Hesse**, and also sensitive to allegations of betrayal of the Lutheran cause, Moritz formed an alliance with two German fellow-Protestant princes and then signed the January 1552 Treaty of Chambord with **Henry II of France**, which in return for subsidies gave the French an option of securing the key western German episcopal cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. In the *Fürstenkrieg*, or "Princes' War" (otherwise known as the War of Liberation—against "Spanish servitude") of 1552, Moritz advanced on Charles in March, forcing the emperor to escape narrowly from his base in Innsbruck in **Austria** and threatening the safety of the **Council of Trent**, then in session. It was **Ferdinand I** who was compelled to agree to the August 1552 Peace of Passau, a truce which forced the **Habsburgs** to release Johann Friedrich (Philipp of Hesse had already been set free) and led to the 1555 **Peace of Augsburg**. Then, one of Moritz's allies, Albrecht (Albert) Alcibiades (1522–1557), margrave (*Margraf*) and prince of Brandenburg-Kulmbach-Bayreuth, switched sides back to Charles V and was overcome by Moritz at the Battle of Sieverhausen in July 1553. Moritz died soon afterward, aged 32, from wounds sustained in the battle.

MÜNSTER. From 1531 onward the city and episcopal principality of Münster in Westphalia, northwest **Germany**, was experiencing, albeit later than many others of the country's **cities and towns**, a familiar form of urban Reformation, completed between August 1532 and March 1533 and seeing the abolition of the **Mass** and **monasticism**, and the introduction of vernacular worship, a married clergy, and other features of **Lutheran** reform. However, from the early months of 1534, religious change rapidly took on a radical character, as a result of both local and external pressures. Internally, by May 1533 the former Lutheran pioneer of civic Reformation, **Bernd (or Bernard) Rothmann** had moved over to the **Anabaptists**, but, externally, in that same year intellectual ferment was under way in the Anabaptist

communities in the **Low Countries**, which were within easy reach of the city. **Melchior Hoffmann** had been preaching a messianic role for **Strassburg**, whose ruling authorities imprisoned him in 1533, so that his “Melchiorite” followers, inspired by the baker from Haarlem, in Holland, in the northern Low Countries, **Jan Matthijszoon**—who assumed a leadership role among the Melchiorites for November 1533—began to turn their attention to the prophetic destiny of Münster.

The city’s demographic, religious, social, and political profile comprised a Catholic minority, in support of the newly appointed prince bishop, Franz von Waldeck (1491–1553), a Lutheran grouping, entrenched in the city council, an indigenous radical presence around Rothmann and his ally the cloth-merchant Bernhard Knipperdolling (d. 1536), and the growing number of Melchiorites migrating into Münster, where Matthijszoon’s arrival in February 1534 was crucial in triggering a coup on the part of Anabaptist militants, with sweeping victories in elections for the council and the installation of Knipperdolling as *Bürgermeister*, or mayor. February 1534 was decisive also because later in that month Bishop von Waldeck recruited an army to lay siege to the city, thereby creating the sense of diametrical moral confrontation between opposing forces and, within the city, an awareness of the pressing need for solidarity—literally, a siege mentality—that was necessary to sustain psychologically what was rapidly turning into a Melchiorite dictatorship under Matthijszoon. The regime’s features were **community of goods** and rigid censorship, all books except the **bible** being destroyed and, from early March, the expulsion of all those refusing re-baptism.

The following month saw an intensification of the revolution in Münster, when Matthijszoon was killed in a sortie against the bishop’s forces and was succeeded by his former disciple and messenger of his millenarian ideals, **Jan Beukelszoon**, whose rule saw the elimination of the traditional conciliar form of government represented by *Bürgermeister* Knipperdolling. The successive steps in the establishment of Beukelszoon’s one-man rule were: in May, his suppression of the council and appointment of 12 “elders” symbolic of the tribes of Israel; in July the execution, or death in battle, of those responsible for an attempted rising against his rule in July 1534; and, at the end of August, his proclamation as “king of New Zion,” “king of righteousness.”

Beukelszoon strongly emphasized the theatrical apparatus of his rule, with propagandist plays, splendid court costumes, armed security guards, and a gold and silver coinage advertising his kingship. His system of government was a kind of surveillance theocracy, in which a long list of offenses were punished by death. Polygamy (strictly speaking, polygyny), introduced in July 1534 and justified by the Old Testament examples of Kings David and Solomon, sparked off the July 1534 rising by Münster natives, but was an essential marital and sexual accompaniment to Beukelszoon's monarchy: he himself took 16 wives—and beheaded one of them for insolence. The polygamous system may also be interpreted as a means of restoring male control over the large surplus of single **women** in the city, which had a gender imbalance of four to one, in part caused by the departures of anti-Anabaptist males.

However, adverse outside reaction against the marital system in Münster was a major factor in giving rise to a remarkable cross-confessional alliance against the commune, for von Waldeck was able to raise a coalition embracing both the Catholic archbishop of Cologne (Köln) and the Lutheran **Philipp of Hesse**. As the siege tightened a kind of war communism was imposed as a form of rationing, but from January 1535 starvation threatened, while the Anabaptist cells in Amsterdam and the rest of the Low Countries were too carefully controlled by the **Habsburg** government there to be able to offer any practical assistance: on 25 June the gates of Münster were opened by a mercenary soldier and, after savage house-to-house fighting, in which Rothmann was killed, the 17-month-long commune fell, followed by the execution through torture of Beukelszoon and Knip-perdolling.

MÜNTZER, THOMAS (c. 1489–1525). Müntzer was born in Stolberg in **Germany's** Harz Mountains, studied theology, along with Hebrew, Greek, and the **Fathers of the Church**, at the universities of Leipzig, which he entered in 1506, and Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, which he joined in 1512, and in 1520, with a recommendation from **Martin Luther**, he took up a pastorate at Zwickau, in southeast Germany, near the border with **Bohemia**. There Müntzer, studying medieval mystical writings, and influenced by the visionary mysticism of the **Zwickau Prophets**, matured his concepts of a light within the indi-

vidual, coming from the Holy Spirit and teaching through visions and dreams that made book learning irrelevant or obstructive.

His message that his disciples were the elect who could use violence against their opponents led the town council of Zwickau to begin a prosecution against him in 1521, so that he moved to Prague (Praha) in Bohemia, where, hoping to reawaken the radical tradition that was traceable back to the Czech dissident **Jan Hus** and his disciples, he published his first work, known as the “Prague Manifesto.” Faced with renewed prosecution in Prague, in 1523 Müntzer moved on and took up a pastorate at Allstedt, near Luther’s birthplace, Eisleben, in Thuringia, within Electoral **Saxony**. In Allstedt he pioneered a German-language liturgy and built up a following recruited chiefly from among the poor and working people. He denounced infant **baptism**, developed further his concept of the elect, and produced a series of pamphlets.

In July 1524 Müntzer preached his “Sermon to the Princes” (*Fürstenpredigt*) to the visiting princes of Saxony, **Frederick the Wise** and his brother and eventual successor Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as “the Constant” or “the Steadfast,” 1468–1532). The homily, based on the visionary dream of the prophet Daniel, in Daniel, chapter 7, which envisaged the passing of dominion “to the people of the saints of the most High” (Daniel 7:27), called upon the Saxon princes to enlist on the side of the gospel, and condemned Luther and his school for being bound to a merely bookish understanding of Scripture. For Müntzer, Luther’s message had become a soft and easy illusion, shorn of an essential gospel of suffering.

Called to the Saxon city of Weimar to explain himself, Müntzer sought refuge in the self-governing Imperial city of Mühlhausen in Thuringia, and when he was thrown out of Mühlhausen by the ruling council, he returned to Allstedt early in 1525 to lead a campaign of eschatologically inspired bloodshed against the “godless,” who were now seen as the princes, along with the nobility, the wealthy and privileged, and the academic elite. In May 1525 Müntzer and his forces—a revolutionary millenarian wing alongside the relative ideological conservatism of the mainstream **Peasants’ Revolt**—were routed at Frankenhausen in Thuringia by a professional army under the joint command of **Philipp of Hesse**, Johann, now Elector of Saxony, and the Catholic Duke Heinrich II (**Henry II**, 1514–1568) of

Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel; Müntzer was seized and interrogated, swiftly tried, tortured, and beheaded.

Alongside the militancy of his **eschatology** Müntzer preached doctrines of natural theology, according to which the unlearned could acquire the highest Christian truth from the world of nature around them, while the Holy Spirit and the perfection of His gifts of wisdom and understanding were central to his theology. With his roots in medieval mystical thought, Müntzer must be seen as a man of his own age, rather than a precursor of any more recent secular political movements.

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NANTES, EDICT OF. In the later stages of the French **Wars of Religion**, by 1587 **Henry of Navarre** was in control of the southwest of the country and, as a result of the assassination of **Henry III**, was catapulted into the royal succession. Navarre overcame the forces of the **Holy League** in 1589 and 1590, and in 1593 cleared the religious and political obstacles to his assumption of the throne through his conversion to Catholicism. Henry entered **Paris** in March 1594, having already been crowned in Chartres in February.

This victory for the Catholic cause notwithstanding, there was no doubt that eventually the political, regional, social, and demographic strength of French **Protestantism**, with its estimated 1.25 million adherents, still strongly entrenched in the aristocracy and with its power bases especially in the south of the country, would have to be recognized and accommodated. For the first few years of his reign, the new king had little room to maneuver in the direction of a formal settlement, since the League was far from dead, and Catholic Brittany (in western **France**) was not subdued until 1598. However, by that point in time, with peace made with **Spain** in the May 1598 Treaty of Vervins and with the final capitulation of the League in Brittany, Henry was firmly enough established to be able to offer a kind of treaty that would bring to a close the era of the religious wars, with his signature in April 1598, at Nantes in Brittany, of the edict named after that place.

Based on earlier attempts at interconfessional settlement such as the Peace of Monsieur of 1576 and the Treaty of Nérac of 1579,

and years of negotiations with **Huguenot** assemblies, the document offered an amnesty for wartime crimes and religious freedom throughout the kingdom, even though the special status of the Catholic religion was endorsed and its festivals and marriage laws upheld, while the Church was to retrieve all its income and property lost in the wars. There was to be equal admission of the children of both faiths to schools, universities, and hospitals, while in the places where freedom of worship was allowed, the **Reformed** could set up their own schools and they might have their own cemeteries. Leading Huguenot nobles were permitted to provide opportunities for Protestant worship on their estates and in whatever cities **Calvinist** worship had been conducted between January 1596 and August 1597, so it must continue.

Further in each *bailliage*, or area of legal jurisdiction, of the kingdom, two cities must have facilities for Protestant worship, though, no doubt taking into account the intense Catholic fervor that Paris had shown since at least the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**, no such amenities were allowed within 20 miles of the capital, and Protestant worship was forbidden in the cities of bishops and archbishops: on the other hand, the celebration of **Mass** was to be permitted in towns and cities where Protestants were predominant. A state grant of 225,000 *écus* for the maintenance of pastors and defense forces was set up. Special courts were established, each with 16 judges, to hear cases in which Huguenots were involved, normally with an eight/eight divide, though in Paris with a majority of 10 Catholics to six Protestants. Two hundred defensive places were to be retained by the Protestants *pro tem*. Catholics and Protestants were to have equal access to public office.

It will be obvious that the Edict, and especially its military and legal provisions and its solicitudes for Paris's militant Catholicism, was less a true act of **toleration** of the individual conscience and more of a truce between armed and reciprocally suspicious camps, preserving a kind of armistice between two sides, neither of which had been able to vanquish the other over the course of four decades of bloodletting. And it is true that on both sides of the divide attitudes remained polarized: Protestant students were frequently refused university entry, and French bishops and Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) denounced the Edict, while a Protestant synod in 1603 issued a statement that the **pope** was the **Antichrist**.

Even so, there are some signs that by the early 17th century less combative attitudes were arising between religiously differentiated communities in provincial France, Henry himself extending the Edict's terms by allowing the construction of a Huguenot *temple* at Charenton-Saint Maurice, southeast of Paris. It is also clear that the Edict of Nantes created a framework of postwar pacification that helped launch France's remarkable recovery in the 17th century, with Huguenots playing a full part in the country's economic resurgence, as well as in public life, especially with Henry IV's minister of finances, Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1560–1641). However, following a Huguenot revolt in 1628, the 1629 Edict of Grace of Alès, while upholding the more purely religious concessions, took away the military and political guarantees of 1598. Subsequently, an increasingly triumphalist Catholic France put the Protestant minority under increasing pressure, until in 1685 the Edict itself was revoked by King Louis XIV (1638–1715).

NAVARRE, HENRY OF. *See* HENRY IV.

NERI, FILIPPO (1515–1595). Neri was born in Florence (Firenze, central **Italy**), the son of a lawyer, received a good education, and was placed as an apprentice in a family business. However, he was influenced by the piety of the Florentine Observant **Dominican** convent of San Marco stemming from the reformist and revivalist movement led by Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498). In 1533 he traveled to Naples (Napoli) with the intention of joining an uncle's firm but moved to **Rome**, where he worked as a tutor. In 1535 he commenced studying theology and philosophy. From 1538 Neri was gathering around him a lay fraternity to work among the sick and to assist pilgrims in the city, and in 1548 he took part in founding the **Confraternity** of the Most Holy Trinity to take care of pilgrims and the sick. In 1551 he was ordained to the priesthood and felt moved to go into the mission field in **China** but was told that his mission was to Rome. In 1558 Neri moved into premises in the church of San Girolamo, where he set about constructing an oratory—in Italian *oratorio*—and used it for spiritual conferences, for the organization of charitable work, and for singing the form of devotional recital to be known as the *oratorio*.

From 1563 to 1564 Neri and a group of associates took up communal residence in the Rome church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, using a simple religious rule and preaching to the local populace, and in 1575 his **Congregation of the Oratory** was given approval by Pope **Gregory XIII**, based on the new church Neri had had built at the site of Santa Maria in Vallicella. Loosely federated, the Congregation's houses were largely autonomous, and their inmates were members of societies of individual priests rather than of a fully corporate religious order. In 1587 Pope **Sixtus V** instructed Neri to accept the generalship of the Congregation to which he had been elected and which before his death he surrendered to Cardinal Cesare Baronio (Caesar Baronius, 1538–1607), who joined the Congregation in 1557.

Neri was canonized in 1622. With his gaiety, his genius for publicity and comedy, and his deployment of music and mass culture, the “Apostle of Rome” reached out to the urban population of students, apprentices, and leather and textile workers, to complete the conversion of the city into an advertisement of Catholic reform and renewal.

NETHERLANDS. *See* DUTCH REPUBLIC; THE LOW COUNTRIES.

NICODEMISM. In the New Testament the figure of Nicodemus appears in John 3:1–21 as “a man of the Pharisees . . . a ruler of the Jews” and, in Jesus’s own words, a “master of Israel,” who initiates a discourse with Him on the second birth and eternal life. He is also one who “came to Jesus by night, being one of them” (John 7:50), and who came to anoint the dead body of Jesus, “which at the first came to Jesus by night” (John 19:39).

In a commentary on John’s gospel, as well as in sermons, **John Calvin** denounced the timorous “Nicodemites” of his own day who insulted God by concealing their faith. In the 1544 *Excuse de Iehan Calvin à Messieurs les Nicodémistes, sur la complainte qu’ilz font de sa trop grand’rigueur*—“John Calvin’s Apologia to the Nicodemite Gentlemen, on Their Complaint That He Is Too Rigorous”—Calvin, anxious to see the creation of established churches (*églises dressées*) in **France**, employed the term for a savage satirical attack on his French followers who lacked the courage of their conviction to

profess their faith openly, who attended **Mass** and refrained from setting up open churches. They were the lukewarm, those who lived in fear, and those who saw Christianity as an interesting philosophy or a topic for courtly small talk, and, while Calvin showed “what I have found in Scripture,” the Nicodemites “polluted themselves with all the filthy things of the papacy” (Parker, *John Calvin*, p. 145; Bouwsma, *John Calvin*, p. 36).

In fact, heavy persecution of Protestants, especially in France and the **Low Countries**, gave rise to debate among Calvin’s followers in the 1550s about the prudence of concealment for the sake of survival. Even so, the organization of a church group in **Paris** in 1555 and the spread of *églises dressées* throughout the country between 1555 and 1559 may be seen as a victory for Calvin’s insistence on the need for an open profession of faith.

NIKLAES OR NICLAES, HENDRIK (HEINRICH) (1502–c. 1580).

Niklaes was born perhaps in northwest **Germany** or the northern **Low Countries**, prospered in trade, and in 1532–33 was under investigation in Amsterdam in Holland on account of his religious views. In 1539 or 1540 he sensed a commandment from God to establish what became the **Family of Love**. Living in Emden, in northwest **Germany**, Niklaes published a series of books signed “H. N.”—to be understood either as Hendrik Niklaes, or as *Homo Novus*, the “New Man,” the prophet of a new Christian era—and setting out his mystical and pantheistic doctrines and the idea of God’s unification with His saved creation. In 1560 he was driven out of Emden and became a refugee in Holland and in Germany.

NOBILI, ROBERTO DE (1577–1656). Born into an aristocratic family in Montepulciano, in Tuscany, central **Italy**, and educated in **Rome**, de Nobili entered the **Society of Jesus** at the age of 21, and in 1606 opened a mission in Madurai, in modern Tamil Nadu, south **India**. There was a continuing tension in the Catholic mission to Asia in general and to India in particular between, on the one hand, the goal of accommodation to indigenous civilizations and, on the other, the aim of introducing Western culture as part of the missionary process.

De Nobili emphatically, indeed spectacularly, advanced the cause of a Catholicism attuned to Indian life and mores, in parallel with the

approach of his fellow Jesuit **Matteo Ricci** in **China**. He had himself taught Hindi by a *sannyasi*—an ascetic who practices renunciation of the world—adopted the saffron colored dress of such penitents, lived as a vegetarian hermit in a mud hut, to which curious enquirers came, and won admiration from members of the priestly caste, the Brahmins. De Nobili is recognized as the first westerner to study the classical language Sanskrit, and he learned, and wrote in, the south Indian Tamil language, aiming for a harmonization of Christian and Hindu wisdom and composing his Christian poetry in the style of the ancient Hindu hymns of the Veda.

De Nobili's methods also relied on a projection of himself that combined his identity as an Italian nobleman, of the equivalent of high caste, with his adoption of the style of an ascetical saint. While he himself leaned toward Hinduism, his converts were encouraged to retain their cultural links with their former faith, observing some of its festivals and continuing to wear its religious clothing. In the first place, he aimed to win converts en masse through gaining the initial allegiance of elites, and made 60 converts from the Brahmin caste by 1609, but by the 1630s he and his colleagues were aiming at direct conversion from among low-caste Indians. He planned the ordination of converts as priests and the use of Sanskrit in the **Mass**.

A further aspect of de Nobili's approach to conversion was that of distancing himself from the Portuguese colonists, the *Parangi*, as they were known, and his methods aroused controversy and opposition from the Portuguese. Nor were all Jesuits necessarily on his side, and condemnations of his conduct were regularly sent to Rome, along with accusations of a lapse into Indian "paganism." He was summoned before the archbishop of **Goa** in 1618, appearing dressed as a *sannyasi*, but in 1623 Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621–23) upheld his case. De Nobili is credited with winning around 40,000 Indian converts to Catholicism by the time of his death.

NORWAY. In Norway, united dynastically with **Denmark** in the Union of Kalmar of 1397, a spontaneous take-up of the Protestant Reformation was slow in coming, and when **Lutheran** ideas were introduced into the country in 1526, this was effected by a German former monk evangelizing to the German merchant community in Bergen (on the southwest coast). In 1531–32, Christian II (1481–1559), the deposed king of Denmark, invaded Norway in order to lay

claim to it, attempting to take Oslo, but was repulsed and captured. In the Danish civil war of 1533–36 following the death of the Lutheran Fredrik I (1471?–1533), a movement for Norwegian self-government was led by the conservative archbishop of Trondhjem (Trondheim) and head of the governing council, Olaf Engelbrektsson. With the victory of Fredrik's Lutheran son, Duke Christian of Schleswig-Holstein (1503–1559) and his accession as Christian III, Norway in 1537 was to surrender its status as a kingdom and become a Danish province: Danish troops were sent in, the separate council of state was abolished, and Engelbrektsson fled the country.

Though there was little enthusiasm for religious change in the former kingdom, from 1537 Norway was to follow the course of the Reformation in the form of the Danish Church Order. Episcopal and monastic properties were appropriated to the crown, which transferred some of the estates to the nobility; superintendents supplanted the largely anti-Lutheran Catholic bishops, but Norwegian-speaking pre-Reformation priests were often left in place in parishes. Considerable numbers of younger Norwegians trained for entry into the **Society of Jesus**. Clearly, Danish rule in Norway was both the engine of religious change but also a factor merging the old religion with national identity. However, in 1571 the Norwegian Jørgen Eriksøn was appointed to the see of Stavanger (on the country's southwestern coast) and helped consolidate an indigenous national Lutheran presence, marked in 1607 by the establishment of a Norwegian **Evangelical** Church Order.

NUREMBERG, DIETS OF, 1522, 1522–23, 1524. In line with regulations put in place to govern **Germany** following **Charles V's** departure from the country in 1521, three **Diets** were held in the south German free Imperial city of Nuremberg in the period 1522–24. The one that met in March 1522 was preoccupied with raising money to fight the **Turks**, but when the Diet met in the same city in the winter of 1522–23, it issued a warning to Charles that enforcing the **Edict of Worms** could lead to disturbances, and demanded a council made up of laymen and clerics to meet in Germany, within the year, to deal with the religious issue. When the Diet reconvened in Nuremberg in January 1524, it did away with the powerless Regency Council (*Reichsregiment*), which Charles had appointed in 1521 and which had failed to enforce the Edict of Worms, and proposed a national

church council—*ain sinodum teutscher nacion*—“a synod of the German Nation.”

Throughout this series of Diets, the structural problems in the constitution of the **Holy Roman Empire**, including the inability of its representative bodies to take real decisions and the concern of the territorial princes with their sectional interests, were revealed. Out of this sterility came the formation of the sectarian princely alliances—first the League of Regensburg of Catholic principalities of 1524—that would lead toward religious war in Germany.

NUREMBERG, PEACE OF, 1532. In the Diet of Regensburg of 1532, the Catholic estates demanded the enforcement of the recess of the 1530 **Diet of Augsburg** calling on **Lutheran** states to return to the Catholic Church by 15 April 1531. By that point in time, however, the defensive Lutheran **Schmalkaldic League** had been formed in February 1531, Protestant churches had become established in **Evangelical** cities and territories, and it had proved militarily impossible to enforce the recess of the Diet of Augsburg. With the **Turks** once more advancing along the Danube, Charles V opened in camera negotiations, in Nuremberg and in Schweinfurt to its northeast, with representatives of the Schmalkaldic League, leading to what became known as the (unpublished) Truce, or Peace, of Nuremberg of July 1532, in effect a suspension (intended, by Charles at least, to be temporary) of the Augsburg recess in exchange for military and financial assistance against the Turks.

The Truce shelved cases against Lutherans in progress before the Imperial Supreme Court (the *Reichskammergericht*), announced a pan-German public peace (*Landfriede*), and, pending the convening of a general council, gave freedom of religion to the Protestant estates: subsequent disagreement arose over whether the truce applied only to estates already enrolled on the Evangelical side in 1532 or whether new entrants were covered by it.

NUREMBERG, REFORMATION IN. Well before the Reformation, the Imperial free city (*Reichsstadt*) of Nuremberg (Nürnberg) in southern Germany had secured ecclesiastical independence from its diocesan, the bishop of nearby Bamberg, and from the 1480s onward its ruling council was governing the Church in the city, appointing clergy to its two main parish churches, St. Lorenz's and St. Sebald's,

running—and reforming—the monasteries through its agents, and controlling religious life in its extensive dependent territory. The city's ruling elite was generally characterized by deep piety and, as a teacher of devotion, **Johann von Staupitz** had a strong following among them. **Martin Luther's** ideas penetrated the city from early days—the Ninety-Five Theses were first published in German there and, when Luther himself passed through the city in October 1518, he was greeted with a warm reception from the citizens.

Increasingly, **Evangelical** doctrines were propounded by preachers in the city's churches such as **Andreas Osiander** at St. Lorenz's. **Lutheran** propaganda was disseminated in popular songs and ballads, especially by the city's folk poet, the shoemaker and *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs (1494–1576), who in *Die wittenbergisch Nachtigall* ("The Wittenberg Nightingale," 1523) set Luther's doctrines to verse. The city's leading humanist scholar, Willibald Pirckheimer (or Pirkheimer, 1470–1530), satirized Luther's opponent **Johann Maier von Eck** and upheld Luther's understanding of the **eucharist**. Nuremberg was also a major center of Lutheran printing, seeing the publication of Luther's first German **hymn** book in 1524. Verbal and physical attacks on the clergy and monks were common from the early 1520s and there was an increasing popular derision of traditional religious rituals and processions.

Though all these factors favored a spontaneous popular Reformation, the governing council had to control Lutheran initiatives carefully, for two reasons. First, Nuremberg, with its traditions of German patriotism and the reliance of its trade on a well-governed **Holy Roman Empire**, was in effect the German capital under the regency arrangements set up following **Charles V's** departure from the German Lands in 1521, and the **Habsburgs** were able to keep a close watch on the city's religious conduct: for example, in December 1522 **Ferdinand I** himself came before the city council to demand the suppression of Lutheran initiatives. Secondly, and especially in 1524–25, in the period of the **Peasants' Revolt**, both in the metropolis and the countryside, religious reform was becoming associated with social protest, such as peasants' refusal to pay tithes to the Church, and the city's rulers needed to take firm action to prevent ecclesiastical change from turning into revolt.

Nevertheless, steady progress was made along the road to reform, beginning with a council mandate on preaching in 1522, while in that

year the setting up of a common chest gave expression to emergent Lutheran principles of **social welfare**. In 1524 a service of **baptism** in German was devised by Osiander, and in March 1525 the council authorized and adjudicated a **disputation**, in which Osiander put the Lutheran case against a group of Catholic clerics. The same year saw the closure of monasteries, the selective expulsion of monks, and rendition of the **Mass** in German. Clerical fiscal exemptions were abolished.

In April 1529 Nuremberg signed up to a defense agreement with other Evangelical estates, and, though it did not join the **Schmalkaldic League**, it endorsed the **Augsburg Confession**. The ecclesiastical ordinance compiled by **Johann Brenz** and Osiander for Nuremberg itself and for the territorial state of Brandenburg-Ansbach, confirmed in 1533, and the issue of Osiander's Lutheran *Kinderpredigten*, or "Children's Sermons," in the same year completed the Lutheranization of the city, though a compendium of all the various ecclesiastical innovations was drawn up in the *Agendbüchlein*, or "Liturgical Booklet," of 1545. Under the **Augsburg Interim** Osiander was expelled.

Reformation in Nuremberg, as elsewhere in central European **cities and towns**, came about as the outcome of a balance between popular initiatives and governmental control. Change was skillfully but firmly steered by the lawyer, humanist, and city council secretary, Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534), who had published two pro-Luther pamphlets in 1519 and 1522. Cautiously, and with conservative liturgical preferences, but unmistakably, Nuremberg became the pattern of the urban Lutheran Reformation, an outcome confirmed in 1555 in the **Peace of Augsburg**.

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OCHINO (TOMMASINI), BERNARDINO (1487–1564). Born in Siena in Tuscany, central **Italy**, Ochino was an Observant **Franciscan** who in 1534 joined the **Capuchin** Congregation, of which he was elected its fourth vicar-general, serving from 1538 to 1541. In that period Ochino moved progressively from an **evangelical** orientation, influenced by **Juan de Valdés**'s stress on internal piety, toward outright **Lutheranism**. His sermons delivered in **Venice** in 1539

leaned toward **justification by faith**, a doctrinal stance even more evident in his subsequent *Dialogi VII*—the “Seven Dialogues.” He was obeying a summons to **Rome** over the content of the Venice sermons when he turned back at Bologna, northern Italy, in August 1542 and, along with **Pietro Martire Vermigli**, left Italy, took refuge in **Geneva**, published an account of his conversion in the six-volume *Prediche*—the “Sermons”—married, and started a family.

Between 1543 and 1547 Ochino was in Augsburg, south **Germany**, acting as minister to Italian religious refugees and, with the city under occupation by the forces of **Charles V** in the **Schmalkaldic War**, was invited by **Thomas Cranmer** to **England**, where he was chaplain to Italian exiles, was paid a royal pension and given a cathedral position, and wrote works both against the papacy—the *Trajedy or Dialogue of the Unjust Usurped Primacy of the Bishop of Rome* (1549)—and, in his *Labyrinth*, against **John Calvin**’s doctrine of **predestination**. With the accession of **Mary I** in 1553, Ochino returned to the Continent and was appointed a pastor to the Italians in **Zürich**, though in 1563 his alleged support for polygamy in his “Thirty Dialogues” brought about his dismissal and he migrated to **Poland**, being forced to move on, by an edict of August 1564 against foreign dissenters, to Moravia (in the present Czech Republic), where he died in a **Hutterite** community in the town of Slavkow (Schalakau).

CECOLAMPADIUS (HUSSGEN, HUSSCHIN, OR HEUSSGEN), JOHANNES (1482–1531). Johannes Hussgen, Husschin, or Heussgen, whose German surname may have been altered to Hausschein—“house-shine”—and then rendered into the Greek equivalent, Cocolampadius, or “house light,” was born in the small town of Weinsberg, then in the Electorate of Rhineland **Palatinate** in western **Germany**. He was schooled in Latin in Heilbronn, and matriculated at the University of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, in October 1499. Ordained in 1510, he served as a priest in his birthplace, and in 1513–15 studied Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg. In 1515 he moved to Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, where he assisted **Desiderius Erasmus** in the production of the New Testament in the original Greek, the *Novum Instrumentum* of 1516. He took his doctorate of theology from the University of Basel in 1518, and in 1520 was appointed preacher in the cathedral in Augsburg, in southern Germany.

In 1520 Æcolampadius established his **humanist** scholarly credentials with a Greek grammar and in 1520, in his anonymous *Canonici Indocti* (“Ignorant Clerics”), he defended **Martin Luther’s** views. Even so, in April 1521 he went into a monastery of the Bridgettine Order in Altomünster, perhaps in an attempt to clarify his own doctrinal positioning. By February 1521–22, when he had abandoned the monastery, however, Æcolampadius was aligned with the reformers and took up the position as chaplain to a group of associates of **Franz von Sickingen** at his castle of Ebernburg near Bad Kreuznach (on the middle Rhine).

In November 1522 Æcolampadius returned to Basel to become priest at St. Martin’s church and, in June 1523, a professor of theology at the city’s university. His and his allies’ victories in four **disputations** in August persuaded the Basel city council to introduce religious change, including restricting the scope of the religious houses, though fear of the rise of **Anabaptism** and of the spread of peasant protest held up further alterations, until in 1525 decisive steps were taken in the direction of reform, Æcolampadius being appointed in February as preacher at St. Martin’s. The process of change included the departure of Basel’s Catholic bishop, who had attempted to silence Æcolampadius’s preaching. In 1526 in Baden, in southwest Germany, he opposed **Johann Maier von Eck** in a disputation.

Early in 1528 Æcolampadius married and, with his close friend **Huldrych Zwingli**, was involved in the January 1528 disputation of Bern (Berne) in Switzerland, which heralded the inception of the Bernese Reformation. In 1529 the **Mass** was suppressed in Basel itself. Æcolampadius became superintendent over what was now the reformed Church in Basel and its dependent territory. In that year, too, having, with Zwingli, responded to Luther’s 1528 “Confession Concerning the Lord’s Supper,” he accompanied Zwingli to the **Marburg Colloquy**: his view of the **eucharist**, the main topic of the colloquy, was against a literal or physical understanding of the “words of institution,” “This is my body,” but emphasized the communal and congregational role of the eucharist and Christ’s spiritual presence in it.

A skilled ecclesiastical administrator, in his ecclesiastical constitution of 1529 Æcolampadius aimed at a degree of independence for the Church in Basel, especially over the exercise of **excommunication**. His early death in 1531—a few weeks after Zwingli’s—added a note of crisis in the Swiss Reformation.

ORATORIAN. *See* CONGREGATION OF THE ORATORY.

ORATORY OF DIVINE LOVE. A **confraternity** devoted to charitable work—to hospital and prison visits and care for orphans—and to asceticism, frequent reception of the **sacrament of penance**, and prayer—was set up in the **Rome** district of Trastevere in the mid-1510s, modeled on a prayer group, the *Oratorio di San Girolamo*, the Oratory of St. Jerome, established in the northeast Italian city of Vicenza in 1494, and on an association founded by a layman, Ettore Vernazza in the northwestern city of Genoa (Genova) in 1497 and inspired by the mystic St. Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510). The Roman *Oratorio del Divin' Amore* consisted of around 50 members, priests—including **Gian Pietro Carafa**, **Gian Matteo Giberti**, **Gaetano da Thiene**, and **Jacopo Sadoletto**—and **laity**.

With its offshoots in the northern cities of Brescia, Verona, and Vicenza, the Oratory also formed a matrix out of which the pioneer congregation of clerks regular, the **Theatines**, was to emerge. The Oratory, however, broke up with the **Sack of Rome**, and leading clerical members, such as Giberti and Sadoletto, began to apply themselves to the direct reform of their dioceses, while alumni of the Oratory were to the fore in the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia*.

ORTHODOXY. The 16th-century quest for an orthodoxy within **Lutheranism**—an agreed set of credal norms consistent with **Martin Luther's** teaching and grounded in Scripture—was protracted and was pursued in written and printed summaries of doctrine, for example Luther's own two **Catechisms** of 1529 and the **Schmalkaldic Articles** of 1537. **Philipp Melanchthon's** 28-article **Augsburg Confession**, the *Confessio Augustana*, of 1530 provided a touchstone of what Lutherans believed, followed by the same author's "**Varied**" **Augsburg Confession** (*Confessio Augustana Variata*) of 1540, with its theological openings to the Swiss.

Yet, despite the assembling of such canons of orthodoxy, those holding to Luther's legacy also fell out among themselves over the possession of his approved doctrinal property, with disputes between the **Philippist** followers of Melanchthon and the **Gnesio-Lutherans**, led by **Nikolaus von Amsdorf** and **Matthias Flacius Illyricus** over issues of **free will** and Melanchthon's synergism (acceptance of the

cooperation of the will with divine grace), as well as **justification**, **adiaphora**, and submission to the **Interims**. The Wittenberg theologian Georg Major (1502–1574) caused an uproar with his confidence in the efficacy of human good works, **Andreas Osiander** was identified as heterodox in his view of the transformative effect of justification on the individual, and **Johannes Agricola** seemed to challenge public morality with his persistence in **antinomian** opinions. The opposing schools in Lutheranism were to be brought together in the **Formula and Book of Concord** of 1577.

Calvinist orthodoxy was established by **John Calvin** himself, especially in the Catechism of the Genevan Church of 1541. Other classic versions setting out Calvinist orthodoxy included the **Gallican Confession**—*Confessio Gallicana*—of 1559; the **Belgic Confession of Faith**—*Confessio Belgica*—of 1561; the German **Heidelberg Catechism** of 1563; the Scots Confession—*Confessio Scotiana* or *Scoticana*, of 1560; and a definitive version accepted for **Scotland** in 1592. When Calvinist tenets over **grace**, free will, and **predestination** were challenged by **Jacobus Arminius**, the resolutions of the **Synod of Dort** in 1619 reaffirmed established orthodoxy.

Anabaptist *résumés* of orthodoxy included the **Schleitheim Confession**, 1527, and **Peter Riedemann's** (1506–1556) *Rechenschaft unserer Glaubens . . .*, “The Account of the Religion, Teaching, and Belief of the People Called Hutterites” (1540). The Catholic Church's 1564 *Professio Fidei Tridentinae*—“The Profession of the Faith of Trent,” 1564—summed up the doctrinal decrees of the **Council of Trent**. In the previous year, **England** accepted its final version of the 16th-century **Articles of Religion**, The Thirty-Nine Articles, confirmed in 1571. Unitarians set out what they believed in the **Racovian Catechism** of 1603.

OSIANDER (HEILIGMANN, OR HOSEMANN), ANDREAS (1498–1552). Osiander was born in December 1498 in the village of Gunzenhausen in the neighborhood of **Nuremberg**, studied at the universities of Leipzig and Altenburg, both in Ducal **Saxony**, and Ingolstadt, in **Bavaria**. He was ordained in 1520 and was appointed to teach Hebrew in Nuremberg's **Augustinian** convent, and in 1522 was made preacher in the city's church of St. Lorenz. From 1523, firmly in the **Lutheran** camp, he led negotiations over religion with the city council, and conducted the **disputations** of 1525 that were

to lead to the implementation of the Reformation in Nuremberg. Osiander married in 1525.

Andreas Osiander was a leading participant in some of the main dramas of German and Swiss Protestantism—the **Marburg Colloquy** (on **Martin Luther**’s side), the **Diet of Augsburg**, and the ratification of the **Schmalkaldic Articles**. In 1532 a link was forged with **England** when **Thomas Cranmer** married his niece. With **Johann Brenz**, he drew up a Church order for Nuremberg and Brandenburg-Ansbach and a **catechism** in 1533. Under the terms of the **Interim of Augsburg**, which he opposed, he was expelled from Nuremberg in 1548, moved to Breslau (Wrocław) in Silesia, eastern Germany, and at the invitation of the Lutheran duke Albrecht (Albert, 1490–1568) of Prussia took up the city’s pastorate and a professorship in the University of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russian Federation).

In disputations in April and October 1549 Osiander unveiled his ideas on the sanctification of the Christian. In 1550 he published *De justificatione*—“Concerning Justification”—and in his *De lege et evangelio*—“Concerning the Law and the Gospel”—he argued, against **Philipp Melancthon**, that justification was not merely a “forensic” quality imputed externally to the sinner but a gradual, progressive, transformative, real, and indeed unitive imparting of Christ’s divine essence and righteousness, according to which we are not just *declared*, but actually *made*, righteous: he claimed, with some justice, that his interpretation was in accord with Luther’s own.

Osiander’s view of justification, adopted by his followers known as “Osiandrists,” opposed by the orthodox theologian Martin Chemnitz (or Kemnitz, 1522–1586), and attacked by **Matthias Flacius Illyricus**, **John Calvin**, and **Nikolaus von Amsdorf**, gave rise to controversy in Protestant circles, his views being condemned as crypto-Catholic and as relying on justification by works. His doctrinal cause was taken up after his sudden death in October 1552 by his son-in-law, Johann Funck (d. 1566), but his theology was repudiated in Article III of the **Formula and Book of Concord**.

Osiander’s works included an annotated edition of the Latin **bible**—the Vulgate—in 1522, and in 1537 a synthesis—the “Harmony”—of the gospels. He saw through the press the publication of **Nikolaus Copernicus**’s *De Revolutionibus* and provided the published version with an introduction defending the astronomer’s freedom to put forward his theories.

A leading Hebrew scholar, Osiander stood out in his own day against the then current **antisemitism**, denouncing Martin Luther's literary attacks on the Jews and, in a work published in 1540, calling into question belief in Jewish ritual murder of Christian children, known as the "blood libel."

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PALATINATE. The Electorate of Rhineland Palatinate (*Rheinland-Pfalz*) was converted to **Lutheranism** by its ruler—influenced by **Philipp Melanchthon**—Friedrich II, known as *der Weise* (Frederick II, known as "the Wise," 1482–1556) and by his successor, Otto Heinrich, who ruled from 1556 to 1559. His successor, Friedrich III, known as *der Fromme* (Frederick III, known as "the Pious," 1515–1576), a Lutheran since 1546, moved between 1559 and 1562 in a **Calvinist** direction, and the **Heidelberg Catechism** was a significant outcome. The process of Calvinization also involved the dismissal of Lutheran ministers.

A new ecclesiastical structure in 1564 and a transformed disciplinary system in 1570 followed. Then, when Friedrich was succeeded by Ludwig VI, ruling from 1576 to 1583, Lutheranism was reintroduced and several hundred Calvinist clergy were ejected. Finally, when Friedrich, known as *der Aufrichtige* (Frederick IV, known as "the Upright," 1574–1610), succeeded as a minor, his regency government restored Calvinism, a trend that Friedrich himself accelerated when he attained his majority in 1592, turning his state into an academic and political beacon of the **Reformed** religion in Germany and Europe.

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA (c. 1525–1594). Palestrina took his surname from his birthplace, a small episcopal city near Rome, and trained as a chorister and studied composition and organ-playing in the great Roman church of Santa Maria Maggiore. He was appointed organist and *maestro di canto*—singing master—in the cathedral of Palestrina in 1544 and married a wealthy heiress in 1547. In 1550 the former cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte, who had known Palestrina's work in his diocese, was elected **pope** as **Julius III**, and in 1551 Palestrina

returned to **Rome** as *maestro di cappella*—choir master—in the papal chapel, the Cappella Giulia, publishing his first compilation of settings for the **Mass** in 1554. Between 1555 and 1561 he served in the pope’s cathedral, San Giovanni in Laterano (the *Basilica Salvatoris*, or Basilica of the Most Holy Redeemer), and from 1561 in Santa Maria Maggiore, and was master of music in the Cappella Giulia from 1571.

In 1564, a papal commission gave more specific effect to the broad rulings of the **Council of Trent** on music for the Mass. The Council decree of the 25th session, September 1562, had required, “all things should be so ordered that the Masses . . . may reach tranquilly into the ears and hearts of those who hear them, while everything is executed clearly and at the right speed” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 212)—and it was clear that Palestrina’s work was already firmly in line with Trent’s demands for sobriety, simplicity, and reverence in liturgical music. Indeed, his significance in the history of **church music** in the **Counter-Reformation** is that he was able, without completely renouncing the late medieval and 16th-century vogue for complex and beautiful polyphony, to reach back into the older traditions of ecclesiastical plain song, or Gregorian chant, in which the matching of syllables to notes ensured the supremacy of the sung word and its meaning, or as the Council put it, the sung liturgy would be delivered “in a simple clear voice . . . so that no one will miss any parts of the eternal reading of the sacred writings” (ibid.).

