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BD/BCS/MCS Study Material: History

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HISTORY OF REFORMATION PERIOD

A. JAYAKUMAR

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A. Jayakumar

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FOREWORD

For many years theological education has been done within the well-protected campus with the primary objective of training pastors. Theological Education by Extension (TEE) is an attempt to do theology beyond campus. The vision of TEE is not confined to ministerial training programme of the churches alone; rather it involves equipping the whole people of God; it is for the *Laos* - the whole people of God. It seeks to empower the whole people of God for formation and transformation of the whole community and search to build a just and inclusive community in the context of the people of other faiths and to all people. Thus, the theological education by extension programme is meant to strengthen building an inclusive community. Those who go through the process of such education will be able to work not only "for" the people, but also "together with the people".

To aid external candidates in their studies, the production of study materials was under consideration for a long time. We are happy that the resource materials are ready and I am sure this will greatly benefit the BD/BCS/MCS candidates especially those who do not have access to library facility. We record our appreciation to Revd. A Jayakumar, Lecturer, Madras Theological College & Seminary, Chennai, for preparing the Text book on *History of Reformation Period*. We thank EMW, Germany, for journeying with us in strengthening theological education and making the resources available for the production of study materials.

Wati Longchar
Dean
Kolkata
May, 2014

A. JAYAKUMAR

PREFACE

This book "History of Reformation Period" contains collection of essays on the Movement which changed the face of Christianity forever. The four distinct reform movements to emerge outside the Roman Catholic Church in this period were Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, and Radicals. On one side, Millions of Protestants across the world consider the events of the sixteenth century as beginning of their story. It brought an end to corrupt and oppressive rule of the clergy of the Institutional Church which is defined as the story of spiritual liberation of people casting aside the shackles of theological and moral servitude. As a response to the Protestant Reformation, the Catholics led a counter movement designed to save the Old Church from the ravages of the Protestant heresy. However, now it is increasingly acknowledged that the Catholic Reformation contained within itself many positive features, such as the Oratory of Divine Love, papal reform, the Catholic mystics, and certain aspects of the Council of Trent, 1545 - 1563. But in retrospect, the protestant as well the Catholics appear to have been flawed since the Radical Reformers were considered dangerous heretics by both of them and were left to fight for their survival.

A word of special thanks to Dr. Wati Longchar, the Dean, SCEPTRE, Senate of Serampore College, who challenged and encouraged me to write this book for the benefit of those undertaking their graduate level theology course and all those interested in history of reformation.

I would also like to thank my family, Dr. Jasmine and Joel Jefferson for their support, inspiration and patient as I labored on this book.

Above all, I thank God, who helped me undertake this work and complete it.

Finally I would like to dedicate this book to my parents Mr. Anbuchokalingam and Mrs Sironmani who have been my support and the reason for me being in God's ministry.

A.Jayakumar

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JOHN WYCLIF

Introduction

John Wyclif is famously called as the “precursor of the Reformation” or “Morning Star of the Reformation. Perhaps there had been no medieval theologian who had experienced the ebb and flow of human affections to the extent of John Wyclif. He was hailed and reviled in his own lifetime and had been intermittently forgotten over centuries. Wyclif received a great boost in the late nineteenth century when a group of predominantly German scholars began to publish critical editions of his Latin works, covering the full range of this prodigious mind, thereby producing volumes of logic, metaphysics, Christology, ecclesiology, politics, biblical exegesis, sacramental theology and a host of sermons. The Reformation of the sixteenth century did not bring in a church into being from nowhere but it built upon existing foundations laid down centuries ago by John Wyclif and his followers, Lollards (The term Lollard was derived from the Dutch word *lollaerd*, meaning “a mumblar”). John Wyclif was the first one to put forth defining theories in lines with the positions of the sixteenth century Protestants reformers. It was raw and unsophisticated but he was one who pioneered the ideas such as *sola scriptura*, priesthood of all believers, authority of the pope and vernacular Bibles etc. John Wyclif could not bring in the change he wanted to because it is believed that Wyclif was too radical for his time and the people were also not prepared to make the church subservient to the state. Wyclif’s ideas were suppressed in his own life time but it was kept alive by his followers, Lollards then later by John Huss and his followers, Hussites. It is now increasingly being recognized that the English Reformation was build upon the Lollard foundations. It is also being acknowledged that in many ways it was a rehearsal of the yet to arrive Reformation in the sixteenth century. When the reformers like Luther spoke about the doctrines like *Justification by faith* and *Priesthood of all believers*, the Lollards were receptive to the same because they echoed similar basic attitudes and theories in lines

with the Lutheran.¹

Early years and Education

There is no clear evidence for either the year or the place of Wyclif's birth. Basing on the available records, the scholars conclude that John Wyclif must have been born most probably in 1331, in the Village of Wyclif in Yorkshire. His parents, Roger Wyclif and his wife Catherine must have been from the members of lower gentry. It is also not very clear about his schooling but it is believed that John Wyclif may have begun his education under a local priest, which was very common at that time. Some believe that in Yorkshire at that time the people were unusually interested in Christian themes, including the composition and study of written works on preaching and spirituality. It is possible that these works became his primers in grammar. In 1350s, Wyclif went to Oxford for his higher studies where he spent most of his career. During that time Oxford had only six colleges and it was in transition. Till that time Oxford had operated under the shadow of its older sister, the University of Paris. So the intellectual activity at Oxford mirrored the philosophical and theological concerns of Paris. During that time in England, a Parisian education was considered more prestigious than an Oxford education. But in the early fourteenth century, Oxford was emerging from the Parisian shadow and was beginning to produce a large number of talented and distinctly English thinkers like William of Ockham, Walter Chatton, Richard Fitz Ralph, Adam Wodeham, and many others. William Courtenay called the period from 1315 to 1340 as "the Golden Age of English Scholasticism" for Oxford.² John Wyclif enrolled himself as a student of arts and received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Merton College in 1356 and Master of Arts from Balliol in 1361. The unusual length for his studies has been ascribed to the Black Plague, his father's death, a riot in Oxford which left 63 students dead and also because of his interest in Mathematics, law, astronomy, and other fields. In 1361, Wyclif was ordained and was appointed the rector of a college in Fillingham, Lincolnshire. In 1363, Bishop Buckingham of Lincoln granted Wyclif a license for non residency in order to study theology, so he continued to reside in Oxford and also took care of his responsibilities at Fillingham (in absentia). Normally the process of studying theology required a seven year period of study to become a bachelor, and an additional two years to become a Master of Theology, but in the 1450s the process was slightly compressed.

During the start of his theological studies, Wyclif took rooms at Queen's Hall, but in 1365 Archbishop Simon Islip appointed Wyclif the Warden of Canterbury College. The Canterbury College was founded in 1361 for the purpose of providing a residence hall in which both regulars

(monks) and seculars (parish priests) could live and study together as fellows in the university. But the arrangement proved unworkable and in 1365, Islip reformed the college as a secular institution with new statutes but Islip's actions angered the monks, who refused to accept Islip's violation of the original arrangements. When Islip died in 1366, the monks immediately appealed the matter to his successor, Simon Langham, who ruled in their favor, and also ordered the reinstatement of the college's original warden. Wyclif and the other seculars refused to accept this ruling, and the matter to Pope Urban V. He continued to reside at Canterbury till 1370, when Pope Urban ruled in Langham's and the monks' favor and ordered Wyclif and the others to vacate the college.³

Since 1360s, the pope's financial demands were a concern to the Crown and English people. In 1366, Wyclif produced the document *Determinato quodam de Dominio* in defense of the Parliament's refusal to pay tribute to the Pope. In the document Wyclif initially presented the doctrine of lordship and he argued that the king's lordship was sovereign over the pope's lordship, that the pope should not have been a proprietor of civil lordship in any manner, that the pope ought only to have received taxes for services rendered, and that the pope in fact had aided the enemies of England and therefore was due no tribute. It was the first of many attacks of Wyclif's on the power of the papacy.⁴ In 1371 after nine years of beginning his theological studies, Wyclif was awarded the doctorate.⁵ By 1371 he was "renowned as the leading philosopher and theologian of the age at Oxford that was to say, he was second to none in his scholarship in Western Europe in which Oxford ... had come to surpass Paris in its reputation and attainments."⁶

Service to the Crown

In 1213, the King of England, John was forced to recognize the Pope as overlord even in temporal affairs and also to surrender the control of Episcopal appointments which from Anglo Saxon times the monarch had been discharging (Pope Innocent III selected Stephen Langton to be Archbishop of Canterbury, King John refused to accept him and suffered excommunication as a result. It was after that the pope placed England under an interdict for five years prohibiting church services anywhere in the land that John finally gave in and put himself under Pope.)⁷ It was because of that England became a vassal state and was required to pay tribute to the Pope. Since England was under serious financial straits, the King refused to pay tribute to the Pope and Wyclif supported the King in his stand. Shortly after the verdict in the dispute over Canterbury College Wyclif entered the royal service but there's no clear evidence that he was directly serving the Crown before 1374, when he was appointed to a

royal commission to discuss the question of papal provisions. Since the late 1360s Papal financial demands had been a source of considerable concern in England, which prompted Edward III to renew the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire in 1365. He also demanded the clergy to pay their tithe to support the crown. In 1374 Edward III, king of England was in desperate need for help as he found himself in serious financial straits. The Pope Gregory XI demanded England to pay its annual tribute and also an additional 100,000 florins for being a vassal state to the papacy. But neither the king nor the clergy were happy with the demand of the pope. The Parliament also defied the papal demand and declared that even if the king wanted to make the payment, he did not have the authority to do so without its consent. It was an important step in a series of actions in England to assert its political rights and independence from the papal authority that had ruled all of Christendom for many centuries. To resolve the problem, Edward sent a delegation to Pope Gregory XI at Avignon demanding that the pope to cancel all unfulfilled reservations and also to give up the practice of reservations and provisions. The commission included Bishop Gilbert of Bangor, Sir William Burton, Uthred of Boldon, and John Sheppey, a doctor of civil law but they failed to resolve the matter.⁸ Then, Edward proposed that representatives from both sides meet at Bruges to iron out their differences. During that time like many of his peers, Wyclif also opposed papal supremacy in the political and economic life of England. So in Edward's eyes Wycliffe seemed an ideal delegate to represent the crown's interests in this affair, hence he was appointed a member of the commission that was to meet with the nuncios in 1374. Though this delegation also achieved nothing but it was understood that Wyclif's views on papal provision may have contributed to the mission's failure. But as part of the delegation he became friends with a powerful and an influential member of the royal family, John of Gaunt, third son of King Edward III. That connection was later crucial in protecting him from the Church and the Inquisition.⁹

The trip to Bruges was a turning point for Wyclif. When he returned to England, he began preaching against papal authority and claim to sovereignty in England, where, Wyclif and many others argued, the monarch ruled above the Church. Wyclif also proposed that mendicant orders in England should be placed under the jurisdiction of secular authorities rather than the Church, a position so controversial that it brought Wyclif to the immediate attention of Church leaders. Stoking the fire more, Wyclif referred to the pope as "the anti-Christ, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and cut purses." Wyclif also claimed that the pope "has no more power in binding and loosing than any priest, and that the temporal lords may seize the possessions of

the clergy if pressed by necessity.”