Palestrina was a composer of extraordinary productivity as well as exceptional technical accomplishment, compiling 94 Mass settings, 35 arrangements for the **Blessed Virgin Mary**’s prayer, the *Magnificat*, and 350 motets, plus numerous **hymns**, such as the one marking Mary’s presence at the Crucifixion, *Stabat Mater*, as well as litanies and the *Improperia* or “Reproaches” for Good Friday. His best-known Mass settings are the *Missa Papae Marcelli*, of 1555—the requiem Mass, published in 1567, for Pope Marcellus II (a supporter of musical reform, who reigned from April to May 1555)—his *Missa brevis*, and the Mass for the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Assumpta est Maria*.

An archetype of the Roman spiritual revival following the **Sack** of the city, a devotee of the **Oratorians** and a follower of **Filippo Neri**, Palestrina was also a major force in deploying a new aesthetic in the

service of post-Reformation Catholicism. He died in February 1594 and is buried in St. Peter's in Rome.

PAMPHLETS. Increasing rising rates of **literacy**—rising to an estimated 10–30 percent in **cities and towns in Germany**—plus the potential of the **printing** press to operate as a mass medium, gave rise to an explosion of inexpensive and ephemeral vernacular products known in German as *Flügschriften*—literally, “flight-writings”—in central Europe, especially from the first years of the Reformation, from 1517–18 (when the production of **Martin Luther’s** Ninety-Five Theses in German blazed the trail) to 1525. Over the course of the 1520s, Germans had access to a completely unprecedented c. 4,000 of these works, typically of up to 32 pages in length (but often less, down to one-page handouts), and distributed from presses in such regional centers as Augsburg, **Nuremberg**, **Strassburg**, and Wittenberg.

A secret of success of the productions was that they could circumvent large-scale illiteracy by being read out—by literates to nonliterates—in taverns, markets, and workplaces. Their manner of delivery and their audience profile largely dictated their literary style and approach—satirical, immediate, and comic, even scatological—and often couched in dialogue form. However, the fact that they were frequently illustrated does not mean that they were designed only for the use of nonliterates but rather that in them text and image could be used for reciprocal reinforcement.

Major reformers, including **Martin Bucer** and **Guillaume Farel**, tried their hands at this genre. Attributed to **Joachim Vadian** was a classic of the populist aspect of the format, which awarded the arbitration of scholars’ theological debates to a shrewd but uneducated peasant, “Karsthans,” or “Jack the Mattock.” The product spread beyond its German birthplace, and **France** saw an upsurge of **Huguenot** pamphleteering in the 1560s. The **Marprelate Tracts** are **England’s** best-known example. *See also* LITERATURE.

PARIS. The French capital was one of the most important religious and academic centers in Western Europe, its cosmopolitan university, the Sorbonne, being the place of education of **John Calvin**, **Desiderius Erasmus**, **Ignatius Loyola**, and **Francis Xavier**. (Paris was in effect

the birthplace of the **Society of Jesus**.) The city was also an early home of the French **humanist** movement, where Guillaume Budé (Budaëus, 1467–1540) established his *Collège Trilingue* for the study of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and of Catholic reform, one of whose leading exponents, **Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples**, was librarian at St. Germain-des-Prés in the city. There was early interest in **Martin Luther**'s writings, as a Paris student recorded in c. 1519, and Luther noted that his works were studied by academics of the Sorbonne—generally a conservative stronghold—and by the mid-1520s the city was home to a Protestant—*luthérien*—cell in the university district known as the *Quartier Latin*, or “Latin Quarter.”

However, two nearly simultaneous crises endangered this emergent movement. The first came in November 1533, when the allegedly heretical inaugural address of the university rector, Calvin's close friend Nicholas Cop (b. c. 1505), caused a storm that necessitated the rapid departure of Calvin, recently converted to the cause. The second trauma occurred in October 1534 with the appearance, first in Paris and then in other cities, of the *placards*, posters ridiculing the **Mass**, an incident leading to executions of dissidents and to a campaign of repression confirmed in the 1540 Edict of Fontainebleau.

Despite these vicissitudes, Parisian **Protestantism** was on the increase by the mid-16th century, when, by 1555, there was a pastor in residence in the city, and in May 1559 the city was the obvious choice for a national assembly of the **Reformed Church**. Even so, Paris was a city enmeshed in Catholic rituals and traditions, and many of its citizens tended to demonstrate an aggressive form of their faith which, seeing Protestants as actual pollutants in their midst, distrusted any of the several concessions that were offered to the **Huguenots** during the course of the French **Wars of Religion**. In 1567 Huguenot forces caused havoc in and around the capital and a visceral anti-Protestantism became embedded in Parisian popular culture, the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre** being an outcome of that militancy.

A further manifestation of that militancy was the second **Holy League**, established in Paris in 1584 out of traders, shopkeepers, and minor officials, led by priests. When in May 1588 **Henry III**, hated in Paris for his conciliatory policies, tried, by an attempted royal coup, to retake his capital city, Catholic Paris resisted, placing its confidence in its **Guise** champions. The converse, though, was that

all that stood between **Henry of Navarre** and possession of Paris was his Protestantism, and when he relinquished that in 1593, the Catholic capital was his, entered in triumph in March 1594. It was, however, a further marker of Paris's intransigence that the terms of the **Edict of Nantes** partly exempted the city from its terms.

PARKER, MATTHEW (1504–1575). Matthew Parker was born into a prosperous family in the city of Norwich in eastern **England**, entered Corpus Christi College in the University of Cambridge in 1521, took his B.A. degree in 1525, and was ordained priest in 1527, when he became a fellow of his college and, until 1535, carried out studies of the early Christian Church. He associated with Protestant circles, made what was to be a lifelong friendship with **William Cecil**, and in 1535 was appointed chaplain to **Anne Boleyn**, who made him dean of a church in Suffolk, in eastern England, where he carried out further studies until, in 1544, he became master of Corpus Christi, serving as vice-chancellor of the university and dean of Lincoln cathedral, eastern England. He married in 1547 and in the reign of **Edward VI** became closely associated with the refugee **Martin Bucer**, who influenced Parker's theology of the **sacraments**.

After **Mary I's** accession, as a married man Parker lost his clerical posts, but did not leave England, and with **Elizabeth I's** accession, as a moderate within **Protestantism**, he was selected as archbishop of Canterbury, being consecrated in December 1559. He carried out an archiepiscopal visitation of the south of England in 1560–61, implementing the 1559 **Act of Uniformity**. Parker revised **Thomas Cranmer's** 1553 Forty-Two **Articles of Religion** in the form of the Thirty-Nine accepted in 1563 and confirmed in 1571, and was responsible for the imposition of traditional vestment on the clergy of the Church of England, requiring, in his *Advertisement* of 1565, that surplices (white linen overgarments) be worn in parish churches and copes (decorative cloaks) in cathedrals.

In the same year, Parker, a scholar of the Anglo-Saxon period, published a collection of sermons from that age, *A Testimonie of Antiquity, Shewing the Ancient Faith in the Church of England Touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord*—a work that enshrined one of his abiding intellectual concerns, that of establishing the continuity of the Church of England with the premedieval institution, the theme also of his major historical work, *De Antiquitate*

Britannicae Ecclesiae—"Concerning the Antiquity of the British Church," 1572. Between 1563 and 1568 Parker oversaw the production of a new translation of the Scriptures known as the "Bishops' Bible." He died in May 1575 and was buried in Lambeth church in south **London**.

PARSONS (PERSONS), ROBERT (1546–1610). Parsons was born in Somerset, in the southwest of **England**, in June 1546 and entered St. Mary's Hall in Oxford University in 1564. In 1566 he moved to Balliol College in the same university, took his B.A. degree in May 1568, became a fellow of Balliol in 1569, and began giving lectures in rhetoric in 1571. Parsons was appointed bursar of his college in 1572, received his M.A. degree in December 1572, and became dean of Balliol, 1573. However, this steady ascent up the Oxford career ladder was brought to an end when Parsons, who was already showing signs of a move toward Catholicism, was held guilty of financial irregularity and was forced to give up his fellowship. He moved to **London**, visited **Rome**, and in July 1575 he entered the **Society of Jesus**. He studied in the Jesuits' Roman College and was ordained to the priesthood in July 1578.

Early in 1580, Parsons was appointed to head a Jesuit mission to England, along with **Edmund Campion**. Disguised as an army officer, Parsons arrived in London in June 1580 and began missionary work, visited the west of England and the Midlands to meet lay leaders of the Catholic community, and set up an underground press. While Campion was arrested, tried, and executed, Parsons escaped to **France**, where in 1582 he published his devotional classic, *The First Book of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*, subsequently retitled *The Christian Directory*, a work that was to have immense influence beyond the Catholic-Protestant confessional divide.

In the same year, Parsons became involved in a Spanish strategy for an invasion of **Scotland** to support the claim of **Mary Queen of Scots** to the throne, was resident in **Spain** until May 1583, and, with **William Allen**, drew up plans for a restored Catholic England. He remained resident in Spain over the years 1589 to 1596, operating as spokesman for English Catholic refugees in the country. His attributed work of 1593, *Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne*, argued that religion, as well as dynastic descent, should decide the succession following **Elizabeth I's** death. Another work, the

1596 *Memorial for the Reformation of England*, set out his detailed vision of an England once more Catholic. Parsons was appointed rector of the English College in Rome in 1597, the post he was to occupy for the rest of his life, and in 1599 published his critique of the English Reformation, *Certamen Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, or “A Contest with the Church of England.”

Parsons continued his controversial writings into the reign of James I (1566–1625), confronting questions of Catholic allegiance to the crown as well as disputes about the governance of the English Catholic community. He died in Rome in April 1610 and is buried in the English College, alongside Allen.

PAUL III (ALESSANDRO FARNESE), POPE (1468–1549). Alessandro Farnese was born in Canino, north of **Rome**, in February 1468 into a landed and military family. He was educated in Florence (Firenze) and Rome in **humanism** and carried out further studies at the University of Pisa in Tuscany, central **Italy**. His sister Giulia Farnese (c. 1475–1524) was mistress to Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), who appointed him treasurer of the Roman Church in 1492 and cardinal deacon (ordination to the priesthood was not necessarily required) in the following year, while Alexander’s successor, Julius II (r. 1503–13), appointed him to the bishopric of Parma (in north-central Italy) in 1509. Farnese held a diocesan synod to introduce improvements in his diocese and was made responsible for putting into effect the decrees of the **Lateran Council**. He was ordained priest in June 1519 and became associated with the reform party within senior ecclesiastical circles in Rome. In a brief conclave (papal election process) in October 1534, Farnese won all the votes to succeed **Clement VII** as **pope**, taking the title Paul III.

A transitional figure in the history of the papacy, Paul maintained many of the priorities that are associated with the Renaissance. In his case, these included assiduous promotion of the interests of his family—he made two teenage grandsons cardinals, and in 1545 he separated two duchies from the Papal States to give to his illegitimate son Pierluigi (or Pier Luigi, 1503–1547)—along with a passion for artistic and scholarly patronage, sponsoring work by **Michelangelo** and developing the University of Rome as well as the Vatican’s library.

At the same time, though, Paul’s pontificate honored his association with the promoters of **Catholic reform**, which took three principal

forms under his rule. First, the emergence of new Congregations such as the **Barnabites**, **Somaschi**, **Theatines**, and **Ursulines** was encouraged, culminating in papal ratification of the **Society of Jesus** in 1540. Secondly, appointments to the cardinalate of reformists including **Gian Pietro Carafa**, **Gasparo Contarini**, **Reginald Pole**, and **Jacopo Sadoleto** brought the party of change into the center of papal life, while his commissioning of the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia* gave reform a coherent agenda. Thirdly, and most importantly, Paul strove against all the political odds to bring the **Council of Trent** into being.

The repression that was associated with **Counter-Reformation** was evident in Paul's setting up of the Congregation of the **Inquisition** in 1542. The severing of **England** from the Catholic Church was confirmed in the **excommunication** of **Henry VIII**. All in all, though, it is Paul III's massive contribution to the cause of the renewal of Catholicism in the 16th century that needs to be appreciated.

PAUL IV (GIAN [GIOVANNI] PIETRO OR GIAMPIETRO CARAFA), POPE (1476–1559). Giovanni Pietro Carafa was born in June 1476 into a noble family living near Benevento, east of Naples (Napoli) in southern **Italy**, and was educated in **Rome** at the hands of his uncle, Bishop Oliveiro Carafa (1430–1511), studying Greek and Hebrew. Through Oliviero Carafa's support, his career in the Church took off, and he was appointed bishop of Chieti (in Latin, Theate), near Italy's central east coast, in 1505, and in 1518 became archbishop of Brindisi in the peninsula's far southeast. He was at that stage specializing in papal diplomatic work, and in 1513–14 he served as emissary to **England** and in 1519–20 as the pope's ambassador to the **Low Countries** and **Spain**.

A **humanist** who carried on a correspondence with **Desiderius Erasmus**, Carafa was increasingly drawn both to personal holiness and austerity and to **Catholic reform** and gravitated naturally toward the **Oratory of Divine Love**, giving up his bishoprics in 1525 and, along with **Gaetano da Thiene**, establishing the **Theatine** Congregation, of which he became the first head. The **Sack of Rome** sent Carafa into exile in **Venice**. In December 1536 he was made a cardinal as part of Pope **Paul III**'s strategy of promoting reformists, retreated from his earlier humanist tendencies, and became the leading advocate of hard-line policies, both toward Protestants and to their alleged

sympathizers within the Catholic Church. In 1542 he was made one of six inquisitors general of cardinal rank and directed the **Inquisition** severely. Archbishop of Naples (February 1549) and dean of the College of Cardinals (1553), he was elected pope after the brief pontificate of Marcellus II (r. April–May 1555).

The promise of a clear commitment to ecclesiastical renewal had made advocates of reform look hopefully to the Carafa pope to fulfill their hopes. However, both Paul's conception of the papal office and his bitter hatred of the **Habsburgs** for conquering his beloved homeland in the Kingdom of Naples made him oppose Spanish power. Entering an alliance with **France**, Paul waged a disastrous war with the Spanish in Italy in 1556, leading to an invasion of the Papal States. Elsewhere, too, Pope Paul's perception of Habsburg enemies in every corner made him hostile to the **Society of Jesus**, founded by a Spanish national, and suspicious of **Mary I** of England, married to **Philip II**, while the archbishop of Canterbury, **Reginald Pole**, was in any case under suspicion as an **evangelical** and was deprived of his office of legate to England in April 1557.

Those hoping for a renewal of the reform program already instigated by the **Council of Trent** were to be disappointed, for Paul's authoritarian view of the papal office precluded a resumption of the Council, and instead a papal commission of around 60 bishops was set up in 1556 to undertake the reform program under pontifical auspices. That scheme came to nothing, and Paul turned his attention increasingly to repression, expanding the authority of the Inquisition under Cardinal Michele Ghislieri, the future Pope **Pius V**, issuing an overinclusive **Index of Prohibited Books** and imprisoning on a charge of heresy Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–1580), a future papal legate at Trent. In the bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum* of 1553 Paul introduced stigmas against the **Jewish** people, including discriminatory clothing and confinement to ghettos.

Yet Paul IV may have checked, but not halted, the progress of Catholic reform: he promoted men who would take up the cause over the decades ahead, set up a committee to alter the key liturgical text, and attended to public morals in the Papal States.

PEASANTS' REVOLT, GERMAN. Following a long period of low population levels in the aftermath of the mid-14th-century demographic crisis of the Black Death, from around 1470 population

levels in Europe began to head back toward pre-Black Death levels, and, with them, came a return to the difficult social and economic conditions of overpopulation prevailing before the arrival of plague in 1348–49. Landlords began to exploit laws of supply and demand and demography that were now working in their favor: they increased rents, dues, and taxes (for example, the heriot tax, a fine payable on a peasant's death to allow his heirs to take up the farm) and reintroduced servile obligations, including compulsory work on the lord's estate. Public access to woods, streams, and wastes, all of which had valuable resources of game, fish, and timber for building and fuel, was increasingly restricted, and the ancient laws of the Roman Empire were introduced widely in **Germany** in order to drive down the legal and social status of peasants.

Even Germany's better-off and independent peasant farmers felt the pinch of landlords' fiscal and legal exploitation, and from the later 15th century onward clandestine associations—the *Armer Konrad*, or “Poor Konrad,” taking its title from a common peasant first name—and the *Bundschuh*, the “Tied Boot,” expressive of the need for peasant solidarity, were formed. Localized risings against perceived injustices, especially in areas hardest hit by the peasant crisis, such as southwest Germany—Swabia and **Württemberg**—gained momentum from the early 16th century onward.

By the 1520s much of Germany was moving in the direction of a nationwide peasant farmers' agitation. The Reformation played its part, generally in calling into question much of traditional authority and hierarchy and, more particularly, in **Martin Luther's** 1520 “The Freedom of a Christian,” a cry for spiritual liberty that could easily be read in an overtly social sense. By the spring and early summer of 1524 peasant bands were gathering in strength and, to demand the rectification of the grievances, they put forward a number of manifestos. Of these, the best-known, the **Twelve Articles of Memmingen**, expressed the relative conservatism of the better off-peasants who made up the backbone of the insurgency and who broadly accepted their position in a hierarchical society, albeit one requiring reform. To the left of these arose a wing inspired by radical eschatology under the leadership of **Thomas Müntzer**, demanding a total transformation of the social fabric.

With their imposing weight of numbers, and acting in alliance with urban plebeian forces, the peasant militias gained an initial military

advantage, and at one point in 1525 were in control of much of central and southern Germany. A buildup of years of simmering anger was vented in attacks on castles and monasteries, and in atrocities. In the end, though, the peasant bands were no match for the professional troops at the disposal of princes and lords, all the more so as **Charles V's** victory at Pavia, near **Milan**, in February 1525 released forces of mercenaries for service against the insurgents. In a crushing victory at Frankenhausen over Müntzer's army and in regional campaigns in May–June 1525, the forces of the princes rode down the hapless peasants, tens of thousands of whom were slain.

Ideologically, the Peasants' Revolt had major religious components, especially the call for the application of "God's law"—a concept of Christian liberation theology. As Germany's leading religious teacher, Martin Luther had to have a voice in the events, ranging from a sermon tour to preach against violence to an attempt at arbitration in the April 1525 "Friendly Admonition to Peace Concerning the Twelve Articles of the Peasants." In the end, though, the excesses of peasant violence appalled him enough to express his detestation in the brief and explosive *Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern*—"Against the Thieving and Murdering Hordes of Peasants," of around May 1525, calling on the princes to "stab, smite and slay all you can" of the insurgents (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 167).

Two issues remain open concerning the aftermath of this, the most serious social revolution in German history. First, landlords may have taken warning from the Revolt and have drawn back subsequently from the exploitation that had characterized the years before 1524. Second, peasants after 1525 may have turned away in disgust from the religious leader who had demanded their massacre—thereby perhaps helping to convert the Lutheran Reformation from a popular into a princely movement of change.

PENANCE, SACRAMENT OF. Taking its origins from Scripture in the Epistle of James 5:16—"Confess your sins to one another"—"auricular" confession of sins to priests in order to secure absolution took its place in the medieval Catholic Church's evolving sacramental system. It became an obligation on all Catholics, who were required by the second Lateran Council 1215 to receive it at least annually (along with the **eucharist**) at Easter or thereabouts. The Councils of Lyon

(Lyons) in 1274 and of Constance (Konstanz, 1414–18) included it in the Church's seven **sacraments**, all conferring **grace**.

However, penance, or confession, stood apart from the other six sacraments, in the sense that, whereas rites such as **baptism** and the **eucharist** functioned objectively—in Latin *ex opera operato*—and without subjective involvement by the recipient, the effectiveness of penance required such active participation, in the forms of a full disclosure of serious—“mortal”—sins, a heartfelt contrition for having offended God, a firm intention to avoid sin thereafter as well as the performance of satisfaction through penances (such as pilgrimages), which were, over the course of time, subsumed into **indulgences**.

Various theological commentators stressed the need for the penitent to summon up contrition, which might vary according to the different capacities of individuals, though Gabriel Biel (1420–1495) held that the Almighty would recognize and approve the efforts of the penitent who strove to attain whatever he or she was capable of in that regard. Others taught that a more mechanical kind of remorse, called “attrition,” could be remade by God's grace into genuine felt contrition.

Thus penance was the focus of much theoretical and practical attention, with a profusion of manuals for guidance of the professionals, such as the **Franciscan** friars, who often administered the sacrament. In his later recollections of his monastic days, **Martin Luther** remembered approaching this sacrament compulsively, with frustration at the diminishing return in easing his anxieties over his sinfulness that it brought him. Even so, in his drastic reduction in the number of the sacraments in “The Babylonian Captivity of the Church” (1520) Luther found a place for penance in the sacramental system, as a kind of reenactment of **baptism**. And whereas in his 1521 “Concerning Confession, Whether the Pope Has Power to Order It,” Luther showed that Christians should confess to God alone, and in his “Confession Concerning Christ's Supper” of 1528 insisted on the retention of only two valid sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. In “A Short Order of Confession before the Priest for the Common Man” (1529) and “How One Should Teach Common Folk to Confess Themselves” (1531), confession to a minister was included in the provisions of the **Lutheran Church**.

The **Book of Common Prayer** of the Church of **England**, having, in article 25 of the Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion**, firmly ruled out penance's standing as a sacrament, also contains the provision,

in the procedure for the Visitation of the Sick, “Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the Priest shall absolve him” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 317).

The **Council of Trent** in session 14, November 1551, confirmed penance’s position among the seven sacraments and emphasized that “Contrition . . . holds the first place among the acts of the penitent . . . at all times necessary for the forgiveness of sins” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 51). **Carlo Borromeo** introduced a new device in **Milan**, the confessional “box”—initially a free-standing double chamber and subsequently, as the innovation spread throughout Catholic Europe, built into the walls of new churches. The “confessional” has been seen as facilitating confidentiality between confessor and penitent and also as focusing on individual and private states of mind and consciousness.

PERKINS, WILLIAM (1558–1602). The English preacher and **Calvinist** theological writer William Perkins took his Cambridge M.A. in 1584, when he became a fellow of Christ’s College in the university. His best known work, *Armilla Aurea*, or “The Golden Bracelet,” was published in 1590 and went through 15 editions over the next 20 years and others of his works were translated into Dutch, Irish, Spanish, and Welsh.

Perkins’s writings, complete with elaborate charts of damnation and salvation, focused on the development of what was known as “**covenant**,” or “federal,” theology, according to which the proof of a true and justifying **faith** (as opposed to spurious “temporary” faith)—and thus of membership of the predestined elect—was to be found in the upright heart, holiness of life, and good works of the believing Christian. Intense programs of self-examination, of diary-keeping and of discourses with fellow worshippers about conversion flowed from Perkins’s schema. His hyper-**Calvinism**, especially on the subject of **predestination**, helped give rise to **Jacobus Arminius**’s revisionism on the topic.

**PETRI, LAURENTIUS (PEDERSSON, LARS) (1499–1573),
PETRI, OLAUS (PEDERSSON, OLAF, OR OLAV) (1493–1552).**
Alongside Lars Andersson (Laurentius Andreae, d. 1552), the brothers

Laurentius and Olaus Petri—Lars and Olaf Pedersson—were the guiding spirits of the early Reformation in **Sweden**.

Educated in Leipzig and between 1516 and 1518 in Wittenberg, following his return to Sweden in 1519, Olaf Pedersson came under suspicion of heresy that required protection by **Gustav Vasa**, who, following his accession to the throne in 1523, also appointed him to an influential preaching post in the principal church in the capital, Stockholm, in 1524, and to the town clerkship of the city; he broke Catholic ecclesiastical law by marrying, in 1525. His major writings—*Een nyttwgh wnderwijsning*—“A Useful Instruction” (1526)—various works of 1528 on the **sacraments** and on **marriage**, his liturgical manual “The Swedish Handbook,” and his 1537 “Swedish Mass”—laid the foundations for a national **Lutheran** Reformation.

Even so, progress toward sweeping religious change under Vasa was slow, and the king’s secular, financial, and political priorities and lack of religious zeal meant that his support for reforms was uncertain: Olaf was given the go-ahead to bring in Church services in Swedish in 1529 and 1531, but the **Mass** in Latin was still common. Between 1531 and 1533 Olaf Pedersson was chancellor of the kingdom; and in 1531, on his return from study abroad, Lars Pedersson was made archbishop of Uppsala, near Stockholm. In 1536 the Synod of Uppsala, under Lars Pedersson’s presidency, introduced an all-Swedish liturgy and sacraments.

However, toward the end of the decade, Vasa found the Pederssons opposing his basically **Erastian** ecclesiastical policies, especially in their criticism of public morals and insistence on an independent episcopate, free of state control, and he called in German advisors to carry out his instructions. In December 1539 the Pedersson brothers were accused of treason, sentenced to death, given reprieves but then heavily fined. Their translation of the Scripture—the *Gustav-Wasa-Bible*—was published in 1541, Olaf Pedersson was restored to favor in 1543, and given the pastorate of Stockholm for the remainder of his life.

Lars Pedersson assisted his brother in the translation of the New Testament into Swedish in 1526, when he also published a Lutheran-influenced book of prayers and devotions, and remained in post at Uppsala for 42 years, in 1567 issuing a Swedish-language book of **hymns**, expanding on earlier versions of 1526, 1530, and 1536. Eventually, in 1571 Lars Pedersson’s Lutheran Church Order, estab-

lishing Scripture as the guide to belief and legislating for the appointment of bishops (by the clergy, laity, and the crown) and of parochial clergy (by congregations) won acceptance as the definitive formula for the Swedish ecclesiastical settlement.

PHILIP II, KING (1527–1598). Born in Valladolid, north-central **Spain**, Philip (Felipe) was the only son of the emperor **Charles V** and his wife Isabella (1503–1539), daughter of King Manoel I, known as *o Grande* or *o Feliz* (Emanuel I, known as “the Great” or “the Fortunate,” 1469–1521) of **Portugal**, and was educated by clerics. He married Maria of Portugal in 1543 and, following her early death in 1546, Charles employed him as governor in the **Low Countries**. Philip married **Mary I**, queen of **England** in 1554 and became joint monarch with her, though he spent only 14 months in her kingdom. Following Charles’s abdication in 1555–56, the western part of the **Habsburg** inheritance fell to Philip, as ruler of Spain, the **Low Countries**, and the dynasty’s Italian possessions of Naples and **Milan**, as well as Spain’s colonial territories in America.

In 1559, the results of Spain’s wars against **France** were ratified in the Treaty of **Cateau-Cambrésis**, which, inter alia, confirmed Spain’s hegemony in **Italy** and ushered in a Spanish European ascendancy for the next eight decades. As part of the treaty arrangements, Philip married **Henry II**’s daughter, Elizabeth de Valois (1545–1568), while the effect of Henry’s accidental death amid the treaty celebrations plunged his kingdom into long years of the **Wars of Religion** that took Spain’s rival, **France**, out of the European political equations for most of the second half of the 16th century.

As with his father, Philip’s reign was a checkerboard of success and failure, and for the very same reason that both rulers were confronted with a myriad of problems that defied concentrated attention on any one. In geopolitical terms, Philip tended to notch up clearer achievements in the south of the continent than in the north. In the Mediterranean, the victory of **Lepanto** in October 1571 gave Philip’s navies control of the western division of the sea. In 1580–81 he successfully laid claim to his dynastic inheritance of Portugal. However, in the northwestern section of the continent—in the segment between the North Sea and the English Channel—it became apparent that separate applications of resources and forces to distinct areas would not work, that the English and Low Countries spheres of operations

would have to be considered as a single entity and that, in particular, in order to retrieve the Netherlands provinces, which Philip's policies had alienated since the 1560s, England must be conquered—by the **Armada**, in 1588.

Though that conquest never took place, the victories of Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma (1546–1592), left Spain with a large sector of recovered Low Countries territory—10 provinces, as against the seven of the rebel Dutch by the end of Philip's reign. By that point, too, Philip had been unable to prevent the accession of **Henry IV** of France, paving the way for an eventual new phase of French grandeur that would eclipse Spain's golden age of power.

A profoundly devout Catholic who went to war with Pope **Paul IV**, a king who was able to summon up the resources of a New World to carry out a Counter-Reformation crusade in the Old, and who governed the Church in his realms through what was in effect a royal supremacy, Philip II equated the interests of Spain with those of the Church, and vice versa. He died at his great monastery-palace of the Escorial, completed in 1584, northwest of the capital, Madrid, in September 1598, his fourth marriage, in 1570, to Anna (1549–1580), daughter of the emperor Maximilian II (1527–1576), having given him an heir, Philip (Felipe) III (1578–1621).

PHILIPP (PHILIP), KNOWN AS *DER GROSSMÜTIGE*—“THE MAGNANIMOUS”—*LANDGRAF* OF HESSE (1504–1567).

Philipp, the son of the *Landgraf* (“Landgrave,” or “territorial count”) of Hesse (Hessen) in central **Germany**, Wilhelm (William) II (1468–1509), was declared of age in 1518. In 1523, in the course of the “Knights’ War,” he took part in the siege and bombardment of **Franz von Sickingen**’s castle of Landstuhl, in the middle Rhineland, and in May 1525, in the **Peasants’ Revolt** was a key member of the coalition that crushed the insurgents under the command of **Thomas Müntzer** at Frankenhausen.

Convinced by 1525 of the truth of **Martin Luther**’s teachings, in February 1526 Philipp joined Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as “the Steadfast” or “the Constant,” 1468–1532) at Gotha in **Saxony** to form what became in May the League of Torgau, a defensive **Lutheran** alliance, which was expanded in membership in June. Philipp himself took charge of the introduction of Lutheran changes in Hesse in 1526–28, a key component being the dissolu-

tion of monasteries, whose proceeds of 75,000 *gulden* allowed the *Landgraf* to establish at Marburg the first new Protestant university, in 1527. Two years later, aware of a recovery of Catholic strength under **Ferdinand I**, Philipp sought to build a Protestant united front by inviting to his university city Martin Luther, **Huldrych Zwingli**, and other representatives from Germany and **Switzerland** to agree to a formula on the **eucharist**.

Though the **Marburg Colloquy** failed to achieve its intended purpose, Philipp did not cease his political, diplomatic, and military efforts to strengthen the power base of the Lutheran cause: a signatory of the **Augsburg Confession**, he was instrumental in the formation of the **Schmalkaldic League** in 1530–31, and in 1534 advanced the cause of the Reformation in the German southwest by reinstating the Lutheran Duke Ulrich of **Württemberg**.

Valuable as these services were to the cause he served, in the 1540s Philipp's conduct did serious harm to the reputation of **Philipp Melanchthon**, **Martin Bucer**, Luther, and their movement. In 1523 the *Landgraf* had made what turned out to be an unhappy marriage with Christina, the daughter of Duke Georg, known as *der Bärtige* (George, known as "the Bearded," 1471–1539), of Ducal **Saxony**, but in 1539 fell in love with a young noblewoman, Margarethe von der Saal, and insisted both on marrying her and on remaining wedded to his first wife. Pressured by Philipp's long-standing advisor, Bucer, in December 1540 Melanchthon composed what was in effect a dispensation, which Luther and others signed, permitting the ruler to keep two wives.

The plan to keep the matter secret was doomed, the Lutheran leaders were vilified by their enemies as moral hypocrites, and the bigamous prince was guilty of a capital offense in German law. However, **Charles V** was more concerned to neutralize than to kill this leading Lutheran activist, who in 1541 gave Charles a commitment to obstruct the admission of a new recruit to the Schmalkaldic League. Consequent division in the League undoubtedly weakened it to face Charles's victorious offensive in 1546–47, when Philipp became his prisoner and accepted the Augsburg **Interim**. Following on his release by **Moritz of Saxony** in 1552, Philipp tended to take a back seat in national affairs, dividing his territory between his four sons before his death in 1567.

PHILIPPISTS. Two events in the history of **Lutheranism** in the second half of the 1540s—**Martin Luther**’s death in February 1546, confronting his disciples with the issue of his postmortem legacy—and the publication of the **Interims** in May and December 1548—raising questions about the legitimacy of compromise over religion—brought major division into the **Evangelical Church**. **Philipp Melanchthon** and his party, including Georg Major (1502–1574), the theologian of Wittenberg who placed reliance on good works, and **Johannes Bugenhagen**, who opposed the **Gnesio-Lutheran** denial of the role of works in **justification**, were attacked by **Matthias Flacius Illyricus**, **Nikolaus von Amsdorf**, and their supporters.

In 1555 a Philippist theologian of the University of Leipzig, Johann Pfeffinger (1493–1573) raised the issue of *synergia*—“working together,” by which the converted Christian, aided by **grace**, made his or her own contributions to finding God’s favor—and was condemned by Flacius Illyricus and Amsdorf. After years of condemnation and countercondemnation, successive attempts, in 1557, 1558, 1561, and 1568, encouraged by various Lutheran princes, to heal the divisions within the Lutheran Churches led to moves from 1573 onward toward reconciliation, which resulted eventually in the **Formula and Book of Concord**.

PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE, 1536–37. The vital religious, social, economic, agrarian, and educational role that monasteries played in the life of the north of **England** ensured that the opening moves in their closure (or “dissolution”) by the government of **Henry VIII** would encounter resistance in the northern counties, beginning in the eastern county of Lincolnshire in October 1536 and spreading to engulf the northern region in 1536–37, the rebels taking the main city of the north, York. With its ideology articulated by the Yorkshire lawyer Robert Aske (b. c. 1500), and its demands set out in manifestos such as the articles of Doncaster and Pontefract (both in south Yorkshire), the rising gained support from across the social classes, clerical and lay, having 30,000 adherents at its height.

Henry allowed his commander, Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), room to outmaneuver the rebels through purporting to negotiate and the movement broke up early in December, though sporadic incidents in January led to the rapid suppression of the rising amid harsh reprisals and Aske’s execution; total dissolution

of all the monasteries in England, **Wales**, and much of **Ireland** followed between 1537 and 1540. *See also* MONASTICISM.

PIUS IV (GIOVANNI [OR GIAN] ANGELO DE' MEDICI), POPE (1499–1565). The son of a lawyer of **Milan**, Giovanni Angelo de' Medici was born in March 1499, studied medicine and law in Pavia, near Milan, and Bologna, northern **Italy**, and received his doctorate of law from the University of Bologna in 1525. He was a senior member of the papal administration under Pope **Paul III** and in December 1545 he became archbishop of Ragusa, in Sicily, and in April 1549 was promoted to the College of Cardinals. Medici continued to serve in the civil service of Paul III's successor **Julius III**, though he withdrew from official life in 1558, during the pontificate of **Paul IV**. Following the latter's death, Medici was elected **pope** in December 1559, following a protracted conclave.

Assisted by his nephew **Carlo Borromeo**, in 1561 and 1562 Pius undertook the reorganization of pontifical administrative departments. One of his major contributions to the renewal of the Catholic Church was his appointment of Borromeo as archbishop of Milan, while the papal bull *Ad Ecclesiae Regimen* of November 1560 reconvened the **Council of Trent**. Following its assembly in January 1562 for what were to be the final sessions, and the successful closure of the Council in December 1563 at the end of the 25th session, in the next month, Pius issued a verbal confirmation of the Council's decrees.

In March 1564 he commenced the enforcement of Trent's decrees with an instruction that bishops should return to their dioceses, and in the same month his bull *Domini Gregis* authorized a revised **Index of Prohibited Books**. In the bull *Benedictus Deus* of June 1564, Pius formally confirmed the Council's decrees, taking in hand their interpretation and execution; in August he set up a commission of cardinals to enforce the decrees and in November he ordered teachers of doctrine, heads of religious orders, and bishops to attest their acceptance of the *Professio Fidei Tridentinae* or "Profession of the Faith of Trent."

Coming in the early period of the Catholic Church's post-Trent recovery, Pius's pontificate was marked by both progress and caution. He abandoned Paul IV's confrontation with **Spain** and subsidized offensives against the **Huguenots** in **France**, but held back from excommunicating **Elizabeth I** of **England**. While the Catholic re-

covery was still in its early stages in central Europe, Pius allowed the use of the chalice to the **laity** in the **eucharist**. A sponsor of education and the arts, Pius IV made a significant contribution to the papal assumption of the direction of **Catholic reform** in the 16th century.

PIUS V (ANTONIO MICHELE GHISLIERI), POPE (1504–1572).

Antonio Ghislieri was born into a poor family living near Alessandria, southwest of **Milan**, in January 1504, and worked as a shepherd until he entered the **Dominican** Order in 1518, taking the name of Michele. Ghislieri studied in Bologna, northern **Italy**, was ordained to the priesthood in 1528, and was a professor in the University of Pavia, near Milan, until 1534, when he was appointed inquisitor for the northern Italian areas of Como and Bergamo. In 1551, on the proposal of his name by Cardinal **Gian Pietro Carafa** to **Pope Julius III**, he was promoted commissary-general of the Roman **Inquisition**.

Ghislieri's career took on a further ascent with the election of his fellow zealot Carafa as Pope **Paul IV**. Consecrated bishop in 1556, he entered the College of Cardinals in the following year and became inquisitor general in 1558. He lost favor under Pope **Pius IV**, who moved him to the diocese of Mondovi in Piedmont, northwest Italy, where he dedicated himself to its reform, as well as acting as patron to the **Barnabites**. In the relatively brief electoral conclave following the death of Pius IV, Ghislieri was the papal candidate of the reformists, led by **Carlo Borromeo**.

Central to the Ghislieri pontificate was a reaffirmation of the saintly charisms of the office of the “holy father.” With his vegetarian peasant's diet and austere Dominican lifestyle, Pius brought asceticism back into the Vatican. **Rome**, once condemned in the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia* as a sink of iniquity, was being converted by this **pope**—some feared—into a kind of vast monastic prison. Meanwhile, the reform program of Trent was steadily advanced by Pius: the lives of the religious orders were put under scrutiny, parish clergy were made to be resident, and the Roman **Catechism**, sometimes known as the catechism of the **Council of Trent**, was issued under the pope's direction in 1566.

The manual of priests' daily “office” of prayer, the breviary—*Breviarium Romanum*, the “Roman Breviary”—was revised and reissued in 1568, and in 1570 a revised rite of the **Mass**, making the Roman form normative throughout the Church, appeared in the *Missale*

Romanum, the “Roman Missal.” In disseminating the decrees of the Council to missionary Churches in Africa, America, and Asia, Pius contributed to making the Catholic Church and the papacy global institutions. His acclamation of his fellow-Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) as a doctor of the Church and his publication in 1570 of a new edition of Aquinas’s works advanced the rehabilitation of the great medieval Scholastic theologian as a foremost influence on Catholic thought.

To set alongside all these achievements on the religious front, there was repression: a revival of Paul IV’s **antisemitism** with an expulsion order of **Jews** from the Papal States in the bull *Hebraeorum Gens* of February 1569; an extension in the power and scope of the **Inquisition**; and the establishment in March 1571 of a new Congregation of the **Index of Prohibited Books**, along with tighter controls on book publishing.

Pius’s political ventures met with mixed fortunes. His creation of an alliance against the **Turks** resulted in the conclusive victory of **Lepanto**, but his assertions of the papacy’s claims over nation-states endangered its relations with Catholic rulers, including **Philip II**, while his excommunication of **Elizabeth I** in the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* of February 1570 proved to be a disaster for English Catholics.

Pius V was canonized in 1712.

POLAND-LITHUANIA. The vast Polish-Lithuanian *Respublica*, or royal commonwealth, brought together in the Union of Lublin of 1569, was characterized by religious and ethnic diversity, with **Jewish**, **Islamic**, and Orthodox communities alongside the 40 percent Polish Catholic proportion of the population. Ethnic Germans in the country were inclined to **Lutheranism** from early days, and Poland’s king of the dynasty of Jagellon, Zygmunt I (Sigismund I, 1467–1548), issued a series of anti-Protestant orders. His son Zygmunt II August (Sigismund II Augustus, 1520–1572) initially adopted repression but from 1557–58 onward allowed Lutheran worship in a number of towns, and in a decree of 1555 gave the politically dominant—and traditionally anticlerical—nobility freedom of religion. The writings of **Martin Luther**, **Philipp Melancthon**, and **John Calvin** were published on presses on aristocratic estates, where services and synods were also held, and an organized **Calvinist** church structure had

come into being by 1554. In this land of extensive practical religious **toleration**, the **antitrinitarianism** of **Fausto Paolo Sozzini** also took root.

The prospects for Polish **Protestantism** turned to a considerable extent on the religious policies of Zygmunt II August. A mission he sent to Pope **Paul IV** in 1556, with its proposals for a liturgy in the vernacular, the chalice for the **laity** in the **eucharist**, and the end of clerical **celibacy**, might suggest a plan to reform and nationalize the Polish Church, placing it under crown control. Zygmunt's pursuit of **tolerance** and his desire to act as a king of all Poles, of whatever faith, also created a framework for the advance of Protestantism. Toleration of religious dissent within the aristocracy was crucial to Polish Protestantism's chances of success and was reaffirmed in the January 1573 Confederation of Warsaw.

Even so, it is worth remembering that, even under the Confederation regime, Poland remained in law, theory, and fact a Catholic state. While the eventual demise of the Polish Reformation was not a foreordained outcome, there were factors that paved the way for Protestant failure and for a Catholic resurgence in early modern Poland. First, key towns, which were also royal boroughs, began to oppose religious change, Kraków (Cracow) in the south of the country closing its Protestant churches in 1591, followed by Poznań in western Poland in 1611 and Lublin, in the east, in 1627. At the same time, Poland's demographic base, the peasantry, remained indifferent to Protestantism, and while it may be true that, like peasants elsewhere, they might have changed their religion had their landlords and/or the monarchy made them do so, that did not happen.

Indeed, at any given time—and despite the preponderance around midcentury of the Protestant voice in the noble-dominated national assembly, the *Sejm*—fewer than 20 percent of the rural gentry were committed to religious change. In a society dominated by aristocratic values, Catholicism became increasingly equated with noble status and with national identity. The successive stages of the re-Catholicization of Poland were: first, the work of Cardinal **Stanislaw Hozjusz** as a Tridentine reformer; next, the formal adoption in 1577 of the decrees of the **Council of Trent**; and then a vigorous Catholic mission of recovery spearheaded by the **Society of Jesus**, led by Piotr Skarga (d. 1612), with an increasing Jesuit control of upper class education.

By the time of the death, in 1632, of Zygmunt III Vasa (b. 1566), Poland was reclaimed for the Catholic Church.