Confrontation at St. Paul's

Wyclif's vocal challenges to papal authority brought the inevitable reaction from England's Church authorities. Wyclif was summoned to appear before the assembly of bishops at St Paul's to answer questions about his teachings. It was not a typical Episcopal inquisition, which would have been presided over by Bishop Buckingham of Lincoln, who was Wyclif's superior as rector of Lutterworth but rather it was called and presided over by Archbishop Sudbury in his capacity as metropolitan of the province of Canterbury, with the other bishops, most prominently Bishop Courtenay, acting as his assessors.¹⁰ On February 19, 1377, Wyclif appeared at St. Paul's along with John of Gaunt who brought an entourage of theological doctors from various mendicant orders to aid in Wyclif's defense and also Henry Percy, the newly appointed marshal. The cathedral was extremely crowded, which reinforces the impression that Wyclif was well known by that time. When Wyclif's party reached the Lady Chapel where the hearing was to occur, Gaunt, Percy, and the assembled bishops were seated, and then Percy advised Wyclif to sit as well. That remark angered Courtenay, who immediately responded that it was contrary to law and reason that the one who had been summoned before the bishop for questioning should sit. It quickly developed into a loud argument between Percy and Courtenay, and then Gaunt joined in as well. He openly threatened Courtenay with dire consequences. The crowd also began to shout in their defense of Courtenay. Thus the meeting ended abruptly with John defying the bishop in Wyclif's defence. There are some who argue that the trial was politically driven primarily to embarrass John but Dahmus a church historian, rejects the idea and argues that the summons were driven by doctrinal concerns stemming, most likely, from the content of Wyclif's preaching in London over the past few months. He suggests that Wyclif was to be questioned about a list of articles based on his recent preaching, including that the pope had no special authority to excommunicate, that property could not be given to the church in perpetuity, and that temporal authorities had the right to confiscate property from possessioners, ideas that can be found in the *Determinatio*. But it also has to be perceived that Wyclif was brought to trial mainly because of his anti papal remarks and Gaunt supported him because he was eager to supplement his political power at the expense of the church and his support of Wyclif was not only of a patron for his valued servant but also if Wyclif was held guilty then John could have also been accused for protecting a heretic.¹¹ But in the trial, the bishop made it clear to Wyclif that his writings and speeches were in error and

could lead to his excommunication if he did not withdraw his previous positions.

The Papal Condemnation

The Pope Gregory XI (1370 - 78) then issued a series of bulls against Wyclif from May 1377. In the first bull, *Regnum Angliae gloriosum*, he criticized Sudbury and Courtenay for having resisted for so long and ordered them to secretly investigate the teachings of Wyclif and arrest him on papal authority and extract a confession from him. They were ordered to get the assistance of the secular authorities for the proceedings if necessary. In a second bull, *Nuper per nos*, Gregory ordered Sudbury and Courtenay to act jointly and separately, to publicize a warning that the Pope was determined to prosecute Wyclif and instruct him to appear before the pope within three months. In the third bull, *Super periculosus*, he ordered Sudbury and Courtenay to speak with King Edward and other nobles and royal counselors, assuring them that Wyclif's teachings were "contrary to the faith" and urging them to support Wyclif's prosecution. In his fourth bull, *Regnum Angliae quod altissimus*, he addressed the king Edward, informing him of instructions to Sudbury and Courtenay and asking him to assist them. The fifth bull, *Mirari cogimur*, was sent to the chancellor of Oxford and the university as a whole. Gregory chastised them for allowing heresy to grow unchecked at Oxford, and for allowing matters to reach such a state that Rome had to act before Oxford did. The chancellor and university were ordered, under threat of the deprivation of all privileges and favors granted by the papacy. They were also ordered to arrest Wyclif and turn him over to Sudbury and Courtenay, along with any who might be tainted by Wyclif's errors.

Even though the Bulls were issued in May but it did not appear in England till December, it might have been because of the death of Edward III in June, and there was a possibility for John of Gaunt to ascend the throne of England. Because of John's unpopularity with the people it was decided that Richard II who was a minor was old enough to ascend the throne. He convened his first parliament in mid October, it was then that Bishop Brinton taunted Wyclif about his condemnation. A document connected to the Parliament, *Responsio*, according to it, Wyclif was asked by Richard II and his council whether it was lawful for the kingdom to withhold funds from the pope, owing to the need for defense, even if the pope threatened censure. In the *Responsio*, Wyclif argued that the Crown might lawfully withhold money needed to defend the kingdom. He also challenged papal authority to impose an interdict, since God would not recognize an unjust censure, and asserted that Christians have no obligation to give money to the pope, but rather that alms are given

voluntarily. But it is assumed that being aware of the Bulls against Wyclif, the parliament chose to remain silent and side with Gregory. In the following months, the bulls were published in England but Wyclif's supporters argued that it was illegal to imprison someone simply on the order of the pope, for that would admit that the pope held dominion over England. Oxford, under threat from Rome to have its funding cut, imposed a loosely enforced house arrest, ordering Wyclif to remain at Black Hall, but the response was half-hearted and did not last. It was during that period that he developed his criticism of the contemporary Church to its fullest form, attacking the mendicants, denouncing clerical pluralism and absenteeism, actively calling for the disendowment of the Church, and rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation.¹² He also wrote prodigiously, producing significant works such as *On the Eucharist*, *The Crusade*, *On Simony*, *On Blasphemy*, *On Apostasy*, and most importantly the English translation of the Bible.¹³

Declared a Heretic

In 1381, Bishop Courtenay was promoted to Archbishop of Canterbury to replace the murdered Archbishop Sudbury. One of Courtenay's first official acts was to summon a council to meet at London Blackfriars on May 21, 1382. Courtenay was clever enough to bring the articles for discussion in the council without connecting them to Wyclif. The council discussed the articles they had been given and condemned twenty four of them, ten as heretical and fourteen as erroneous. The ten heretical articles cover the Eucharist, the power of clergy to perform sacraments, confession, obedience to the pope, clerical temporality, and the curious thesis that God must obey the Devil. The fourteen erroneous articles dealt with excommunication, unauthorized preaching, the rights of sinful clergy to temporalities and tithes, the efficacy of clerical prayer, and various aspects of religious orders. The Parliament responded to the Blackfriars Council by issuing a statute requiring royal commissions be sent to the sheriffs and other royal officials to arrest all unauthorized preachers and their supporters. The bishops were empowered to certify someone as an unauthorized preacher and to start the machinery for their arrest. In mid July, the Crown wrote to Rygge (new chancellor of Oxford) ordering him to uncover any supporters of Wyclif, Hereford, Repingdon, and Aston to investigate the writings of Wyclif and Hereford. In November, Courtenay convened what was essentially the final session of the Blackfriars Council, in Oxford. He appointed a commission to root out any scholars who might maintain any of the condemned articles, and he received the recantation of Repindgon, Aston, and Bedeman. Having thus completed an aggressive purge of Wyclif's supporters, he closed the session. The

council declared Wyclif a heretic and since he had never recanted any of his statements, he was forced to retire from his Oxford position. The punishment fell short of excommunication and no serious effort was made to bring Wyclif before the Inquisition, due to the support of his powerful friend, John of Gaunt, and other influential noblemen. In retirement, Wyclif continued to publish works critical of the Church. During his last two years of life, Wyclif was partially disabled by a stroke. In 1382, Pope Urban VI (1378–89) demanded that Wyclif come to Rome to answer for his heresy, but Wyclif responded to Pope Urban VI by writing.

"I suppose over this that the pope be most obliged to the keeping of the gospel among all men that live here; for the pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in earth. For moreness of Christ's vicar is not measured by worldly moreness, but by this, that this vicar follows more Christ by virtuous living; for thus teaches the gospel, that this is the sentence of Christ...And of this gospel I take as belief that Christ for time that he walked here was most poor man of all, both in spirit and in having; for Christ says that he had place to rest his head on...And over this I take it as belief that no man should follow the pope, nor no saint that now is in heaven, but in as much as he follows Christ...And this I take as wholesome counsel, that the pope leave his worldly lordship to worldly lords, as Christ gave them and move speedily all his clerks to do so...

And if I err in this sentence, I will meekly be amended, yea, by the death, if it be skillful, for that I hope were good to me. And if I might travel in mine own person, I would with good will go to the pope. But God has needed me to the contrary, and taught me more obedience to God than to men. And I suppose of our pope that he will not be Antichrist, and reverse Christ in this working, to the contrary of Christ's will... And therefore pray we to God for our pope Urban the sixth, that his old holy intent be not quenched by his enemies. And Christ, that may not lie, says that the enemies of a man are especially his home family; and this is sooth of men and fiends."¹⁴

The pope was powerless to compel Wyclif to make the journey, not only due to Wyclif's physical limitations but also because the Church had no support in England to arrest or transport an accused heretic. On December 31, 1384, or the day after, Wyclif died after suffering a second stroke two days prior.

William Thorpe, his younger contemporary, said "Master John Wyclif ... was considered by many to be the most holy of all men in his age... He was absolutely blameless in his conduct. Wherefore very many of the chief men of this kingdom, who frequently held counsel with him, were devotedly attached to him, kept a record of what he said, and guided themselves after his manner of life."¹⁵

His Teachings

Lordship/ Dominion: Wyclif's theory of dominion or lordship (dominium) has been explained in his massive *On Civil Lordship* published in 1376 (De civili dominio). Wyclif held that all dominion ultimately rests with God and is subsequently dispensed to human beings who justly partake of that dominion provided that they abide in a state of grace. In that way, Wyclif sets forth clearly that God alone is Lord and no man can be lord in the ultimate sense of word but only a steward. In the fourteenth century, the papal apologist Giles of Rome said the same thing but the crucial difference between him and Wyclif was that, Giles placed the papacy at the top of a descending scale of mediated grace, Wyclif argued that the just receive grace directly from God with no need of priestly mediation. According to Wyclif, the human dominion over the earth, which was lost in the Fall, had been restored through Christ's Passion, thereby allowing them to share in God's eternal dominion.¹⁶ Wyclif concluded that only the elect (who by definition are alone in grace) can enjoy true lordship. The temporal power of the popes, founded on the Donation of Constantine had no religious significance. Wyclif turned to the Bible and said that the word pope was not used there. He pointed that, the pope was a man; he might not be one of the elect, but of those predestined to damnation. There was nothing sacred about his lordship, or about the temporal endowment of any church; their origins were human. Human lordship was quite different from the 'evangelical' lordship of the elect who live in conformity with scripture's commands, which was the only true lordship for Wyclif. Wyclif did not make it very clear what he meant by 'evangelical' lordship.¹⁷ He concluded that to administer the dominion of God, God had chosen the King as his vicar on earth and not the pope. For this, he was ably supported by John of Gaunt as it would exalt the Crown over the Church.¹⁸