POLE, REGINALD, CARDINAL (1500–1558). Pole was born in March 1500, the son of Sir Richard Pole and his wife, Margaret Plantagenet (1473–1541), Countess of Salisbury, a descendant of **England's** 15th-century royal House of York. He was educated at the Charterhouse School in London. Sponsored by **Henry VIII**, Pole studied in Oxford, where he took his B.A. in 1515, and between 1521 and 1527 in Padua (Padova) in **Italy**, acquiring a reputation as a **humanist** scholar and moving in a circle of learned acquaintances and correspondents. Back in England by 1527, he was made dean of Exeter, the cathedral city in the far west of England.

Pole's misgivings over the king's attempts to undo his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** alienated him from Henry and in 1532 he was given leave to go back to Italy, where he gravitated toward **evangelical** circles, around **Juan de Valdés**, strongly drawn to acceptance of **justification by faith**. Opposed to Henry VIII's annulment proceedings and to the separation of England from Rome, in 1536—when he became a cardinal—he published in Italy his defense of the unity of the Church, *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*. Parliament passed an Act of Attainder (a statutory death sentence) against him, and his brother, Sir Henry Pole, Baron Montagu, or Montacute (b. 1492), and his mother were executed, in December 1538 and May 1541 respectively.

As an advocate of **Catholic reform**, Pole was placed by Pope **Paul III** on the commission that produced the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia*. He was governor of Viterbo, near Rome, from 1541 and was appointed presiding legate in the **Council of Trent** in February 1545, eloquently giving the Council its opening agenda of **Catholic reform**, but in the sixth session, in January 1547, he failed to carry the Council with him to accept his evangelical views on justification.

In the lengthy papal electoral conclave that resulted in the choice of **Julius III** early in 1550, Pole was widely regarded as a strong contender, and in the end was defeated by only a single vote. Following the accession of his distant cousin **Mary I** in November 1554, Pole, with his attainder reversed, arrived back in his own country as the **pope's** direct representative—*legatus a latere*—in the realm. He

formally reconciled England with Rome and in 1556, having been ordained cardinal priest, succeeded **Thomas Cranmer** as archbishop of Canterbury.

Pole directed a program of **Catholic reform**, including the production of a sermon collection and a **catechism**, both authored by his episcopal colleague Edmund Bonner (d. 1569), bishop of London. About 2,000 priests were made to give up the wives they had married under **Edward VI**, and Pole held a national synod which commanded bishops to be resident in their dioceses and prepared for the setting up of **seminaries**. Clearly, Mary's reign was too brief to complete a durable plan of Catholic reform in England, but it saw the executions of 280 Protestants—though Pole himself would have preferred to see them reconverted to Catholicism. Within hours of the queen's death, Pole, deprived of his office of legate in April 1557 by his enemy Pope **Paul IV**, died in November 1558, having established in England a laboratory of **Counter-Reformation**.

POPES. The 16th century saw a resurgence in the prestige and power of the papal office within the Catholic Church. Although when faced with the challenge of **Lutheranism**, a Council was an obvious starting point for the renewal of the Church, there were those in the papal court who argued against such a gathering, some officials fearing that reforms would undermine their privileges and incomes. Thus it was all the more important that **Paul III** pushed forward in his determination to call a council. During the sessions of the **Council of Trent**, the papacy kept an oversight on it through its legates, and following its conclusion, it was the papacy, in the person of **Pius IV**, who confirmed its proceedings and issued the ***Professio Fidei Tridentinae***. Trent carried out a vast quantity of detailed work in all its fields of operation, but after its dispersal in 1563, it was not left with any permanent secretariat, so that the execution of its proposals, in the promulgation of a breviary, missal, **catechism**, and **Index**, was left to the Holy See, especially in the person of **Pius V**.

It was also essential that the Catholic Reformation restore the saintly character that many expected of the papal office, a hope that reached fulfillment in Pius V. It was also vital that popes restore their special relationship with **Rome** and with the city's centrality in Catholic spiritual life: **Gregory XIII** reaffirmed the city's role as a ritual and pilgrimage center, for example with the great jubilee, or holy

year, of 1575, and **Sixtus V** carried out a building and city-planning program to accomplish that end. Sixtus also modernized the pontifical administration on the bureaucratic and departmental lines of other states of the age. Inevitably, though, the papacy's earlier ambitions to play an independent political role on the Italian or European stage were eclipsed in the peninsula itself by the hegemony of **Spain**.

There were 17 pontificates between 1503 and 1605, compared with six between 1800 and 1903 and nine between 1903 and 2005. Papal reigns in that period tended to be of short duration—those of Pius III (September–October 1503), **Adrian VI** (January 1522–September 1523), Marcellus II (April–May 1555), Urban VII (15–27 September 1590), Gregory XIV (December 1590–October 1591), and Innocent IX (October–December 1591)—dramatically so. At the same time, while the longest reign was that of Paul III (1534–49), there was no very long 16th-century pontificate along the lines of those of Pius IX (1846–78) or Pius VI (1775–99). The average length of a 16th-century pontificate, taking a reign of less than 12 months as the equivalent of a year, was just over six years, and in the period when **Philip II** ruled in Spain, nine popes were elected. It is all the more striking that, in this office that was so often the gateway of death to its occupants, so much was achieved in terms of its reconstruction.

The headship of this international institution was dominated by Italians, Adrian VI being the last non-Italian to be elected until John Paul II, in 1978. Of course, when we say “Italians,” we need to take account of the diversity of the “geographical expression,” **Italy**, but also to note a particular pattern according to which a number of popes came from the cities of north and center of the country: two from Florence (Firenze), two from Bologna, two from Rome itself, and two from Siena (or near it). In terms of social background, the largest single element in the group, seven, came from the nobility, six from middle class or professional backgrounds, and another four from “poor,” peasant, or working families. The names they assumed on election—two, Adrian VI and Marcellus II, retaining their original Christian names—saw a pattern in papal nomenclature: three Popes Paul and three of Pius, and two each of Clement, Gregory, and Leo; in these choices new popes might pay tribute to predecessors who had advanced their careers. There has so far been no Pope Julius since Julius III, no Pope Marcellus since Marcellus II, no Pope Adrian since

Adrian VI, and no Pope Sixtus since Sixtus V. *See also* CATHOLIC REFORM; CLEMENT VII; COUNTER-REFORMATION; JULIUS III; LEO X; PAUL IV.

POPULAR RELIGION. A key feature of popular religion and religious mentalities in the 16th century was a continuing readiness to view “religion” as essentially a bridgehead between two interconnected realms, the “spiritual” and the “worldly,” with religious performances, rituals, objects (such as blessed water), and prayers operating as mechanisms through which the sphere of supernature went to work on nature, on our bodies and their health needs, on the material and agricultural worlds, and on human society and its need for peace.

Saints, as God’s particular friends, were accepted as agents for bringing to bear supernatural power to influence natural situations. This might mean that men and women would seek healing at saintly pilgrimage sites—as, to take one example, people suffering from a wide range of ailments in pre-Reformation **England** would travel in search of cures to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester (1197–1253), where three dead people were said to have been resurrected.

Saints were thus powerful deployers of spiritual power for curative purposes, two in particular—the 14th-century St. Rock (in French, St. Roche, in Italian San Rocco) and the semilegendary early martyr St. Sebastian—were regarded as remedial against plague. Saints were also looked to as problem-solvers in other spheres, including agriculture. Thus, a royal-commissioned survey of village cults carried out in **Spain** under **Philip II** recorded the way that the inhabitants of a village in New Castile (in the center of the peninsula) kept a vow to do collective honor to the great saint Gregory of Nazianzus (329–389) in return for his rescuing them from a plague of locusts, fatal to their crops.

PORTUGAL. From the early 16th century Portugal was one of the European states to whose monarchs the papacy was granting rights of control over the Church—in the case of Portugal, the *Padroado*, which was in effect a royal supremacy over the Church in the kingdom’s expanding colonial empire, stemming from the **discoveries in the New World** and expansion into Africa and Asia.

In Africa, from the middle of the 15th century, Portuguese expansion proceeded down the west coast, propelled by the slave trade, which also made Christians of its victims. There was a prospect of a Portuguese Catholic colonial expansion into central Africa: Mvemba Nzinga (d. 1543), ruler of the Congo (or Kongo), became a Christian and took the Portuguese name of Affonso I, Africans were ordained to the priesthood, Affonso's son was consecrated a bishop, and the Jesuits ran a college in the country for 50 years between 1625 and 1675. Even so, Portuguese interest in the continent was increasingly guided by the centrality of the slave trade and its importance in the economy of Portuguese Brazil.

Africa was also part of a Portuguese route to Asia. By 1487 the explorer Bartholomeu Dias (or Diaz, 1450?–1500) had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, at the southern extremity of the African continent, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama (1469?–1524) reached **India** by rounding Africa: the sea lanes were now open for a Portuguese colonial extension toward India, to be centered on **Goa**, the starting point of **Francis Xavier's** mission.

In 1500 another Portuguese explorer, Pedro Alvarez Cabral (1460?–1526), set sail westward and, almost fortuitously, landed in May of that year on the coast of Brazil, claiming it for the crown of Portugal, since in the 1493 bull *Inter Caetera* Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) had set up a vertical boundary 300 miles west of the Azores, to the east of which all territory was to be ceded to Portugal and to the west of it to Spain—an arbitration which, in modified form, was accepted by both crowns in the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. The **Society of Jesus** moved into the colony of Brazil from 1549 and in 1551 a Jesuit, Manuel da Nóbrega (1517–1570), the Society's first general in the Americas, established a mission settlement, known as a “reduction,” for indigenous people near what is today São Paulo, in southeast Brazil. Forty-thousand native Americans lived in such settlements by 1570 and, though the original nucleus fell victim to epidemic and slave raids, new reductions later developed with further penetration into the interior of the continent.

Of all the “Latin” countries of Europe, Portugal was the one least touched by **Protestantism**. Partly this was the outcome of repressive policies adopted by the monarchy, including the setting up of the **Inquisition** in 1536 (dealing largely with the survivors of an expulsion of the **Jewish** people in the country in 1497). The early, and unconfirmed,

decrees of the Council of Trent were received in Portugal in 1553 and the **Congregation of the Oratory** put down firm roots in the kingdom. In his great epic, *Os Lusíadas*, published in 1572, the national poet, Luis de Camões (c. 1524–1580), celebrated the close alignment between Catholic faith and Portuguese identity.

In 1578 Portugal's king Sebastião (Sebastian, b. 1554) fell in a crusading battle in Morocco and, although a millenarian-royalist movement—that of the *Sebastianistas*—confident of his return, outlasted him, his throne eventually fell in 1581 to a dynastic claimant, **Philip II**, as son of Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539).

PREDESTINATION. Given the Christian image of a deity both all-knowing (omniscient) and all-powerful (omnipotent), it is not surprising that the doctrines of the Christian Churches have emphasized both God's prior knowledge and prior ordering of human destiny with regard to salvation. One of the most influential of medieval theologians, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), followed in the footsteps of his mentor, the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430), in dwelling on God's sovereignty in the choice (or "election") of those He has marked out for salvation.

Reformation thought reaffirmed Augustinian principles in reasserting the sovereign majesty of the Almighty, and in his most emphatic denial of human **free will**, the *De Servo Arbitrio*, "On the Bondage of the Will" (1525), **Martin Luther** proclaimed that God "foresees and purposes and does all things by his immutable, eternal and infallible will" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 176).

A related question was that of what is known as "double predestination," according to which God predestines not only the salvation of the elect but the damnation of their opposite numbers, the "unregenerate" or "reprobate": as **John Calvin** expressed it in the edition of the "**Institutes of the Christian Religion**" of 1559, "We call predestination God's eternal decree, by which he compacted with himself what he willed to become of each man. For all are not created in equal condition; rather, eternal life is foreordained for some, eternal damnation for others. Therefore, as any man has been created to one or other of these ends, we speak of him as being predestined to life or death" (Cameron, *The European Reformation*, p. 209).

In contrast, the Church of **England**, while maintaining in the Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion** (article 17) a doctrine of election as “the everlasting purpose of God”—a doctrine “of sweet, pleasant and unspeakable comfort” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 618)—drew back from stating double predestination.

The theory known as “supralapsarian,” as developed by **Théodore Beza**, envisaged God as knowing the Fall of humanity in advance.

PRINTING. The first in time of the mass media, printing had a massive impact in the Reformation and **Counter-Reformation**. The technical speed of production with metal movable type, when compared with the earlier slow laboriousness of manuscript copying, made possible not only rapid and large-scale circulation of texts but also great rapidity of exchange over issues of debate. His facility as a writer as well as his industry meant that **Martin Luther** could respond adroitly to the technological capacity of the press to turn material around speedily. For example, in June 1521 **Henry VIII**’s defense of the seven **sacraments** against Luther, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, was published—and on 1 August Luther’s riposte, “Against Henry, King of the English” came out, in German and then in Latin.

In January 1523 rumors were being spread that Luther was denying Christ’s divinity, and he was able, with immediate effect, to produce a response that took the form of the pro-**Jewish** work, *Das Jhesus Christus eyn Geborner Jude sey*—“That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew”—a best-seller that appeared, again thanks to the rapidity of the medium, in nine editions in the same year. A downside of this speed of delivery, as least as far as Luther was concerned, was that slower production methods might have delayed the appearance of over-hasty writings, or even ensured the withdrawal of ill-advised tracts, such as Luther’s attack on the **Peasants’ Revolt**, *Wider die räuberischen und mörderische Rotten der Bauern*—“Against the Thieving and Murdering Hordes of Peasants.” This violent work calling for the slaughter of the insurgents was inspired by Luther’s disgust at peasant violence in April 1525 but appeared when the tide had rapidly turned against them and they faced massacre, in around May.

While the mass-production advantages of printing have rightly been appreciated, for example with regard to the profusion of

low-cost **pamphlets** in the Reformation, we also need to be aware of the services that printing paid to the **bible**, to its translation and its distribution, from the arrival of the first printed book, the Latin Scriptures, the Vulgate, in c. 1450, through Luther's German New Testament of September 1522—selling an amazing 3–5,000 copies within months—to the profusion of other versions in print in European and, increasingly, non-European languages.

On the face of it, printing, by multiplying texts on a large scale, made their destruction less possible than it had been in the age of the manuscript. However, two printed books considered to be unorthodox, the Catholic **evangelical** *Beneficio di Cristo Crocifisso* (1543) and **Michael Servetus's** denial of the doctrine of the Trinity in *Christianismi Restitutio* (1553) barely escaped complete obliteration within the 16th century. *See also* LITERACY; LITERATURE.

PROFESSIO FIDEI TRIDENTINAE. Following the closure of the **Council of Trent**, in November 1564, with the bull *Iniunctum Nobis* Pope **Pius IV** issued the *Professio Fidei Tridentinae*, or “Profession of the Faith of Trent.” The bull required bishops, heads of religious orders, and Catholic theologians to give their assent annually to the normative “Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan” Creed accepted by the Council of Nicea in 325 and endorsed by the Council of Constantinople in 381. In addition, *Iniunctum Nobis* required compliance with and public recitation of articles of faith comprising a **confession** on issues such as tradition and Scripture, the authority of the **pope** as the vicar of Christ, the seven **sacraments**, ceremonies, original sin, and **justification** according to Trent's decrees, the sacrifice of the **Mass**, transubstantiation in the **eucharist**, **purgatory**, the invocation of **saints**, the value of images, and the validity of **indulgences**.

PROTESTANTISM. The word “Protestant” first entered the language of history with the protestation entered in the second **Diet of Speyer** against the revocation of the pro-**Evangelical** resolution of its predecessor, the 1526 Speyer Diet. The word, however, has acquired a wider currency as a comprehensive term for a large group of non-Roman Catholic or Orthodox Christian Churches—the **Evangelical** family of **Lutheranism**, the **Calvinist** or **Reformed**, the Church of **England** and the **Anglican** communion, and the **puritan** or Nonconformist group—which can be seen to have common historic features.

These have included: acceptance of **justification** of fallen humanity by **grace** through **faith** in Christ crucified; rejection of the authority of the papacy, and reliance on the Scripture as the word of God—as the English scholar William Chillingworth (1602–1644) put it, “The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants” (Partington, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 1999); generally speaking, simplification of worship, conducted in the vernacular, with emphasis on preaching; high standards of personal and public morality and concern with careful keeping of Sunday as the sabbath of the new law; and care for social justice, for example in leading antislavery agitations. *See also* BIBLE; BUCER, MARTIN; CALVIN, JOHN; LUTHER, MARTIN; ZWINGLI, HULDRYCH.

PURGATORY. As it had evolved up to the eve of the Reformation, the doctrine of purgatory envisaged a condition of being purified in a phase between the person’s death and his or her entry into heaven, a state in which the satisfaction still due to sins absolved in the **sacrament** of **penance** and the expiation of the lesser sins known as “venial” could be carried out. The souls in purgatory were “holy” and were on course for eternal life, and, it was “holy and devout” to pray for them “so that they might be released from their sin” (2 Maccabees 12:45); **indulgences** could be acquired on their behalf, and **confraternities** and endowed chantry chapels to celebrate **Masses** on behalf of donors in purgatory developed in the later Middle Ages.

Martin Luther’s starting point, in the Ninety-Five Theses, was acceptance of the reality of purgatory, and it took him some time—until from around 1530—to jettison such a belief. Other Reformers placed the simple binary of heaven and hell where the triangle of heaven, hell, and purgatory had been: the viewpoint set out in the Thirty-Nine **Articles of Religion** of the Church of **England** to the effect that the “Romish” doctrine of purgatory was “a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 620) was typical of a widespread Protestant view that the concept was a fabrication.

The **Council of Trent** restated the faith in purgatory that had been upheld by the Councils of Lyon (Lyons, 1274) and Florence (Firenze, 1439), as well as by the testimony of one of the most authoritative of medieval theologians, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). The key Tridentine decree came in the 25th session, in December 1562, reaffirming

the existence of purgatory, and that the souls in it are assisted by the prayers and Masses offered up by those on earth. Purgatory was also validated in the *Professio Fidei Tridentinae*. However, Trent also warned bishops to teach the “sound doctrine” of Purgatory, handed down through tradition, but in preaching to withhold from the “unlettered folk the more difficult and subtle questions which do not tend to edification and from which no increase of piety is wont to arise” (Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*, p. 319).

PURITANS. The term “puritan” is traceable in **England** to the reign of **Elizabeth I**, and, from the 1560s, was used for those who wished to further the reform of the Established Church by purifying it of Catholic retentions, especially the vestment known as the surplice in religious services, in what became known as the “vestiarian controversy.” Thanks to the Cambridge lectures of **Thomas Cartwright**, from 1570 onward a second wave of the puritan movement began to agitate for the replacement of hierarchical **episcopacy** by a **church order** based on the presbyterial system of ministers of equal standing, as established by **John Calvin** in **Geneva** and adopted by other **Reformed** churches such as that of **Scotland**.

In the **Admonitions Controversy** demands for institutional and liturgical change were brought together in further pressure to deepen the Protestant character of the Church of England, and in the Marprelate Tracts a satirical campaign was conducted to promote the puritan cause. From the early 1580s, and under the rule of the antipuritan archbishop of Canterbury **John Whitgift**, some puritan elements who were doubtful of the capacity of the Church to reform itself further, began to form **separatist** groups, the precursors of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England.

Those given the label “puritan” were characterized by upright moral lives of self-control and careful observance of Sunday as the Lord’s day. They were ridiculed by their foes as busybodies and killjoys, as, for instance, in the character of Malvolio in William Shakespeare’s (1564–1616) *Twelfth Night* (1599) and the figure of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), by Ben Jonson (c. 1573–1637).

In the 17th century, the puritan movement became increasingly politicized. In 1603 an estimated 1,000 ministers identifiable as puritan submitted to the new King James I (1566–1625) a “Millenary

Petition” calling for further change in the Church along **Calvinist** lines: the outcome was a conference at Hampton Court near **London** which in turn resulted in the appearance of a new translation of the Scriptures, the “King James” or “Authorized” version of 1611. In England’s civil wars of 1642–1651 and their sequel, under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) puritanism became the engine of a political, social, and religious revolution.

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RACOVIAN CATECHISM. Raków, near Sandomierz in southern **Poland**, emerged in the second half of the 16th century as a center of **antitrinitarian** belief on the estates of the nobleman Jan Sieninski, where a settlement was set up, with a college (1569) and a printing press. Following the death of **Fausto Paolo Sozzini** in 1604, the year 1605 saw the publication in Raków of a new **confession** of faith, influenced by Sozzini himself, first issued in Polish in 1605 and subsequently in an extended German version in 1608, and in Latin in 1609: the last of these was dedicated to the **Calvinist** King James I of **England** (1566–1625).

The Raków **catechism** called into question accepted doctrines such as the Trinity, **justification** by **faith**, and **predestination** to eternal damnation, but upheld the figure of Christ in the highest esteem as a moral pattern to be imitated: as the Catechism’s opening statement puts it, “The Christian religion is the way of attaining eternal life which God has pointed out by Jesus Christ; or, in other words, it is the method of serving God, who will reward the obedient with eternal life, and punish the disobedient with death” (Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*, p. 234). The Racovian Catechism also acclaimed the miracle of Christ’s birth, the perfection of His human nature, His adoption by the Father, and His role as mediator and example, as well as the token, especially in His Resurrection, of the forgiveness of human beings by the Almighty.

RADICAL REFORMATION. Common to all the main variants of religious reform in Western Christianity in the 16th century was a quest for the restitution of an earlier ideal of the Church, along with a desire to clear away the corruptions that had, allegedly, grown up

over the centuries in order to return to a simpler, purer life of faith and practice based on the apostolic vision of the New Testament. In that sense, all the mainstream varieties of reformism—**Anglicanism**, **Calvinism**, **Catholic reform**, and the sweeping changes brought in by **Huldrych Zwingli**—could be said to be radical, inasmuch as they all aimed to get back to the ancient roots, in Latin *radices*, of Christian life. The particular factors that made the Radical Reformation radical were the speed with which change was envisaged, and the extent to which, and the literalism with which, an authentic model of the pristine Church was envisaged.

Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt was a pioneer Reformation radical in the sense that he insisted that the changes that **Martin Luther**'s doctrinal system called for, especially the availability of the chalice for the **laity** in the **eucharist**, were to be implemented, in Wittenberg, during Luther's absence from the city, in 1521–22, without delay, or without consideration of political convenience. For purposes of comparison, the English **separatists** under **Elizabeth I** demanded a complete break with the Catholic past, taking no account of politically motivated delays to their program.

Further, the radicals of the Radical Reformation were determined to recreate the Church of the New Testament as faithfully as possible—an institution that had been made up of adult converts who had made their entry into it by accepting **baptism** beyond childhood: the most striking feature of Anabaptism, believers' baptism, was the clearest expression of its members' imperative to be modeled on 1st-century Christians. Though Anabaptism developed a militant profile, as with **Thomas Müntzer** and the millenarian revolutionaries of **Münster**, both the pacifism, the rejection of oaths and the acceptance of community of goods that characterized what may be described as normative groups such as the **Hutterites** derived from an utterly literal adherence to Scripture, in these cases to texts such as Matthew 5:39, Matthew 5:34, and Acts 2:44–45 respectively.

Radicalism can also be used as an appropriate term for unconventional and unorthodox groupings such as the **Family of Love** and nonconformist individuals such as **Sebastian Castellio**, **Hans Denck**, **Sebastian Franck**, **Kaspar Schwenckfeld**, **Michael Servetus**, **Lelio Francesco Maria Sozini**, and **Fausto Paolo Sozzini**.

RAMUS, PIERRE (DE LA RAMÉE, PIERRE, RAMUS, PETRUS) (1515–1572). Ramus was born in Cuth, a village near Soissons, northeast of **Paris**, the son of a charcoal-burner, and studied philosophy at the Collège de Navarre in the University of Paris. His studies led to his disillusionment with the prevailing authority of Aristotle (384–322 BC), the intellectual mainstay of the traditional Scholastic academic method: Ramus insisted that reason must supplant deference to tradition, and in his M.A. thesis in 1536 he declared the falsity of all of Aristotle's teachings. Ramus went on to teach Latin and Greek literature, aiming, in **humanist** fashion, to combine its insights with those of philosophy, and turning to the study of logic and to the reform of the teaching of the subject in the academic curriculum.

Ramus's attacks on Aristotle, in works such as *Animadversiones in dialecticam Aristotilis* ("Observations on Aristotle's Dialectics," 1543), attracted enemies, and his university lectures were suppressed. Ramus, however, had powerful patrons, **Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine**, and the Cardinal Charles de Bourbon (1523–1590), archbishop of Rouen, and through their patronage in 1545 he was made head of the Collège de Presles, while in 1551 Guise had a professorship in rhetoric and philosophy created for him in the Collège Royal, where he also became dean.

Ramus's conversion to **Protestantism** took place in c. 1561–62 and in 1568 he left Paris, traveled in **Germany** and **Switzerland**, and in 1569 settled in Heidelberg, capital of the German **Calvinist** state of the Rhineland **Palatinate**. He returned to **France** in 1571, and at a synod of the French **Reformed** Church in Nîmes in Provence spoke in favor of a more democratic form of ecclesiastical government. He was killed in the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**.

Ramus wrote on the branches of mathematics, French, Latin and Greek grammar, morality, theology, and rhetoric and was an early champion of the astronomy of **Nikolaus Copernicus**. He opposed the introduction of Scholastic-Aristotelian language and concepts into Calvinist thought and maintained a clear and logical intellectual system that won him a Europe-wide group of followers known as "Ramists."

RECUSANCY, RECUSANTS. In **England** recusancy, from the Latin verb *recusare*, to refuse or reject, was first defined in the **Acts**

of **Uniformity** of 1552 and 1559, which set a fine of one shilling (twice a laborer's daily wage) for each individual absence from the Protestant worship of the parish churches on Sundays and holy days. In the 1560s the government did not prosecute a rigorous campaign against the Catholic (or "popish") recusants, who were often served by "massing priests" surviving from the reign of **Mary I** and earlier. However, the clerical leaders of the English Catholic community, **William Allen** and Laurence Vaux (1519–1585), were determined to prevent any acceptance by English Catholics of the Church of England, and in 1566 Vaux brought into the country the decree of Pope **Pius V** forbidding the presence of Catholics in Protestant places of worship.

Acute crisis for the English Catholic community came in 1569 with the Revolt of the Northern Earls against **Elizabeth I** and with the excommunication of the queen by Pius V in the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, 1570, and a series of Catholic conspiracies against her began with the Ridolfi Plot in 1571. Parliament responded in 1571 with a Treasons Act declaring it to be high treason, punishable by death, to call into question the queen's title to the throne or to declare her to be a heretic. Served by a series of priests such as **Edmund Campion** from **seminaries** on the Continent, especially by Allen's foundation at **Douai**, the lay recusants were also increasingly marginalized and repressed.

In an Act of 1581 the recusancy fines were raised to £20 per month. Further plots against Elizabeth—those of Francis Throckmorton (1554–1584) in 1583, William Parry (d. 1585) in 1585, and Anthony Babington (1561–1586) in 1586—were both the cause and effect of penal legislation. A further statute, of 1587, threatened the confiscation of two-thirds of a recusant's property, and in 1593 it became an offense, punishable by a fine of £10 per month, to shelter a recusant.

The penal legislation was most stringently enforced in periods of political crisis, though priests remained in constant danger, and an estimated 124 of them were executed under Elizabeth. One way to avoid the fines and other penalties for lay Catholicism was for a Catholic male head of family to attend the parish church, as a **church papist**, leaving **women** with growing responsibility in directing a Catholicism based on the household. The Catholic faith survived as a minority faith, especially among the landed gentry and nobility, their

tenants and dependents, and most strongly in northern English counties such as Lancashire and Yorkshire.

A further form of recusancy was that of **separatists**, who rejected what they saw as the unreformed Church of England and against whom the Act of Parliament to Retain Her Majesty's Subjects in Their Due Obedience, 1593, was passed, making it an offense punishable by imprisonment to be absent from parish worship and to join alternative religious assemblies.

REFORM, IMPERIAL. Late medieval **Germany** was increasingly fragmented into virtually independent territorial states, and self-governing cities (*Reichstädte*), with the result of internal disorder and military and political weakness as a nation-state, especially vis-à-vis **France** and the **Turks**. The **Holy Roman Empire** also underwent territorial losses, as with the effective secession of **Switzerland** in September 1499.

A process of reform, however, began in the reign of Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519), when the **Diet** became a platform for change, and the archbishop of Mainz between 1484 and 1504, the arch-chancellor of the Empire, Berchtold von Henneberg (1441/2–1504), emerged as its spokesman. In 1488 Maximilian re-formed the Swabian League as an alliance of states and cities to bring order to the politically fragmented southwest of the country. The Diets meeting in Worms in 1495 and Augsburg in 1500 declared a permanent pacification between the states (*der ewige Landfriede*), established a national supreme court (*Reichskammergericht*) and regency council (*Reichsregiment*), and introduced a scheme of national taxation. Meeting in Cologne (Köln) in 1512, the Diet divided the German-speaking heartlands of the Holy Roman Empire into 10 administrative and military districts known as “circles” (*Kreise*). Maximilian took a personal hand in the reorganization of government, setting up a privy council (*Hofrat*) in 1502.

Diets provided a further sounding-board for reform through the regular presentation of the *Gravamina Nationis Teutonicae*: the **Diet of Worms** in 1521 listed the nation's complaints against the papacy and against the clergy within Germany, and the **Diet of Nuremberg**, 1522–23, renewed those complaints.

Princes of the rank of elector (*Kurfürst*) shared in the mood of reformism in early 16th-century Germany and in their election of

Charles V in June 1519 imposed on him measures to encourage governmental change and national awareness—a continuation of the *Reichskammergericht* and *Reichsregiment*, the status of German (alongside Latin) as the official language, the exclusive employment of Germans in offices of state, and the holding of the Diet only in the German Lands.

Leading authors joined in calls for reform, for example in *Das Narrenschiff* (“The Ship of Fools,” 1494), a verse satire on abuses in society and the Church and a call for renewal, authored by the city secretary of **Strassburg**, Sebastian Brant (1457–1521). **Ulrich von Hutten**’s *Vadiscus* of 1518 typified a **literature** of complaint and reform.

Martin Luther himself was a voice in the campaign for religious, political, and social reform, and his tract of 1520 *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von den christlichen Standes Besserung*—“Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Amelioration of the Christian Estate”—with its focus of hope in Charles as a leader of the ruling elite in the regeneration of the country, is a classic of the genre.

Even so, an important consequence of the Reformation—the division of Germany into confessional camps, based on the independent territorial states and self-governing cities—destroyed the hopes of the reform movement as a factor making for German national unification.

REFORMED. Just as the followers of **Martin Luther** preferred as a term for their beliefs the word “**Evangelical**,” indicating a creed found in the gospels rather than in the thought of any one particular individual, so **John Calvin**’s disciples distanced themselves from such terms as “Calvinist” or “**Calvinism**,” which implied that the faith in question was the product of one man’s mind. An alternative to the nickname **Huguenot**, the term “ceux de l’Église réformée”—“those of the Reformed Church”—was favored by French Calvinists: an English work of 1588 referred to “the fidelities of the Reformed and the conspiracies of the League,” and the diarist John Evelyn (1620–1706) commented that the French Protestants would have accepted **episcopacy** “had they a King of the Reform’d Religion” (*The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 349). However, Catholic propaganda countered the usage with the dismissive *Église prétendue réformée*—“so-called Reformed Church.”

THE RENAISSANCE. From the Italian word for rebirth, *rinascimento*, rendered in French as *renaissance*, the Renaissance was a voyage of intellectual and cultural rediscovery of the legacy of ancient Greece and Rome. A key figure in its origins was the poet Francesco Petrarca or Petracco, known as Petrarch (1304–1374), and from the 14th century onward the movement and its exponents—poets, artists, sculptors, architects, philosophers, linguists—found favor and patronage in Italian cities such as Florence (Firenze) and **Venice** and in princely courts including those of Mantua (Mantova) and Ferrara, both in northwest **Italy**, and Urbino in the center of the peninsula. By the early 16th century, a series of popes, notably the Florentines **Leo X** and **Clement VII**, had made papal **Rome** the headwaters of Renaissance culture.

Two key features of the civilization of the Renaissance were admiration and emulation of the aesthetic standards and achievements of classical Greece and Rome and realism and naturalism. The former can be seen particularly in the architectural aims and accomplishments present in Renaissance Italy: the dominant northern medieval style, especially in ecclesiastical architecture, the Gothic, was disparaged, as the leading architectural practitioners, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472); the papal architect Donato d’Agnolo (or d’Angelo), known as Bramante Lazzari (1444–1514); and Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), sought to recreate the simplicity and symmetry that they saw in the building work of ancient Athens and Rome.

Realism and naturalism, alongside psychological insight in portraiture, were evident in artists of the period including **Michelangelo** and **Titian** as well as in northern artists such as **Lukas Cranach** and **Albrecht Dürer**. Another form of realism was evident in the political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), who, in *Il Principe* (“The Prince,” 1513), described politics, not in terms of what ought to be the case ideally, but in the portrayal of actual practice.

In the field of ideas, philosophy, and theology a reaction took place against medieval **Scholasticism** and in favor of the **humanist** study of the ancient languages—the elegant Latin used by ancient Roman writers such as Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the Greek of ancient Athens, and the Hebrew of the Old Testament. In Italy, Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) promoted the study of Hebrew, as did **Johann Reuchlin** in **Germany**, and in **France** Guillaume Budé, known as Budaeus (1467–1540), was to the fore in

promoting the Greek linguistic studies that reached their highest level of accomplishment with **Desiderius Erasmus**'s edition of the New Testament, initially in 1516, the *Novum Instrumentum*, the text that took the reader directly into the spirit and mind of the early Christian Church, and the point at which Renaissance began to pave the way for Reformation.

REUCHLIN (CAPNEO), JOHANN OR JOHANNES (1455–1522).

A great-uncle of **Philipp Melanchthon**, Reuchlin was born in Pforzheim in the Black Forest in southwest **Germany**, was taught by the Brethren of the Common Life, exponents of the *devotio moderna*, and was educated at the universities in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, Freiburg-im-Breisgau in Germany, and **Paris**. In 1475 he moved to Basel and worked on a Latin dictionary, *Vocabularius Breviloquus* ("A Succinct Vocabulary"), published in 1475–76. In 1476 he undertook legal studies at the French universities of Orléans and Poitiers, and from 1481 lectured at the University of Tübingen in **Württemberg**.

In 1482 and 1490 Reuchlin visited **Italy** on state business for Duke Eberhard of Württemberg (1445–1496) and began studying Hebrew. His Italian visits also brought him into contact with the country's leading gentile Hebraist, the **humanist** Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and with an influential figure in the campaign to reintroduce the teachings of the philosopher Plato (c. 427–c. 347 BC), Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499).

In 1496 Reuchlin settled in Heidelberg in the Rhineland **Palatinate** and began to promote the study of Greek, eventually establishing the standard modern "Reuchlinian" form of pronouncing the language. He visited Italy again in 1498 on a mission to **Rome** for the Elector Palatine Philipp (1448–1508) and in 1500 he was appointed a magistrate in Stuttgart, the capital of the Duchy of Württemberg. Reuchlin published his *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* ("Introduction to the Hebrew Language"), a combined dictionary and grammar, in 1506 but subsequently ran into a controversy aroused by a convert from **Judaism**, Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1524), who in 1509 set out to persuade Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519) to censor Jewish books. The case was referred to the German universities and to Reuchlin, whose proposal that Jewish books be spared, except for those that attacked the Christian religion directly, drew down an offensive

against him by the head of the **Inquisition** for the areas of Cologne (Köln), Mainz, and Trier, the **Dominican** Jakob van Hoogstraeten (c.1460–1527).

A **pamphlet** war followed, and Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* ("Ophthalmoscope," 1511), defending the value of studying postbiblical Jewish texts, was burned in Cologne, and its author was called before the Inquisition in 1513 but was acquitted by a papal commission meeting in the Rhineland city of Speyer in 1514 and 1516, the matter having been referred to the Fifth **Lateran Council**, winning a decision favorable to Reuchlin. **Martin Luther** championed his cause and his case gave rise to the work, attributed in part to **Ulrich von Hutten**, *Epistolae Virorum Obscurorum* (*Dunkelmännerbriefe*, "Letters of Shady Characters," 1515–1517), an attack by humanist authors on ignorant monks and reactionary Scholastics, with passages deriding them purporting to be abstracted from their own letters to one another.

Late in life, Reuchlin was appointed professor of Greek at the University of Ingolstadt by Duke Wilhelm (William) IV of **Bavaria** (1493–1550) but in 1520, amid the conservative reaction set in motion by the Luther affair, Pope **Leo X** canceled the ruling given at Speyer and ordered Reuchlin to observe silence and pay the costs of his case, condemning the *Augenspiegel*. Johann Reuchlin died, an academic colleague of **Johann Maier von Eck** and a convinced Catholic who tried to persuade Melancthon not to associate with Luther, in Bad Liebenzell in the Black Forest, southwest Germany.

A statesman as well as a scholar and a prolific author, Reuchlin published editions of Greek classical texts of the orator Demosthenes (385?–322 BC), the physician Hippocrates (460?–?377 BC), and the epic poet Homer; a Greek grammar; pamphlets dealing with controversial issues; and a satirical play aimed at his conservative foes. However, his chief claim to fame rests on his work as a Hebraist, enshrining his conviction that the Jewish mystical book, the Cabala (or Kabbalah), contained the key to the esoteric secrets of the ages: in *De Verbo Mirifico* ("The Wonder-Working Word," 1494) and *De Arte Cabbalistica* ("Concerning the Cabalistic Arts," 1517), he aimed at a fresh synthesis of Judaism and Christianity. His work on Hebrew also contributed substantially to humanist-inspired knowledge of the Old Testament, facilitating an accuracy of understanding and improving the tools used for **bible** translation.

RIDLEY, NICHOLAS (c. 1500–1555). Nicholas Ridley was born in Willimontswick Castle, Northumberland in northeast **England**, the son of Christopher Ridley and his wife Ann, *née* Blenkinsop. He went to school in nearby Newcastle-upon-Tyne and proceeded to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1522, took up the study of theology and philosophy, was ordained, probably in 1524, became a fellow of his college, and took his M.A. in 1525. He studied in **Paris** between 1527 and 1530 and in Louvain (Leuven) in the **Low Countries** for half of 1529, returning to Cambridge in 1530 and serving as university chaplain, and senior proctor—the officer responsible for undergraduate discipline.

At some point in the 1530s, Ridley moved from Catholicism to **Protestantism** and in 1537, after graduating bachelor of divinity (B.D.), he was appointed chaplain to **Thomas Cranmer** and moved into the archbishop's household in Kent, east of **London**. He took his doctorate of divinity and was elected master of Pembroke Hall in 1540 but stayed at his post with Cranmer, and as a prebendary—a beneficed clergyman—in Cranmer's cathedral of Canterbury. By 1546 his studies had persuaded him of the error of belief in transubstantiation in the **eucharist** and convinced him of Christ's spiritual presence in it, making him a heretic under the Act of Six **Articles of Religion** of 1539, though he kept his eucharistic views to himself until 1548: he was appointed a prebendary in **Henry VIII's** new cathedral of Westminster, west of London, in 1545.

With the accession of **Edward VI** there began the most important phase of Ridley's career as a Protestant reformer, working in close partnership with Cranmer. He was promoted bishop of Rochester in Kent, near London, in September 1547, and became chaplain to the king; in December 1548 in a **disputation**, his denial of transubstantiation was made public, as it was when he chaired a debate on the **Mass** in Cambridge in June 1549.

In April 1550 Ridley succeeded the deposed conservative Edmund Bonner (1500?–1569) as bishop of London. As bishop, Ridley pursued policies that anticipated some of the middle-of-the-road features of what was to emerge as **Anglicanism**: while he insisted on the replacement of **Mass** altars by simple tables for the celebration of the eucharist, he also demanded that vestments be worn, as the law required, and ensured that the more radical **John Hooper** accept traditional vestments as a condition of his episcopal conse-

cration. His other activities included meeting **Jan Łaski** to consider religious provisions for the émigré Protestants in the capital, disputing with the conservative **Stephen Gardiner**, trying unsuccessfully to persuade Princess **Mary** to allow him to preach to her, and collaborating with Cranmer in drawing up the Forty-Two **Articles of Religion** of 1553.

Ridley tried to prevent Mary's accession as queen, supporting **John Dudley**'s scheme to replace her in the succession with the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (or Jane Dudley, 1537–1554) and Dudley's son, and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley (1535–1554), and in a sermon in London in 1553 he declared both Mary and **Elizabeth I** to be illegitimate. As Dudley's plan foundered and Ridley failed in his attempt to come to terms with the new queen, he was arrested, imprisoned in the Tower of London, and divested of his bishopric. In March of the following year, along with Cranmer and **Hugh Latimer**, Ridley was brought to Oxford to take part in a disputation on the Mass and the eucharist in April, whose outcome was his condemnation as an excommunicated heretic.

In prison he wrote to his fellow Protestants to urge them to keep the faith and composed a number of doctrinal works on topics such as the eucharist, which were taken out of prison and printed on the Continent, to be brought back for circulation in England. In September 1555 Ridley was stripped of his priesthood and, in a second trial, condemned to death for heresy and on the 16th of the month, slowly and agonizingly, he was burned to death, following Latimer.

RIEDEMANN (RIDEMAN, RYDEMANN, RYEDMAN), PETER, ALSO CALLED PETER VON GMUNDEN (1506–1556). A former cobbler, the **Hutterite** leader and author Riedemann was arrested and imprisoned between 1529 and 1532, in **Nuremberg** between 1533 and 1537 and in the territory of **Philipp of Hesse** in 1540, where he was kept in confinement until 1542 and wrote his *Rechenschaft unserer Glaubens . . .*, —“The Account of the Religion, Teaching, and Belief of the People Called Hutterites”—a **confession** focusing on the conduct and practices of communities whose members avoided active participation in **government**, observed strict pacifism and **community of goods**, and maintained high standards of personal and collective morality. In 1542 Riedemann returned to Moravia (modern Czech Republic) to lead the Hutterite settlements

through a critical period of persecution directed by King **Ferdinand I**. Riedemann died in prison in Moravia in 1556.

ROME. In 1309, and on account of an unstable political situation in Rome (Roma), Pope Clement V (r. 1305–14) transferred his court to a papal enclave southeast of **France**, Avignon. During the years that followed, Rome lost its centrality in the life of the Catholic Church, but in 1378 Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370–78) brought the papacy back to its historic location, Rome. In protest, a group of French cardinals elected their own man as **pope**, remaining in Avignon, and there then began a Great Schism, or division, in the papal office that lasted until the Council of Constance (Konstanz, 1414–18) repaired the division and designated as pope Martin V (r. 1417–31), who entered Rome in 1420.