Scripture: In his 1378 work *On the Truth of Holy Scripture*, Wyclif argued that, "the Scripture was the eternal truth, will and testament of God the Father, contains all that was necessary to salvation."¹⁹ He was the first person in medieval history to undertake the producing of a vernacular translation of the Bible. His motive for translating the Bible into the vernacular language of his day arose out of three convictions that

are closely related and help to shape one another: Church corruption, the authority of Scripture, and individual responsibility. Wycliffe was deeply distressed by the corruption he saw within the Church and he was led back to the Scriptures as the final authority for defining what Church practice and doctrine should be. The early documents of the Church were to be the measuring rod to define present day practice and teaching. He appealed to the Scriptures and to the writings of the Church Fathers. Since the Church had strayed from what was recorded in these writings, the choice had to be made as to what was more authoritative. Since he saw obvious errors in Church practice, he concluded that the Bible was to be authoritative over and above tradition or pronouncements made by popes or other churchmen. The thought that the Scriptures were more authoritative than Church tradition was not a belief held by most people in Wycliffe's day. The Church held that both Scripture and Tradition (including decrees made by the Pope) were equally important in defining doctrines and church practice. In fact, the Scriptures were only to be used as they were interpreted by the Church. Since the Church believed that the Pope carried on the appointment given by Christ to the Apostle Peter, the Pope was seen as the supreme ruler of the Church and could set doctrine as he pleased. If he interpreted Scripture and Tradition as indicating a certain doctrine, then that became the rule. Therefore, Wycliffe had no choice but to appeal to Scripture as the authority, overruling what had been decreed by the Pope or what had slipped into practice by church tradition. Wycliffe thus declared that the Scriptures held the highest authority for Church doctrine and practice.

Wyclif believed that each person was individually responsible for how they lived, it was necessary for them to know the truth of God for themselves. Because most of the people did not read Latin (the language the Bible) they had no way of reading the Bible for themselves. They were dependent on the church officials to teach them what the Bible said. However, Wycliffe felt that the teaching by the Church was in many points not biblical. He felt that many doctrines taught by the Church were full of errors and superstitions. The Church was not teaching people the right knowledge that they needed for salvation. It was the Scriptures that should define their beliefs and practices, not tradition which was often mixed with superstition. By giving people a vernacular translation of the Bible, Wyclif saw he could empower the people in order to free their conscience from the bondage of wrong teaching promoted by the Church.²⁰ Wyclif began the translation of the work now known as the Wyclif Bible by working first on the New Testament while his student Nicholas Hereford began to translate the Old Testament. After finishing the New Testament, Wyclif completed the Old Testament where Hereford's had ended. He

engaged in this work probably between the years of 1381 and 1384. Later, the whole was revised by John Purvey.²¹

Eucharist: The Eucharist was a central sacrament in the life of the medieval church. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 under Pope Innocent III elevated transubstantiation to the status of official church doctrine on par with the doctrines of the trinity and Christology. The council declared that, "His body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance, by God's power, into his body and blood. Nobody can effect this sacrament except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the church's keys, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors."²² It was further refined by Thomas Aquinas who said that, 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.²³ The doctrine of transubstantiation emphasized that the substance of bread is changed to the real body of Christ and the substance of wine into his real blood. The change involved is not perceptible to human senses or empirical observation, but only to the mind.²⁴ But Wyclif rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation of the traditional church. Wyclif questioned the significance of the sacrament as the center of Christian life. He wrote, "to meditate upon Christ is infinitely better than to celebrate the sacrament." Wyclif was concerned about what he called the "pagan" or magical view that the bread and wine after consecration become body and blood in objective reality. Moreover, he could not find any justification in Scripture for the doctrine of transubstantiation. He believed that the saints of the primitive church understood that the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ figuratively.²⁵ He also affirmed that Christ was really present at the mass but it was spiritual and sacramental.²⁶

Church: Wyclif's view of the Church was also ultra realist. Wyclif rejected the visible Church in favor of the archetypal Church that had existed eternally in the mind of God. According to Wyclif, the visible church is the institutional church, which contains both saints and sinners but the invisible church is known only to God, it is made up of those who were predestined to be saved before the foundations of the universe were laid. Outside the body of the predestinate there is no salvation.²⁷ Wyclif's views on predestination undermined the importance of the visible church and sacraments. He said, the salvation of each Christian depends on the

inscrutable will of God, not on the sacramental provisions of the visible church. He stated that no one, not even a pope, "knows whether he is the elect or not." Only God, who has decreed his salvation or damnation, knows. Wyclif guarded his doctrine against some of its more libertarian interpretations by warning that "each person must hope that they are safe in bliss," and, most importantly, must act as if they are "limbs of holy church."²⁸

Violence/ War: Wyclif was opposed to priestly engagement in any actual fighting, a position which was also held by Thomas Aquinas, who also opposed clerical participation in combat. According to him, "the holy office is centered around the altar; it is not about shedding blood." Aquinas also held that the prelates and clerics should not take up arms, but they can minister spiritually to those fighting for a just cause, exhorting and absolving them. It is not that war is inherently sinful, says Thomas, but it does not befit the clerical office. To fight a just war may even be meritorious, but clerics are called to works of greater merit. The later canonists, declared that the ecclesiastical authorities could declare war against enemies of the Church, but clerics were only permitted to travel with the army and offer spiritual aid; they were not to engage in any fighting. Wyclif held that waging war within Christendom is not only contrary to Scripture, but is even against natural law. According to him, by the law of nature every man is a servant of God and subject to Him, and to Him alone vengeance is reserved. In March 1381, Urban VI issued two bulls granting Bishop Despenser the power to grant indulgences for all those who took part or contributed to the crusade against Clement VII. In 1382, Wyclif wrote a treatise the *De cruciata* declaring that the way of Christ is humility and poverty and called the Pope, antichrist for trying to poison the peace of the Church by encouraging them to go to war.²⁹

John Wyclif's Legacy (Lollards)

Although Wyclif was gone, a movement based on his beliefs arose, and its believers were given the name Lollards. The term might also be derived from the Dutch word *lollaerd*, meaning a mumblor. The original group was comprised of Oxford scholars led by Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey, Wycliffe's secretary. In 1382, however, the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay, moved swiftly and firmly to suppress the activities of these Oxford scholars, and in consequence the sect was soon deprived of its vigorous intellectual leaders, and passed into the hands of the more discontented and less literate elements of English society. Such poorly educated, unlicensed preachers as William Swinburn, who for one reason or another had failed to obtain a benefice, then formed the backbone of the movement. Many laymen, including

burgesses, small freeholders, artisans, and tradesmen, were attracted by its nonconformist doctrines.³⁰ Lollard beliefs were summarized in the Twelve Conclusions presented the English Parliament in 1395. They specifically rejected traditional Roman Catholic beliefs such as transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, prayers for the dead, pilgrimage to shrines, and icons in the churches. They were condemned by Parliament in 1401 by the statute *De heretico comburendo* ("Regarding the burning of heretics"). Despite governmental suppression, Lollard beliefs and sympathies spread through the generation and finally merging with the Protestant movement of the sixteenth century. The Constitutions of Oxford (1408) banned Wyclif's books, including his translation of the bible into English. This new law went to the extent of declaring that any English translation of the Bible was heresy.