A long-term program of restoring Rome itself and the pope's authority over the city and its large hinterland known as the Papal States now got under way. Pope Martin, having a relatively long pontificate, was a vigorous ruler who suppressed banditry in the Papal States and tightly controlled the all-important price of grain for the Roman people. Further, while Rome, especially during the Avignonese period, had become a dilapidated backwater, there began a period of reconstruction and architectural schemes that centered on the rebuilding of the 1,000-year-old basilica of St. Peter, begun by Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55), along with a grandiose plan for the urban rearrangement of the Vatican.

Resumed by Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13), who laid a foundation stone in 1506, and so massively expensive that sales of **indulgences** to finance it could be said to have triggered **Martin Luther's** protest in the Ninety-Five Theses, the project of St. Peter's was no mere aesthetic extravaganza or tribute to one man's egoism. True, Pope Julius himself saw the building as a reflection of his own towering personality and commissioned from **Michelangelo** a monument to himself to go inside it. However, St. Peter's, dedicated to the saint Catholics believe was the first bishop of Rome, was not concerned with one individual pope but with the papacy as such, which is why the work on this church was continued by pope after pope until its virtual completion under Paul V (r. 1605–21). Because of its doctrinal importance, the building of St. Peter's was vigorously promoted by one of the foremost champions of early 16th-century **Catholic reform**, Egidio

da Viterbo (1469–1532) who, Fr. O'Malley writes, was “convinced that the Church was localized in place, that it was by divine decree Roman,” that “the basilica dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles” must be raised “up to the very heavens” since it expressed “Rome’s claim to be the center of the religious world . . . the site to which Peter and Paul came . . . hallowed by their preaching and martyrdoms” (in Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 11).

However, while the regeneration of the city, focused on St. Peter’s, should be seen as a religiously motivated undertaking, it is also true that Nicholas V had, through his princely artistic patronage, transferred to Rome the inspiration behind the Italian **Renaissance** away from its original nerve-center, Florence (Firenze), and his lead was followed by successive popes into the 16th century. The result, though, was to create a culture of connoisseurship, indeed sometimes of sensuality and hedonism, in which art was coming to be regarded as existing for its own sake, and this was particularly true of the pontificates of the Florentine-born Medici popes, **Leo X** and **Clement VII**.

It was in the second of those two papal reigns that the trauma of the **Sack of Rome** took place in 1527. Not only was work on St. Peter’s stalled but the papal city went into a state of shock in which the horrors of the Sack were seen by some as a divine judgement on the secularizing excesses of Renaissance Rome. A decade later, the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia* reflected gravely on the moral abuses that the city had witnessed, but, in their essential confidence and optimism about the reformability of the Church, its authors placed their hopes in the pope as bishop of Rome to direct Catholicism’s renewal.

A further decade on, Pope **Paul III** commissioned the 72-year-old Michelangelo to undertake the St. Peter’s project. The response of this deeply pious layman can be taken as emblematic of the new spirit suffusing papal Rome after the Sack: he would carry out the work free of charge “for the love of God and devotion to the Prince of the Apostles” (Beny and Gunn, *The Churches of Rome*, p. 247). From now on, the artistic and architectural endeavors put in place by Nicholas V were not abandoned—far from it—but art was now to be at the service of faith.

Rome’s cultic centrality in Catholic life was strongly reaffirmed by Pope **Gregory XIII**, above all in the great jubilee of 1575, when an estimated 400,000 pilgrims may have visited the city. Such numbers

refocused attention on the requirements of urban planning and on the layout of avenues to accommodate pilgrims. The events of 1575 also marked not only the reestablishment of Rome's sanctity but the increasing momentum of **Counter-Reformation**, especially in central Europe, the region targeted for recapture by priests trained in the Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum (1584). Rome was indeed becoming Catholicism's primary **seminary** center, filled with cassock-clad young spiritual idealists. Among the schools, the English College of 1579 expressed the fact that Rome had become the patron of **England's** beleaguered Catholic community.

The restoration of Rome's piety, through the enlargement of a building program, key to the whole process of Counter-Reformation, reached a new zenith in the pontificate of **Sixtus V** with the placing of the dome on St. Peter's in 1590, with avenues laid out connecting the seven major pilgrimage churches, and with an overarching ethos that did not disparage manmade beauty but was passionate in its resolution to put it entirely at the disposal of worship.

Acclaimed as the "vicar of Christ," head of the Church on earth, the pope was also responsible for the government of a now global institution, and government reforms of 1588 created a ministerial structure to facilitate the tasks attendant on that role. At the same time, the pope was monarch of a territorial realm, and Sixtus V's attention to its economy, industry, and public health and welfare helped develop the Papal States as one of Italy's most important independent domains. By the close of this great and brief pontificate, as the century of the Reformation neared its end, the Eternal City had once more emerged as an imperial capital, that of resurgent Catholicism. *See also* IGNATIUS LOYOLA; NERI, FILIPPO.

ROTHMANN, BERND (OR BERNARD) (1495?–1535). Of lower-class origins and an acquaintance of **Martin Bucer**, **Wolfgang Capito**, and **Philipp Melanchthon**, Rothmann was chaplain to a church outside **Münster** in 1529 and was appointed a parish priest in the city in 1531, where he quickly won popularity with his caustic sermons against clerical shortcomings and the monasteries. While he called on the governing city council to promote reform, the guilds of working people demanded that the council protect him against the attempts of the newly appointed prince-bishop of Münster, Franz von Waldeck (1491–1553), to silence him.

In the summer of 1532 Rothmann took part in a public **disputation** against Münster's **Franciscans**. By May 1533, however, Rothmann, now in the position of church superintendent, was moving away from the mainstream of **Lutheranism** and was doubting the validity of infant **baptism**, and in August he and his allies conducted another disputation, this time against the Lutheran clergy, and with the council, whose attempt to expel him was blocked by the artisans' guilds. His conviction that faith was indispensable to the operation of **sacraments** was leading him to reject infant, and defend believers', baptism.

Over the autumn and winter of 1533–34, by encouraging the immigration of **Anabaptists** into Münster, and through his printed works, distributed in the **Low Countries**, Rothmann, who was re-baptized early in 1534, played a large part in the unfolding revolution in the city. His radical ally, the wealthy cloth merchant Bernard Knipperdolling (d. 1536), was elected *Bürgermeister*—mayor—in February 1534. A proclamation made by Rothmann indicates the adoption of millenarian violence by his movement: “Dear brethren, arm yourselves for the battle, not only with the humble weapons of the apostles for suffering, but also with the glorious armour of David for vengeance . . . in God’s strength, and help us to annihilate the ungodly” (Chadwick, *The Reformation*, p. 190).

Condemning infant baptism, advocating **community of goods**, and putting forward defenses of polygamy on the basis of Scripture and of male sexual needs, Rothmann himself took nine wives. To the end, he continued to produce pamphlets suffused with a spirit of **eschatology** and reassuring the city’s Anabaptists of their certain triumph. He was killed in the hand-to-hand fighting to capture Münster on 25 June 1535.

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SACK OF ROME, 1527. Charles V’s overwhelming victory over **Francis I** at Pavia near **Milan** in February 1525 and the consequent Treaty of Madrid of January 1526 gave the emperor such an ascendancy that, when the French king restarted war against the **Habsburgs**, Pope **Clement VII**; **Venice**; Florence (Firenze); and Francesco Maria Sforza (1495–1535), duke of Milan, formed an alliance with

him against Charles in the May 1526 **League of Cognac**. The emperor's reaction was to send an army into Italy, under the command of the French *connétable* Charles, duc de Bourbon (1490–1527); the German general Georg von Frundsberg (Frondsberg or Fronsperg, 1473–1528); and the Burgundian Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange (1502–1530). The army evicted Sforza from Milan in July but was unable to capture Florence.

Unpaid for months, in spring 1527 Charles's army, made up of German and Spanish mercenaries, mutinied and marched on **Rome** and its vast wealth, taking it by storm on 6 May 1527, and precipitating a three-day orgy of murder, torture, looting, sacrilege, rape, and vandalism: the *sacco di Roma*. Pope Clement was imprisoned in Rome's Castel Sant'Angelo and not released until autumn 1528.

The repercussions of the Sack were wide-ranging. **Gian Matteo Giberti** was the papal diplomat who had constructed the League of Cognac, which had produced the string of events leading up to the Sack. Discredited, he withdrew from Rome to take up the diocesan duties in Verona (in northeast Italy), which triggered the Catholic Reformation on an episcopal level. More broadly, the Sack created a mood of introspection, and indeed of repentance, in Italian ecclesiastical circles that dissipated much of the hedonism of the **Renaissance** and precipitated **Catholic reform**. In effect a prisoner of **Catherine of Aragon's** nephew Charles, Pope Clement was in no position to grant **Henry VIII's** petition for an annulment of his marriage, and **England's** breach with Rome was made more certain.

The political relationship between the papacy and the Habsburgs was also profoundly altered into one of far greater dependence of the former on the latter, while Charles's coronation by Clement VII at Bologna, northern Italy, in February 1530, amounted to a ceremonial recognition of the fact that Charles now controlled the peninsula.

SACRAMENTS. From the Latin word *sacramentum*, meaning an oath or vow, a sacrament in Catholic theology is a rite, ordained by Christ or by the Apostles after Him, channeling divine **grace** to the believing Christian. From the 12th century the sacraments were assembled as a group of seven, and the Council of Florence (Firenze, 1414–18) confirmed a list, endorsed by the **Council of Trent**, made up of **baptism**, confirmation, **penance**, the **eucharist**, **marriage** (or matrimony), holy orders (or ordination to the priesthood), and the

anointing of the sick (or “extreme unction”). Three of these, conferring permanent effects, baptism, confirmation, and holy orders, could not be repeated, and matrimony, conferred by the couple on each other, with the priest as witness, could be reconferred only on widows and widowers. (Annulment was a canonical statement to the effect that, because specified conditions for a valid marriage, such as voluntary consent beforehand and consummation afterward, had not been met, none existed.)

Martin Luther dealt systematically with the sacraments and their number in the 1520 “Babylonian Captivity of the Church” and, while reducing the certain number of sacraments to baptism and the eucharist, showed some hesitancy over the status of penance. The other Churches within **Protestantism** recognized baptism and the eucharist as the two sacraments instituted by Christ. Divisions arose over baptism, and whether it was to be administered to infants or to adult believers, and over the eucharist and particularly the nature of Christ’s presence in it, whether there was an actual or “real” presence, as both Lutheran and Catholic eucharistic theology maintained, or a spiritual and memorial significance, as **Huldrych Zwingli** taught.

SADOLETO, JACOPO, OR GIACOMO (1477–1547). Sadoletto was born in Modena in northeast **Italy**, the son of a professor at the University of Ferrara (in the same region), and was educated in **humanist** studies in his father’s university, focusing his study on the Roman orator and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) and the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BC). In 1502 he made his way to Rome, where he was ordained. He served as secretary under Popes **Leo X**, **Clement VII**, and **Paul III** and in Rome was a member of the **Oratory of Divine Love**.

In 1517 Sadoletto was appointed bishop of Carpentras near Avignon, in a papal territorial enclave adjacent to southeast **France**, and from 1527 resided there and undertook its reform. He was made a cardinal, along with other reformists, by Paul III in 1536 and was part of the commission that produced the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia*. In March 1539 Sadoletto published his “Letter to the Council and People of Geneva” to persuade them to return to the Catholic Church, a work which, in October, elicited **John Calvin**’s defense of the Reformation, the *Responsio ad Sadoleti Epistolam*—the

“Reply to Sadoleto’s Letter.” Sadoleto was papal emissary—legate—to France in 1542.

Sadoleto aimed to find formulas of reconciliation with Protestants while maintaining the Catholic core of belief, and among his Protestant correspondents was **Philipp Melanchthon**. His writings included studies of the Psalms and the Epistles of St. Paul, as well as a treatise on education (1533) and a work in praise of philosophy (1538).

SAINTS. *See* POPULAR RELIGION.

SALES, FRANÇOIS DE (1567–1622). François de Sales, known in English as Francis de Sales, was born into an aristocratic family in their Château de Sales in Thorens, near Annecy in the Duchy of Savoy, southeast of **France**. He was taught in Annecy, then by the **Jesuits** in **Paris**, undergoing and overcoming a spiritual and emotional crisis, studied law and theology in the University of Padua (Padova), in northern **Italy**, and took his doctorate of laws there in 1591. In the face of his father’s opposition, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1593 and in the following year began a demanding and dangerous mission in the Duchy of Chablais on Lake Geneva (Lac Léman) to win **Calvinists** over to Catholicism, achieving remarkable success through his gentle methods.

De Sales became coadjutor (assistant) titular bishop of **Geneva** in 1599 and in 1602 preached the Lenten court sermons at the Louvre in Paris: his preaching was so effective in bringing about the conversions of aristocratic **Huguenots** at court that King **Henry IV** is said to have offered him a bishopric within France. However, with the death of his predecessor in the same year, de Sales became titular bishop of Geneva in his own right: though he visited the city three times, and met **Théodore Beza**, in cordial circumstances, his actual base was nearby Catholic Annecy, where he applied the rulings on diocesan reform put in place by the **Council of Trent**. De Sales introduced the **Barnabites** into his territory and encouraged the work of the Jesuits.

De Sales was a tireless and acclaimed preacher, and a spiritual counselor through the medium of thousands of letters of guidance. His best-known work *Introduction à la vie dévote* (“An Introduction to a Life of Piety,” 1608) aimed to bring Catholicism’s traditions of

spirituality into the lives of men and women living in the world of work and married life. His *Entretiens spirituels* (“Spiritual Conversations,” 1629) offered practical guidance along the path to piety, while his *Traité de l’amour de Dieu* (“A Treatise of God’s Love,” 1616), regarded as his masterpiece, showed a mystical inheritance from **Teresa of Ávila** and the **Carmelite** tradition. De Sales’s foundation of the Académie Florimontane in 1605 was the outcome of his devotion to the arts, sciences, and French language and literature.

François de Sales died in Lyon (Lyons) in December 1622 and was canonized in 1665.

SAXONY. The prosperous eastern-German state of Saxony (*Sachsen*), enriched by silver-mining and the trade of the city of Leipzig (which had gained a university in 1409), was divided in 1485 by a family agreement between two brothers of the ruling Wettin dynasty, the elector Ernst (Ernest, 1441–1486) and his brother Albrecht III (Albert III, 1443–1500). According to this agreement, the senior, or Ernestine line, of Saxe-Wittenberg, would keep the electoral dignity and lands including Thuringia, while the junior and ducal branch, of Saxe-Meissen, would take territories in both the east and the west of the state. Under the elector **Frederick the Wise** (who established the University of **Wittenberg** in 1502), Electoral Saxony emerged as a leading force in German princely politics, and Frederick was able to protect his subject and academic employee **Martin Luther** from prosecution.

On his death in 1525, Frederick was succeeded by his brother Johann, known as *der Standhafte* (John, known as “the Constant” or “the Steadfast,” 1468–1532), under whose rule **Lutheranism** made steady progress in the Electorate, with **Philipp Melancthon**’s “Instructions for the Visitors to Parishes in Electoral Saxony” of 1528 creating a blueprint for the organization of **Evangelical** Churches. These developments continued under Johann’s son and successor Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as “the Magnanimous,” 1503–1554), a prominent figure in the **Schmalkaldic League**.

During the reign of Albrecht III’s successor Duke Georg, known as *der Bärtige* (Duke George, known as “the Bearded,” 1471–1539) Ducal, Albertine Saxony remained Catholic—and in 1522 Luther’s New Testament in German was suppressed in the duchy. Georg’s

successor Heinrich, known as *der Fromme* (Henry, known as “the Pious,” 1473–1541) was the first Lutheran duke, and his son and successor **Moritz** took up the Reformation, though in 1547 he allied with **Charles V** in order to secure lands and the electoral title from his cousin Johann Friedrich; his application of the **Leipzig Interim** created an eclectic and conservative form of Lutheranism. Following Charles V’s crushing victory at Mühlberg in 1547, Johann Friedrich was imprisoned and under the Capitulation of Wittenberg was made to give up his electoral title to Moritz, retaining only the territory of Thuringia.

His son Johann Friedrich II (1529–1595) took the title of Duke of Saxony between 1547 and 1565, ruled the districts left in Ernestine hands after the division of 1547, and was deposed in 1566, to be followed as duke by Johann Wilhelm, down to 1573. After Moritz’s death in 1553, his nephew August (Augustus, 1526–1586) became elector, took over the Ernestine lands in 1573, in 1580 adopted the **Formula and Book of Concord**, and created a progressive state. His son and successor Christian I, who ruled from 1586 to 1591, abandoned the Formula of Concord and sponsored the doctrines known as **Crypto-Calvinist**. Under Christian II, 1591–1611, a Lutheran restoration took place, consolidated by Elector Christian’s son, Johann Georg I (John George I, 1585–1656), who ruled from 1611 to his death.

SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION (1527). As doctrinal issues divided the early **Anabaptist** movement, in February 1527 an attempt was made, led by the former monk, and refugee from **Zürich**, Michael Sattler (b. between 1490 and 1500, d. 1527), to restore unity of belief. In a synod made up of members from **Austria, Switzerland**, and southern **Germany** held in Schleithem in the canton of Schaffhausen on the border between Germany and Switzerland, seven articles of a *Brüderliche vereynigung etzlicher kinder Gottes*, or “Brotherly Union of the True Children of God,” were discussed and agreed. This **confession** stressed “separation from the Abomination of the world” and counterposed “God’s temple” against “idols” and Christ against “Belial” (2 Corinthians 6:15; MacCulloch, *Reformation*, pp. 168–69).

The Schleithem Confession confirmed acceptance of believers’ **baptism** administered to “those who have learned repentance and

amendment of life . . . who walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ” (Dickens, *Reformation and Society*, p. 135), condemned the **antino-mian** conduct of “false brethren [who] . . . intend to practice the freedom of the spirit and of Christ” (MacCulloch, *Reformation*, p.168), and ruled out attendance at the worship of the established Churches. The Schleithem articles restated the right of congregations to select, support, and exercise control over their pastors and to ban sinners from the **eucharist**, following admonitions. Further, the Confession asserted pacifism and the renunciation of “the unchristian, devilish weapons of force” (Dickens, *Reformation and Society*, p. 135) and (in line with Matthew 5:34 and James 5:12) banned the taking of oaths. It forbade active service to the state, or involvement in lawsuits (1 Corinthians 6:1–8), and reaffirmed the authority of Scripture and its central place in worship.

Although widely distributed, the Schleithem Articles by no means spoke for all variants of Anabaptism, and certainly not for **Thomas Müntzer’s** and **Melchior Hoffmann’s** highly politicized, militant, and millenarian variants. Also, with their central concern with conduct, the Schleithem articles do not resemble the doctrinal **catechisms** drawn up by the professional theologians of that era.

As the title page of the printed Articles records, Sattler “attested with his blood” (*mitt seinem Blüt bezeuget hat*: Dickens, *Reformation and Society*, p. 135) these beliefs: he was cross-examined in a trial that focused on his refusal to resist the **Turks**, tortured, and burned to death in Rothenburg-am-Neckar in **Württemberg** in May 1527.

SCHMALKALDIC ARTICLES. In 1536 notice was given of Pope **Paul III’s** intention to summon a Council of the Church to Mantua (Mantova) in northern **Italy**, to which adherents of **Lutheranism** were to be invited. With a meeting of the **Schmalkaldic League** due in February 1537, **Martin Luther** was requested by the elector of **Saxony**, Johann Friedrich, known as *der Grossmütige* (John Frederick, known as “the Magnanimous,” 1503–1554), to draw up a set of articles setting out the fundamental beliefs of Lutheranism. Luther was present at Schmalkalden but was ill and unable to present the document in person.

The text, published in 1538, to which the term Schmalkaldic Articles came to be given, was accepted by most of the theologians

present at Schmalkalden, though not officially accepted by the princes, because the **Augsburg Confession** remained the standard Lutheran formulary. With their insistence on **justification by faith** without works, demand for the abolition of religious foundations established for the celebration of endowed Masses, and insistence that the **pope** was only bishop of **Rome**, and not head of the Church on earth, they extended the increasingly uncrossable borderlands between Catholicism and Lutheranism—for example over the **Mass**, which was to be acclaimed by the **Council of Trent** as uniquely holy, but denounced by Luther, in apocalyptic language, as “the most precious papist idolatry,” “the dragon’s tail” (Revelation 12:4), giving birth to “a brood of vermin and the poison of manifold idolatries” (Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*, p. 89, n. 40). **Philipp Melancthon**, however, added to the articles a less confrontational appendix on the authority of the pope.

SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE AND WARS. In the aftermath of the **Diet of Augsburg**, the need for a defensive alliance of the **Evangelical** states and cities of **Germany** became apparent, and in February 1531 in the town of Schmalkalden, on the frontier between Hesse and Saxony, rulers of Electoral **Saxony**, Hesse, Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, plus the cities of Biberach, Bremen, Constance (Konstanz), Isny, Lindau, Lübeck, Magdeburg, Memmingen, Reutlingen, **Strassburg**, and Ulm agreed to set up an alliance requiring all signatories to come to the aid of any one of them attacked on account of religion. The League was to have a common fund, a military council, and an army of 12,000. The constitution of the League was agreed in December, its organization was regularized in April of the following year, and in 1537 it was renewed for a further 10 years.

In 1546, **Charles V**, at peace with **France**, was in a position to strike against the League, declaring a sentence of outlawry against **Philipp of Hesse** and Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony. Military operations began in the summer, and in November **Moritz of Saxony** came on to the emperor’s side, with a promise of the electoral title and lands of his cousin Johann Friedrich, invading Electoral Saxony and giving the **Habsburgs** a free hand in southern Germany. Charles’s victory over Johann Friedrich at Mühlberg in April 1547 and his arrests of Philipp and Johann Friedrich made him supreme in Germany, able to dictate the **Interim of Augsburg**.

SCHOLASTICISM. Scholasticism can be defined as a fusion of Christian beliefs, based on Scripture and the **Fathers of the Church** with the philosophic methods propounded by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BC). In the course of the Middle Ages, preceded by Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160 or 1164), one of its leading practitioners, the **Dominican** Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) maintained confidence in the power of human reason to gain access to truth. The method associated with Aquinas, trusting in the capacity of words to describe the reality of phenomena, came to be known as “Realism,” and eventually as the *via antiqua*, or “traditional route.” However, from the 14th century onward, and with the English **Franciscan** William of Ockham (or Occam, c. 1285–1347), a revisionist school—the *via moderna*, or “new route”—arose within Scholasticism, skeptical of the capacity of words and names—*nomina*—to account for reality: “Nominalism.”

Nominalism undermined reliance on the ability of human reason to attain truth and therefore stressed other sources of authority, such as that of the Church or of Scripture, or direct insights into the divine truth through mystical contemplation.

Nominalism was in the ascendant at **Martin Luther’s** University of Erfurt, in Thuringia, under the direction of Jodocus Trutvetter (or Trautfetter, c. 1460–1519), and Luther referred to “my master Occam” (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 33). However, he quickly came to despise Scholasticism and its fountainhead Aristotle, whom he described in 1517 as “that ridiculous and injurious blasphemer . . . that Greek buffoon” (ibid., p. 54). As a university teacher and curricular reformer at Wittenberg, in 1516–17, Luther led a campaign to dethrone Scholasticism from the academic syllabus, and in September 1517 issued a “Disputation against Scholastic Theology,” declaring his trust in the guidance of Scripture. When Luther burned the papal bull of **excommunication**, *Exsurge Domine*, in December 1520, alongside it in the bonfire were Scholastic textbooks.

When Luther was introduced to the Dominican **Tomasso de Vio, Cajetan**, at the time of the 1518 **Diet of Augsburg**, he was encountering the leader of a revival of the classic Scholastic method of Thomas Aquinas, known as “Thomism.” A Thomist revival was under way in the University of **Paris** when **Ignatius Loyola** attended it, an influence that surfaced in Loyola’s stress in his “Spiritual Exercises” on the obligation “to praise . . . Scholastic doctrine” (Mullett, *The*

Catholic Reformation, p. 86), opening his list of authorities with “St. Thomas” (declared a Doctor of the Church by the Dominican Pope **Pius V** in 1567). Loyola’s fellow Jesuit **Francisco Suárez** was a leader of the Aristotelian-Thomist revival, though without completely abandoning the influence of Nominalism. The Spanish Dominicans **Francisco de Vitoria**, Melchior Cano (1509–1560), and Domingo de Soto (1494–1560) carried forward the Thomist revival.

SCHWENCKFELD (OR SCHWENKFELD), KASPAR (1490–1561). Schwenckfeld was born into an aristocratic family in Ossig, near Liegnitz (Legnica in modern **Poland**), in Silesia, a feudal dependency of **Bohemia**. A member of the **Teutonic Knights**, he studied in Cologne (Köln) in the German Rhineland, at Erfurt in Thuringia, and in Frankfurt-am-Main in central **Germany**, and served as a counselor to Duke Friedrich II of Liegnitz. Schwenckfeld read the writings of both the Czech reformist **Jan Hus** and the medieval German mystic Johann Tauler (1300?–1361), was an early recruit to **Martin Luther**’s movement, and took a leading part in the progress of the Reformation in Liegnitz.

Schwenckfeld subsequently moved in the direction of **Huldrych Zwingli**’s symbolic and commemorative understanding of the **eucharist**, and proceeded further to develop a spiritual view of religion, emphasizing inwardness and the interior nature of **sacraments**, and by 1526 he was stressing a nonphysical reception of Christ in the center of the soul. He came to differ from Luther also in his focus on the internal and moral regeneration of the individual—rather than simply his or her imputed **justification**.

In 1529, Schwenckfeld left Liegnitz and settled in **Strassburg**, where he met **Sebastian Franck** and discussed religious doctrine with **Martin Bucer**, **Wolfgang Capito**, and with spokesmen for the **Anabaptists**. He was expelled from the city in 1533 and moved to Augsburg, in southern Germany, and then to nearby Ulm, eventually taking up the life of a religious refugee. In 1543 he sent Luther a copy of a work of his on the nature of Christ, a gesture that aroused Luther’s fury and verbal abuse. He died in Ulm.

Schwenckfeld was the author of more than 100 printed works. His main beliefs were set out in his *Bekandtniss und Rechenschaft von den Hauptpunkten des Christlichen Glaubens* (“Confession and Account of the Main Points of the Christian Faith,” 1547). While

he agreed with Luther on the sinfulness of humanity, he taught that God works on the soul to create a second birth of which the second Adam, the crucified Christ, is the herald. Sanctified, even deified, the reconstructed person shows a new awareness of sin along with firm self-control, and acquires a “castle of peace” (Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*, p. 228) and an inner light that makes possible a true spiritual reading of Scripture. While he formed no institutional church, Schwenckfeld’s disciples—calling themselves Confessors of the Glory of Christ—faced persecution and took up emigration: about 200 of them settled in 1734 as Schwenckfeldians, or Schwenckfelder, in Pennsylvania.

SCOTLAND. Pre-Reformation Scotland had a vigorous Catholic religious and liturgical life, especially in the **cities and towns**, and steps were taken to fuse Catholic piety with Scots national identity, particularly through the creation of a cult of Scottish saints. Efforts were also made to educate the **laity** in doctrine through the **Catechism** (1552) of Archbishop John Hamilton (1511–1571) of the southeastern, and primatial, archdiocese of St. Andrews, and the popular low-cost “two-penny faith” (creed) provided further instruction. Progress toward **Catholic reform** was made in a series of Church councils held by Hamilton between 1549 and 1559, and the early, unconfirmed decrees of the **Council of Trent** were in circulation in the kingdom.

However, the concerns of a Scottish provincial council in 1549, with its denunciations of priests living with women and the involvement of clerics in trade, showed up some of the defects of the Catholic Church in Scotland. For a poor country, Scotland had too many priests—one person in 40 in the northeastern city of Aberdeen—and many of them, throughout the country, were poorly educated and poorly paid—even though Scots parishioners paid high fees and tithes, which were drained off elsewhere, especially to the nobility and senior clerics. Lay **anticlericalism**, then, must be taken into account in any explanation of the eventual success of the Scots Reformation.

The influence of **Protestantism** appeared relatively early, and in 1525 an Act of the Scots parliament forbade the import of **Martin Luther’s** writings. The first martyr of Scots Protestantism was the aristocrat and **humanist** Patrick Hamilton (b. 1504?), who taught at

the University of St. Andrews and was accused of heresy in 1526. Taking refuge on the Continent, he met Luther and **Philipp Melancthon** and returned to Scotland in 1528, was rearrested, charged with seven heretical beliefs, and burned to death at St. Andrews.

A key factor in religious patterns in 16th-century Scotland was the country's diplomatic orientation between **England** and **France**. Broadly speaking, whereas the continuation of the kingdom's long-standing French links—the “auld alliance”—meant a Catholic option in religion, mounting pressure for a dynastic union with England was increasingly to imply Protestantization. Having tried to persuade King James V (b. 1512) to withdraw from allegiance to Rome and France, in 1542 **Henry VIII** launched a campaign against Scotland that, as a result of the sweeping defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss (just inside the English northwestern border) in November 1542, brought about the death of the Scots king, and the succession of his infant daughter, **Mary Queen of Scots**.

In the regency that followed, the head of government, James Hamilton (c. 1519–1575), second Earl of Arran, and Duke (1548) of Châtellerauld (in the French peerage) licensed overtures to Protestantism, and the **bible** appeared in the vernacular. However, a subsequent Catholic reaction under Cardinal David Beaton (or Bethune, b. 1494) resulted in the execution for heresy in 1546 of the Zwinglian preacher George Wishart (b. 1513?), followed in turn by the revenge killing of Beaton in May of the same year. **John Knox** was chaplain to the assassination squad, was arrested by the French, made a galley slave, and released in 1549, going into exile.

The political profile of Scotland in the 1550s confirmed the fact that the kingdom's alignment, either to England or France, would largely determine its religious future. **Henry II** sent an army into the country in 1550 to drive out the English troops brought into Scotland by **Edward Seymour**, and in 1554 Mary Queen of Scots's firmly Catholic French mother Mary of Guise (Marie de Guise, b. 1515) became regent, followed in 1558 by the marriage between Mary and Henry II's eldest son, the *dauphin* Francis (François, b. 1544). The French—and Catholic—link now seemed indissoluble, and legislation of February 1559 enacting the death penalty for religious innovations underscored the force of the conservative reaction.

To set against that, converted Protestant nobles, organized as the Lords of the Congregation, were determined to oppose Mary of

Guise and to call in English assistance in order to counterbalance the French and Catholic ascendancy, and **Elizabeth I** and **William Cecil** obliged with a naval and military intervention. Following the death of Mary of Guise in June 1560, both the French and the English agreed to pull their forces out of Scotland, and the way was open for the enactment—on the initiative of the Protestant Lords, and with popular backing—of a Protestant Reformation legislated by parliament: in August a **Calvinist Confession** of Faith, known as the *Confessio Scotiana* or *Scoticana* and authored by Knox, was adopted, and there followed statutes including the abolition of papal authority and the illegalization of the **Mass**. The first Book of Discipline, drawn up in 1562, established a Protestant Church structure, while the 1562 Book of Common Order introduced a Genevan-style form of worship.

It is important not to overestimate the importance of the whirlwind events of 1559–60 in Scotland: they made a beginning, not a completion, of Reformation. Mary Queen of Scots returned to take up her regal position in 1561, and her formal recognition of the religious changes did not come until 1567. However, further steps in the direction of a full Calvinistic ecclesiastical government were made in a Second Book of Discipline, endorsed by the General Assembly of the Kirk (Church) of Scotland in 1578, and from the early 1580s progress was made in spreading a Calvinist presbyterial system through the kingdom, though Mary's son and successor James VI (1566–1625), following his assumption of power in 1581, fought a campaign action to retain **episcopacy**, as a weapon of royal control of the Church. Yet the Calvinist presbyterial form was affirmed in 1592, along with a new confession of faith, and by 1600 Scotland had emerged as a leading member of the group of Calvinistic societies in early modern northern Europe.

SEMINARY. The Church's concern for the education of **clergy** can be traced back through and beyond the medieval period—to the year 826, for instance, when Pope Eugenius II (r. 824–27) ruled that in every cathedral a unit should be established “in which young clerics were to be formed in ecclesiastical discipline” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 64). Subsequently, the general Councils of the Third Lateran in 1179 and the Fourth Lateran in 1215 and **Popes** Honorius III (r. 1216–27) and Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303) echoed such proposals. Those earlier schemes were designed for the schooling of

priests already ordained, but **Gian Matteo Giberti** made a breakthrough in opening a diocesan college for the prior training of 25 prospective priests, and the **Jesuits'** Roman College, opened in 1551, was set up as a training college for future ordinands.

In its earlier thinking on priestly training, and following strictures on clerical ignorance in the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia*, the **Council of Trent**, in the decree of the fifth session, June 1546, *Super Lectione et Praedicatione Sanctae Scripturae*—"On the Study and Preaching of Holy Scripture"—reverted to the program of providing instruction for priests already in post. However, in one of the most decisive of all its resolutions, Chapter XVIII—"Directions for Establishing Seminaries for Clerics"—of the 23rd session, in July 1563, the Council took a key step in the formation of priests trained for their work prior to their ordination.

The reform had its limitations: attendance at seminaries was not made compulsory; bishops, although empowered to confiscate other revenues in order to open such colleges, often made slow progress in doing so. However, **Carlo Borromeo** opened one in Milan 1564, the north Italian diocese of Novara started its first seminary in 1566, and **William Allen's Douai** was an early entrant, without which English Catholicism would have quickly died out. In **Spain**, Granada, in the far south, had a seminary in 1564, and Burgos, in Castile, in 1565. However, while **France** had seminaries before the end of the 16th century, for example in the southern city of Toulouse in 1590, the great age of the foundation of these institutions in that country did not come until after the mid-17th century or the period 1680–1710. Even so, this Tridentine measure, creating generations of carefully and practically educated priests, schooled at a formative age in the duties of their ministry, must be seen as a vital step in the production of a professional priesthood in the early modern Catholic Church.

SEPARATISTS. In the **England** of **Elizabeth I** by the 1580s various **puritan**-inclined individuals and groups were growing so frustrated at what they saw as the slowness of further reform of the Church of England—especially under **John Whitgift's** antipuritan campaign for uniformity—that they proposed separating from it to set up independent and individual local congregations, cut off from the state, abjuring **episcopacy** and observing simplicity of worship, choosing their own ministers and aspiring to lead virtuous lives, supervised

by communal discipline. In c. 1580 the Cambridge academic Robert Browne (1550?–1633), shocked at a Church with “babbling prayers and toying worship, . . . priestly preachers, blind ministers, and canon officers, . . . popish attire and foolish disguising” (McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth*, p. 305), set up a congregation in Norwich, in eastern England, was imprisoned but set free thanks to the intervention of his distant relative **William Cecil**, and took his followers to Middelburg, in Holland in the **Dutch Republic**. The author of *Reformation without Tarying for Anie*, published in Middelburg in 1582, and setting out a view of the Church of which Christ alone was head, Browne did not consistently realize a coherent separatist theory and ended his life as a minister of the Church of England.

In April 1593 two separatist leaders, Barrow and Greenwood, were hanged for having published seditious books, slandering the queen and her government. Henry Barrow (or Barrowe, b. c. 1550), who had adopted a separatist position in about 1589, was the author of the treatises *A True Description of the Visible Congregation of the Saints* and *A True Description out of the Word of God, of the Visible Church*, both of 1589, and in 1590 an attack on the allegedly unreformed national Church, *A Brief Discovery of the False Church*. The Church of England minister John Greenwood (b. c. 1560), who was imprisoned in 1586 for bringing together a separate congregation in **London**, was the author of the 1588 *The True and False Church*, in which he condemned the Church of England as an ill-assorted “multitude of profane people,” worshipping according to what was basically a “popish liturgy” (Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*, p. 287). Soon afterward, the Welsh separatist John Penry (b. 1562/3), suspected as the author of the **Marprelate Tracts**, was executed for subversive writings.

The campaign against separatism in 1593 also produced the Act to Retain Her Majesty’s Subjects in Obedience, which made it illegal to abstain from worship in parish churches. A consequence was the migration of separatists, first to the **Dutch Republic** and then, in 1620, to New England.

Like the **Anabaptists** on the Continent, English separatists seemed to present an acute threat to social order by dissolving what were seen as necessary bonds between church, state, and society, and the separatist scare of 1593 had the effect of discrediting and taming the agitation for ecclesiastical change associated with **Thomas Cartwright**.

SERVETUS, MICHAEL (SERVETO, MIGUEL, OR VILLANOVANUS, MICHAEL) (1509/1511–1553). Servetus was born into a family of lawyers in Tudela in Aragon in northeastern **Spain** and studied law in Zaragoza in Aragon, and in Toulouse, in southern **France**. In the entourage of **Charles V**'s confessor Juan de Quintañá, he traveled to **Italy** and in 1530 corresponded with **Johannes Æcolampadius**, to whom he submitted a synopsis of his understanding of the Trinity. In 1531 he journeyed to **Strassburg** and discussed the authority of the Scriptures with **Martin Bucer** and **Wolfgang Capito**.

In June 1531 Servetus published his controversial questioning of the doctrine of the Trinity, *De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem* ("Seven Books about Errors Concerning the Trinity"), showing that the Father, Son, and Spirit were three manifestations of the divine. Attacked by Bucer and Æcolampadius for this allegedly blasphemous work, Servetus was driven out of Strassburg and made for Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland** and in 1532 published *Dialogorum de Trinitate Libri Duo* ("Two Books of Dialogues Concerning the Trinity").

In 1536 he began the study of medicine in **Paris**, studied theology and Hebrew in Louvain (Leuven), in the **Low Countries**, and practiced medicine in the papal city of Avignon, near southeast **France**. After further medical study in Montpellier in 1540, altering his name to Villanovanus (after the probable place of his upbringing, Villanova, near Lérida, in Spain), he set up in practice in Vienne (south of Lyon, in southeastern France), attending to the archbishop. In 1546 Servetus opened up a correspondence with **John Calvin** and proposed to visit **Geneva**, sending Calvin excerpts from the manuscript of his *Christianismi Restitutio*—"The Restoration of Christianity."

Published in Lyon (Lyons) at the beginning of 1553, the book set out to restore the doctrines of Christ and the Trinity in the early Church, before the General Councils of the 3rd and 4th centuries had distorted them: the work was also intended to make the doctrine of the Trinity acceptable to **Jews** and Muslims. Though the *Restitutio* was published anonymously, Calvin was already familiar with its contents and the identity of its author. A denunciation to the **Inquisition** in Lyon followed and Servetus was arrested, but escaped in April, and in August took refuge in Geneva, arriving in time to hear

Calvin preach an evening sermon. He was apprehended and put on trial.

In Calvin's eyes, Servetus's beliefs were set out on a battleground in which the Christian Church stood or fell, and it was Calvin who prepared the 38 accusations for the trial of the dissident, which took place over two months, leading to Servetus's conviction on 14 charges and his burning to death in October 1553. (Calvin wanted his decapitation only.) As the flames rose, Servetus called out to "Jesus, Thou Son of the Eternal God" (Grimm, *The Reformation Era*, p. 346).

Defending the mainstream doctrine of the Trinity accelerated the recovery of Calvin's political fortunes in Geneva, and the execution of Servetus was endorsed by mainline reformers, but also evoked **Sebastian Castellio's** 1554 call for religious **toleration**, the *De Haereticis an sint Persequendi*—"Concerning Heretics, Whether or Not They Should Be Persecuted."

Servetus was a polymath whose fields included medicine, geography, astrology, and theology. He was familiar with the Christian and Muslim Scriptures and with the **Fathers of the Church**, and his religious ideas contained a synthesis that included elements from **Anabaptism** and a belief in the divinization of mankind, as well as opposition to **justification** by **faith** alone, alongside a doctrine of Christ, according to which human beings could, by love, ascend to God through and in Christ. A social as well as religious radical, he denounced superstition in his own country, and espoused the cause of the **German Peasants' Revolt** in 1525. Three copies of his *Restitutio* survived the orthodox campaign to burn it, as well as its author.

SEYMOUR, EDWARD, DUKE OF SOMERSET (c. 1500–1552).

Edward Seymour was born in Wolf Hall in Wiltshire, southwest **England**, the son of Sir John Seymour (1476?–1536), and is said to have been educated both at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1523 he was in the entourage of **Henry VIII's** brother-in-law Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (c. 1484–1545), in a military campaign in **France**, and received a knighthood; he served as master of the horse to the king's illegitimate son, Sir Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond (1519–1536). In 1527 Seymour went with **Thomas Wolsey** on an embassy to France and in 1532 was part of a diplomatic mission by Henry to **Francis I**.

In May 1536, when his sister Jane (1508/9?–1537) married Henry, Seymour entered the peerage as Viscount Beauchamp of Hache and became governor of the island of Jersey (in the Channel Islands) and chancellor of North **Wales**. He was created Earl of Hertford and promoted to the Privy Council in 1537, and in 1539 was entrusted with the defense of the English possessions on the French coast, Calais and Guînes; at Calais, he met the king's fourth wife-to-be, Anne of Cleves (1515–1557), and escorted her back to **London** in December 1539.

In the 1540s Seymour moved into a succession of high-ranking military and political posts—warden of the Scottish Marches (the borders) and lord high admiral in 1542, and lieutenant general of the North in 1544. In those capacities, he was entrusted with Henry VIII's plans to subdue **Scotland** and sacked the capital, Edinburgh, in 1544. While the king was campaigning in France in 1544, Hertford was lieutenant of England, ruling on Henry's behalf, and in 1544 he joined **Stephen Gardiner** on an embassy to **Charles V**. In 1545 he was present, with the king, at the capture of Boulogne-sur-Mer (on the northeast French coast), was put in command of the town and repulsed a French attempt to retake it, and in 1546 commanded the English forces in France.

Hertford had already had his route to prospective power cleared by the sidelining of the otherwise powerful Howards—the religiously conservative Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), and his son Henry, called Earl of Surrey (b. 1516 or 1517), who was executed for treason in 1547. Further, Seymour's military and political distinction and his position as uncle to the new king, his late sister Jane's son with Henry, **Edward VI**, ensured a prominent position following the death, on 28 January 1547, of Henry VIII, in whose will he was named an executor. Within days of the king's passing, on 31 January, Hertford overcame resistance in the Council, to take the title of Protector, and was made Duke of Somerset in February. Somerset's ascendancy in the government was further ensured in March, when a new patent empowered him to act even without the support of the rest of the Council.

As head of the king's government, Somerset had clear policy objectives. First, over Scotland, the continuation of Henry VIII's Anglo-Scots unification plans, focused on a scheme to marry Edward VI to **Mary Queen of Scots**—the “rough wooing,” as the Scots

nicknamed it—led to a sweeping English victory at Musselburgh (or Pinkie), near Edinburgh, in September 1547.

Next, in England itself, a major area of activity was in advancing the Reformation, in collaboration with **Thomas Cranmer** and other Protestant bishops such as **Hugh Latimer** and **Nicholas Ridley**. Changes in the field of religion were gradual, though cumulatively substantial: the **eucharist** was allowed to the **laity** with the chalice in 1547; a reduction in ceremonies and the effacement of wall paintings in churches were carried out; the final dissolution of the chantries, established over the course of time to celebrate the **Mass** for souls in **purgatory**, came about by an Act of Parliament in 1547; in March 1548 an Order of Communion provided prayers in the vernacular to be introduced into the Latin Mass; and an **Act of Uniformity** endorsing a new English-language **Book of Common Prayer** was passed in 1549. The conservative Act of Six **Articles of Religion** of 1539 was repealed in 1547, clerical marriage was permitted by an Act of Parliament in the session of 1548–49, and a Book of Homilies was issued in 1547 to raise the standard of preaching in the parishes.

Hostile reaction and a rebellion in the west of the country against this new Prayer Book, plus agrarian unrest and the impact of the execution for treason in 1549 of Somerset's brother Thomas, Baron Seymour of Sudeley (b. 1508), gave the Protector's earlier ally **John Dudley** his opening to lead a coup in the Council and prepare an indictment against the Protector, whose policies had, it was alleged, resulted in failure and unrest. Seymour was arrested and imprisoned, and dismissed from his position in October 1549. Now that Dudley had grasped the power he desired, reconciliation followed, and Somerset was freed, given a pardon in February 1550, and readmitted to the Council in April. But Somerset resented Dudley's overturning of his policies, and in October 1551 Dudley made a preemptive strike against the former Protector, who was arrested on an allegation of conspiracy, condemned and, in January 1552, beheaded on Tower Hill in London.

SICKINGEN, FRANZ VON (1481–1523). Born in the Ebernburg castle near Bad Kreuznach in the German mid-Rhineland, the heir to knightly estates, von Sickingen took up a military career, fighting for Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519) against **Venice**, and continued in the military profession thereafter. He made loans to help cover the

costs of **Charles V**'s coronation and was appointed a chamberlain and councillor to the new emperor. Having championed **Johann Reuchlin** and his **humanist** advocacy of Hebrew studies in 1519, von Sickingen adopted **Martin Luther**'s program and, turning Ebernburg castle into a center for advocates of reform, employed **Johannes Ecolampadius** as a chaplain in 1521–22, gave refuge to **Martin Bucer**, and converted his close associate and house guest, **Ulrich von Hutten**, to the cause. At the time of the **Diet of Worms** Sickingen and Hutten were sending Luther a string of letters to stiffen his resolve and were proposing to create an antipapal defense force of 400 knights. In 1522 von Sickingen enlisted on the side of Charles V against the French in the **Low Countries**.

Von Hutten and von Sickingen belonged to a class whose forebears, the *Reichsritter*, or Imperial Knights, a military and feudal lower nobility, had once been a major independent force in their country's life, but by the 16th century they were being squeezed into subservience by the rising power of the territorial princes and, in their decline and inability to maintain traditional living standards, they aimed their resentment against affluent urban merchants and lawyers and rich ecclesiastics, including the **pope**. In the regional assemblies they held in the early 16th century, they articulated their grievances against their class enemies, though the common term now being used for them—*Raubritter* or "robber knights"—was symptomatic of the contempt into which, as an "estate," they had fallen. Their nostalgic patriotism encouraged them to look to their feudal overlord, the emperor, for help, but in the early 1520s some of them were seeing Luther as their savior—and themselves as Luther's protectors.

By August 1522 von Sickingen's campaign in the Low Countries had turned to failure, the money he had advanced for the coronation was not returned, and, deeply in debt, he evidently decided to rebuild his finances with a military coup. Claiming to act on behalf of his overlord Charles V, along with **Ulrich von Hutten**, he led an offensive, to be known as *Die Sickingen Fehde*—von Sickingen's feud—against an old foe, Richard von Greiffenklau (1467–1531), the wealthy elector and archbishop of Trier (on the Mosel [Moselle] in northwest **Germany**), a focus of the knights' anticlericalism and a surrogate target for the hated papacy. The archbishop held out, the knights scattered, and in 1523, facing an alliance of Greiffenklau

with the then still Catholic **Philipp of Hesse** and the elector of the Rhineland **Palatinate**, von Sickingen was defeated and died of his wounds in May in the siege of his castle at Landstuhl (in the middle-Rhine). With him, and the destruction of two dozen of their Rhineland castles, died the political cause of the *Reichsritter*.

SIMONS, MENNO. *See* MENNONITES.

SIXTUS V (FELICE PERETTI), POPE (1520/1?–1590). Peretti was born the son of an agricultural laborer in the village of Grottamare in the March of Ancona in central **Italy's** eastern coast in December 1520, in 1532 joined the **Franciscans**, was ordained in Siena, in central Italy, in 1547, and in the following year took his doctorate of theology. In 1552 he moved to **Rome**, where he preached well-received Lent sermons, and in 1556 Pope **Paul IV** put him in charge of the **Inquisition** in **Venice**. In 1566 Pope **Pius V** made him a bishop, and in 1570 appointed him to the College of Cardinals. In the papal electoral conclave of 1585 following the death of **Gregory XIII**, Peretti played his cards skillfully, feigning indifference to his own prospects of being elected but in fact securing key voting promises, resulting in a landslide in his favor. On election, he took the title Sixtus as a tribute to his predecessor and fellow Franciscan Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84).

Sixtus bounded out of the conclave with a plan of action that included ridding the Papal States of bandits, draining the region's malarial marches, stimulating agriculture and the textile industries, and curbing price increases and state expenditure. Despite a spectacularly ambitious building program, he stored up a budgetary surplus that made him one of Europe's wealthiest rulers.

In his architectural schemes, Sixtus made a massive contribution to the reaffirmation of Rome's status as the ritual and pilgrimage center of Catholic Christendom. Designed by the papal architect Giacomo della Porta (1537–1602), the dome of the new St. Peter's—the great basilica that proclaimed the **pope's** claim to be the heir and successor of the Prince of the Apostles—was put in place in 1590, while the installation of crosses on the summits of ancient and pagan obelisks and columns made a visual statement of the triumph of Christianity over paganism. New avenues were now to link the seven great pilgrimage churches of Rome, while a 22-mile aqueduct served more

practical—as well as symbolic—needs in bringing a water supply to the Romans.

In the sphere of government, Sixtus's reforms brought the papal system more closely into line with styles of royal administration prevailing elsewhere in 16th-century Europe, creating in January 1588 a departmental apparatus in 15 state offices, called congregations. The structure enhanced the authority of the papal monarchy, while at the same time facilitating the enforcement of the decrees of the **Council of Trent**. Reformism came together with authoritarianism in the pope's order of December 1585 to the effect that bishops must make regular visits *ad limina Apostolorum* ("to the threshold of the Apostles") to report on the condition of their dioceses.

An aging man in a hurry, the Peretti pope made mistakes, for example in the production of a rushed and error-strewn edition of the "Vulgate" Latin **bible**, the version approved by Trent. He was harshly puritanical, and repressive, giving the **Inquisition** an ever-longer leash, and while he did much to foster Catholic recovery in **Poland** and encouraged missionary efforts in Asia and South America, in excommunicating **Henry of Navarre** in 1585, he left the Holy See with an unhelpful diplomatic legacy of refusing to recognize the rights of succession of a claimant to the French throne who could bring the **Wars of Religion** to a close. Yet, all in all, Sixtus V must be seen, alongside **Gregory XIII**, **Paul III**, **Pius IV**, and **Pius V**, as one of the the most effective popes of his century.

SOCIAL WELFARE. Throughout the later Middle Ages in Europe efforts were made by individuals, and corporations including **confraternities**, to attend to social distress—the results of famine, war, plague, and poverty. As portrayed in numerous examples of religious art, such as the relief, "The Works of Mercy" (1525), partly by Giovanni della Robbia (1469?–1529), in Pistoia, central **Italy**, a recurrent theme was that of the "seven corporal works of mercy," based on Christ's instructions given in Matthew 2:35–40 (and also in Isaiah 58:7): feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the imprisoned, giving shelter to the homeless, visiting the sick, and burying the dead.

Christ's words in Matthew, promising heavenly rewards for those who carried out these acts of compassion, encouraged the view that charitable actions were good works, benefiting the donor spiritu-

ally as well as the recipient materially. The teaching of St. Francis (1181/2–1226) on the holiness of Christlike poverty also encouraged a view that the poor, as such, were beloved by God—and that their involvement in the fate of souls could be beneficial. So, to take one example of thousands across Europe, in the late medieval Franciscan friary of Richmond in Yorkshire, northern **England**, wealthy donors would leave in their wills sums to 10 poor men, praying at a donor's funeral, or moneys to be distributed among all other poor for the same purposes. There was little attempt in such cases to eradicate poverty or end begging. The widely revered Franciscans were, after all, "Mendicants," devoted to the sanctity of seeking alms.

The Reformation doctrine of **justification by faith**, plus **Martin Luther's** insistence, in "The Freedom of a Christian" (1520), that good works were the product, not the cause, of being justified, created new attitudes to charitable actions and good works. Luther wrote, the "soul . . . purified by faith . . . naturally brings forth the good works by which without faith she could not be justified . . . Let us not despise good works but rather teach and encourage them . . . a Christian does not live to himself but to Christ and his neighbor, to Christ by faith, to his neighbor by love" (Smith, *Life and Letters of Luther*, p. 93). Since justification by faith ruled out being made righteous by religious actions such as pilgrimages and **Masses**, the good works that were the product—or perhaps even the proof—of being justified must be altruistic, not self-regarding.

A new social ethic was thus in the process of formation, inverting some late medieval assumptions about poverty, its inevitability or cure, and, indeed, its sanctity, and in article 21 of Luther's great 27-article reform manifesto within the "Address to the Christian Nobility" of the same year as the "Freedom of a Christian," begging was to be outlawed in all Christian lands, towns should look after their poor, and nothing was to be given to those who could work: "There is no other trade in which there is so much rascality and cheating as mendicancy" (ibid., p. 84).

Poor relief was thus to be municipalized, and it is not surprising that Wittenberg led the way with an "Order for the Common Chest"—a trust fund for poor relief—in 1522, the same year as **Nuremberg's**. **Cities and towns**, where social distress was likely to be acute and the contrasts between rich and poor glaring, were foci of

poor relief schemes, as in Catholic Regensburg in south **Germany** and Ypres (Ijper) in the **Low Countries**, both in the 1520s.

Leading reformers themselves did not simply sketch out the general principles of poor relief and leave it to urban administrators to draw up the paper work: for the Lutheran town of Leisnig in **Saxony**, which established a common chest in 1523, Luther set out detailed provisions for poor relief, drawing out his own distinction between those who could work and needed no help and the aged, sick, and orphaned, who deserved assistance. **Johannes Bugenhagen** devised detailed poor relief schemes for the northwest German cities of Braunschweig, Hamburg, and Lübeck. Bugenhagen's principal officer for administering relief, the deacon, was also used in **John Calvin's** system of poor relief in **Geneva**.

Systematization characterized the reform of poor relief in 16th-century Europe, for example in schemes proposed by **Juan Luis Vives**, carried out in the southeastern French city of Lyon (Lyons). Systematization also meant discernment, between, on the one hand, random charity focused on the benefit to, or self-esteem of, the giver and, on the other, philanthropy directed at the perceived needs of the recipient of assistance. We also see something of the latter attitude in **Sixtus V's** suppression of the indiscriminate money-throwing that was traditional at papal coronations, instead distributing the funds in carefully organized help to hospitals and the approved poor. Nowhere more clearly was the guiding principle of discrimination on display than in Protestant England's Poor Law of 1601, the culmination of a series of earlier (1572, 1576, 1598) statutory measures, making a crucial differentiation between the deserving poor, who merited assistance, and the "undeserving" poor, who deserved punishment to force them to work. *See also* SOMASCHI.

SOCIETY OF JESUS (JESUITS). Within the lifetime of **Ignatius Loyola**, the Jesuits took up the brief they had been given by Pope **Paul III** in their 1540 bull of foundation, *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*: "grounding in Christianity boys and unlettered persons . . . Above all things let them have at heart the instruction of boys and unlettered persons" (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 94). The opening of their college at Messina in Sicily in 1548 advanced their work in schooling, leading to the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum*—the "Study Plan"—which encapsulated the Jesuit educational philosophy, with

its downgrading of punishment, stimulation of rewards and encouragement, and concern for the welfare and health of students. By 1615 the Jesuits were teaching in 450 universities and schools in Europe, plus 55 **seminaries**, and by 1650 they were running 76 colleges and schools in the **Holy Roman Empire** and 68 in **France**, in both cases playing an indispensable role in Catholic recovery in those countries, as they did in **Poland**.

Nevertheless, the Jesuits' close involvement with education should not obscure their versatility in other fields, from their work as confessors to kings and the powerful and as controversialists such as **Roberto Bellarmino**, and theologians including **Petrus Canisius** and **Francisco Suárez**. Their missionary work took in not only their dangerous campaign in **England**, spearheaded by **Edmund Campion**, but also the evangelizing of **Francis Xavier** in Asia. They established a station in Brazil in 1549, and were to the fore as missionaries during **Japan's** Christian period. The Jesuits began their work in *la Nouvelle France*—New France, or Canada—and Louisiana in 1611, and in 1634 opened a mission in Maryland, leading toward an eventual outcome in which John Carroll (1736–1815), who had entered the Society of Jesus in 1753, became in 1789 the first Catholic bishop in the United States. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

SOMASCHI. Like the **Barnabites**, **Jesuits**, and **Theatines**, the Somaschi were “clerks regular”—priests living in community under vows, though without a monastic regime—and were founded at the village of Somascha, between **Milan** and Bergamo in northern **Italy**, by the Venetian nobleman, former soldier, and member of the **Oratory of Divine Love**, Girolamo Miani (Emiliani or Aemiliani, 1483–1537). Their early work was among orphans and other victims of the wars in, and invasions of, the peninsula and their original title, in 1531, was the “Society of Servants of the Poor.” The Somaschi Fathers’ existence was ratified by Pope **Paul III** in 1541 and by Miani’s friend Pope **Paul IV**. Between 1547 and 1555 the Somaschi were merged with the Theatines, but Pope **Pius V** in 1568 gave them permission to take religious vows, and they were reconstituted as a separate order, with the title of the “Clerks Regular of St. Mayeul, or of Somascha.” Heavily concentrated in Italy, whose acute social problems they had come into existence to address, they opened houses in Como, northwest Italy; Verona, in the northeast; and Venice; and **Carlo**

Borromeo invited them into his archdiocese, establishing them in the church of San Maiolo (Mayeul or Maiolus) in Pavia near Milan. The involvement of this Congregation in **social welfare** was seen in their operation of colleges, hospitals, orphanages, and rescue hostels for prostitutes, but they specialized in teaching of the poor and in care for orphans. *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

SOZINI, LELIO FRANCESCO MARIA (LAELIUS SOCINUS) (1525–1562). Lelio Sozini was born in Siena in Tuscany, central **Italy**, into a legal family. He studied law, took up Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew, and turned his attention to theology, conducting evangelistic activities in Siena. Sozini left Italy in 1547 and traveled to **England** and **France** and in 1548–49 was in **Geneva**, where he disputed theological issues, such as the resurrection of the body, with **John Calvin**. Then, in **Zürich**, he got himself involved in the discussions that led to the *Consensus Tigurinus*. His sole published work, the *Dissertatio ad Tigurinos et Genevenses de Sacramentis*, or “Dissertation to the People of Zürich and Geneva on the Sacraments,” appeared in 1555, and in 1558 he moved to **Poland**, where he met another Italian antitrinitarian, Giorgio Biandrata (c. 1515–1588/1590), and returned to **Switzerland**, where he died in 1562, his main ideas having their impact through their incorporation in the doctrinal system of his nephew **Fausto Paolo Sozzini**.

SOZZINI, FAUSTO PAOLO (FAUSTUS SOCINUS) (1539–1604). Fausto Sozzini was born in Siena, central **Italy**, in December 1539, studied the manuscript writings of his uncle **Lelio Francesco Maria Sozini**, and in 1552 published a study of St. John’s gospel, questioning Christ’s divinity and casting doubt on human immortality. Facing a denunciation to the **Inquisition** in 1559, he found refuge in **Zürich** between 1559 and 1562 and from 1565 was employed in Florence (Firenze) in the court of Grand Duke Cosimo I (1519–1574) and published an orthodox and learned work, *De Auctoritate Sanctae Scripturae*—“Concerning the Authority of Holy Scripture.”

He then settled in Basel (Bâle, Basle) in **Switzerland**, studied theology, and in 1578 wrote, but did not publish, his *De Jesu Christo Servatore* (“Concerning Jesus Christ the Deliverer”), traveled to Transylvania (modern Romania), and in 1579 migrated to **Poland**. There he encountered the grouping of non-trinitarians, gathered in

Vilnius, **Lithuania**, and in Poland proper on the estates of the nobleman Jan Sieninski, where a community based on New Testament principles had been set up in Raców. He joined the Raców settlement in 1580 and he guided the deliberations of the Synod of Brześć (Brest) in 1587.

Sozzini's relations with the Church with which he associated were uneven, especially concerning **baptism**, though he exercised a moderating influence over the issues of paying taxes, accepting private property, practicing law, and acting as magistrates. The belated publication in 1594 of his *De Jesu Christo Servatore* almost led to his murder, and from 1598 he withdrew from active involvement in church life and retired to a retreat in the village of Łuclawice, where he died in March 1604. His doctrines presenting Christ as a human being and exemplar of the moral perfection to which all could aspire influenced the subsequent **Racovian Catechism**.

SPAIN. In the years 711–715, **Islamic** forces out of North Africa swept over the Iberian peninsula, conquering from its Visigothic rulers virtually the whole of what had earlier been the Roman province of Hispania. Almost immediately, from bases in the still non-Islamic far north of the country, began a centuries-long process of territorial recovery, the *reconquista*, or reconquest, achieved partly through military victories, partly by migratory movements of peoples southward.

In the course of the Middle Ages, a group of states emerged that were eventually to coalesce as the kingdoms of Aragon, to the Mediterranean east, and Castile, in the center of the peninsula, and by 1246 only Granada in the far south lingered on as the last Muslim redoubt in the Iberian peninsula.

The year 1469 saw the marriage of Isabella, known as “the Catholic” (Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451–1504), heiress to the throne of Castile and queen from 1474, and Ferdinand II, known as “the Catholic” (Fernando II, known as *el Católico*, 1452–1516), heir to the throne of Aragon, and king from 1479, creating a dynastic union of the two principal kingdoms of the peninsula.

Rising **antisemitism** in late medieval Spain was directed at the considerable number of ethnic **Jews** in the country who had accepted conversion to Catholicism, called *conversos*, “converts,” or *nuevos cristianos*, “new Christians.” Increasingly, they and their descendants were suspected of insincere conversion and indeed of undermining

the Catholic faith from within, and in November 1478 Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) authorized the setting up of an **Inquisition**, under royal control, essentially in order to police the behavior of the *conversos*. Following the outbreak in 1482 of the war to subdue Granada, the fall of the kingdom to the forces of Ferdinand and Isabella in January 1492 meant the end of a Muslim political presence on Spanish soil, and was followed in March by an order expelling all unconverted Jews from the kingdoms: Spain's future was to be as a Catholic society, the faith acting as a cultural and political cement to otherwise heterogeneous populations.

The year of the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews saw the beginning of Spanish **discoveries in the New World**, with the first arrival of Christopher Columbus (Cristoforo Colombo, Cristóbal Colón, 1451–1506) in America, laying the foundations of the wealth that would fund Spain's defense of her own interests and those of the Catholic faith in early modern Europe.

The "Catholic kings" Ferdinand and Isabella took the Church firmly under their control and sponsored a reform program under Cardinal **Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros** that overhauled institutional religious life and later helped immunize the kingdoms against the Protestant Reformation. Ferdinand also began a strategy of conquest in **Italy** that anticipated the Italian campaigns of his grandson **Charles V** and established a pattern of conflict with **France** that was taken up by both Charles and **Philip II**.

When Charles arrived in Spain to take up his grandparents' crowns in 1517, his **Low Countries** entourage faced suspicion as predatory foreigners, and indignation in the cities against the government exploded in the Revolt of the Comuneros of July 1520 to April 1521. However, in the decades that followed, Charles's government was molded on the traditions of the Catholic kings, while his firm faith endeared him to a Catholic people. During his reign, Charles's military and fiscal base was, increasingly, Castile, and massive discoveries of silver in Spanish south and central America in 1545 and 1546 added to the treasure that would continue to finance **Habsburg** militancy in Europe. Charles's retirement into and death in a Spanish monastery epitomized his transformation into a virtual Spaniard.

His son Philip II needed no such transformation. His campaigns against and interventions in **England**, France, and the Low Countries showed the extent to which, for him, the interests of his faith and his

kingdom were identical, while **Lepanto** revived a vision of crusade. Within Spain, an anti-Islamic program continued, resulting in the Revolt of the Moriscos—officially converted Muslims—in 1569–71, and leading eventually to the expulsion of this community in 1609.

Desiderius Erasmus had enjoyed a strong following in the Spain of Charles V, and the country was home to a mystical movement, the *alumbrados*, or “illuminists,” to whom at one point **Ignatius Loyola** was suspected of adhering. The **evangelical** movement around Spain’s **Juan de Valdés** had a take-up in the country. That said, **Protestantism**, though not absent, was largely confined to cells in the north-central city of Valladolid and the southern city of Seville (Sevilla) and was easily suppressed: Spanish Protestants were best advised to emigrate, and the Inquisition continued its operations against “illuminists,” Jews observing their religion, witches, and numbers of real or alleged deviants.

Spain also made an enormous contribution to Catholic recovery in early modern Europe and the wider world. Spain’s leadership of the Catholic Church took in: Loyola’s **Jesuits**—popularly known as “Spanish priests”; **Francis Xavier**’s missionary work and the evangelizing by Spanish **Dominicans**, **Franciscans**, and Jesuits, from America to **Japan**; the intellectual authority provided by **Francisco Suárez** and **Francisco de Vitoria**; and the devotional inspiration given by **John of the Cross** and **Teresa of Ávila**. In a school of painters launched by the Greek immigrant El Greco (Kyriakos Theotokopoulos, or Domingo Teotocópuli, 1541–1614), Spain gave a new intensity to the religious art of the Catholic Reformation, while its literature and culture led Europe until the artistic ascendancy of France in the 17th century. *See also* COUNTER-REFORMATION.

SPEYER, DIETS OF 1526, 1529. In June 1526 the **Diet** met under the chairmanship of **Ferdinand I** in the Rhineland city of Speyer and heard him call for the enforcement, with immediate effect, of the **Edict of Worms**. Debate followed, interrupted by Ferdinand’s reading of a letter from **Charles V** demanding an end to religious change. The response of the estates was a “recess” of August stating that each estate of the **Holy Roman Empire** should order its religious policies in such a way as it might trust “to answer it to God and his imperial majesty” (Elton, *Reformation Europe*, p. 38)—in effect a charter of religious autonomy anticipating the settlement to be eventually

agreed in the **Peace of Augsburg**. The **Habsburgs**, faced with the **League of Cognac** and the August victory of the **Turks** at Mohács in **Hungary**, were for the time being forced to accept this dissolution of **Germany's** religious unity.

By February 1529, with the Diet once more meeting in Speyer, the political weather had changed again, partly as a result of the **Sack of Rome** and the emperor's altered relationship with the **pope**. In his presidential speech of 15 March, Ferdinand denounced the violence being done to traditional religion and the anarchic consequences of the earlier recess, and this time the majority of the estates showed compliance, repealing the recess, ordering Catholic rulers to enforce the Edict of Worms, requiring the states that had adopted **Lutheranism** to allow the **Mass**, demanding the suppression of **Anabaptists** and followers of **Huldrych Zwingli**, and in general forbidding further religious change.

A Lutheran group made up of the states of Anhalt, Brandenburg, Braunschweig, Hesse, Electoral **Saxony**, and 14 Imperial cities were already at work on a response, and on 19 April entered a formal protest—giving us the word Protestant—against the cancellation of the earlier recess. The 1526 recess, the protesters argued, was a contract between parties and could not be nullified in the way being proposed, nor could the signatories be forced to act contrary to their consciences. Permission was refused to have this text enrolled in the Diet's proceeding, so the dissident estates issued an "Instrument of Appeal," repeating their determination to uphold the first recess of Speyer.

Further developments arose out of the second Diet of Speyer, including defensive arrangements on the part of the "Protestant" states and cities and **Philipp of Hesse's** preparations for the **Marburg Colloquy**.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRE. In the summer of 1572, during a pause in the French **Wars of Religion** brought about by the Peace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye of August, 1570, **Catherine de' Medici's** determination to destroy the influence of **Gaspard de Coligny** over her son King Charles IX (1550–1574) led her to conspire with the **Guises** to assassinate the **Huguenot** leader. On 22 August Coligny was shot and wounded in the first attempt on him. Charles undertook to investigate the attempt on his life, and the Hu-

guenots threatened revenge. The royal council of state now resolved on preventive action to head off Huguenot vengeance, and Catherine and the king supported a scheme to slay the Huguenot leadership still present in **Paris** following the wedding, some days before, of **Henry of Navarre** and Catherine's daughter Marguerite de Valois (or Marguerite de France—"la Reine Margot," 1553–1615).

In the early hours of the Feast of St. Bartholomew, Sunday, 24 August, Coligny was seized at home by a group of assassins and disemboweled, and royal soldiers began obeying the king's command to kill leading **Calvinists**—the signal for the beginning of three days of slaughter undertaken by the people of Paris.

As news of massacre in Paris spread into the provinces, copycat atrocities took place over the next two months—in Orléans, south of Paris; in Bordeaux, on the southwest coast; Lyon (Lyons), in the southeast; in Toulouse, in the far south; and Rouen, in the northwest; resulting in at least 5,000 deaths in Paris and provincial France. Undoubtedly, the massacre was fueled by various economic and social grievances, but we also need to recognize that at base the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre was inspired by religious conviction, zeal, hatred, and bigotry.

Reactions to the outbreak reveal the deepening intensification of sectarian polarization of Europe within the second half of the 16th century. Pope **Gregory XIII**'s commissioning of a recital of the Catholic Church's hymn of praise, *Te Deum Laudamus* ("We Praise Thee, O God"), was typical of a rising fanaticism, even in the highest places, though **Philip II**'s pleased reaction to the event had much to do with relief that the French Protestant leadership was now incapable of coming to the aid of his rebel subjects in the **Low Countries**, as Coligny had intended.

In France itself the effects of the massacre were to reawaken the Wars of Religion that had been halted by the Peace of St-Germain-en-Laye, with an almost immediate resumption of fighting; to rehabilitate the third way of the *politiques*, associated with **Michel de l'Hôpital**; to intensify Huguenot political alienation evident in attitudes to **government**, for example in the case of **François Hotman**, and a Calvinist literature of opposition to the royal state; and to bring toward a close a period of several decades in which French **Protestantism** had seemed to be a dynamic and aggressive ideology of the future, with a real chance of capturing the soul of France.

STAUPITZ, JOHANN VON (1465?–1524). Von Staupitz was born in the village of Motterwitz in **Saxony**, joined the Order of **Augustinian** Eremites, studied under the Scholastic master Gabriel Biel (c. 1420–1495) at Tübingen in the Duchy of **Württemberg**, and played a key role in the foundation in 1502 of **Frederick the Wise's** new University of Wittenberg, at which he was appointed professor of theology and dean. He became vicar-general of the German section of Observant Augustinian Eremites in 1503, giving him oversight of around 30 convents, including the house **Martin Luther** entered in Erfurt, in Thuringia, in 1505.

In the academic year 1508–9 von Staupitz had Luther transferred to Wittenberg to undertake introductory-level lectures in philosophy, and in 1511 he recruited Luther for the Wittenberg faculty on a permanent basis and pressured him into taking his doctorate, in 1512. Von Staupitz acted as Luther's confessor in the **sacrament of penance**, guiding his spiritual development and directing him toward the study of the Epistles of St. Paul. A popular devotional writer and the author of the treatise "On Eternal Predestination" (he taught that God predestined those He had chosen to save), von Staupitz was also accepted as their spiritual mentor by a pious group of leading citizens in **Nuremberg**. Following the issue of the Ninety-Five Theses, the papacy attempted to use the machinery of the Augustinian Order to silence Luther, with instructions sent from its head Gabriele della Volta (1468–1537) to von Staupitz to control him.

In 1518, accompanying Luther to Augsburg, von Staupitz released Luther from his monastic vows. Von Staupitz joined the Order of St. Benedict in 1522 and became abbot of Salzburg in **Austria**, where he died in December 1524. Though Rome suspected him of encouraging Luther's heresy, and Pope **Paul IV** was to put his works on his **Index**, he parted company with his former protégé over breaking with the Catholic Church.

STRASSBURG, REFORMATION IN. Strassburg (today Strasbourg, in eastern **France**) was a wealthy Rhineland trading center in Alsace, western Germany, a self-governing city of the **Holy Roman Empire**, and an episcopal cathedral city. Pre-Reformation Strassburg established a tradition of moral and reformist preaching in the figure of **Johann Geiler von Kayzersberg**, while the Strassburg preacher

Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) regularly denounced the award of rich church benefices to poorly educated and corrupt clerics.

Strassburg also had well-established mechanisms of close municipal oversight of religious life, of the clergy and religious orders: as early as 1300 the city council set a limit of 1 percent on the proportion of a lay person's property that could be willed to the Church, and the government remained watchful at the amount of lay wealth that was finding its way into ecclesiastical hands. Measures were also taken to control the clergy and particularly to make them pay their taxes, as part of a process of converting clerics into citizens, with the same rights and duties as their fellow townspeople, making them legal subjects of the city-state rather than of the Church, according to the arrangements known as *Bürgerrecht*—citizens' rights.

From 1521 Matthäus (or Matthis) Zell of Kaysersberg (1477–1548), a student of Geiler von Kaysersberg, was using his sermons in the city to defend **Martin Luther**, and was prosecuted in the bishop's court, though defended by the populace at large; he influenced **Wolfgang Capito** in the direction of his reform ideas.

The early months of 1523 saw the arrival in the city of the trio of men who were to be the organizers of its Reformation—**Martin Bucer**, Capito, and Kaspar Hedio (or Heyd, 1494–1552). The first of these was installed, by popular acclaim from the city's guild of gardeners, as pastor of St. Aurelia's church and began preaching on the Psalms and the New Testament. Then, in step with the council and with popular backing, the stages along the road to Reformation proceeded: in December 1523 the council ruled that preachers should stick to Scripture in their sermons; in February 1524, the chalice was awarded to the **laity** in the **eucharist**; in April 1524 a first version of a German-language liturgy and rite of **baptism** came out, with further liturgical changes in 1525–26; in May 1524 Capito took up a post as preacher; and from October images were being removed from churches.

In 1527 Capito issued a **catechism**, and in 1529 the monasteries were closed, the city signed the Protestation against the recess of the second **Diet of Speyer** forbidding religious change, and—always a key stage in any city's move away from Catholicism—the **Mass** was outlawed. When Bucer became president of the Strassburg Church Council in 1530, the setting up of a Reformation city had largely been

accomplished, consolidated in a set of Church Orders passed between 1531 and 1534. In the same year the submission to the **Diet of Augsburg** of the credal **confession** of four southern cities—Constance (Konstanz), Lindau, Memmingen, and Strassburg—the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, drawn up by Bucer and Hedio—established a distinctive doctrinal line, in particular on the eucharist. Strassburg joined the **Schmalkaldic League** in 1531.

A major printing center for **Protestantism**, Strassburg was a relatively open and tolerant city, a haven for religious refugees, such as **Pietro Martire Vermigli**. **John Calvin** served from 1538 to 1541 as pastor to an expatriate congregation from neighboring France and learned a great deal from the Strassburg model of Reformation. Protestants from **England** under **Mary I** found shelter there. Bucer, Capito, and Zell restrained the council from persecuting **Anabaptists**, and Strassburg became one of their most important bases. **Melchior Hoffmann** was another refugee in the city, predicting for it a role in the **eschatology** of Christ's second coming: he was imprisoned in 1533 and died in jail, probably in 1542. In 1548 Strassburg submitted to the **Augsburg Interim** and expelled Bucer. The city successfully resisted **Henry II** of France's attempt to capture it in 1552. Its Protestant status—and increasing orientation to **Lutheranism**—were confirmed in the **Peace of Augsburg**.

SUÁREZ, FRANCISCO (1548–1617). Suárez was born in January 1548 in Granada (in the south of **Spain**) of Jewish extraction, became a **Jesuit** in 1564, and between 1572 and 1574 was professor of philosophy in the University of Segovia (central Spain) and from 1576 taught theology at the University of Valladolid, north-central Spain. Suárez moved to **Rome** to teach in the Jesuits' Roman College in 1580, and in 1585 returned to Iberia to teach successively in the universities of Alcalá de Henares (near Madrid) and Salamanca (western Spain), and (invited by **Philip II** as king of **Portugal**) at the University of Coimbra (near the center of the coast of that country).

Suárez was one of the most important theological figures in the **Society of Jesus** and a leader of the 16th-century revival of the theological system—known as “Thomism”—of the Scholastic master Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), on whose *Summa Theologiae* he produced a commentary in five volumes between 1590 and 1603. His other works included the *De Virtute et Statu Religionis*, or “Con-

cerning the Excellence and Condition of Religion” (in four volumes, 1608–25) and *De Divina Gratia* or “Concerning Divine Grace” (in three parts, 1620).

Suárez’s understanding of the operation of **grace** was likened by his **Dominican** rivals to those of his fellow Jesuit, **Luis de Molina**, who taught that divine grace works on the basis of God’s prior knowledge of its recipient’s voluntary cooperation with it: Suárez’s model, known as “congruism,” balanced human freedom and God’s grace and, like Molina, he showed how, by *scientia media*—intermediate knowledge—the Almighty foresees in advance our free actions, giving to those He has chosen the graces that He knows they will put to good use. Suárez also identified ways in which the **Blessed Virgin Mary** could be regarded as cooperating in human redemption.

As a political theorist, in the *Tractatus de Legibus*—“A Treatise Concerning the Laws,” 1612—Suárez pioneered the study and establishment of international jurisprudence, based on natural law and observed within a community of independent states. In the *Defensio Fidei Catholicae* or “A Defense of the Catholic Faith,” 1613—a work burned both in Protestant **London** and suppressed in Catholic **Paris** for its questioning attitudes toward the sovereign state—Suárez explored the relationship between the Church and governments and rejected extreme statements of the divine right of kings to rule. He maintained both the papacy’s right to intervene in the politics of states and, at least in theory, to depose monarchs, while at the same time upholding the people’s right to rise up against unjust rulers. His definition of heretics saw them essentially as renegade Catholics against whom it was permissible to use force—even the death penalty—for the sake of their immortal souls, though he also opposed the enforced conversions of indigenous peoples in America.

SWEDEN. Following the war of independence against King Christian II (1481–1559) of **Denmark**—a struggle in which the papacy had backed Denmark—**Gustav Vasa** came to the throne of Sweden in 1523. The situation for the Church in the newly independent kingdom—owning about 20 percent of the land—created opportunities for royal intervention, since there were a large number of episcopal vacancies, including that of the primatial archdiocese, Uppsala, northeast of the capital, Stockholm, and Vasa maneuvered the election of his own appointees to the vacancies. Guided primarily by

political considerations and by the urgent need to pay off loans made to him by Lübeck and other German cities to pay for the war of independence, Vasa could see the advantages to the crown of confiscations of ecclesiastical property.

The influence of **Lutheranism** had been disseminated by traveling preachers from **Germany**, and the German merchant community in Stockholm took up the new doctrines. King Gustav made a decisive contribution to a Lutheran outcome with key appointments—that of **Olaus Petri** (Olaf Pedersson) as preacher and town clerk in Stockholm and of his fellow Lutheran Laurentius Andreae (Lars Andersson, d. 1552) as chancellor of the kingdom. Their roles were to be complementary in the unfolding of the Swedish Reformation, Andreae as administrator, and Petri as a source of doctrine and **literature**, with his *Een nyttwgh wnderwijsning*, or “A Useful Instruction,” and his translations of the New Testament into Swedish, both works of 1526. Vasa’s role was also crucial in dealing with the opposition **printing** press, sponsored by the conservative Bishop Hans Brask (1464–1538) of the southeastern diocese of Linköping, whose operation the king ordered to be closed down in 1526.

The same year inaugurated a period between 1526 and 1529 of accelerated change in the kingdom—despite peasant resistance, made up of opposition both to high taxes and religious innovation, which exploded into revolt in 1527 (the Daljunkern’s or Deljunkeren’s rising) and April 1529. In 1526 Vasa arranged a Catholic-Lutheran **disputation** in which Olaf Pedersson put the case for change. In January 1527 Vasa slowed the pace of reform by expelling **Melchior Hoffmann** from the country but in June 1527 the recess of the *Riksdag* (Diet), meeting at Västerås, east of Stockholm—and, blackmailed by the king with a threat of abdication—ended the financial and political independence of the Catholic Church in the country, handed its feudal properties over to the king, to whom it awarded administration of ecclesiastical and monastic properties, and allowed the nobility to take back estates gifted to the Church since the middle of the previous century.

Bishop Brask’s flight out of the country in 1528 was a recognition of the Church’s downfall and of an **Erastian** settlement: in institutional terms, much of what was to be brought about in **Henry VIII’s England** in the 1530s was already enacted for Sweden, and in 1528,

in a gesture of Swedish ecclesiastical independence from **Rome**, three new bishops were ordained without papal approval.

Yet the recess of Västerås did not add up to a Lutheran Reformation. It is true that monasteries, now disendowed as a result of Västerås, were being closed, but the minor changes made at a synod chaired by Andersson at Örebro, east of Stockholm, in February 1529, left the **Mass** in Latin and removed a small number of Catholic holy days. Even so, the peasant rising in the southwest in April, supported by members of the aristocracy and similar to England's later **Pilgrimage of Grace**, combined with disruption provoked by Germans in Stockholm, who were frustrated at the slow pace of reform, showed how divisive and potentially dangerous the religious situation was. Vasa halted further change and at a *Riksdag* meeting in June in the cathedral city of Strängnäs in eastern Sweden declared that he was neither for nor against innovation.

Even so, the longer-term outlook favored reform, assisted by the firmer establishment of Reformation in neighboring Denmark. Olaf Pedersson was chancellor from 1531 to 1533 and his brother Laurentius Petri (Lars Pedersson) became the first Lutheran archbishop of Uppsala in 1531: a synod meeting there under his presidency in 1536 introduced a liturgy and other services all in Swedish, along with clerical **marriage**. Even so, Gustav was not prepared to see the clergy take the lead in introducing change, while he remained aware of the force of peasant conservatism, and reaffirmed the essentially Erastian resolutions of the 1527 Västerås *Riksdag*. Indeed, the king's offensive against the Lutheran clerical leaders was toughened with a prosecution of the Pedersson brothers for treason in December 1539: their subsequent pardons should be read as a clear statement that it was the king who was in charge.

That was also the message of the *Riksdag* meeting in Örebro in December 1539—that King Gustav was content with an ecclesiastical transformation of the kingdom, on the strict understanding that the Church stay under firm royal control. Indeed, a formula to give effect to that was devised with the king's new ecclesiastical instructions of December 1539, declaring him to be “protector of the Holy Christian faith in the whole kingdom” (Ole Peter Grell, “Scandinavia,” in *The Early Reformation in Europe*, ed., Pettegree, pp. 116–17), and placing the Church under the oversight of the “superintendent,” the

king's German advisor Georg Norman (d. 1553). The **bible** appeared in Swedish, edited by Lars Pedersson, in 1541.

This, then, was gradual Reformation, with a Lutheran Church order coming as late as 1571, for Vasa, who was not a religious zealot, was always aware of peasant resistance to change, while in the background was the fact that he had come to the throne originally as a usurper. His son and successor who ruled from 1560, Erik XIV (1533–1577), introduced further changes in a **Calvinist** direction but was deposed in 1568 in favor of his brother Johann III (1537–1592), who entered the Catholic Church in 1578 and whose efforts to reintroduce Catholicism were thwarted, as was the case with Johann's son, Sigismund III (1566–1632), also king (1587–1632) of **Poland**. The synod that met at Uppsala in 1593 and declared Scripture to be the only source of truth, the **Augsburg Confession** to be definitive, and **Martin Luther's catechisms** to be authoritative proved that the Lutheran Reformation had indeed taken hold, not, though, as the cause of the changes that the first Swedish Vasa king had made, but as their result.

SWITZERLAND. Religious life in pre-Reformation Switzerland was an amalgam of institutional defects—with a particular proneness for bishops to excuse priests living in concubinage on payment of fines—alongside a vibrant popular piety and a lively pilgrimage cult focused on the shrine of the Black Madonna at the monastery of Einsiedeln, southeast of **Zürich**, where **Huldrych Zwingli** ministered early in his career.

Any study of religion in 16th-century Switzerland must reflect the fact that the country was a confederation (officially, until 1648, within the **Holy Roman Empire**)—*Confederatio Helvetica*, the Swiss Confederation, a group of independent states, known as cantons (*Orte*)—that had come together over the course of time for mutual defense and that sent delegates to federal diets (*Tagatzung*). Given the Confederation's devolved structures, decisions over choice of religion—whether to remain Catholic or adopt **Protestantism** and, in the latter case, which variant of Protestantism to adopt—were made on the cantonal level.