Council of Constance

Long after the death of John Wyclif and the suppression of Lollards, the Council of Constance was convened from November 5, 1414, through April 22, 1418 and declared John Wyclif "to have been a notorious heretic, and excommunicates him and condemns his memory as one who died an obstinate heretic." The heresies pointed out were.

1. In the sacrament of the altar the material substance of bread and likewise the material substance of wine remain.
2. In the same sacrament the accidents of the bread do not remain without a subject.
3. In the same sacrament Christ is not identically and really with His own bodily presence.
4. If a bishop or priest is living in mortal sin, he does not ordain, nor consecrate, nor perform, nor baptize.
5. It is not established in the gospel that Christ arranged the mass.
6. God ought to obey the devil.
7. If man is duly contrite, every exterior confession on his part is superfluous and useless.
8. If the pope is foreknown and evil, and consequently a member of the devil, he does not have power over the faithful given to him by anyone, unless perchance by Caesar.
9. After Urban VI no one should be received as pope, unless he live according to the customs of the Greeks under their laws.
10. It is contrary to sacred scripture that ecclesiastical men have possessions.

11. No prelate should excommunicate anyone, unless first he knows that he has been excommunicated by God; and he who so excommunicates becomes, as a result of this, a heretic or excommunicated.
12. A prelate excommunicating a cleric who has appealed to the king, or to a council of the kingdom, by that very act is a traitor of the king and the kingdom.
13. Those who cease to preach or to hear the word of God because of the excommunication of men, are themselves excommunicated, and in the judgment of God they will be considered traitors of Christ.
14. It is permissible for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolic See or a Catholic bishop.
15. No one is a civil master, no one a prelate, no one a bishop, as long as he is in mortal sin.
16. Temporal rulers can at their will take away temporal goods from the Church, when those who have possessions habitually offend, that is, offend by habit, not only by an act.
17. People can at their will correct masters who offend.
18. The tithes are pure alms and parishioners can take these away at will because of the sins of their prelates.
19. Special prayers applied to one person by prelates or religious are not of more benefit to that person than general (prayers), all other things being equal.
20. One bringing alms to the Brothers is excommunicated by that very thing.
21. If anyone enters any private religious community of any kind, of those having possessions or of the mendicants, he is rendered unfit and unsuited for the observance of the laws of God.
22. Saints, instituting private religious communities, have sinned by instituting them.
23. Religious living in private religious communities are not of the Christian religion.
24. Brothers are bound to acquire their food by the labor of hands and not by begging.
25. All are simoniacs who oblige themselves to pray for others who assist them in temporal matters.
26. The prayer for the foreknown is of avail to no one.

27. All things happen from absolute necessity.
28. The confirmation of youths, ordination of clerics, and consecration of places are reserved to the pope and bishops on account of their desire for temporal gain and honor.
29. Universities, studies, colleges, graduations, and offices of instruction in the same have been introduced by a vain paganism; they are of as much value to the Church as the devil.
30. The excommunication of the pope or of any prelate whatsoever is not to be feared, because it is the censure of the Antichrist.
31. Those who found cloisters sin and those who enter (them) are diabolical men.
32. To enrich the clergy is contrary to the rule of Christ.
33. Sylvester, the pope, and Constantine, the Emperor, erred in enriching the Church.
34. All of the order of mendicants are heretics, and those who give alms to them are excommunicated.
35. Those entering religion or any order, by that very fact are unsuited to observe divine precepts, and consequently to enter the kingdom of heaven, unless they apostasize from these.
36. The pope with all his clergy who have possessions are heretics, because they have possessions; and all in agreement with these, namely all secular masters and other laity.
37. The Roman Church is a synagogue of Satan, and the pope is not the next and immediate vicar of Christ and His apostles.
38. The decretal letters are apocryphal and they seduce from the faith of Christ, and the clergy who study them are foolish.
39. The emperor and secular masters have been seduced by the devil to enrich the Church with temporal goods.
40. The election of the pope by cardinals was introduced by the devil.
41. It is not necessary for salvation to believe that the Roman Church is supreme among other churches.
42. It is foolish to believe in the indulgences of the pope and bishops.
43. Oaths are illicit which are made to corroborate human contracts and civil commerce.
44. Augustine, Benedict, and Bernard have been damned, unless they repented about this, that they had possessions and instituted and entered religious communities; and thus from the pope to the last

religious, all are heretics.

45. All religious communities without distinction have been introduced by the devil.³¹

Following that all the copies of Wyclif's books were ordered to be burned. In 1427, Pope Martin V (1417–31) ordered Wyclif's remains exhumed and burned, and his ashes distributed into a river. After 40 years after his death, the authorities believed they had done away with Wyclif once and for all after burning his remains. At the time it was impossible for anyone to imagine that John Wyclif had begun a revolution in both political and cultural ideas about the authority of Church versus state which would pay the way for Reformation many decades later.