An important differentiation, having a marked impact on religious policies, was between the territories considered to be primarily urban, that is controlled in each case by a leading city—Basel (Bâle, Basle),

Bern (Berne), Fribourg (Freiburg), Lucerne (Luzern), Solothurn (Soleure), Schaffhausen, and Zürich—and those designated rural—Appenzell, Glarus, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug. The totality of these sovereign 13 cantons (as of 1513) governed mandated or “common” territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*)—such as the Thurgau, and parts of the canton Vaud—while units such as the Grisons (Graubünden) were associated with the Confederation by alliance (*Zugewandte Orte*).

The agricultural poverty of much of Switzerland had encouraged the emergence of mercenary soldiering as a profession, and before the end of the 15th century the Swiss infantry pikeman was a formidable figure on the battlefields of Europe, the Confederation emerging as a military power in its own right and defeating **France** at the battle of Novara in northern **Italy** in June 1513. However, the French turned the tables with a crushing victory over Swiss forces at Marignano, again in northern Italy, in September 1515. In the “perpetual peace” made between the French and the Swiss in November 1516, the latter’s independent military role was exchanged for close ties with France, confirmed in 1521 as a contract to supply mercenary troops. However, the issue of exporting Swiss men in exchange for French gold became a part of the reform movement begun in Zürich by Zwingli, a former army chaplain at Marignano.

As Zürich’s Reformation developed under Zwingli’s leadership in the 1520s, the rural Catholic cantons—while responsive to **Catholic reform**—began to organize resistance to more radical change, and in April 1524, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug, with Lucerne, formed an alliance against Zürich and ecclesiastical alterations. In 1525, with **Johannes Ecolampadius**’s appointment as a town preacher, Basel was set on the road to Reformation, witnessing **iconoclasm** and culminating in the suppression of the **Mass** in 1529, with subsequent Church orders providing for an overhaul of education, worship, moral oversight, and ecclesiastical institutions. Bern had passed a council edict on preaching from Scripture, initially in June 1523, and in January 1528 the Bern **Disputations** heralded the conversion to Protestantism of this, the most important city of the Confederation, with the ending of the Mass in the same month. Protestantization also involved diplomatic and defensive measures, and from 1529 the Protestant cantons of Basel, Bern, Zürich, and

the allied Grisons were at the heart of a “Christian Civil Union” in defense of their religion.

Alliance confronted alliance when in April 1529 Catholic Fribourg, Lucerne, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Valais formed a “Christian League” with **Ferdinand I**. Switzerland was now on a collision course to Reformation Europe’s first religious war, over the issue of the form of religion to prevail in the mandated territories. When the opposing sides prepared for battle at **Kappel**, near Zürich, in June 1529, the armies refused to fight and a truce awarded freedom of religion in the mandated lands and instructed the Catholics to renounce their **Habsburg** alliance.

For two years a fragile peace prevailed, exploded by a dispute in the Grisons, leading to a real battle at Kappel in October 1531 between well-prepared Catholic forces and an unimpressive Zürich army (including Zwingli). The decisive Catholic victory (and Zwingli’s death) resulted in a pro-Catholic settlement: the Christian Civic Union was to be broken up, reparations were to be paid to the Catholic cantons, and Catholics were to have freedom of worship in Protestant territories.

Following Kappel, Bern became the sponsor of the conversion of **Geneva**, **Heinrich Bullinger** inherited Zwingli’s mantle in Zürich, the **Helvetic Confessions** offered doctrinal cogency, and the ***Consensus Tigurinus*** provided a Swiss and Genevan doctrinal accord. The Catholic cantons deepened their religious commitment under the auspices of the **Counter-Reformation**, and a **seminary** was opened in Lucerne in 1579. Much of the initiative in these developments was directed from **Milan** to the south, by **Carlo Borromeo**, who established a Swiss College in Milan in 1579, and it was a tribute to Borromeo’s leadership that, when seven Catholic cantons formed an alliance in 1586 with their Catholic neighbor the Duchy of Savoy and **Philip II**, they named it the “Borromean League.”

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TAUSEN (TAUSEN OR TAGESEN), HANS (1494–1561). A member of the military order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Tausen studied in Rostock in north **Germany** and the Danish capital Copenhagen (København) and then, under **Martin Luther**’s direction, at Wit-

tenberg. Following his return to **Denmark** in 1524, he began preaching **Lutheran** doctrines to large audiences in 1525 in Viborg (in the north of the Jutland peninsula). In 1526 he was put under crown protection by King Fredrik I (c. 1471–1533), in 1528 set up a Lutheran **printing** press, and in 1529 was appointed to a key preachership in the Copenhagen church of St. Nicholas. In the *Herredag* (“assembly of nobles”) meeting in the capital in July 1530, in response to conservative denunciations he led the Lutherans in presenting the 43-article *Confessio Hafniensis*—the “Copenhagen **Confession**.”

The death of Fredrik in 1533 and the resultant succession crisis and civil war exposed Tausen to danger, but with the accession of Christian III (1503–1559) and the resumption of the Danish Reformation he was rehabilitated, took up preaching in the capital, and was professor of Hebrew at its university. He became bishop of Ribe (in western Jutland) in 1542. Tausen’s many writings included a collection of sermons—the *Postille*—and a translation of the first five books of the **bible**, known as the Pentateuch, into Danish.

TERESA OF ÁVILA (TERESA SANCHEZ CEPEDA D’ÁVILA Y AHUMADA, KNOWN AS TERESA DE JESUS) (1515–1582).

Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada was born in March 1515 into an upper-class family of Jewish *converso* descent in Ávila in Old Castile in central **Spain**, the city where, in 1535 she entered the Convent of the Incarnation in the “Mitigated Observance” of the **Carmelite Order**. Following a period of ill health and guided by her confessor, the **Dominican** Domingo Bañez (1527–1604), in the mid-1550s she experienced a religious conversion.

Teresa now turned her attention to the reform of the Carmelite Order and in 1562, in the face of opposition, set up the convent of San José (St. Joseph) in Ávila, which was to follow the original austere Carmelite rule, expressed in the sisters’ going barefoot, or “discalced.” In 1566 the Carmelite general, the Italian Giovanni Batista Rubeo, encouraged her to disseminate her reforms through the Order at large, and over the following decades Teresa spread her system of prayer, self-discipline, and enclosure in convents around Spain, opening about 17 houses of her strict observance. She also influenced male Carmelites and above all Juan de Yepes y Álvarez—**John of the Cross**; in 1580, the Discalced became a distinct Carmelite congregation.

Teresa's writings had enormous influence within **Counter-Reformation** Catholicism. In 1562 she compiled the first version of her autobiography, *El libro de su vida*—"The Book of Her Life"—which incorporated a study of contemplative prayer. *El camino de la perfección*—"The Way of Perfection"—a manual for her fellow sisters, was composed in 1566, along with a reflection on the Song of Songs in the Old Testament, and in 1577 she began work on her greatest composition, *Las moradas, o el castillo interior*—"The Mansions, or the Interior Castle"—in which she described the seven "mansions" of the soul's mystical journey toward God. *El libro de sus fundaciones*—"The Book of Her Foundations"—recounted a history of the Carmelite reform. She died in October 1582 in Alba de Tormes (northwest of Madrid).

A woman who combined the efficiency of a practical administrator with the visions of a mystic, who introduced an analysis of various levels of meditative, contemplative, and mystical life, suspected for a while by the **Inquisition** but winning vital support from **Philip II**, Teresa of Ávila was canonized in 1622 and declared a doctor of the Church in 1970, and is a patron saint of Spain. *See also* MERICI, ANGELA; WOMEN.

TETZEL, JOHANN (c. 1465–1519). Tetzel was born in Leipzig in Ducal **Saxony**, joined the **Dominican Order** in 1489, and became prior of its friary in Leipzig. In 1516 he received a commission from **Leo X** to preach—and sell—an **indulgence** in the dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, both in eastern **Germany**, and forming one of the three sales areas into which the country was divided. The purpose of the campaign was to raise money in exchange for indulgences to fund the construction of St. Peter's basilica in **Rome**. Tetzel was forbidden to enter the dominions of several German princes, among them **Frederick the Wise**, though Frederick's subjects were in the habit of crossing over the River Elbe into neighboring territory in order to purchase the indulgence.

Tetzel's sales methods were direct and forceful, the best-known example being the jingle: "As soon as gold in the basin rings, / Right then the soul to heaven springs" (Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, p. 61).

However, it was his message that contrition was unnecessary for the indulgence to work that elicited **Martin Luther's** response, in the Ninety-Five Theses.

In January 1518 Tetzel pronounced a denunciation of Luther at the congregation of his Order in Saxony, precipitating a Dominican campaign against Luther during that year. The countertheses that came out in Tetzel's name dealt with Luther's theses on a point-by-point basis, restated the need for contrition within the **sacrament of penance**, but affirmed the powers of the pope to a high degree: Luther's "Resolutions Concerning the Ninety-Five Theses" of 1518 counterattacked Tetzel's counteroffensive.

When the papal emissary Karl von Miltitz (1490–1529) arrived in Saxony at the end of 1518, he was inclined to blame Tetzel for all the turbulence going back to 1517. Yet as he was dying of the plague in 1519 in the host city of the **Leipzig Disputation**—the recipient of a kindly letter of consolation from Luther—he had become marginalized from the events triggered by his retailing activities.

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS. Founded with papal confirmation in 1191, and in 1202 fusing with the order of the Sword, the Teutonic Knights, or Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem, were one of the military order of priests founded during the Crusading era of the Middle Ages, and from 1237 they carried on a war of over half a century against the people of East Prussia, whose land they absorbed. In 1242 they suffered a major defeat by the Russian ruler St. Alexander Nevski (1220–1263) and in 1410 were overcome by a combined force of Poles and Lithuanians at Tannenberg (Grünwald).

Further military defeats followed in 1519–21, and disillusioned members of the Order were leaving it and taking up with **Lutheran** doctrines. In the mid-1520s the Knights' Grand Master, Albrecht (Albert) von Hohenzollern, of Brandenburg-Ansbach (1490–1568), secularized the Order in Prussia, converting its domains into a feudal duchy within the Kingdom of Poland, with himself as the first hereditary duke. He had met **Martin Luther** in Wittenberg in 1523, and in the summer months of 1525 began the Lutheran Reformation of his new state—the first openly **Evangelical** principality in the German Lands.

Albrecht established the University of Königsberg (Kaliningrad, Russian Federation) in 1544, and in 1551–52 allied with **Moritz of Saxony** against **Charles V**.

THEATINES. Formed in the matrix of the **Oratory of Divine Love**, the Theatines, or "Clerks Regular of Divine Providence," provided

the first model of the new congregations of clerks regular (such as the **Barnabites**, the **Jesuits**, and the **Somaschi**) evolved in the Catholic Church in the 16th century—priests living in community under vows but having an active rather than contemplative role. Their cofounders, **Gian Pietro Carafa** and **Gaetano da Thiene**, linked up with the priests Paolo Consiglieri and Bonifacio de Colle and between June and December 1524 established the new Congregation, taking its working name from Carafa's diocese of Chieti (in Latin Theate).

The congregation was approved by Pope **Clement VII** in the year of its foundation, in the bull *Exponi Nobis*, giving its members permission to take vows, to elect a superior (Carafa was the first, succeeded by da Thiene, followed by Carafa again, succeeded by da Thiene), devise their own statutes, and take in new entrants. The Theatines also committed themselves to total poverty, having no property but refraining from begging, carrying out preaching and hospital, orphanage, welfare, and parochial work and attending to Italy's social problems occasioned by war and foreign invasion. Unlike the Jesuits, they retained the monastic practice of choral prayer, and they made a special practice of studying Scripture.

Aristocratic in recruitment, a small elitist unit, supported by such leaders of **Catholic reform** as **Gasparo Contarini** and **Reginald Pole**, the Theatines were also intended to act as exemplars to the rest of the Catholic clergy, and they became a byword for moral rigor as well as a recruiting ground for bishops. They expanded to almost 1,100 by the mid-17th century, to be found mostly in **Italy**.

The Congregation prospered particularly during the pontificate of its founder as **Paul IV** and established branches in major Italian cities and in **Bavaria**, **Paris**, **Poland**, and **Spain**, and beyond Europe in Armenia, Borneo, Georgia, Iran, Peru, and Sumatra; a female division was established by Ursula Benincasa (d. 1618). *See also* CLERGY, REGULAR.

THIENE, GAETANO DA (1480–1547). Gaetano da Thiene was born into Vicenza, in Venetian territory in northeast **Italy**, into a noble family that had produced prelates, cardinals, and senior civil servants. He studied at the University of Padua (Padova), in the same region, where he took a degree in civil and canon law, and then obtained a position in the Roman papal administration, the Curia,

being favored by Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13), who employed him in diplomatic negotiations with the Republic of **Venice**.

In 1516 da Thiene was ordained priest and joined the **Oratory of Divine Love**, working with pious charitable organizations in Verona, Venice, and Vicenza. Having given up his curial office, in 1524 he joined with **Gian Pietro Carafa** in forming the **Theatines**. With the **Sack of Rome**, when he was tortured by mutinous soldiers, da Thiene transferred the Theatines' base to Venice, working among victims of plague and famine. During the early years of the Theatines, he alternated the office of superior with Carafa, worked in Verona (where he assisted the reforms of **Gian Matteo Giberti**) and Naples (Napoli), in 1537 returned to Venice, and in 1540 to Naples, where he died in August 1547. Known in English as St. Cajetan, da Thiene was canonized in 1671.

TITIAN (VECELLIO OR VECELLI, TIZIANO) (c. 1495–1576).

Tiziano Vecellio was born in Pieve di Cadere in the territory of the Republic of **Venice**, studied painting in the city under Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516), and became a protégé of Alfonso I d'Este (1486–1534), duke of Ferrara (northeast **Italy**). In 1530 he met **Charles V**, present for his coronation in the northern city of Bologna, and completed his first portrait of the emperor, to whom he became court painter from 1533 and who promoted him to the nobility. Titian worked in Bologna in 1543 and **Rome** in 1545, and in 1548 was called by Charles V to Augsburg, south **Germany**, where he carried out the dramatic equestrian portrait of Charles as a victorious knight, after his triumph over the **Schmalkaldic League** at Mühlberg in April 1547, as well as a more reflective rendition of the emperor seated in an armchair. In 1550, again in Augsburg, he painted the future **Philip II**.

Titian's other portraits include *Pope Paul III* (1543) and *Pope Paul with His Nephews Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese* (1545–46). Classical and mythological scenes, in **Renaissance** fashion, were executed for Alfonso d'Este and Philip II. Titian's early religious works include the *St. Mark with Four Saints*, *St. Anthony at Padua* (1511), and the *Tribute Money* (1515). To an intensely creative period, 1516–30, belong the altarpiece *Assumption of the Virgin* (1516–1518), the *Ancona Madonna* of 1520, the *Resurrection* (1522), and the *Madonna of the Pesaro Family* (1519–26). The *Presentation of*

the Virgin belongs to 1534–38. A group of Old Testament scenes for the ceiling of the Venetian church of Santo Spirito followed in 1543—*Cain and Abel*, the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, and *David and Goliath*, and his powerful rendition of Christ's display to the crowd by Pilate (John 19:5), *Ecce Homo*, was executed also in 1543; the work known as *La Gloria*, was his final commission for Charles V, in 1553, featuring the emperor himself.

The impact of **Counter-Reformation** piety in Titian has been observed in two versions of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (1550–55, 1564–67), in the *Annunciation* (c. 1565), the *Entombment* (1565), the *Fall of Man* (c. 1570), the *Mocking of Christ* (c. 1570), and the late work, *Madonna and Child*. Titian depicted the final session of the **Council of Trent**, and his portrayal of Mary's grieving over the dead Christ, the *Pietà*, (1573–1576), planned for his tomb, was left unfinished at his death in Venice in August 1576.

TOLERANCE AND TOLERATION. Partly because of the widespread belief that religious diversity in a state disrupted political stability, intolerance was the general rule in Europe in the early 16th century, and **Martin Luther's** was a rare voice when, in *Von Weltlicher Uberkeyt . . .*, "Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed" (1523), he made a plea for toleration: "if someone imposes a man-made law on souls, compelling belief in what he wants to be believed, then there will probably be no word of God to justify it" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 154). In the same year, Luther's work on the **Jewish** people, *Das Jhesus Christus eyn geborner Jude sey*—"That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew"—seemed to evince a remarkable tolerance, not simply within the Christian world but to a non-Christian faith. However, Luther's later writing against the Jews, above all *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*—"Concerning the Jews and Their Lies" (1543)—encapsulated his overall abandonment of tolerance.

Besides Luther, other reformers accepted the validity of religious persecution, **Huldrych Zwingli** giving his full support in March 1526 to the execution, by drowning, of **Anabaptists** in **Zürich**: indeed, the Anabaptists were the group most vulnerable to repression within the 16th century, an estimated 800 being burned to death in the period 1527–53 alone. **John Calvin's** role in the execution of **Michael Servetus** in October 1553 provides the fullest evidence of

his denial of tolerance—and it elicited the manifesto of the century's leading defender of religious freedom, **Sebastian Castellio's** March 1554 *De Haereticis, an Sint Persequendi*—"Concerning Heretics, Whether or Not They Should Be Persecuted."

The 16th-century Catholic Church generally accepted religious persecution, and the royal **Inquisition**, first set up in Spain in 1480, prosecuted and burned thousands of *conversos* of Jewish descent and then, in 1558–60, in a series of *autos da fe*—"acts of faith"—conducted a campaign to eliminate **Protestantism** from the peninsula, a task paralleled in **Italy** by the work of the Roman Inquisition, established in 1542.

While religious leaders advocated intolerance, various states maintained it—for example, Tudor **England**, whether under Catholic aegis, with **Mary I**, when 280 Protestants were burned, or with Protestant **Elizabeth I**, when an estimated 124 Catholic priests were put to death and the **recusant laity** faced mounting fines for nonattendance at church. **France**, too, especially under **Henry II**, was a persecuting state, through the tribunals known as *chambers ardentes*, literally "burning courts."

In contrast, **Poland** emerged in the course of the 16th century as a refuge for religious diversity, though there were signs toward the end of the century of a retreat from tolerance. While that was happening, though, the **Dutch Republic** was beginning to implement the toleration built in the interprovince agreement that brought it into existence, the 1579 Union of Utrecht, whose clause 13 opened the door to religious pluralism, so that the country became a refuge for religious immigrants. In France, the **Edict of Nantes** faced up to the fact that neither of the opposing sides in the **Wars of Religion** was able to vanquish the other, so that the coexistence of two faiths in one kingdom was ratified.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION. *See* EUCHARIST.

TRENT, COUNCIL OF. Fifteenth-century Catholic general councils, made up largely of bishops, had issued challenges to the power of the papacy within the Church: the decree of the Council of Constance (Konstanz, 1418–18), *Sacrosancta* of 1415, claimed that councils, alongside the **pope**, received their authority directly from Christ, while a further decree of Constance, *Frequens* (1417), called for

regular meetings of councils: the sequel was a period of frequent sessions, while the Council meeting at Basel (Bâle, Basle), in **Switzerland**, from 1431, claimed in May 1439 to depose the pope, Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47).

An ideology known as conciliarism—a theory of the council’s constitutional parity with the papacy—thus flourished in the 15th century. Though Pope Pius II (r. 1458–62) denounced conciliarism in the bull *Execrabilis* of 1460, a legacy of mistrust between the papal and conciliar principles in the governance of the Church survived into the 16th century and created an atmosphere in which the advisors of popes opposed the convening of a council that was likely both to challenge pontifical supremacy and curb the perquisites and privileges of papal courtiers. Only a relatively tame council, such as the Fifth **Lateran Council**, held, between 1512 and 1517, under close pontifical oversight, might be permitted to assemble.

Nevertheless, the crisis for the Church following the emergence of **Martin Luther** and the need to attend to the abuses that were giving Luther his following built up a momentum of demand for a reforming Council, and because the problems originated in **Germany**, the cry arose in the 1520s for what was called “a free Christian Council in German lands” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 30)—“free” here meaning free of papal control: the **Diet** meeting in **Nuremberg** in January 1524 issued such a call for a Council. While Pope **Clement VII** employed delaying tactics to head off a Council, Pope **Paul III**, in October 1534, delivered an address to the cardinals on the need for an assembly.

Major obstacles were, first, conflict and, between 1536 and 1538 and 1542 and 1544, outright war between the leading Catholic sovereigns, **Charles V** and **Francis I** and, second, disagreement between the pope and the emperor over the venue: an Italian location such as Mantua (Mantova), in the northeast of the country, was favored by Pope Paul as a means of ensuring papal oversight, and a city within the **Holy Roman Empire** was demanded by Charles as a means of placating German opinion. While the *Consilium . . . de Emendanda Ecclesia* provided a kind of reformist agenda for a Council, the signing of the Treaty of Crépy between **France** and the **Habsburgs** in 1544 cleared a major blockage in terms of international relations. The venue issue was resolved by an agreement to convene the Council to a small north Italian-speaking city that lay within the confines

of the Empire, Trent (Trento in Italian, Trient in German, in Latin Tridentinum).

Following its first gathering in December 1545, with a meager attendance of four archbishops, 22 bishops, and five heads of religious orders, along with various experts on theology and Church law, the Council of Trent was to come together in 25 sessions spread over three groups of years, 1545–47, 1551–52, and 1562–63. Given that the Council's brief would be to tackle both the doctrinal and the institutional and moral condition of the Catholic Church, its initial proceedings were threatened by a disagreement over the agenda, as to whether doctrine—and its reaffirmation—were to be tackled before or after reform of corruption: papalists wanted a reassertion of existing doctrine, while Charles V led calls for a reform of abuses that would take the wind out of the sails of the **Lutherans**. In the event, it was agreed to deal with the two main areas alternately. A succession of cardinal legates—initially **Reginald Pole** and the future popes Marcellus II (Marcello Cervini, b. 1501, r. April–May 1555) and **Julius III**—represented the papacy as presidents and proposed subjects for debate (all in Latin), and expert theological consultants, such as **Diego Lainez**, were called in to guide the preliminary conferences, leading to discussions held in general congregations and resulting in the decrees of the public sessions, which were eventually to be ratified.

After procedural issues were addressed in the first and second sessions, in session three, of February 1546, the Council Fathers gave their assent to the basic “Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan” Creed—the Creed of the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, 325 and 381—and in April, as numbers attending began to rise, in the third session the assembly established a doctrine of Scripture, according to which the traditions of the Church stood alongside it, and the Latin “Vulgate” version, and its traditionally accepted contents (or “canon”) were accepted as authentic. Session five, in June 1546, introduced the reform of requiring priests and bishops to preach on Sundays and Church festivals and dealt with the topic of original sin, putting forward a less pessimistic view than Luther's.

Repudiation of Luther was made manifest in the sixth session, of January 1547, when, after protracted and intense discussion, **justification** by **faith** alone, without good works, was rejected, while on the reform front, the need for the residence of bishops in their

dioceses was restated. In session seven, March 1547, acceptance of the full seven **sacraments** was reiterated, and the same session ruled on reform, in an extensive decree of 15 chapters. An epidemic in Trent persuaded Pope Paul—to Charles V's fury—to move the Council to Bologna, in northern Italy, where in September 1547 its proceedings were adjourned *sine die*, after sessions eight, nine, and 10 had dealt with the formalities of the transfer.

After Julius III reconvened the Council to Trent in May 1551, further formal sessions—11 and 12—followed, until in the 13th session, in October, 1551, an eight-chapter decree on the **eucharist** was agreed, categorically reasserting Christ's real presence in it, using the formula of transubstantiation. Though this statement distanced the Catholic Church from conceptions of this sacrament found in **Protestantism**, German Protestants were present, under safe conduct, in Council sessions from October 1551 to March 1552—though without any positive results; session 13 also postponed discussion of other eucharistic issues.

In November 1551, the 14th session met and set out the doctrine of the sacrament of **penance**, confirming the necessity for the penitent's contrition to make it operable, along with teaching on the final sacrament of a Catholic's life, the last anointing of the sick, or "extreme unction"; the 13 chapters of a reform decree produced in this session focused on the quality of the priesthood. In January 1552, the 15th session met and proposed an adjournment of business to March of that year but, with **Moritz of Saxony** at large in the region and a tense situation in Italy, the decree of the 16th session in April 1552 was a resolution on suspension of the Council for two years.

For the remainder of his pontificate, Julius III did not reconvene the Council, and Pope **Paul IV** kept it in abeyance throughout his reign. However, Pope **Pius IV** was committed to the project of the Council, and in November 1560 issued the bull *Ad Ecclesiae Regimen* to reassemble it at Trent at Easter 1561. This came amid controversy over whether the resumed proceedings were a continuation of the earlier sessions, thereby assuming the confirmation of their traditionalist doctrinal resolutions, or a new council, with a blank agenda, as was Emperor **Ferdinand I**'s opinion, hoping thereby to annul the potentially divisive doctrinal decrees so far tabled. In the event, the Council reassembled, for its 17th meeting—a formal adjournment session—in January 1562 and in February—session 18—dealt with

the control of book production and a new safe conduct for Lutherans; the 19th and 20th sessions took up further procedural formalities.

With the 21st session, in July 1562 began the final sessions of the Council's business, making it one of the most important of such assemblies in the history of Catholicism: in session 21 itself, deferred questions from session 13 on the manner of receiving the eucharist—with or without the chalice for the **laity**—were settled; in session 22, September 1562, in a nine-chapter decree, the **Mass** was defined as the self-same sacrifice of Calvary, the mode alone being different. However, the fall of 1562 saw potentially destructive disagreements in the Council over the status of **episcopacy**, whether it was an office by divine right—*jure divino*, requiring mandatory residence in dioceses—or merely subordinate to the papacy, an issue whose resolution required intense diplomatic efforts by Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–1580) to concoct a compromise between sharply divergent views.

July 1563 opened up the 23rd session, which propounded a great, 18-chapter reforming decree, perhaps the most influential part thereof being the legislation on the creation of **seminaries**. Session 24, in November 1563, made key rulings on **marriage**. The final session, 25, in December 1563, ranged over a spectrum of Catholic belief and practice, from veneration of saints, **indulgences**, and **purgatory** to other key dividing lines between the variant Christianities that had emerged in 16th-century Europe, and it passed major reforms on religious orders, in the decree *De Regularibus et Monialibus*, “Concerning Monks and Nuns.”

The Council's attendance numbers had risen over the course of decades to reach the total of 237 bishops who had been present at one session or another, making this, by the time of its closure in December 1563, a representative and authoritative international gathering of senior Catholic clergy. The decrees were confirmed by Pius IV in January 1564, shaping a “Tridentine” phase in the character of Catholic Christianity that would carry it forward until the Second Vatican Council, 1962–65.

THE TURKS. An **Islamic** empire was founded in northern Anatolia, in modern Turkey, by Osman I (c. 1258–1326), founder of the Ottoman dynasty, expanding to the south, west, and north at the expense of the Christian Byzantine Empire, until in 1453 the Byzantine capital,

Constantinople, fell to the Turkish sultan (head of state) Mehmet II (Muhammad, known as the Conqueror, 1430–1481). Ottoman expansion toward Europe continued through the conquest of most of Serbia, in the Balkans, in 1454–59, and the annexation of the Greek peninsula known as the Morea (including Athens) in 1458, while a war with **Venice** between 1463 and 1479 saw the Turks established in Albania and in islands of the Aegean Sea; Herzegovina in the Balkans was taken in 1483, and renewed war with Venice was waged between 1499 and 1502, entrenching the Turks' formidable naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean. Thus by the beginning of the 16th century the Turkish Ottoman Empire, a vast, militarily efficient domain straddling western Asia, stood poised for further penetration into Christian Europe.

Asiatic and African conquests followed under the rule of Sultan Selim I (known as *Yavuz*—the “Relentless,” c. 1470–1520): Syria in 1516 and Egypt in 1517. However, the meridian of Turkish power was to be reached in the reign of Selim's successor Suleyman, popularly called the “Magnificent” (1495–1566), under whom Ottoman-held territory was to extend from Yemen on the Gulf of Aden—south of modern Saudi Arabia—to the boundaries of modern Iran, into North Africa as far as Morocco—and deep into eastern Europe.

Known in Turkish as *Qanuni*, “the Lawgiver,” Suleyman was a reformer of government whose administrative work increased the military and naval capacity of his state. As far as Europe was concerned, Ottoman expansion under him rose in intensity from the early 1520s, with the capture of Belgrade (Beograd) in August 1521, rounding out their acquisition of Serbia, while their seizure of the island of Rhodes (Rodos), off the southwest coast of modern Turkey, tightened their control of the eastern Mediterranean. In the first of Suleyman's six campaigns in **Hungary**—which were conducted in 1526, 1528–29, 1532, 1541, 1543, and 1566—the sweeping victory in the two-hour battle of Mohács in August 1526 gave the Turks possession of two-thirds of the kingdom's landmass and its leading cities of Buda and Pest, on the Danube. In turn, Hungary provided Suleyman with a launchpad for an attempted, though failed, assault in September and October 1529 on the capital of **Habsburg Austria**, Vienna (Wien).

The Habsburgs remained strongly conscious of the need for German unity to withstand the danger from the east, and in 1538 **Ferdinand I** worked out with Elector Joachim II Hektor (1505–1571)

of **Brandenburg** a scheme for an anti-Turkish alliance of German states. However, the increasing focus in the 16th century on the primacy of the interests of the nation-states led **Francis I** to counter the Habsburgs by forming an alliance with Suleyman, with a commercial treaty in February 1536.

A remarkable feature of Sultan Suleyman's long reign was his ability to wage campaigns, both by land and sea, in several theaters, not only toward Europe, where Hungary, as well as Transylvania, in modern Romania, remained a strategic pivot, but toward modern-day Iraq and Iran, as well as Arabia. On the maritime front, following a further outbreak of war with Venice in 1537–40, the Turks were left in effective possession of the islands of the Aegean. Even so, toward the end of Suleyman's rule the naval situation in the Mediterranean was beginning to stabilize, and the Turks' failure to take the central island of Malta after a siege from May to September 1565 brought on a period of containment at sea, which was also evident in the outcome of **Lepanto** in 1571.

The sense of Turkish menace in Europe, especially in the tense period between Mohács and the siege of Vienna, intensified an apocalyptic **eschatology** over Islam that was strongly evident in **Martin Luther**. However, fear was not the only conditioner of relations between the Ottomans and the West, since increasingly relations were shaped by a readiness to do business, evident in commercial arrangements with **France** in 1569, **England** in 1580, and the **Dutch Republic** in 1612. On the troubled Danubian front, peace between Turks and the Habsburgs was made in February 1568 and renewed in 1573, 1577, and 1590, and a long Habsburg-Turkish war from 1593 to 1606 ended in a settlement that upheld a territorial status quo in eastern Europe, until massive Turkish losses were imposed by eastern European Christian states between 1683 and 1699.

TYNDALE, WILLIAM (c. 1494–1536). Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire, in the west of England, and proceeded to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he received his B.A. in 1512 and his M.A. in 1515, when he was ordained priest. Returning to Gloucestershire, he took service as a tutor in the household of Sir John Walsh and translated for his family's use **Desiderius Erasmus's** popular devotional treatise, the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, or "Manual of a Christian Soldier," first published in 1503. Tyndale came under suspicion of heresy,

though nothing came of the action, but he decided to leave the area in around 1523 and aimed to gain the patronage of a leading cleric, Cuthbert Tunstall (or Tonstall, 1474–1559), bishop of **London**.

Tyndale's intention to undertake an English translation of the New Testament while employed in Tunstall's household was rejected by the bishop, and he is recorded as preaching in the London church of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, while he stayed in the home of a wealthy cloth dealer and member of the commercial guild, the Merchant Adventurers, Humphrey Monmouth. He decided, however, that his only opportunity to translate the New Testament, in an England where such versions were still in effect banned, would come if he moved abroad, deciding, probably in April 1524, to move to **Germany**. There he worked with the former friar William Roy (d. in or before 1531) on his English version of the Greek New Testament, to be published in Cologne (Köln, in the German north Rhineland) in 1525 by the printer Peter Quentell.

At that point, the Cologne city senate, prompted by **Johannes Cochlaeus**, stepped in to shut off the **printing**, when barely a half of it—now known as the “Cologne fragment”—had been run off the Quentell press, and Tyndale and Roy escaped in September to Lutheran Worms, southern Germany, where they once more began work on the translation. This was completed in 1526 by the Worms Schoeffer press, in 3,000 inexpensive copies and in the small octavo size, easy to smuggle into England in cargoes of textiles.

From c. 1528 Tyndale was probably in the **Low Countries** port city of Antwerp (Antwerpen, Anvers), where the Merchant Adventurers had an important commercial outlet. Having learned Hebrew, perhaps from Jewish scholars in Worms, he translated the first five books of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch, and published the translation in 1530. His version of the Book of Jonah was released in c. 1531 in Antwerp, where in 1534, his revisions of his earlier translation of the New Testament appeared. Tyndale's translations in manuscript of the Old Testament series of books from Joshua to II Chronicles were incorporated in the “Matthew Bible” issued under royal license in 1537, which in turn formed the basis of the authorized Great Bible that came out in seven editions between 1539 and 1541.

From Antwerp, Tyndale became involved in controversy with **Thomas More** over issues of Scripture translation, the **laity**'s access to the word of God, and the authority of the **bible** as against that of

the Church. The *Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More Knyghte . . . Touching the Pestilent Sect of Luther and Tyndale* came out in June 1529, and Tyndale countered it with his *Answer unto Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue"* (1531), which in turn elicited More's 2,000-page *Confutation*, 1532–33. The defense of royal authority in Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christen Man* (1528) won approval from **Henry VIII**, but Tyndale's attack in *The Practice of Prelates* (1530) on Henry's annulment proceedings angered the king, even though discussions took place in Antwerp in 1531 with an emissary of the king's minister **Thomas Cromwell** with a view to Tyndale's return to England.

In 1535 he was betrayed to the Low Countries authorities by an English expatriate and imprisoned for 16 months in Vilvorde, near Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel). Tyndale was interrogated at length but refused to retract his beliefs and in October 1536, sentenced to death, he was strangled by the executioner and his body burned.

Apart from his controversial exchanges with More, and *The Obedience of a Christen Man*, Tyndale's writings included expositions of a doctrine of **justification by faith** redolent of **Lutheranism** and to be found in his preface to St. Paul's key Epistle, the *Introduction to the Romans* (published in Worms, in c. 1526), in the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528), and in *A Pathway to Holy Scripture*, issued before 1532. His understanding of the **eucharist**, similar to that of **Huldrych Zwingli**, was set out in *A Brief Declaration of the Sacraments*, published in 1548. He also published expositions of chapters 5–7 of Matthew's gospel (1533) and a study of the first Epistle of John (1531). However, it is for his work as a scriptural translator—alongside **Miles Coverdale**—and above all for the aptness and vividness of his English prose that Tyndale is best remembered.

– U –

URSULINES. Following the death of **Angela Merici**, the Ursulines she had founded moved closer to the model of normative and enclosed female religious orders of the Catholic Church, more and more specializing in one particular function, teaching. Pope **Paul III** awarded them a formal rule in 1544, and a habit was adopted; a confirmation of their statutes was made by Pope **Gregory XIII** in 1582.

In 1567 their so-called second founder, **Carlo Borromeo**, invited them into his archdiocese of **Milan**, subjected them to tighter episcopal control and from 1572 had them increasingly organized on the kind of cloistered and conventual pattern favored by the **Council of Trent** in its decree *De Regularibus et Monialibus*—On the Regular Clergy and Nuns—of the 25th session in December 1563. In 1576 Borromeo instructed his assistant (“suffragan”) bishops to bring them into their episcopal cities within the archdiocese; by the time of his death, in 1584, they had opened 18 establishments, staffed by 600 members.

The Ursulines’ important move from their bases in northern Italy northward into **France** was initiated by the priest César de Bus (1544–1607) and Françoise de Bermont, a lady of Avignon, the papal city to the southeast of the country, where a branch was set up in 1598. Françoise de Bermont then established houses in major southern cities, Aix-en-Provence (1600), Toulouse (1604), Lyon (Lyons), and Marseille (Marseilles); between 1600 and 1610 the Ursulines expanded to 29 communities in the south of the country, the **Huguenot** heartland that was to be targeted for Catholic recovery. Heavily recruited from the nobility and upper bourgeoisie, the Ursulines developed an extensive teaching mission throughout the rest of France, for example in Bordeaux, on the southwest coast, and its region from 1606 and in Dijon, in east-central France, from 1619, and by 1641 they had started 87 girls schools throughout the country.

An ongoing tendency to convert the Ursulines into a conventional religious order was furthered by the work of Madeleine de St. Beuve: she was assisted by **Barbe Acarie** and set up an Ursuline house in the rue St. Jacques in **Paris**. In 1612 Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21) permitted the branch of the congregation in Paris to take solemn vows (including a fourth—to teach children) and to live in strictly cloistered communities, under the religious rule of St. Augustine (354–430).

However, the Ursuline structure of government remained essentially decentralized, so that those members, especially in **Italy**, who preferred to live according to Angela Merici’s original scheme of dispersed, rather than conventual, living, survived and were known in France as *Ursulines congrégées*—“Congregated Ursulines”—as distinct from the *Ursulines religieuses*—or “Religious Ursulines”—whose cloistered regime was much more in line with expectations over **gender** and the lives of nuns in early modern France and the rest

of Europe: the *Ursulines congrégées* of Lyon established by Françoise de Bermont (in religion Françoise de Jésus-Marie, 1572–1628) in 1610 went over to solemn vows and monastic enclosure in 1620.

Their increasing focus on schooling, rather than the varied charitable work favored by Angela Merici, was strongly encouraged by the **Jesuits**, who were increasingly to operate as their chaplains and who both encouraged elite **women** to enter the order and fostered its teaching of the upper classes (though the Ursuline **Anne de Xaintonge** operated day schools for poor girls). The Ursulines also established schools in Liège (Luik, Lüttich) in the **Low Countries** and in Cologne (Köln) in **Germany**. In France's colony of *la Nouvelle France*—New France or Canada—from 1639 their mission in Quebec was initiated by two widows from the French aristocracy, Marie Martin (in religion Marie de l'Incarnation, 1599–1672), who wrote religious works and dictionaries for indigenous peoples, and Marie-Madeleine de la Peltrie (1603–1671), and they were established in New Orleans in Louisiana in 1727.

– V –

VADIAN (VON WATT, VADIANUS), JOACHIM (1484–1551).

Born in Sankt Gallen (St. Gall), in northeast **Switzerland**, the physician, layman, and **humanist** disciple of **Desiderius Erasmus**, Vadian studied medicine at the University of Vienna (Wien), where he served as rector between 1516 and 1517 and, returning to Sankt Gallen, became city doctor. His religious position moved beyond Erasmianism into a more radical outlook. Along with **Huldrych Zwingli**, he took on spokesmen for the **Anabaptists** in a **disputation** in **Zürich** in 1525. In 1526 Vadian was appointed *Bürgermeister*—mayor—of Sankt Gallen and became the principal agent, aided by Johannes Kessler (1502–1574), in introducing a variant of Zwingli's ecclesiastical changes into the city, where images were removed in 1526 and a reformed **eucharist** was introduced in time for the Easter of 1527. In 1528 the **Mass** was done away with, and the city's ancient abbey was suppressed by an order of the city council in February 1529 (though it was restored in 1532 after the Battle of **Kappel**).

Vadian took part in the decisive Bern (Berne) disputation of January 1528 and in the following month assembled a crowd of locals to

attack images and Mass altars as well as the reputed relics of saints in Sankt Gallen. The 1530s saw him as an advocate of Swiss Protestant union that produced the first **Helvetic Confession**. Vadian's writings—which may have included the pamphlet *Karsthans* attributing shrewd wisdom to the **Evangelical** peasant—show the strong influence of Erasmus in his idealized picture of the early Church and in his pacifist convictions.

VALDÉS, ALFONSO DE (c. 1490–1532). Born in Cuenca, in Castile, central **Spain**, into a family of the lower nobility and of Jewish descent—the brother of **Juan de Valdés**—the **humanist** and disciple of **Desiderius Erasmus**, Alfonso de Valdés became secretary to **Charles V** and helped to shape some of the emperor's critical attitudes toward the papacy. From 1527 he was in correspondence with Erasmus. His *Diálogo* [between Lactancio and el Arcidiano] *en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma el año M.D. XXVII*,—"A Dialogue [between Lactancio and the Archdeacon] Which Deals in Particular with the Things That Happened in Rome in the Year 1527"—published in 1528, interpreted the **Sack of Rome** not as a crime for which Charles was ultimately responsible but as God's judgement on the corruptions of the papacy, and the work, widely circulated in manuscript, was denounced to the Spanish **Inquisition** by the Italian writer Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529, the author of the dialogue on the courtly ideal, *Il cortegiano* [1528]), on the grounds that it would win Spain for **Martin Luther**.

Valdés accompanied Charles's court in June 1529, and at the time of the 1530 **Diet of Augsburg** discussed with **Philipp Melancthon** major concessions to be made by the **Lutherans**, including withholding the chalice from the **laity** in the **eucharist**, and restoring clerical celibacy and some traditional rituals. Valdés died in Vienna (Wien) in 1532, and it may be that his early death saved him from investigation by the Inquisition. His Erasmian *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*—"A Dialogue between Mercurio and Carón"—has sometimes been misattributed to his brother Juan.

VALDÉS, JUAN DE (c. 1490–1541). Juan de Valdés was born in Cuenca in Castile, central **Spain**, into a family of the lower nobility and of Jewish descent and was the brother of **Alfonso de Valdés**. He was brought up in the household of an aristocrat, the Marqués de Vil-

lena, who was influenced by **Desiderius Erasmus**, and he studied at the University of Alcalá de Henares (near Madrid, central Spain) and, from 1528 he corresponded with Erasmus. His anonymous *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana*—"A Dialogue of Christian Doctrine"—published in Alcalá in 1529, was examined for its doctrinal content and given clearance, but in 1530 Valdés left Spain for **Rome** and from 1535 lived in Naples (Napoli), where he attracted a following of **evangelicals** made up of correspondents and visitors, especially from elite, aristocratic, and **humanist**-influenced circles.

His following included **Bernardino Ochino** (from 1536), **Pietro Martire Vermigli** (from 1537), and **Giulia Gonzaga**—to whom he dedicated his *Alfabeto cristiano* or "Christian Alphabet," in the form of a dialogue between him and her, emphasizing the need for an inner personal faith—and his influence extended to **Vittoria Colonna**, **Gasparo Contarini**, and **Reginald Pole**. Between 1538 and 1541 Ochino and his fellow—"Valdesian," the **Oratorian** priest Marc'Antonio Flaminio (d. 1550), helped to spread their master's influence further north in the peninsula, into the central cities of Siena and Florence (Firenze).

Juan de Valdés's *Comentario, o declaración breve, y compendiosa sobre la epistola de San Paulo apostol a los Romanos, muy saludable para todo cristiano*—"A Commentary, or Brief and Abridged Account, of the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans, Most Wholesome for Every Christian"—was published in **Geneva** in 1556, and his *Comentario o declaración familiar, y compendiosa sobre la primera epistola de San Paulo apostol a los Corinthios, muy util para todos los amadores de la piedad cristiana*—"A Commentary or Simple and Abridged Account of the First Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, Most Useful for All Lovers of Christian Piety"—was also published in Geneva, in 1557. His versions of the Psalms and Matthew's gospel remained unpublished until the 19th century. He also composed *Ciento y diez consideraciones* ("One Hundred and Ten Reflections") and his major philosophical treatise, the *Diálogo de la lengua*—"A Dialogue on Language."

In Italian, Valdés's *Alfabeto cristiano* was published, along with *In che maniera il cristiano ha di studiare . . .* ("The Way in which a Christian Studies . . .") in 1545; his *Modo che si deve tenere nel' insegnare et predicare* ("The Way One Should Take Up Teaching and Preaching") appeared in 1545; a version of *Ciento y diez*

consideraciones—Le cento e dieci divine considerationi—in 1550; and *Qual maniera si dovrebbe tenere a informare . . . i figliuoli de cristiani delle cose della religione*—“The Way One Should Undertake to Teach the Children of Christians in the Things of Religion”—before 1549.

Valdés was influenced by mystical piety, including that of the Spanish “illuminist” school known as *alumbrados*, by the legacy of the *devotio moderna* and a quest for a return to Christ and illumination by and union with Him. He questioned the value of outward religious observances and steered clear of exploring the dogmas of the **sacraments** and the Trinity, and was one of the influences on the evangelical *Beneficio di Cristo*. Even so, Valdés died—in Naples in 1541—within the Catholic Church and the Valdesian circle then broke up.

VASA, GUSTAV ERIKSSON (1496–1560). The founder of the royal dynasty of Vasa which ruled in **Sweden** from 1523 to 1720 was the son of Erik Johansson and was born in May 1496 on the family’s estates of Vasa at Lindholmen in Uppland near Uppsala, in the vicinity of the principal city, Stockholm, southeast Sweden. He was educated in Uppsala and in 1518 was taken hostage to **Denmark** by King Christian II (1481–1559) but escaped, made for the north-German city of Lübeck, and from there returned to Sweden, where he began to build a resistance movement to dissolve the unification with Denmark that had been in place since the Union of Kalmar of 1397. In 1520 the massacre of 82 leaders of anti-Danish opposition (including Erik Johansson) known as the “Stockholm bloodbath”—prompted partly by the pro-Danish archbishop of Uppsala, Gustav Trolle—unified Swedish opinion around Vasa and in 1521 gave him an army to attack the Danes and defeat Trolle. In 1523 Vasa’s forces took Stockholm, the Danes were expelled, the Union of Kalmar was at an end, and Vasa was elected as king in June 1523 by the *Riksdag* (Diet) of Strängnäs.

The religious issue now needed to be addressed. Trolle was a focus of pro-Danish opinion, and Vasa, in conflict with **Rome** over the papacy’s support for the archbishop, and having to pay off loans advanced by Lübeck to finance the war of independence, could see the advantages of the seizure of the Church’s extensive landed property. Further, the fact that most of Christian II’s episcopal ap-

pointees had left Sweden allowed Vasa to place his own loyal men in key bishoprics. However, he was aware of his vulnerable position as a ruler who had taken the crown by force and was also conscious of opposition to religious change among his initial supporters, the peasantry, and so adopted gradualist religious policies. Nevertheless, through a series of hesitations and retreats, there emerged in the end a religious settlement in Sweden that was unmistakably grounded in **Lutheranism**.

The new king began by appointing **Olaus Petri** (Olaf Pedersson) as town clerk and preacher to Stockholm and the Lutheran Laurentius Andreae (Lars Andersson, d. 1552) as chancellor of the kingdom, encouraged **printing** in favor of reform, and in 1526 closed down the press of the conservative bishop Hans Brask (1464–1538). In June 1527 a *Riksdag* meeting at Västerås, east of Stockholm, when faced with Gustav's threat to abdicate, ended the independence of the Swedish Catholic Church and gave its property to the crown, while winning over the nobility by allowing them to resume church estates granted away by their ancestors. But this was not yet a Lutheran Reformation, since Gustav was aware of opposition to change, seen in revolts in 1527 and 1529, and in a *Riksdag* meeting in Strängnäs in June 1529 the king stated that he was neither in favor of nor opposed to religious reforms.

Such reforms did come about in 1536 under the initiative of **Laurentius Petri** (Lars Pedersson) though Gustav consistently refused to allow the clergy to take the lead, and in December 1539 he began proceedings against the Pedersson brothers for treason, though he subsequently pardoned them. Gustav's assumption of a formal protectorate over the Christian faith within the kingdom in the same month and the placing of the Church under the control of the king's German advisor Georg Norman (d. 1553) endorsed the essentially **Erastian** nature of the Swedish reformation, as established in the *Riksdag* of Västerås. While Laurentius Petri's Swedish bible of 1541 was a further step along the road to change, a revolt in the south of the country in 1542–43 set off by fiscal, economic, and religious discontent argued in favor of a slowdown. In the longer run, however, Sweden's Church, operating under a royal supremacy, was eventually to emerge as a Lutheran institution, though the motivation behind Vasa's measures was not religious zeal but a desire to build a solid foundation for the king's headship.

By the time of his death in September 1560 and after a long reign, Gustav I had brought peace and prosperity to a formerly troubled country, with the building of roads, bridges, and canals, giving it an infrastructure to create prosperity and freeing it from economic subjugation to Lübeck. Having in 1544 gained from the *Riksdag* of Västerås a statement that the Swedish monarchy was hereditary, not elective, Gustav was peacefully succeeded by his son Erik XIV (1533–1577).

VENICE. A wealthy commercial center trading with the east, with possessions in the eastern Mediterranean that were increasingly threatened by the **Turks** and with a land empire in the mainland of **Italy**—the *terra ferma*—Venice was a patrician republic that continued to play a key role in interstate relations in the peninsula up to the early 16th century. Indeed, as late as **Lepanto**, Venice could be considered a formidable naval power, even though two years after it, in 1573, the loss of the island of Cyprus to the Turks provided further confirmation of the long-term decline of the Republic, affected economically by the loss of its control of essential trade routes to the Far East.

In religious life in Venice, as throughout Italy, we are aware of the weakness and eventual failure of **Protestantism**, since, despite a proselytizing campaign between 1542 and 1545, it has been calculated that over the whole period from 1547 to 1583, within an overall population of about 100,000, only 774 identifiable Protestants can be traced in Venice (a high proportion of them being literate craftsmen working in the luxury trades).

The government exercised tight control over the Catholic Church in its territories, and the Venetian **Inquisition** was overseen by its “Three Deputies against Heresy,” members of the aristocracy appointed by the state. One thousand books considered unorthodox were burned by the Venetian Inquisition in 1558, though its last human victim was executed in 1588.

Venice, the birthplace of **Gasparo Contarini**, was also a center of the Catholic **evangelical** movement, and the place where the *Beneficio di Cristo* was published in 1543. The evangelical tradition resurfaced in the publication in 1550 of a work in Venetian dialect, *La Morte di Giurco e Gnagni*—“The Deaths of George and Jack”—which accepted **justification** by **grace** rather than good works: “by Christ’s blood and through nothing else the Christian is justified” (Mullett, *The*

Catholic Reformation, p. 147). This was a doctrinal theme taken up later by the Venetian friar Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) in his opposition to the teachings on grace and human merit of **Luis de Molina**.

At the same time, though, a Catholic awareness of the necessity for works of charity was expressed in the activities of the *Scuole*, Venetian lay **confraternities**, which provided scope for social activism on the part of middle class excluded from real power by the Republic’s aristocratic political structures. Undoubtedly, the fusion of Venetian identity with Catholicism—the city had its own patriarch, rather than just a bishop or archbishop, and was devoted to the cult of its adopted patron saint, St. Mark the evangelist—underscored the Church’s civic appeal, and the Venice region was also a laboratory of **Catholic reform**, especially with **Gian Matteo Giberti** in Verona in the *terra ferma*.

VERMIGLI, PIETRO MARTIRE, PIERMARTIRE, OR “PETER MARTYR” (1499–1562). Vermigli was born into a noble family in the city of Florence (Firenze), central **Italy**, and was named after the **Dominican** St. Peter of Verona (1205–1252), an inquisitor known as Peter the Martyr, who had been killed by heretics. In 1516 Vermigli joined the order of **Augustinian** Canons in its house at Fiesole, near Florence, and in 1519 was sent to the Order’s convent near Padua (Padova), northeast Italy, to enroll in the university in that city, studying Scholastic theology, Greek, and Hebrew and being awarded a doctorate in divinity in 1526. He was then made a public preacher, and from 1527 delivered Advent and Lent sermons in major Italian cities.

In 1530 Vermigli became abbot of Spoleto, in central Italy, and in 1533 prior of the Order’s house of San Pietro ad Aram, Naples (Napoli), where he gravitated toward the **evangelical** circle of **Juan de Valdés** and in 1539–40 gave a series of lectures, on St. Paul’s first Epistle to the Corinthians, which seem to have been influenced by the discussions taking place in the Valdés group. He became visitor-general of his Order in 1541 but his disciplinarian approach aroused opposition from his fellow Augustinians, and he gained permission from Pope **Paul III** to move to Lucca, in northern Italy, to serve as prior. There he built up a reform-minded following and came under investigation by the **Inquisition**, and in August 1542 fled **Italy** for **Switzerland**, taking refuge in Basel (Bâle, Basle) and then in **Zürich**. Moving to **Strassburg**, to be welcomed by **Martin**

Bucer, whose writings (along with those of **Huldrych Zwingli**) he had studied, Vermigli married a former nun, and became professor of the Old Testament.

In 1547 at the invitation of **Thomas Cranmer**, he came to **England** and took up the regius (royal) chair of divinity at Oxford in 1548; engaged in **disputations** with conservative spokesmen; was a member of a commission to reform ecclesiastical law; became a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1551; and assisted Cranmer in the production of the **Book of Common Prayer** of 1552. When **Mary I** came to the throne, he was imprisoned but later freed, was allowed to leave the country, and returned to Strassburg to become professor of divinity in 1554. However, he found the city's evolving **Lutheran** character uncongenial, so in 1555 moved to Zürich, where he was appointed professor of Hebrew, remarried, remained in correspondence with English associates, published a response to a work on the **eucharist** by **Stephen Gardiner**, and acted as Zürich's representative at the **Colloquy** of Poissy in September 1561. He died in Zürich in November 1562.

Vermigli's major work, the *Loci Communes*, or "Memoranda," a compilation of the doctrines of **Protestantism**, was published in **London** in 1576. His doctrine of **predestination** originated in the writings of the **Father of the Church** and reputed founder of his Order, St. Augustine (354–430), while his theory of the eucharist disputed a physical, but emphasized a spiritual, presence.

VITORIA, FRANCISCO DE (1483–1546). Born in Burgos in northern **Spain**, the **Dominican** Vitoria studied in the University of **Paris**, where he was drawn to the revival of interest in the teachings of the great medieval Dominican theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274)—the Scholastic system known as "Thomism." Vitoria took his Paris doctorate of theology in 1522 and returned to Spain, where he first taught in the University of Valladolid and in 1526 became professor of theology in the University of Salamanca, in Castile, central Spain, where he introduced into the syllabus Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* and remained in the post for the next 20 years. Two Dominicans who studied under Vitoria, Domingo de Soto (1494–1560) and Melchior Cano (1509–1560), continued his work in the restoration of the Thomist system.

Called the father of international law, Vitoria published *De Indis Noviter Inventis* or "Concerning the Newly Discovered Indies" in

1532 and *De Jure Hispanorum in Barbaros* or “Spanish Law among Uncivilized Peoples” in 1538–39. His writings fully accepted the rights of the sovereign state and questioned the claims of the **pope** to award territory to monarchs—as Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) had at the time of the **discoveries in the New World**—or to intervene in the affairs of a sovereign state, unless human rights were being violated. Those rights, Vitoria argued, were universal, and their violation by the Aztecs in Mexico, through human sacrifice and cannibalism, had justified Spanish conquest there, though the same primacy of human rights also required the just and legal treatment of indigenous peoples.

Equally important was Vitoria’s thinking on war, building on that of both the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430) and of Aquinas and establishing clear guidelines for a conflict to be considered just.

VIVES, JUAN LUIS (JOHANNES LUDOVICUS) (1492/3–1540).

Vives was born in Valencia, southeastern **Spain**, to well-off parents of Jewish descent (his father was executed by the **Inquisition** in 1524). He studied in **Paris** from 1509 and had his first writings published there. Between 1512 and 1514 Vives alternated his residence between Paris and Bruges (Brugge) in the **Low Countries** and in 1514 made his home in the Low Countries, where he taught in Bruges and at the University of Louvain (Leuven), was drawn into the court of **Charles V** in Brussels (Bruxelles, Brussel), and probably first met **Desiderius Erasmus** in 1516.

In the summer of 1522 Vives produced a commentary Erasmus had asked him to write on *De Civitate Dei* or “Concerning the City of God” by the **Father of the Church** St. Augustine (354–430). The work was exuberantly dedicated to **Henry VIII**, and in March 1523 Vives took up an invitation to visit **England**. There he won favor from Cardinal **Thomas Wolsey**; was awarded a doctorate in civil laws; became a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; taught in the university; stayed at court; and met leading figures such as **John Fisher** and **Thomas More**. He had begun work on *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* or “Concerning the Education of a Christian Woman” while in Bruges and published it in England in 1524: it was translated into English as *A Very Fruitful and Pleasant Booke Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman*.

Vives acted as tutor to the future Queen **Mary I**, for whom he wrote *De Ratione Studii Puerilis Epistolae Duae* or “Two Letters Concerning a Study Method for Young People.” Around the mid-1520s Vives was switching residence between Bruges and England. He had acted as a spiritual advisor to **Catherine of Aragon** and supported her against **Henry VIII**, and so was put under house arrest between February and April 1528, eventually resuming residence in Bruges and elsewhere in the Low Countries and in 1532 receiving a pension from Charles V.

A **humanist** who opposed **Scholasticism**, a consistent spokesman for peace and a prolific writer in the fields of education, history, philosophy, psychology, and law, Vives published in Bruges in March 1526 a pioneering study of **social welfare**, requested by the city council of the city, *De Subventionem Pauperum* or “Concerning the Relief of the Poor,” which denounced the extravagance of the wealthy as well as the fraudulence of professional beggars, and proposed government intervention in assistance to the needy, aid for the deserving poor, community adoption of orphans, and the provision of work for the unemployed: the outline formed the basis of a later welfare system adopted in the southern French city of Lyon (Lyons).

In 1531 Vives produced a great study of education in all its forms, *De Tradendis Disciplinis* or “Concerning Instruction,” which incorporated his *De Causis Corruptarum Artium* or “Concerning the Causes of the Decay of the Arts” and which upheld the Christian purpose of schooling. His commentary, published in 1538, on the work of Aristotle (384–322 BC), *De Anima et Vita*, or “Concerning the Soul and Life,” explored innovative philosophical and psychological approaches. His *De Veritate Fidei Christianae*, or “Concerning the Truth of the Christian Faith,” a conversation between representatives of **Judaism**, **Islam**, and Christianity, was published posthumously. Vives’s devotional writings kept clear of doctrinal controversy and had an appeal on both sides of the Christian religious divide.

– W –

WALDENSIANS. Like the English **Lollards** and the later followers of the Czech dissident **John Hus**, the Waldensians were a dissenting medieval religious movement that survived into the 16th century.

The group's origins were often traced to a wealthy merchant of the southeastern French city of Lyon (Lyons), Peter Waldo, Valdes, or Valdesius, who, it was recounted, sold his property to live as a begging preacher and came under the Church's ban.

From the second half of the 14th century, communities, known as *Vaudois* in French, *Valdesi* in Italian, and *Waldenser* in German, were to be found in the semi-Alpine French province of Dauphiné, and in Savoy, southeast of **France**, in Provence in southeast France, and in the regions of Puglia (Apulia) and Calabria, in southern **Italy**. In Dauphiné and Savoy a campaign was launched against them by Pope Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92) in 1488, especially aimed against their pastors, known as *barbes* (“beards”). Their scattered grouping in regions of Germany were in decline before 1500.

Like those of the Lollards, the beliefs held by, or attributed by the **Inquisition** to, the Waldensians tended to amount to a critique and rejection of much of Catholic doctrine and practice, rather than an elaborate alternative religious system: they called into question the official teaching on **purgatory** and prayers for the dead and refused to swear oaths or take up war; they denied the efficacy of services conducted by priests in a state of sin. At the same time, though, again like the Lollards, they largely coexisted with the Catholic Church and used its religious provisions.

Guillaume Farel conducted a mission to the Waldensians in 1523, and in September 1532, at a meeting at Cianforan in the Alpine Angrogna Valley, an accord was made between Waldensian and **Zwinglian** representatives. However, the Waldensians were not simply Protestants before their time, and their remarkable survival down to the present day in America and Europe—despite state persecution in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries—reflects their special religious identity.

WALES. **England's** first king of the Tudor dynasty, Henry VII (1457–1509) was partly of Welsh extraction and emphasized his Welsh connections, partly to strengthen his claim as a “British” monarch and partly to win support in the Principality of Wales (Tywysogaeth Cymru) itself: for example, he named his elder son, **Henry VIII's** elder brother, Prince Arthur (1486–1502), who held the traditional title of the eldest son of the monarch, Prince of Wales, after the legendary Dark Age Welsh hero of that name. The Welshness of

the Tudors, highlighted by the influential bardic poets of the native language, Welsh, or *Cymreig*, was a key factor in ensuring the successful passage of the two parliamentary Acts of Union, of 1536 and 1542, between England and Wales, giving Welsh people the same legal rights as the English, normalizing the border between England and Wales, and awarding Wales representation in the English Parliament.

Sixteenth-century Wales experienced both a state-operated Protestant Reformation and a Catholic rearguard and Counter-Reformation movement.

With regard to the former, while anxiety to protect Henry VIII's Reformation from invasion by **France** or the **Habsburgs** required the passage of the Acts of Union, they also facilitated the introduction, which was both speedy and unopposed, of religious change into the country: the monasteries and friaries, both traditionally important in the Wales's religious, educational, and social life, were swept away between 1536 and 1540. On the other hand, if there was no powerfully supported movement in the principality to defend the Catholic Church, neither was there any groundswell of popular support for religious alterations: under **Mary I**, while 280 Protestants were executed, only three met their deaths in Wales. Efforts were, however, made to introduce reform through the medium of the language of the overwhelming majority of the population, Welsh: the first book printed in the language, *Yn y lhyvyr hwnn*—"In This Book"—in 1541 included translations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Our Father, while a set of readings for the **communion** service, *Kyn-niver llith a ban*, a translation of the epistles and gospels from the **Book of Common Prayer**, was published in 1551.

Further progress was made in the reign of **Elizabeth I** in delivering a Protestant message in the Welsh language: following an Act of Parliament of 1563, in 1567 there appeared the Book of Common Prayer (*Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin*) and the New Testament in Welsh, the joint work of Richard Davies (c. 1505–c. 1580), bishop of the leading diocese, St. David's (Dewi Sant), Thomas Huet (d. 1591), and William Salesbury or Salisbury (b. before 1520, d. c. 1580), copies being placed in all churches. In 1588 the Old Testament, together with a revision of the New, both by William Morgan (1544/5–1604), appeared in Welsh. The encouragement given to Welsh culture and language by such measures, alongside the government policy of ap-

pointing Welshmen to the Principality's four dioceses of St. David's, St. Asaph (Asaph Sant), Bangor, and Llandaff, and the establishment of a Welsh-oriented college at Oxford, Jesus College (Coleg y Jesu), in 1571, were major factors in ensuring an eventual victory of **Protestantism** and demise of Catholicism in the country.

Even so, and as concerns the latter, the death of Welsh Catholicism was in no sense a foregone conclusion, and it might even have been possible to capitalize on a combination of Welsh traditionalism with love of the Tudors to engineer a Catholic renaissance under Mary: **Reginald Pole**, as archbishop of Canterbury was ultimately responsible for oversight of the Welsh dioceses, and did a good deal to promote a Catholic revival, appointing his former chaplain Thomas Goldwell (d. 1585) bishop of the northeastern diocese of St. Asaph in 1555, and making two Welsh-language authors, Morys Clynnog (or Maurice Clenocke, 1528–1581) and the grammarian Gruffydd Roberts (c. 1522–c. 1610) bishop-elect of Bangor, northwest Wales, and archdeacon of the northwestern island of Anglesey (Môn) respectively. Clynnog and Goldwell pursued a reform program in line with the measures of the **Council of Trent** (at which Goldwell was to be present in 1562), committed to raising the educational standards of parish clergy.

Under Elizabeth, there were **recusant** cores, in the north of the country, in the counties of Caernarvonshire (Sir Caernarfon), Denbighshire (Sir Dinbych), and Flintshire (Sir Fflint), and in the southern counties of Glamorgan (Morgannwg) and Carmarthenshire (Sir Caerfyrddin). That said, as early as 1571 Bishop Richard Davies was able to boast to **William Cecil** that there were no recusants in his diocese of St. David's. Part of the reason for that apparent extinction was that Welsh Catholicism had gone into exile, albeit with an initial hope of launching a recovery from bases on the Continent, including **Rome**, where Morys Clynnog became rector of the English College in 1578.

At **Douai** in the **Low Countries**, two Welshmen, Allen's former Oxford tutor Morgan Philipps (or Philipps, d. 1570) and Owen Lewis (or Lewis Owen, 1532–1594), helped **William Allen** to establish his **seminary**. In **Milan**, **Carlo Borromeo** took the Welsh exiles under his wing; Gruffydd Roberts became his chaplain and a canon of Milan cathedral, and Thomas Goldwell, who had been superior of the **Theatines** in Naples (Napoli) in 1561, became Carlo Borromeo's

vicar-general in 1563. In Milan, too, Morys Clynnog published his *Athravaeth Gristonogavl* ("Christian Teaching") in 1568, and between 1567 and 1594 Gruffydd Roberts produced a four-part Welsh grammar that might have been used to assist the literary efforts of a mission to Wales.

Yet the project to relaunch Welsh Catholicism from Continental centers met with little success, though it resulted in the executions of the seminary priests Richard Gwyn in Wrexham (Wrecsam) in the northeast of the country in October 1584 and William Davies, who had come to Wales in 1585, at Beaumaris (Biwmaris) on Anglesey in July 1593; the Benedictine John Roberts (b. 1576) was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn in London in 1610.

WALSINGHAM, SIR FRANCIS (1532–1590). Born into a gentry family, the son of William Walsingham of Footscray in Kent, southeast **England**, and his wife Joyce, the daughter of Sir Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt in the county of Hertfordshire, near **London**, Walsingham entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1548 and left in c. 1550 without a degree, though he would have been exposed to Cambridge's already strong Protestant influences. He studied French and Italian on the Continent between 1550 and 1552 and in the latter year entered the London legal school, Gray's Inn, but left England at the accession of the Catholic **Mary I** in 1553 and took up residence in Padua (Padova), northeast **Italy**, where between 1555 and spring 1556, he acted as *consularius*, or agent, of the English community in the law faculty of the university. He improved his knowledge of Italian and studied law and European political institutions and may have visited **Switzerland** and made contact with English Protestant expatriates in the Swiss city of Basel (Bâle, Basle) as well as in the German cities of Frankfurt-am-Main and **Strassburg**.

Following the accession of **Elizabeth I**, Walsingham returned to England and in 1562 was returned to Parliament as member for the south-coast constituency of Lyme Regis in Dorset; he was to remain a Member of Parliament for most of the remainder of his life. In 1562 he married, and after his first wife died in 1564, he remarried in 1566. In 1568 Walsingham entered the government's diplomatic and foreign service and in the same year provided **William Cecil** with the names of travelers into Italy who could be regarded as a danger to the English state; in 1571 Walsingham played a vital role in thwarting

the plot against Elizabeth devised by the Italian merchant Roberto di Ridolfi (or Ridolfo, 1531–1612).

He traveled to **France** in 1570 to try to gain concessions for the **Huguenots** and became involved in negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth to the French royal prince François, duc d'Alençon (1554–1584; from 1574 duc d'Anjou). As English ambassador to France, 1570–73, he helped negotiate the Anglo-French Treaty of Blois in 1572, but relations between the two countries were damaged by the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**, when his embassy became a safe house for Protestants.

Walsingham became principal secretary of state in 1573, staying in the post until his death, and was knighted in 1577, becoming chancellor of the Order of the Garter in 1578. Subsequent diplomatic missions involved a visit to the **Low Countries** in 1578, to France in 1581, and to **Scotland** in 1583, and in 1585 he met commissioners of the **Dutch Republic** to discuss English assistance in their struggle with **Philip II**. The role of his intelligence service was vital in exposing the 1585 Parry Conspiracy against Elizabeth, and the 1586 Babington Conspiracy, which led directly to the execution of Walsingham's *bête noire*, **Mary Queen of Scots**, in February of the next year, following which Walsingham set about organizing the nation's defenses against an attempted Spanish invasion—the **Armada**—which was now sure to come in the wake of Mary's death. He died in April 1590.

Walsingham was a Protestant ideologue who saw the world in terms of head-on conflict between diametrically opposed religious systems and was prepared to use his country's resources to advance the Reformation cause on a European stage—in contrast with the cautious pragmatism of Cecil and Elizabeth. Yet despite his clashes with the queen, she rightly regarded him as indispensable, for his unquestionable loyalty to her and also for his command of an unrivaled countersurveillance service on which he spent his own fortune, leaving him in poverty and debt.

WARS OF RELIGION, FRENCH. The second half of the 1550s saw a rapid growth in **Protestantism** in **France**. **Geneva** sent as many as 88 pastors between 1555 and 1562 to feed the growth of a **Calvinist** Church, which developed a structure of consistories and synods. Despite repression by the government of **Henry II**, **Huguenot** worship was becoming increasingly overt in towns and cities around the

country. Protestant religious services received armed protection from the increasing number of adherents belonging to the nobility, and recruitment to the **Reformed** Church included leading aristocrats such as **Gaspard de Coligny** and **Louis, prince de Condé**. Support was also forthcoming from urban professionals, merchants, and artisans, and the ecclesiastical structures expanded until, in May 1559, congregations sent delegates to a national assembly meeting in **Paris**.

Then, in July of the same year, the death of Henry II plunged the kingdom into a succession crisis. Because the regency government for the young Francis (François) II (b. 1544) was dominated by the strongly Catholic **Guises**, in March 1560 Condé became involved in the **Conspiracy of Amboise** to seize possession of the king's person, but Francis himself died in December and the government of his successor, Charles IX (1550–1574), was in the hands of the queen mother, **Catherine de' Medici**, who aimed at concessions to the Huguenots and reconciliation, for example in the **Colloquy** of Poissy between Protestant and Catholic representatives, opening in September 1561, followed by the January 1562 Edict of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which granted the Huguenots permission to assemble for worship.

A Catholic backlash against compromise was first manifested in the massacre of Protestant worshippers at the insistence of **François de Lorraine, duc de Guise**, in Vassy, northeast France, in March 1562, precipitating the first of the Wars of Religion, in which the Huguenots suffered defeat at the Battle of Dreux (in Normandy, northwest France; Guise was killed there, and Condé taken prisoner. Peace was made in March 1563 in the Edict of Amboise, but war was resumed in 1567, lasting until March 1568. A third war of religion, between September 1568 and August 1570, saw further Huguenot losses in 1569 in the battles of Jarnac (in Aquitaine, southwest France) and Montcontour in Normandy. Following the **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre**, war was renewed in August 1572 and was brought to a close with concessions to the Protestant side in the Edict of Boulogne of July 1573.

Once more, conflict broke out, in June 1574, and lasted until the May 1576 Edict of Beaulieu, known, after its author **Henry III's** brother François, duc d'Anjou (1554–1584; before 1574, duc d'Alençon), as the **Paix de Monsieur**, or **Peace of Monsieur**, the customary title of the king's brother: this award gave the Huguenots

unprecedented concessions, prefiguring the **Edict of Nantes**—liberty of worship in all towns except Paris and the royal *bourgs* (towns), freedom of assembly, right of entry to the civil service, and legal and military safeguards—but thereby again provoked a Catholic reaction, which was institutionalized in the formation of the first **Holy League**.

With the death of Anjou in June 1584, the Huguenot leader **Henry of Navarre** was Henry III's heir presumptive, and Catholic determination to keep him from the succession led to the formation of a second Holy League and to the December 1584 Treaty of Joinville with **Philip II**, designed also to stop Navarre from succeeding.

Navarre tested his claim militarily in the "War of the Three Henrys," involving himself, **Henri de Lorraine, duc de Guise**, and Henry III, but the murder of the last-named in August 1589 made Navarre direct heir to the throne, a claim he made good by victories over League forces in 1589 at Arques, southeast France, and March 1590 at Ivry-la-Bataille, northwest central France; by his conversion to Catholicism in July 1593; by his entry into Paris in March 1594; and by his coronation in the cathedral of Chartres (southwest of Paris) in February 1594. In 1598 the **Edict of Nantes** was the final peace treaty of the French Wars of Religion.

WHITGIFT, JOHN (1530/1–1604). Whitgift was born in Grimsby, Lincolnshire, on the east coast of **England**, the son of a prosperous merchant of the town, and went to school in London and then to Queens' College, Cambridge, transferring in 1550 to Pembroke College, where **Edmund Grindal** was vice-master. Whitgift took his B.A. in 1554, became a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, in May 1555, took his M.A. in 1560, and received his Bachelor of Divinity degree and became Lady Margaret lecturer in divinity in 1563.

In 1567, when he was awarded his doctorate in divinity, he was appointed master of Pembroke and then of Trinity College, vice-chancellor—in effect, head—of the university, and regius (royal) professor of divinity. Whitgift was given a prebend or stipendiary cathedral office at Ely cathedral, in eastern England, in 1568, and in 1571 became dean of the eastern cathedral of Lincoln, being appointed in 1572 prolocutor—chairman—of the Lower House of Convocation, the assembly of clergy below the rank of bishop. In that same year, he was involved in the **Admonitions Controversy** with

his defense of episcopacy in his *Answere to a Certen Libel Intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament*.

Whitgift became bishop of Worcester, in the west of England, in 1577 and took over the government of the Welsh border counties as vice-president of the Council in the Marches (or borders) of **Wales**. In 1583 he succeeded Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury, making it his primary task to impose order and uniformity in the Church of England: his 1583 Articles legislated for the dismissal of all clergy who did not comply with the doctrines, structure, and worship of the Church, and he used the tribunal known as the Court of High Commission to compel conformity, deploying an oath termed *ex officio*, by which, it was alleged, suspects might be liable to incriminate themselves.

As well as a disciplinarian administrator, Whitgift was an ecclesiastical and social reformer who issued further articles in 1586 to deal with preaching and clerical education. He speeded up the work of the Church courts and, amid the social distress in England in the 1590s, he ordered the other bishops to enforce the laws on begging.

A strict enforcer of uniformity in the Church, who was also a thoroughgoing Protestant whose Lambeth Articles of 1595 marked out his **Calvinist** theology, Whitgift died in February 1604, having helped ensure the smooth transition from the reign of Elizabeth to that of her successor James I (1566–1625).

WOLSEY, THOMAS (1472/4–1530). Wolsey was born in Ipswich in the county of Suffolk in the east of **England**, the son of a prosperous tradesman, and was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated at the age of 15 and of which he became a fellow at some point before 1497. He was ordained priest in 1498 and became bursar of Magdalen in 1499, but is said to have been dismissed for squandering money on a new tower without the approval of the senior members. Wolsey then became chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Deane, and when Deane died in 1503, he took service as chaplain to Sir Richard Nanfan (or Nanthant, d. 1507), the governor of the English possession on the north coast of **France**, Calais.

Wolsey next became a chaplain to King Henry VII (1457–1509), was employed in diplomatic work, and was appointed dean of the cathedral of Lincoln, in eastern England, in February 1509. When **Henry VIII** succeeded, he was made royal almoner in November

1509 and joined the king's council in 1511, becoming bishop of Hereford, in the west of England, in 1512. In 1513 he masterminded the preparations for Henry VIII's invasion of France, which gave the king victories over the French in the Battle of the Spurs and in the capture of the French forts of Théroutanne and Tournai (Doornik).

Royal recognition of Wolsey's services came in the shape of his accumulation of a string of ecclesiastical promotions that were in the gift of the crown. In 1514 he became bishop of the wealthy diocese of Lincoln, in eastern England, but surrendered it when in the same year he was made archbishop of York, the ecclesiastical capital of the north of England; he also held the titular position of abbot of the monastery of St. Albans, northwest of **London**, the wealthiest in the country. In 1515 Pope **Leo X** agreed to Henry's request that Wolsey become a cardinal of the Church; in 1518 he was made bishop of Bath and Wells, in the west of England, and in the same year he was raised to the position of the **pope's** legate (representative) *a latere*, meaning that he exercised the papacy's full authority within the kingdom, sidelining the primate, the archbishop of Canterbury. His immense wealth from such positions amounted, at its peak, to an astronomical £35,000 per annum, out of which he built a magnificent palace at Hampton Court, south of London.

While Wolsey ruled the Church as legate, he dominated the state through his promotion in 1515 to the position of lord chancellor, the senior minister and law officer under the king. In this post, he gave considerable attention to the work of his court known as Chancery, speeding up its business and using it to control the extent of the enclosure and privatization of land, into which he ordered an investigative commission in 1517, leading to 260 prosecutions of offenders and proclamations against the practice in 1526, 1528, and 1529. He developed the legal competence of the royal Council through building up the jurisdiction of its subdivision, the Court of Star Chamber, which systematically extended central government into the English localities.

Governmental centralization was also promoted through Wolsey's control of the governing councils in the north and in the Marches—the borders—of **Wales**, and he furthered the submission of the provinces to the center by bringing the local justices of the peace to the capital to give accounts of their activities and to hear of the crown's wishes. His execution in 1521 of Edward Stafford, third Duke of Bucking-

ham (b. 1478), on a charge of treason showed that he aimed to make the nobility entirely subservient to the crown, but also increased the aristocracy's resentment of the plebeian cardinal.

Indeed, for all his power and wealth, Wolsey was an isolated politician whose position depended entirely on his ability to carry out the king's business as expeditiously as possible and always to get for Henry what he wanted. In the first instance, this meant raising taxation to fund an ambitious foreign policy. For purposes of comparison, whereas the crown between 1485 and 1497 took £258,000 in revenue from the country, during Wolsey's years in office over the years 1513–27, the sum raised was £413,000, plus a quarter of a million in compulsory loans, and in 1522 he commissioned a new estimate of the country's wealth so as to raise further taxation, and on the back of this assessment he demanded loans from the public in 1522 and 1523.

However, the limits to Wolsey's authoritarianism in the field of taxation came in 1525, with the scheme known as the Amicable Grant, a plan to raise money without parliamentary approval to pay for renewed war with France. The demand met with widespread refusal to pay and the possibility of revolt; and Henry's abandonment of the scheme, pardoning the opposers, along with his insistence that Wolsey now surrender Hampton Court to him, was a reminder that, however powerful the cardinal seemed to be, in the end all his authority depended on the king, who would abandon him if he could not carry out government business smoothly. The 1526 Eltham Ordinance represented a move to redistribute Wolsey's powers to the traditional organ of state, the royal Council.

In the ecclesiastical sphere, Wolsey's accumulation of full papal power over the Church gave him a constitutional position from which he might have carried out much-needed reforms. In the event, he conducted the dissolutions of a small number of monasteries in the south and east of the country and diverted their revenues to pay for a college in his birthplace, Ipswich (later suppressed by Henry VIII), and another in Oxford, Cardinal College, which was subsequently taken over by Henry VIII as Oxford's royal foundation, Christ Church.

However, more ambitious reforms, such as the projected creation of 13 new dioceses, were not executed. For Wolsey was himself the epitome of abuses characterizing the Catholic Church in England on the eve of the Reformation, and above all the linked ills of pluralism,

the holding of more than one benefice, and nonresidence, since he continued into the 1520s his earlier practice of collecting rich livings: in 1524 he exchanged his diocese of Bath and Wells for the northern see of Durham and then in 1529 exchanged Durham for the wealthiest bishopric in England, Winchester, near the south coast.

By that year, however, Wolsey was failing and falling swiftly, for his whole *raison d'être*—doing the king's bidding—was being put to its supreme test in his task of procuring a release for the king from his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**. It was not Wolsey's fault that Pope **Clement VII** was incapable of granting the king's application for an annulment, but he was certainly blamed for it: in October 1529, after Henry's case was recalled to **Rome**, Wolsey was indicted on the grave charge of a *praemunire*, the illegal exercise of an alien jurisdiction—Rome's—in England and he was dismissed from the lord chancellorship. Even so, when parliament lodged 44 charges against the cardinal in November, the king sheltered him, refused demands for his imprisonment, and permitted him to travel to his archdiocese to York—unwisely, given his circumstances, in a splendid entourage of 600 men. That fall, he sent letters abroad designed to rescue his situation, the government got wind of them, Wolsey was arrested and summoned to London from his stopping-off point, Leicester, where he died in November 1530.

This great statesman, whose protégés included **Thomas Cromwell** and **Thomas More**, left a further legacy in that his legatine position of exercising papal power created the institutional machinery for Henry VIII's subsequent assumption of the royal supremacy of the Church of England. Though he himself was a conscientious and sincere ecclesiastic, he failed to use his massive powers to begin a **Catholic reform** of the English Church.

WOMEN. Much of the late medieval and early modern male consensus on women was deeply unfavorable, including the assumption that, since the woman was ruled by the insatiable demands of her womb—in Greek *hystera*, giving us “hysteria” and its derivatives—she was incapable of reason. In government and politics, it seemed to follow that women were incapable of rule, and from the 14th century **France** had its Salic Law forbidding the succession to the throne of a woman. **England** had no such actual law, but **Henry VIII's** matrimonial difficulties, beginning with his efforts to secure an annulment

of his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**, should be seen as a struggle to secure the succession of a male heir.

Prejudicial views of women were intensified following the appearance in 1487 of the work by the German inquisitors Heinrich Krämer (Henricus Institoris, 1430–1505) and Jakob Sprenger (1436–1495), the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or “Hammer of Witches,” a work that proceeded on the assumption that women’s irrationality and dominance by their wombs made them prone to temptation by Satan and to witchcraft: the book has been seen as a major contributor to a lethal campaign against women as witches in the 16th and 17th centuries, of which the trials in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, were a late manifestation.

It is against this general background that the impact of religious change on women in the 16th century needs to be understood. Traditional assumptions could be confusing: while the Church was supposed to heed the admonition of St. Paul that women should keep silence (1 Timothy 2:11–12), the Middle Ages saw the rise of powerful religious women such as the English abbess Hilda (614–680) and of highly influential women writers in the field of mysticism, including the Germans Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and Mechtild of Magdeburg (1212–c.1282).

Some of the medieval ambiguities about women were inherited in the Reformation. **Martin Luther**, while he insisted that a woman could not rule in the state without a male council, created a new openness toward women with his approval of **marriage** as an entirely valid choice for Christians, and in marrying **Katharina von Bora** he gave personal force to the positive statements he made in “Concerning Christian Marriage,” 1522. Most of the leading reformers married, and **Thomas Cranmer** in his **Book of Common Prayer** voiced the English Protestant consensus that marriage was “an honourable estate” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, p. 301). On the other hand, in none of the Protestant Churches was clerical ministry an option for women, though **Argula von Grumbach** was early **Lutheranism**’s most articulate woman.

While the **Council of Trent** reaffirmed Catholicism’s traditional preference for celibacy over marriage, in insisting that prospective nuns should be examined as to their free choice of the religious life, it was making an important contribution to ensuring that the decision was that of the woman in question, rather than that of a male relative.

Trent insisted on strict enclosure for religious women, but while the renewal of the **Carmelites** made the contemplative cloistered life attractive to devout women, the establishment of the Ursulines gave others an active vocation in teaching. An important feature in female religious activity was that of patronage, such as that of **Marguerite d'Angoulême** of French reformists or that of **Vittoria Colonna** and **Giulia Gonzaga** among the Italian **evangelicals**. Also in Catholic circles, direct religious initiatives were undertaken by **Barbe Acarie**, **Angela Merici**, **Teresa of Ávila**, and **Anne de Xainctonge**. *See also* CATHERINE DE' MEDICI; ELIZABETH I; KNOX, JOHN; MARY I; MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

WORMS, DIET AND EDICT OF, 1521. **Martin Luther's** appearance at the **Diet** held in the Rhineland city of Worms in April 1521 was the outcome of Pope **Leo X's** bull of **excommunication** *Exsurge Domine*, issued in June 1520 and confirmed in a mandate of January 1521. Before that, however, **Charles V** had already, in November 1520, agreed to a request from **Frederick the Wise** that Luther not be condemned without a hearing, and in that month the emperor issued an invitation to Frederick for Luther to be brought before the Diet.

In December, the invitation was withdrawn on the grounds that *Exsurge Domine* prescribed that any place where Luther took up residence would be placed under interdict—a complete suspension of religious provisions—but early in March 1521 the invitation was renewed, in the face of opposition from the papal legate, Archbishop Girolamo Aleandro (Hieronymus Aleander, 1480–1542), who objected to the transfer of the case to the secular authority and claimed that, since Luther had already been condemned by the Church, the state's only remaining duty was to carry out the sentence against him.

Late in March, Luther received his invitation, in person, from the imperial herald, to attend the Diet, which had been in session since January, and the invitation contained a safe conduct to protect his journeys both to and from the assembly. Shielded by a similar guarantee from Frederick the Wise, Luther set out on a two-week, 250-mile journey to Worms. He arrived on the morning of 16 April and was told to appear before the emperor and the estates at four on the following afternoon, being called in at six.