Conclusion

John Wyclif died without seeing his ideas taking root or his vision of a reformed church fulfilled but he is counted among the first of the forerunners of the reformation. He was a pioneer in many ways; he questioned many of the doctrines and teachings of the church, which were later questioned by the sixteenth century reformers. He laid the theological foundations which were later developed and refined by the reformers. Though the protestant reformers of the sixteenth century did not depend on him but he triggered a movement which did not die down till the reformation began. In England the reformation is attributed to Wyclif and his followers because of whom the common people could read the Bible and questioned the practices of the traditional church. It was through his writings; John Huss led the fight against the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia.

JOHN HUSS

Introduction

The Protestant Reformation came not in one great stroke, but in progressive stages. Wyclif had begun it on the British Isles, and John Huss helped to trumpet it on continental Europe. The reformation movement led by John Huss was the most successful “failure” of any reform movement before the sixteenth century Protestant reforms in Germany and Switzerland. John Huss was a follower of John Wyclif but he went beyond Wyclif and thought that the prerogative and the program of reform should come from the common people. Of his dependence on Wyclif, Huss acknowledged that, “As for me I confess before you that I have read and studied the works of Master John Wyclif, and that I have learned from them much that is good. Truly, not everything I have read is of the same weight with me as the Gospel, for only to the Holy Scriptures will I maintain such reverent obedience; but why should we not study the books of Wyclif in which are written thousands of sacred truths.”³²

Early Life and Reform

Not much is known of John Huss before his arrival as a student at the University of Prague in 1390. He was born most probably in 1373 in Husinec, Bohemia³³ (from which his name was derived). Regarding his early education little is known, but most probably he attended the Latin school of his native village. During those days Latin schools were conducted by the parish priest primarily intending to teach boys enough Latin to enable them to assist in serving the mass.³⁴ In 1390, he went to the University of Prague and received his Bachelor of Arts and in 1396 completed his Master’s degree. After which he became a professor of arts in the same University and in the next five years, he became the dean of the university. While retaining his position of faculty, he began his theological studies and received bachelor of divinity in 1404. Even before

he completed his theological studies he was ordained a priest in 1400, and was appointed the preacher in Bethlehem Chapel in 1402 where he served for twelve years at that same time he also became the confessor to Sophie of Bavaria, wife of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.³⁵ The Bethlehem Chapel was established in 1391 by Mulhamio who was connected to the University of Prague. He laid great stress upon the preaching of the Word of God in the mother tongue of the people instead of Latin.³⁶ It became a centre of growing reform movement and a symbol of expanding nationalism against the Roman Catholic.³⁷ In Bohemia around forty percent people lived in poverty which was in sharp contrast with the lives of the clergy and the wealth of the church. To the Bohemians, to be a real Christian was to be poor, thus the reform in Bohemia was intimately linked to Czech nationalism. Hus who began his ministry in Bethlehem Chapel, started with an anticlerical sermon against the moral decay of the Clergy.³⁸ His preaching in vernacular attracted a large number of people to hear his sermons. It was claimed that his congregation was close to 10,000 and during his twelve years, he preached over 3000 sermons. The sermons not only benefitted the hearers but also the preacher as he grew rapidly in the knowledge of Scripture and in the life of faith. The walls of the Bethlehem Chapel featured vivid paintings in pairs; in one, a scene from Christ's life or apostolic times was depicted and the other showed a scene involving contemporary ecclesiastical corruption. Hus' sermons followed similar themes, contrasting the poverty and simplicity of the early Church with the abuses of the modern Church. In explaining the plight of the average Christian in Bohemia, Huss wrote, "One pays for confession, for mass, for the sacrament, for indulgences, for churching a woman, for a blessing, for burials, for funeral services and prayers. The very last penny which an old woman has hidden in her bundle for fear of thieves or robbery will not be saved. The villainous priest will grab it."

In the Bethlehem Chapel congregational singing was given a high priority, Hus translated scores of Latin hymns into Czechoslovakian. In Catholic liturgy at that time, singing was done by choirs and even the responses within the mass were sung by the choir rather than the congregation as a result the congregational participation was passive.³⁹ Along with his responsibilities at Bethlehem Chapel he continued to teach at the University of Prague. In both his teaching and preaching he enjoyed the support of his Czech colleagues, the common people, and the young archbishop Zbynek. Huss's influence was enormous that even the archbishop, following his leads, declared the fornicating priests to be heretics. Thus Huss continued to pursue the work of reform both from his pulpit and in the university.⁴⁰

University of Prague divided

There was a special relationship between England and Bohemia, as the king of England Richard II married Anne, the sister to the king of Bohemia because of which the students from Bohemia were studying in a larger number in England. When they returned to Bohemia they carried the writings of John Wyclif. Even though Wycliffe's ideas were suppressed in England but it found a fertile ground in Bohemia. The writings of Wyclif caused a great stir in the University of Prague and divided them; the Czechs supported the writings of Wyclif while the Germans rejected it. In the University, the German professors outnumbered the Czechs by three to one, thus the Czechs were suppressed in their own country by the Germans. In reaction to this, Pope Innocent VII (1404–6) asked the Prague authorities to seize and burn Wyclif's writings. A synod held in Prague the same year condemned Wyclif and declared that preaching his views was forbidden. University authorities were pressured by the archbishop and ordered that no one would be allowed to promote or support Wyclif's beliefs. Refusing to be silenced, Huss continued preaching and even translated many of Wyclif's published works into Czech which were read and taught at the University. His public appearances were drawing larger crowds of supporters in spite of warnings and bans from the university, the archbishop and the pope.⁴¹ In 1408, a German master named John Hubner precipitated a crisis in the university by adding twenty one more charges to the twenty four charges of heresy brought against Wycliffe in 1382.⁴² In 1409, Huss was elected the Rector of the University of Prague because of which he was further hated by the Germans.⁴³ John Huss who was established as the leader of the Czechs defended the writing of Wycliffe except on his teachings on Eucharist. According to Wyclif, after the consecration of the bread and wine, it remained bread and wine. Even though he affirmed the real presence of Christ but it became the focal point of the controversy and it was called as doctrine of "remanence". Huss attempted to affirm both the doctrine of transubstantiation and the presence of the bread and wine after consecration, but he failed to convince his antagonists that he did not believe in remanence. Because of his views regarding the remanence, Huss was under pressure and combined with that his forthright preaching against the sins of the clergy evoked an undying hatred from those whose sensibilities were sorely wounded. Because of these, a crisis developed at the University and both the groups, the Germans and Czechs accused each other with the charges of heresies.⁴⁴ The excitement aroused on the two grounds of opposition political and religious became so intense and uncontrollable, that before the close of the first year of Huss's rectorate, the German professors and students withdrew from the University of Prague and founded the