Then the chancellor of the Archdiocese of Trier, Johann von der Ecken (d. 1524), opened the proceedings, indicating that their focus

was to be the extant corpus of Luther's writings. These were listed in a schedule drawn up by Aleandro, which included "The Freedom of a Christian," "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," the "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Amelioration of the Christian Estate," and "On the Papacy at Rome, an Institution of the Devil," and Luther was presented by von der Ecken with the option of making a recantation by means of disowning these writings: the titles were read out and the chancellor announced, "Martin Luther, His . . . Majesty has ordered you to be called hither . . . to retract the books which you have published and spread abroad" (Mullett, *Martin Luther*, p. 126). We may note that since the previous noteworthy trial of an individual for heresy, that of **Jan Hus**, the invention of **printing** had shifted the whole weight of concern in a prosecution for dissent to the spread of ideas through books.

Luther replied by asking "most humbly that time for deliberation be given and allowed him" (ibid., p. 127) and, despite the prosecution's objections, an adjournment until five on the following afternoon was granted. At four p.m. on that day the imperial herald came to fetch Luther from his lodgings, and he once more faced the assembly. This time, though, the prosecution's approach had, seemingly, softened, as Chancellor von der Ecken invited Luther to make a selective renunciation of his writings—did he wish to "disown any of them . . . do you wish to retract any?" (ibid.)—perhaps in an attempt to get him to disclaim the most vehemently antipapal of them such as "The Papacy at Rome"

Luther responded by drawing distinctions between his types of writings: there were useful works of piety, antipapal treatises, by which he must stand, and polemical writings, whose language, he admitted, might be excessive. Von der Ecken then broke in, alleging that he was heir to the heresies that had afflicted the early Church and demanding that he simply answer the question put to him, and Luther responded with the categorical answer demanded: "Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Scriptures, or by evident reason I am bound by the scriptural evidence adduced by me and my conscience is captive to the word of God. I cannot, I will not recant anything, for it is neither safe nor right to act against one's conscience" (ibid., p. 128). Whether or not he added the words "Here I stand! I can do no other!" (*Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders!*) is

open to question, but he did conclude with the invocation “God help me [*Gott helfe mir*]. Amen” (ibid.).

Von der Ecken then responded that Luther was in breach of the decrees of the Council of Constance (Konstanz, 1414–1418) and repeated his demand for a recantation; night fell, and the session concluded.

On the following day, Charles V sent his message to the Diet, taking his stand on the firm Catholicism of his Burgundian, Spanish, and German ancestors; the safe conduct was confirmed. Further efforts between 19 and 26 April, and involving **Johann Cochlaeus**, to weaken Luther’s resistance continued until on the latter date he left the city and was taken into protective custody on the instructions of Frederick the Wise.

At the end of April the emperor summoned the electors and other princes to agree to an edict, which led to the preparation by Aleandro of the 30-page Edict of Worms, ready for Charles’s signature on 26 May. In it Luther’s opinions were declared to be “the products of his depraved mind and soul . . . dragged out of hell,” and he himself was “not a man but the devil himself in the form of a man,” his teachings leading to a “loose, self-willed kind of life, without any kind of law, utterly brutish” (ibid., p. 130). He was, with retrospective effect from 14 May, outlawed as an impenitent heretic, and all the emperor’s subjects were to assist in his arrest and send him for punishment or hold on to him pending further orders. His books were placed under censorship regulations, and his followers were to be treated as he was. This comprehensive death sentence was in fact to form the legal framework for the rest of Luther’s life, severely restricting his movements and placing him under the protection of his prince. Yet Luther knew that he had to confront his destiny at Worms: as he later wrote, “If I had heard that as many devils would set on me in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs, I should nonetheless have ridden there” (Partington, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 432).

WÜRTTEMBERG, DUCHY OF. Ulrich (1487–1550), ruler of the large and important Duchy of Württemberg in southern Germany, succeeded to the rule of the territory in 1498 and governed it in person from 1503. His oppressions of its peasantry sparked off a revolt in 1514, leading to a new constitution, the Treaty of Tübingen, which

granted constitutional authority to the parliamentary estates. Ulrich's murder of a knight—Hans von Hutten, a relative of **Ulrich von Hutten**—in order to have his wife caused deep resentment among the nobility of his territory and occasioned his deposition in 1519 by the south German federation of cities and princes known as the Swabian League (revived in 1488 to police southwest Germany). In 1520 the territory was secured by the **Habsburgs**, who installed a governor and set about repressing Protestants in the area.

Meanwhile, Ulrich, a Lutheran, and his Catholic son Christoph (Christopher, 1515–1568), planned their restoration to the duchy and in 1534 gained help from **Philipp of Hesse**, backed by French money, to put a powerful army in the field; the Swabian League remained neutral. The Habsburg forces were overcome in May 1534, and, in a massive defeat for the Habsburgs, in June in the Peace of Kaden, **Ferdinand I** acknowledged Ulrich as duke, formally as a feudal dependent of Habsburg **Austria**. Ulrich now implemented the Reformation in the duchy, setting up the 1534 Württemberg Concord as a mixture of elements from the teachings of **Huldrych Zwingli** and from **Lutheranism** and calling in **Johann Brenz** from 1535 as advisor and administrator: the north of the duchy was Lutheran-influenced, while the south, under the leadership of **Ambrosius Blarer**, had a Zwinglian orientation. Ulrich joined the **Schmalkaldic League** in 1535 and was at war with Charles V, but agreed to favorable terms, was deposed and restored in 1546, and was made to accept the **Interim of Augsburg**.

Duke Christoph succeeded his father in 1550 and converted to Lutheranism. The Lutheran Württemberg **Confession** (*Confessio Virtembergica*) was introduced in 1551, and from 1553 Brenz helped Duke Christophe to reintroduce Lutheranism following the withdrawal of the Interim regime. New school ordinances were introduced in 1559, education being funded out of the property of dissolved monasteries.

– X –

XAINCTONGE, ANNE DE (1567–1621). The **Ursuline** Anne de Xainctonge was born in Dijon in Burgundy, east-central **France**, in 1567 and developed an admiration for the **Jesuits'** teaching record

in the city. In 1595 she moved south to Dôle, in the **Habsburg** possession of the Franche Comté, where she set up a school for girls, aiming to teach the poor. The rule she drew up, freeing her sisters from conventual enclosure, was completed after her death by a Jesuit and was given approval by the archbishop of Besançon (near Dijon), in 1623 but, apparently, not by the papacy. Teaching communities sprang up in the Franche Comté, **Switzerland**, and Lorraine, to the east of France. Their ethos placed their teaching work above the contemplative life and avoided any asceticism that would impair their work performance. *See also* WOMEN.

XAVIER, FRANCIS (FRANCISCO DE JAVIER) (1506–1552).

The “Apostle to the Indies,” Francisco de Xavier was born the youngest son of a privy councillor to the king of Navarre and into an aristocratic Basque family at Xavero, near Sangüeso in Navarre, in northern **Spain**, in April 1506. He studied from 1525 at the Collège Ste. Barbe at the University of **Paris**, and lectured on Aristotelian philosophy at the Collège de Beauvais, met **Ignatius Loyola**, and took up the study of theology. In August 1534 he was one of the small group who accompanied Loyola to Montmartre in Paris to take the initial vows of the **Society of Jesus**. The companions left Paris in 1536, and in June 1537, along with Loyola himself and others of the first Jesuits, Xavier was ordained priest in **Venice** and until 1540 worked for the Society of Jesus in **Rome**. In 1540 Loyola reported that “at the request of the king of **Portugal**”—João (John III, 1502–1557), an early royal supporter of the Society—Xavier and “two others are going overseas in the interest of the same king” (Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, p. 96).

After Paris, Xavier worked among the poor and distressed in Bologna, in northern **Italy**, and in April 1541 Pope **Paul III** sent him to **Goa** and the Far East. On board ship, he continued his welfare work and, reaching Goa in May 1542, after a voyage of 13 months, as a preaching missionary there and in the southwestern coast of **India** between 1542 and 1545, he took up the protection of the rights of native peoples, writing to the king and queen in Lisbon (Lisboa) on their behalf and denouncing the corruptions of Portuguese officials—“a permanent bruise on my soul” (*ibid.*, p. 97). In 1545–46, from his base in Goa he traveled to Malacca, in modern Malaysia, and the Moluccas, in modern Indonesia, and to Sri Lanka (Ceylon)

in 1547, making large-scale conversions—especially among people of the lower castes.

In 1549 Xavier sailed for **Japan**, where, in Kagoshima, he studied the language, was welcomed as an emissary of the crown of Portugal, and worked in the country for two years: he found Japanese society and values empathetic and, leaving his converts in the care of a priest from Portugal, had laid the foundations of a Christian century in the country's history. In 1552 Xavier returned to Goa to plan a mission to **China**. He was put down by a Portuguese vessel on the little island of Shangchwan (or San-Chian), near Canton (Guangzhou) in southeast China, to await the arrival of a Chinese boat to take him to the mainland, but, worn out by ceaseless work and by opposition to his plans, fell ill and died in December within two weeks of landing, accompanied by a Chinese convert. His corpse, still venerated today, was returned to Goa, and he was canonized in 1622, the author of a **catechism** and writings on asceticism and the icon of the Catholic Church's new mission to a non-European world.

XIMÉNES (JIMÉNES, JIMÉNEZ, OR XIMÉNEZ) DE CISNEROS, FRANCISCO, CARDINAL (1436[?]-1517). Cisneros was born in Torrelaguna, near Madrid in central **Spain**, and was educated at Alcalá de Henares (near Madrid), Salamanca (western Spain), and **Rome**, where in 1473 Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-84) appointed him archpriest of Uzeda in the diocese of Toledo, south of Madrid; the archbishop of the region refused him entry, and he spent the next six years in prison. Following his release, Cisneros became vicar-general—diocesan administrator—to Pedro González de Mendoza (1428-1495), bishop of Sigüenza, northeast of Madrid. He subsequently joined the order of Observant **Franciscans** and in 1484 entered the Observant Franciscan friary of Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, south of Madrid, living an ascetical life. On the basis of his reputation for holiness, he became confessor to Queen Isabella (known as “the Catholic”—Isabel, known as *la Católica*, 1451-1504) of Castile in 1492, and provincial of the Franciscans in Spain in 1494. By papal order, he became archbishop of Toledo, in succession to González de Mendoza, and thus primate of Spain in 1495 and a cardinal of the Church in 1507, when he was also appointed inquisitor general of the kingdoms of Castile and León.

As a prelate and Franciscan head, Cisneros was an active reformer, anticipating the measures of the **Council of Trent** but deploying royal support and even using military force to overcome opposition to his reforms. His **Catholic reform** measures are widely seen as having kept Spain immune from Protestant influences: he compelled the religious orders to observe their vows, closed religious houses that did not comply, and made priests stay in their parishes and preach.

A major political as well as ecclesiastical figure, who was high chancellor of Castile from 1495, in 1506 he was regent during the absence in the Kingdom of Naples of King Ferdinand II, (known as “the Catholic”—Fernando II, known as *el Cático*, 1452–1516). In 1509, as an advocate of Spanish conquest in north Africa, he paid for and led an assault on Oran, in modern Algeria, leading to its capture. Before his death in January 1516, Ferdinand designated him regent, and he acted for 18 months in that capacity on behalf of **Charles V**, overcoming aristocratic resistance to Charles’s rule and crushing a rebellion in Navarre, in the northwest of the country, organizing state finance and introducing army reforms. He died in November 1517, en route to welcoming Charles into his new kingdom.

Though as inquisitor he had many books and manuscripts destroyed, and adopted repressive policies toward **Jews** and Muslims, Cisneros was Spain’s leading patron of humanist scholarship who invited **Desiderius Erasmus** to his country and in 1500 refounded the University of Alcalá de Henares in order to advance Christian **humanism**. The university’s major achievement was the production—entirely funded by Cisneros, who oversaw the work—of scriptural versions: first came the New Testament in its original Greek, completed in 1514 and published in 1520, and then, completed in 1517 and officially published in 1522, a six-volume edition of the whole bible, known as the Complutensian Polyglot, named after the Latin name of Alcalá, Complutum. This production was set out in parallel columns of Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Latin, with a Hebrew grammar and dictionary.

Cisneros’s other sponsorships were in the translation into Spanish of religious works, among them the classic of the *devotio moderna*, the *De Imitatione Christi* (“Concerning the Imitation of Christ”) by Thomas a Kempis (1380–1471), and the *Vita Christi* (“The Life

of Christ”) by Ludolph the Carthusian (or Ludolph of Saxony, d. 1378), a work which was to be instrumental in **Ignatius Loyola’s** conversion. Ximénès de Cisneros also supported the efforts of the **Dominican** friar Bartolomé de Las Casas (1476–1566) to win justice for native peoples in Spanish America.

– Z –

ZÜRICH. A member of the Swiss Confederation since 1351, a German-speaking city in northeast **Switzerland**, Zürich was a thriving commercial center, ruling over a rural hinterland. A self-governing city, it had a republican constitution based on two councils, and its government had acquired considerable control of religion and the Church in the city and the countryside. The city accepted **Huldrych Zwingli** as its “common preacher” (*Leutpriester*) in January 1519, and he soon began his Scripture-based sermons in the city’s Great Minster (*Grossmünster*). Zwingli was a political as well as religious reformer who opposed the Swiss trade in mercenary soldiers, and his influence can be seen in Zürich’s refusal to join the 1521 Swiss treaty with **France** to supply troops.

The process of religious change was taken up in the 1520s, following Zwingli’s promotion as a canon of the Great Minster early in 1521. He preached against Catholic fasting in 1522, and in 1524 married, albeit secretly. For a great **disputation** on religious policy held at the end of January 1523, Zwingli drew up his Sixty-Seven Conclusions, and the outcome of the encounter was a vote of confidence in the reformer by the city council.

A second disputation over three days in October 1523 focused on the **Mass** and images, and Zwingli followed this up in November with the “Short Christian Introduction.” Change was accelerated in 1524, following a third disputation, in January, with a council-authorized program of **iconoclasm**, the end of religious processions and pilgrimages, the reduction of Church festivals to four, and the dissolution of monasteries and diversion of their incomes toward education and poor relief. The New Testament in German was printed in the same year. A plain, German-language service of the **eucharist**, introduced in the spring of 1525, to replace the **Mass** completed

Zürich's journey to Reformation, followed up by the publication of the whole **bible** in 1530.

From 1527 Zürich forged alliances with other states, arousing fears of the Protestant city's domination over the Confederation. In April 1529 the Catholic "forest cantons" formed a counteralliance with **Ferdinand I**, and battle was to be joined at **Kappel** in June 1529. No hostilities actually took place then, but in October 1531 Zürich was defeated and Zwingli killed at Kappel. Appointed by the Council as Church leader in December 1531, **Heinrich Bullinger** set about consolidating the Zürich Reformation, and in the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549 the city joined a wider fellowship of Churches.

ZWICKAU, PROPHETS OF. The textile manufacturing town of Zwickau, in southeast **Germany**, close to the rich mining country of the Erzgebirge, near the border with **Bohemia**, was in the early 16th century the scene of social conflict arising out of sharp economic contrasts between proto-capitalist wealth and the poverty and debt of working people. These factors helped produce the religious radicalism that marked the three millenarian "prophets," the weavers Thomas Drechsel (or Drechsler, fl. 1521–1523) and Nikolaus Storch (b. before 1500, d. after 1536) and the former Wittenberg student Marcus Thomae, or Stübner—all sponsored by and influencing **Thomas Müntzer**.

In December 1521, expelled, like Müntzer, by the Zwickau authorities, this trio migrated to Wittenberg during **Martin Luther's** absence in the Wartburg and declared that they were the recipients of visionary messages, coming directly from the Holy Spirit, to the effect that the kingdom of God was about to be set up, that infant **baptism** was unacceptable—citing Mark 6:16, along with Luther's teaching that the sacrament required **faith** to make it effective—and that the **eucharist** was a memorial only and not a miracle.

Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt was impressed by the visionary claims of the visitors, and **Philipp Melancthon** confirmed to **Frederick the Wise** the likelihood that they were inspired by the Holy Spirit. Their activities, however, added to the aura of disorder in Wittenberg during Luther's absence and, denounced by him as *Schwärmer*—fanatics—they were expelled following his return to the city in March 1522.

ZWINGLI, HULDRYCH (OR HULDREICH) (1484–1531). Zwingli was born in January 1484 in the village of Wildhaus in the canton of Sankt Gallen (St. Gall), in German-speaking eastern **Switzerland**, the son of a prosperous farmer and local notable. He was educated along **humanist** lines at the universities of Basel (Bâle, Basle), in Switzerland, and Vienna (Wien), in **Austria**, and was drawn intellectually toward **Desiderius Erasmus**, whom he met in 1515 or 1516. He was ordained priest in 1506 and was appointed to the parish of Glarus, southeast Switzerland, and in 1516 took on work at the popular pilgrimage shrine of the **Blessed Virgin Mary** at Einsiedeln, near Glarus, and continued his humanist studies, learning Greek and studying the **Fathers of the Church**.

In January 1519 he was appointed “common preacher” (*Leutpriester*) in the church of Saints Felix and Regula, the Great Minster (*Grossmünster*), in **Zürich**, where he began to preach his way systematically through the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of the New Testament, breaking with the existing Catholic practice in which these readings took second place to the requirements of the liturgical calendar.

From 1518 onward Zwingli was acclaiming **Martin Luther** as a hero and was helping to import his writings into Switzerland. At the same time, he was keen to draw a clear line between himself and the German reformer, representing Luther as a catalyst upon him but claiming that he took his beliefs directly from Scripture. It was also the case that Luther and Zwingli operated out of opposing intellectual starting points, Zwingli from an Erasmian humanist outlook that led him to believe that some of the authors of ancient pagan classics were saved, whereas Luther insisted that the just were redeemed only by faith in Christ.

Nevertheless, Luther and Zwingli were aiming at the same targets, Zwingli, from 1519, condemning prayers to the saints, the doctrine of **purgatory**, and **monasticism** and in February 1519 echoing Luther in calling for the expulsion of a seller of **indulgences**. From around that point, Zwingli was moving into the close mutually supportive relationship with the city government that would characterize his Reformation in the 1520s, an opening move being the declaration by the Zürich state in 1520 that all preaching must be according to Scripture. In 1521 Zwingli became a canon of the Great Minster, giving him a citizen’s voting rights in local elections. Zwingli’s strong

belief in state authority and his **Erastian** outlook also helped to foster good relations. A particularly clear instance of Zwingli's deference to secular authority came in the Lent of 1522, when a group of his sympathizers gathered to eat a meat meal in defiance of Church law, an action in keeping with Zwingli's teaching on Christian freedom. Zwingli was present on this occasion, yet would not join in the repast, simply because the state had not yet licensed such a breach of ecclesiastical law.

On the basis of a shared acceptance of the state's claims to regulate religious life, change could proceed over the course of the middle of the decade, prompted by Zwingli and enacted by the government—whose particular concern was with the avoidance of disturbance over religion. A key stage came in January 1523 in a great **disputation**, foreshadowed in a work of 1522, *Archeletes*, and for which Zwingli's Sixty-Seven Conclusions focusing on the authority of Scripture and the centrality of Christ, and denying the **pope's** authority, the doctrine of purgatory, prayers to the saints, priestly **celibacy**, and compulsory fasting, formed the agenda.

The outcome of the disputation was that the government, rejecting the ecclesiastical authority of the city's bishop, that of Constance (Konstanz), south **Germany**, found in favor of Zwingli and his Scripture-based preaching, and in July he followed up this vindication with his "Explanation and Justification of the Articles," and a program of educational, religious, and welfare reform was put in place, including vernacular services, open lectures on the bible, and poor relief to be funded out of the property of the monasteries, closed down in 1524. The **Mass** was suppressed in April 1525, to be replaced by a simple German-language **eucharist** of commemoration of Christ's saving death.

At the same time as his **magisterial Reformation** was being advanced, Zwingli faced opposition and demands for accelerated and more complete change from the emergent **Anabaptist** movement, when in 1524 a group of Zürich citizens including **Konrad Grebel**, Georg Blaurock (or Cajakob, c. 1492–1529), and Felix Mantz (c. 1500–1527) began the practice of believers', or adult, baptism. For Zwingli, this voluntarization of church membership was the ultimate threat to the cohesion of civil and ecclesiastical society and from March 1526 he was giving full support to the government's persecution of the "rebaptizers."

Crisis arose, too, in the 1520s over the way that the Reformation was expanding and the implications of that growth for the Swiss federal structure and the particular issue of which religion should be adopted or retained in the Confederation's jointly ruled "common" or "mandated" territories. The mainly rural and Catholic central "forest cantons" insisted that no change of faith should be made in these territories and began repressing Protestants within them, eventually provoking Zürich's intervention in one of them, the Thurgau. In spring 1529 the Catholic cantons formed an alliance with the **Habsburgs**, but when it came to the prospect of a battle, at **Kappel**, near Zürich, in June 1529, the opposing armies refused to fight, and freedom of religion was granted in the mandated territories.

A further critical issue toward the end of the 1520s arose over the necessity, in the face of a Habsburg resurgence, for a Swiss-German Protestant alliance, ideally to be based on doctrinal agreement, especially on the issue that most divided the two main branches of the Reformation, the eucharist. However, the inability of Luther and Zwingli to find agreement on that issue at the **Colloquy of Marburg** ruled out the close military and political alliance between the wings of the Reformation that **Philipp of Hesse** sought.

When the prospect of battle receded at Kappel in 1529, Zwingli still warned that conflict was unavoidable. And indeed, war soon came out of the intercantonal religious—and economic—tensions left unhealed after the non-battle of Kappel. In October 1531, Zürich once more met its Catholic foes, and battle was joined, with Zwingli in the ranks: he was wounded and then slain.

Zwingli was a major civic reformer in his own right and by no means only a kind of third figure of the Reformation, after Luther and **John Calvin**. His influence, especially that of his spiritual understanding of the eucharist, was widespread, and his achievement was consolidated after his death by **Heinrich Bullinger**.

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INTRODUCTION

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to compile a literally comprehensive bibliography of the subject of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the principle of selectivity observed here will be chiefly noticeable in the omission of scholarly articles (though edited collections of these are included)

and—in order to provide an up-to-date coverage of the literature—generally speaking, of titles appearing before 1970.

The bibliography will thus provide the reader with an impression of the fertility of Reformation and Counter-Reformation studies, in America, Asia, and Europe, especially over the course of the last four decades. Titles appearing in European languages with which the compiler is reasonably familiar—Dutch, French, German, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese (as well as English)—have been translated, sometimes fairly freely, and while at first it may seem a little otiose to provide a translation of the title of a book that the reader may not be able to read, the purpose of these renditions is in fact to provide further evidence of the shape and direction of current early modern Christian religious historical scholarship.

History, of course, reflects the dominant concerns of the period and culture in which it is researched and written, and this bibliography will show up some of the themes to the fore in the minds of modern historians as they go about their work. To give one example, the considerable space given to China in the bibliography may well reflect that country's current reemergence as a leader on the world stage. At the same time, the concern within that field of interest with such issues as the "Chinese rites" should be seen as a symptom of the way that historians now approach the interactions of world civilizations, as well as the specific challenge to modern Western Christian missionaries to deliver their gospel in the cultural language of its intended recipients.

The modern women's movement has also shifted the direction of historical writing in recent years, into such fields as witchcraft and the study of leading personalities, for example Teresa of Ávila, and the bibliography highlights some of the scholarly results.

Less obviously explicable is the profusion of titles in this bibliography—over 30—that contain the word "Inquisition" in one or another shape or form. True, many of these studies focus on Iberia, though the Inquisition was also a European export, for example, to India and Latin America. Does historians' evident fascination with that institution reflect the experience of a century that brought secret policing and thought-control to the status of a global fine art?

Among the general works on the Reformation that have appeared in recent years, two in particular, both listed in section 2 of the bibliography, "Religion and Belief in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation," stand out for their value to the student: Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700*. Both these historians are specialists in Reformation studies, with particular strengths in theological issues. But in these two separate and impressively lengthy surveys, they also synthesize the monographs and journal articles researched and written by a multitude of scholars working in detailed areas and they also bring to bear

an up-to-date approach to areas, such as eastern Europe, which have hitherto been relatively neglected.

Compilations of work by experts in their field provide an excellent way for the student to find out the state of play in historical scholarship on the Reformation period, and such are the edited collections of essays assembled as tributes to some of the leading figures in the subject field in the later 20th century: Peter Newman Brooks, ed., *Reformation Principles and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens*; J. Friedman, ed., *Regnum, Religio, et Ratio: Essays Presented to Robert M. Kingdom*; and E. Kouri and Tom Scott, eds., *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Needless to say, works by the eminent historians who are the recipients of those tributes feature in section 2 of the bibliography (as well as in later sections that deal with their specialist subject areas): A. G. Dickens's immensely readable survey, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe*; Patrick Collinson's reflections from a lifetime of study, *The Reformation*; Robert M. Kingdom's masterly overview, *Church and Society in Reformation Europe*; and G. R. Elton's superbly written examination of the first decades of change, *Reformation Europe, 1517–1559*.

Though other sources, such as art, architecture, and general artifacts can improve our understanding of the past, history as a discipline is essentially based on primary texts, and students should be encouraged to come to grips with these as soon as possible. That is why section 2 of the bibliography below includes convenient and varied collections of documents, such as Carter Lindberg, ed., *The European Reformations Sourcebook*, and William G. Naphy, ed. and trans., *Documents on the Continental Reformation*. Even so, the wise student, even while researching documents directly, knows that he or she will still often need technical guidance from experts, and nowhere is this truer than in the complex field of theology. For that reason, the bibliography in section 2 lists some helpful introductions that clarify the doctrinal concerns that so engaged our forebears: G. O. Forde, *Justification by Faith: A Matter of Death and Life*; Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers*; Carter Lindberg, *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*; Alister McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*; and Bernard M. G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation*.

Recent years have seen an upsurge of interest in the role of women in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and in the impact of those processes on them, and items in the bibliography, section 2, reflect some of this concern: Renate Bridenthal, ed., *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*; Sherry Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*; C. A. Monson, *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*; James Grantham Turner, *Sexuality and*

Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images; and Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*.

The Reformation era was not only a phase in the history of Christianity, and recent studies, appearing in section 2, focus on the relationship between religious change in Christendom and Europe's Jewish people: D. P. Bell, *Jewish Identity in Early Modern Germany*; John Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe, 1400–1700*; E. A. Hanawalt and Carter Lindberg, eds., *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*; Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750*; Jonathan Israel and David Katz, *Sceptics, Millenarians, and Jews: Essays in Honour of Richard Popkin*; Heiko A. Oberman, *The Roots of Antisemitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*; and D. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*.

A reaction away from “elite” history, with its concentration on the impact of “great men,” has generated work on religious change as a mass phenomenon: see, for example, in section 2, Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan W. Zophy, eds., *The Social History of the Reformation*; B. Heal, *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy, and People*; Beat Kümin, *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470–1630*; and Michael Mullett, *Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. By extension, the “popular” history of the Reformation has fed into a focus on the part played by the media, above all printing: see, in section 2, Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*; Lucien Febvre and H. J. Martin, *The Coming of the Book*; Ruth Hirsch, *Printing, Selling, and Reading, 1450–1550*; and Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*. While the new mass medium of print popularized religious trends, the traditional oral art of preaching continued to flourish: see, under section 2, L. Taylor, *Preachers and People in the Reformation and Early Modern Period*.

It is also important to view Anabaptism as a people's Reformation, and section 3 of the bibliography, “Anabaptism, Dissent, and the Radical Reformation,” includes works that assist such an understanding, for example: the collection of documents edited and translated by Michael G. Baylor, *The Radical Reformation*; Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525–1618; Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany*; Michael Mullett, *Radical Religious Movements in Early Modern Europe*; and the great encyclopedia of the left wing of 16th-century religious change, George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation*.

While we now appreciate the central place of demotic forces in European religious developments in the early modern period, we also rightly continue to be concerned with the leading figures instigating those same developments. Section 4 of the bibliography is “Calvin, Calvinism, and Geneva,” and, difficult

as it is to select from many excellent studies, W. J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* is an exceptionally insightful work in getting into its subject's complex personality, while Harro Höpfl in *The Christian Polity of John Calvin* brings great learning to bear on the reformer's work in state and society. We may be sure that the quincentenary, in 2009, of Calvin's birth, and the international conferences to which it has given rise, will produce further rich studies, perhaps increasingly drawing attention to the "Catholic" Calvin, as is the case already with Randall C. Zachmann, ed., *John Calvin and Roman Catholicism: Critique and Engagement, Then and Now*. For documents, refer in this section to Mark Greengrass and G. R. Potter, *John Calvin*, and for Calvin's attitude to women to Jane Douglass, *Women, Freedom, and Calvin*, and John L. Thompson, *John Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in Regular and Exceptional Roles in the Exegesis of Calvin, His Predecessors, and His Contemporaries*.

A striking feature of some of the titles in section 5 of the bibliography, "Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation," is the variety of terms used for the overhaul of the Catholic Church in the early modern period, each usage betokening its own understanding of what was happening, and when. Robert Bireley, in *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter-Reformation*; Raymond F. Bulman and Frederick J. Parella, eds., in *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations*; Jean Delumeau, in *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*; and R. Po-chia Hsia, in *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, all remind us that the rehabilitation of Catholicism was an extended process, and not, as an earlier historiography tended to assume, one both beginning and ending within the 16th century. While Martin W. D. Jones chooses a traditional label, in *The Counter-Reformation: Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Michael A. Mullett, in *The Catholic Reformation*, searches for the origins of Catholic reform in medieval aspirations in that direction. H. O. Evennett's lectures, assembled by John Bossy as *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, remind us of the essential religious imperatives behind change and John W. O'Malley, in *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* reviews various historiographical approaches. For the position of women, see Patricia Ranft, *Women and the Religious Life in Premodern Europe*.

The sheer number of books in section 6—"Luther and Lutheranism"—remind us of his towering importance and of the fascination that his life, thought, and achievement continue to exert. Again, it is not easy to select particular titles, though the three volumes by M. Brecht—*Martin Luther, I: His Road to Reformation, 1483–1521*; *Martin Luther, II: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*; *Martin Luther, III: The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546*—provide comprehensive coverage, while Heiko A. Oberman's *Luther*:

Man between God and the Devil brilliantly diagnoses the source of Luther's besetting anxiety. Two very handy collections of documents are: E. Gordon Rupp and Benjamin Drewery, *Martin Luther*; and Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Luther on Women: A Sourcebook*. Also for Luther's attitude to women, see Gerta Scharffenorth, *Becoming Friends in Christ: The Relationship between Men and Women As Seen by Luther*.

Other reformers do not simply exist in Luther's shadow. It is clear from section 7 of the bibliography, "Other Figures," that Huldrych Zwingli is well served in the literature. First there are the following excellent studies: E. J. Furcha, ed., *Huldrych Zwingli, 1484–1531: A Legacy of Radical Reform*; Ulrich G  bler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*; Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli's Thought*; G. R. Potter, *Zwingli*; and the two outstanding studies by William P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* and *Zwingli: An Introduction to His Thought*. Second, there are opportunities for students to come to grips directly with the vivid and immediate writer that Zwingli was, in: E. J. Furcha and H. W. Pipkin, eds. and trans., *Huldrych Zwingli: Writings*; in S. M. H. Jackson, *Ulrich Zwingli Selected Works*; and in G. R. Potter, *Huldrych Zwingli: Documents in Modern History*. One of the other important and influential civic reformers, Martin Bucer, is well treated in two works: William P. Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer*, and David F. Wright, ed., *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community*.

Under section 8 of the bibliography—"Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and Mission by Area and Country"—subsection 1, "China," is much taken up with the question of the "Chinese rites," that area of religio-cultural contact and collisions between civilizations, and in this field the student has access to documents for hands-on investigation in R. R. Noll and D. F. Sure, eds., *100 Roman Documents Concerning the Chinese Rites*. In-depth background is provided in D. Twitchett and W. F. Mote, eds., *The Cambridge History of China: The Ming Dynasty*.

Section 8, subsection 2, reflects the intensive activity of scholars over recent years on the early modern religious history of the "British realms." For England itself, particularly recommended are books by a doyen of studies of the Reformation in the country, Patrick Collinson: *The Birthpangs of Protestant England; From Cranmer to Bancroft: English Religion in the Age of the Reformation*; *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism*; and *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559–1629*. See also two established classics, A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, and G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509–1558*. More recent, and extremely helpful, studies include: Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation*; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603*; and Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642*. The whole period is presented in a masterly fashion in John Guy, *Tudor*

England, while the crucial middle decades of change are most intelligibly examined in William J. Sheils, *The English Reformation, 1530–1570*. While a massively researched “revisionist” understanding of the resistance of many English people to religious change is set out in Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, new insights into the position of Catholics in post-Reformation England are delivered in S. Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625*. Primary texts for the whole process of religious reform in England are available in Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*.

Under section 8, subsection 2, fine surveys of the role of women in England are: the pioneering work of Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England*; Patricia Crawford, *Women in Religion in England, 1500–1720*; and P. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation*.

The pattern of change in Ireland is brilliantly revealed in Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland*. See also the comparative work, Michael Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829*.

The clearest accounts of events in Scotland are I. B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, and Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625*. See also the valuable comparative work, E. Boran and C. Gribben, *Enforcing Reformation in England and Scotland, 1550–1700*.

The number of titles in section 8, subsection 3, of the bibliography, “France,” is expressive of the productiveness of both Anglophone and Francophone modern scholarship in the area, and also of immense interest in the Wars of Religion. Selecting English-language works, social, political, cultural, and religious developments are usefully surveyed in: Frederic J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century*; R. Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560–1715*; K. Cameron, *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State, and Society in Early Modern France*; J. Garrison, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483–1598*; E. Leroy Ladurie, *Early Modern France, 1460–1610: The Royal State*; and J. H. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century*. French Protestantism is ably studied in Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation*, and there is an absorbing examination of popular belief in A. N. Galpern, *The Religions of the People in Sixteenth-Century Champagne*; see also the brilliant work by Natalie Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. For material on the pivotal figure of Francis I, see Robert Knecht, *Francis I*, and his *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reformation of Francis I*.

There is a group of important studies on religious conflict and civil war in late Valois France: R. Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France*; H. Heller, *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France*; Mark P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*,

1562–1629; Robert Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici*; and his *The French Civil Wars, 1562–1598*; K. P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France*; and Nicola Mary Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. A very useful collection of texts from the period is David Potter, ed., *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents*. The defining moment in the French Wars of Religion, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, receives close attention in Robert M. Kingdom, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre*, and Nicola Mary Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559–1572*.

The Edict of Nantes and Henry IV are the foci of the following helpful and well-balanced studies: M. Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV: The Struggle for Stability*; R. L. Goodbar, *The Edict of Nantes: Five Essays and a New Translation*; Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV*; R. S. Love, *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henri IV*; and M. Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France*.

Historical writing on women and religion in early modern France shows full awareness of their role and significance, especially in Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England*, and in S. Broomhall, *Women and Religion in Sixteenth-Century France*. See also Barbara Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* and Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining French Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism*.

The bibliography's section 8, subsection 4, "Germany, Austria, and Bohemia," features, of course, the land where the Reformation originated. For good background introductions, see Michael Hughes, *Early Modern Germany, 1477–1806*, and P. H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire, 1495–1806*. The pre-Reformation context of rapid change to follow is explored in Gerald Strauss, *Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation*, and in his *Pre-Reformation Germany*. Five valuable studies of the Reformation as a German event are: A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*; C. S. Dixon, *The Reformation in Germany*; Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*; R. Po-chia Hsia, *The German People and the Reformation*; and Robert W. Scribner, *The German Reformation*.

Much of the interest in the German Reformation lies in its takeup in the cities, and for this see: Thomas A. Brady, *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550*; Bernd Moeller, *German Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*; and Steven Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*.

A quintessential German urban Reformation was that in Strassburg, on which there are several in-depth monographs: L. J. Abrey, *The People's*

Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500–1598; Thomas A. Brady, *Ruling Class, Regime, and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520–1559*; Miriam U. Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599*; and W. S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy: The Inception of the Reformation in Strasbourg, 1522–1524*. For other studies of the urban religious and political environment, see Kaspar von Greyerz, *The Late City Reformation in Germany: The Case of Colmar, 1522–1628*; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535–1618*; and Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Zwickau in Transition, 1500–1547: The Reformation as an Agent of Change*.

The experience of the Jewish people in Reformation Germany is closely explored in: R. Po-chia Hsia, *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, and his fascinating *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany*.

The Peasants' Revolt of the mid-1520s, coinciding, as it did, with the opening moves of the German Reformation, receives specialist attention from: Janos J. Bak, *The German Peasant War of 1525*; Peter Blickle, *From the Communal Reformation to the Revolution of the Common Man*, and his *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*; and Robert W. Scribner and Gerhard Benecke, eds., *The German Peasant War of 1525: New Viewpoints*. A superb presentation of texts on this subject is assembled in Tom Scott and Bob Scribner, eds., *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents*.

The role of women in Reformation Germany is explored in the groundbreaking work by Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy*, and in Peter Matheson, *Argula von Grumbach: A Woman's Voice in the Reformation*.

There are special studies of the Counter-Reformation in the German Lands, in: Robert Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaimi, S. J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy*; M. R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750*; Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas, and Miracles: The Counter-Reformation in the Upper Palatinate*; Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna*; and P. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*.

In section 8, subsection 5, students looking for a reliable study of the subject of India, should go to S. Neil, *A History of Christianity in India*.

Under section 8, subsection 6, "Italy," Christopher F. Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History*, provides the most comprehensive overview. For a wide-ranging account of religion, see A. Brundin and M. Treherne, eds., *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Culture and Religion*. An enormously

important aspect of Italian lay religious life is the subject of Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities of the Sixteenth Century*.

The current vigorous interest in Italian Protestantism is evident in S. Caponetto, *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, and E. Gleason, ed. and trans., *Reform Thought in 16th Century Italy*.

Strong focus on women and religion in 16th-century Italy characterizes A. Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation*. See also: A. Roberts, *Dominican Women and Renaissance Art: The Convent of San Domenico of Pisa*; the valuable long-range survey by L. Scaraffia and G. Zarri, eds., *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*; and J. Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice*.

The situation for the Jewish people in Italy in the period is deeply explored in: R. Davis and B. Ravid, eds., *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*; Brian Pullan, *The Inquisition of Venice and the Jews of Europe*; and Kenneth Stow, *Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome: Challenge, Conversion, and Private Life*.

Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, intriguingly investigates the complex worldview of the plebeian dissident known as Menocchio in his collision with the Inquisition: see also A. Del Col, *Domenico Scandella Known as Menocchio: His Trials before the Inquisition (1583–1599)*. For popular beliefs and their repression and control, see also Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

Special studies of the Inquisition in Italy include P. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605*, and Brian Pullan, *The Inquisition of Venice and the Jews of Europe*. The controversial case of the Inquisition's most famous victim is closely examined in P. Redondi, *Galileo Heretic*.

In section 8, subsection 7, "Japan," the student is directed to the long-standing classic, Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* and to the synthesis by N. S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan*.

Section 8, subsection 8, is concerned with the Low Countries and the Dutch Republic. An important comparative collection of essays on two neighboring societies caught up in social and religious crisis is Philip Benedict et al., eds., *Reformation, Revolt, and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585*. Jonathan J. Israel traces a long phase in Netherlands history in *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806*. Growing Calvinist strength and the onset of insurgency in the Low Countries can be followed in Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569*, and in Alistair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*. The best condensed account of the Revolt of the Netherlands in Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*.

For the Catholic recovery in the southern Low Countries, there is a fascinating human-interest account in C. E. Harline and E. Put, *A Bishop's Tale: Mathias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders*. The Catholic community in the Dutch Republic remained large and vigorous: see Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* and the comparative collection on the British Isles and the United Provinces, Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop, and Judith Pollmann, eds., *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*.

The way that the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic pioneered a remarkable experiment in religious toleration in early modern Europe is chronicled in: C. Berkvens-Stevvelinck, Jonathan I. Israel, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, and in R. Po-chia Hsia and H. H. K. van Nierop, eds., *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*.

For Poland and eastern Europe, making up section 8, subsection 9, works recommended to the student are: Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*; J. Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity*; and K. Maag, ed., *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*.

Patterns of change in the Nordic realms (section 8, subsection 10) are extremely well covered in Ole Peter Grell, *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, and in Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden, 1523–1611*.

Works on Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, in section 8, subsection 11, include the excellent and relatively recent textbook by Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714: A Society in Conflict*.

The most important and influential woman in Spain's 16th-century religious history, Teresa of Ávila, is the subject of the following key studies: G. T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Ávila and the Politics of Sanctity*; J. Blinkoff, *The Ávila of St. Teresa*; and A. Weber, *Teresa of Ávila and the Rhetoric of Femininity*. For the more general topic of women and religion in Iberia, consult: Roland H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation from Spain to Scandinavia*; and M. Giles, *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*.

A highly revealing study of the Spanish Counter-Reformation on the regional level is Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter-Reformation*. Fine studies of the work and impact of the Inquisition are: Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the 16th and 17th Centuries*; William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*, and M. E. Perry and A. J. Cruz, eds., *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*.

The relationship between Catholic mission and Spanish and Portuguese imperialism is the subject of the classic by Charles R. Boxer, *The Church Militant*

and Iberian Expansion, 1440–1770. See also: R. E. Greenleaf, ed., *The Roman Catholic Church in Colonial Latin America*; J. Lockhart and S. Schwartz, *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil*; A. Megged, *Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early Colonial Mexico*; and J. F. Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*.

The elusive nature of Spanish lay and popular religion is meticulously observed in William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, and in Susan T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1550–1650*.

In section 8, subsection 12, the best and most-up-to-date work on the Reformation in Switzerland is Bruce Gordon's *The Swiss Reformation*.

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About the Author

Michael Mullett was born in Cardiff, Wales, and graduated with a first-class honors degree in history from the University of Wales, followed by three years of research at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and appointment in 1968 as lecturer in history at the then recently founded University of Lancaster. At Lancaster he met his wife, Lorna (they have two sons and two granddaughters), and he and Lorna took part in an exchange secondment to the University of Saskatchewan, Canada, in 1970–71.

Returning to the University of Lancaster, Michael Mullett embarked on a long series of undergraduate history courses, Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, Popular Culture and Insurgency, Radical Religious Movements in Europe, European Jewish History, and Martin Luther and the Reformation, and he supervised to successful completion a large number of research students in higher degrees, as well as serving as principal of the County College in the university.

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Professor Mullett has taught and lectured in Canada, Denmark, Germany, Israel, Sweden, and the United States, and is currently writing about the life of John Calvin, having recently retired from the post of professor of cultural and religious history at the University of Lancaster.