University of Leipzig in 1409.⁴⁵ There were three main reasons for the crisis, first from the late fourteenth century a succession of vigorous, accessible preachers at Prague had been preaching against sin, especially among the clergy. Secondly, Czech academics had striven to restore the prestige of the Czech "nation" within the Charles University in Prague against the institutionalized preponderance of ethnic Germans. Thirdly, Wyclif's writings imported from England became an intellectual counterweight to German nominalism.⁴⁶

The Papal Schism further complicated the matters. Alexander V (June 1409-May 1410) was elected at the Council of Pisa (1409) to replace the deposed claimants, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII. But the Germans of the university refused to recognize Alexander V as the duly elected pope and continued to give their allegiance to Gregory XII. And when the Germans persisted against the wishes of the king, he turned against the Germans as he was supporting the council's solution to the Papal Schism. But the archbishop was not happy about it and refused to recognize Alexander V as the legitimate pope. As a result, the already strained relationship between the archbishop and Huss, who was elected rector of the reorganized university, further deteriorated. But soon the archbishop realizing his position, changed sides and became a supporter of Alexander V, under pressure from Wenceslas.⁴⁷

Suppression of Huss

By forsaking Gregory XII and submitting to Alexander, the archbishop secured a papal bull backing his efforts to suppress the reform movement in Bohemia. Archbishop Zbynek suspended Huss's right to preach and ordered the confiscation of Wyclif's books. In addition to censuring Wycliffe's books, the bull forbade preaching anywhere except in the cathedral, parish churches, and monasteries. The bull was directed against Huss, whose congregations were said sometimes to number ten thousand. In reaction to that, Huss put out a tract, *De libris haereticorum legendis*, in which he quoted Scripture and the early church fathers in support of his position. He also repeated Augustine's definition that "heresy is an erroneous doctrine, contrary to the Holy Scriptures, stubbornly defended."⁴⁸ In 1410, Alexander V (1409–10) published a bull ordering a complete ban on all writings by Wyclif and all preaching of his beliefs. Thus under the supervision of the archbishop over 200 books of Wyclif were burned. But Huss continued to preach in Bethlehem Chapel and to teach in the university. Moral support for Huss was forthcoming not only from the Bohemian king and people but also from Lollards in both England and Scotland.⁴⁹ Fearing that the burning of the books of Wyclif would have some adverse effect, the archbishop fled to his country estate at Roudnice, from there he continued to campaign

against Huss and his supporters.⁵⁰

But Huss refused to be silenced and criticized the papal bulls of 1411, in which the pope John XXIII (1400–15) offered indulgences to anyone who would fund a crusade in Italy against Ladislaus, king of Naples.⁵¹ John XXIII succeeded Alexander V upon his death had difficulties in maintaining his papal prerogatives in the face of the counterclaims of Gregory XII. So he decided to settle the dispute by launching a war against the king of Naples, Gregory's protector. In order to finance the war effort, he issued a papal bull authorizing the sale of indulgences for the purpose.⁵² An indulgence was in effect a 'safe conduct pass' to heaven for someone who had died; such blessings had often been bestowed upon crusaders in the past by guaranteeing them the forgiveness of sins in return for their military services in some supposedly holy endeavour. To put indulgences up for sale for cash in order to finance a very questionable war was clearly an outrage to the truly devout. John Huss raised his objection to raise funds with the sales of indulgences.⁵³ It brought the pope's attention on Huss, who was not only protesting against the crusade but also criticizing the Church vocally. Then the Pope summoned Huss to answer for his doctrine in person and to obey the summons would have been to walk into his grave. The king, the queen, the university, and many of the magnates of Bohemia sent a joint embassy requesting the Pope to dispense with Huss's appearance in person, and to hear him by his legal counsel. The Pope refused to listen to their supplication. He went on with the case and condemned John Huss in absence, and laid the city of Prague under interdict. Pope John ordered Cardinal Oddo Colonna (who would later be elected as Pope Martin V (1417–31)), to file formal accusations against Huss, who refused to appear voluntarily before a tribunal. Colonna, reiterated the pope's ban on Huss' preaching and ordered that the ban be read from every pulpit in Prague. Pope John XXIII also demanded the demolition of his church in Prague, calling it a 'nest of heretics'.⁵⁴ In response to that, Huss wrote to Pope John professing his compliance with the Church and its doctrine. Even though Huss continued to insist that he had been misrepresented in the accusations leveled against him, Huss also continued preaching and protesting papal policies.⁵⁵ Because Interdict had been imposed, all churches were closed, all religious services were suspended, no masses were to be said, no communion served, no last rites given, no baptisms or marriages were performed. As a result the common people became alarmed. Many of the influential supporters fell from power and Huss felt compelled to leave Prague, on 15 October 1412 and went to his native village of Hussinetz, where he continued preaching to large crowds.

By then Huss had become a symbol of Czech nationalism as well as church reform. Thousands came to hear him preach and street demonstrators pledged him continuing support while denouncing his political and ecclesiastical detractors.⁵⁶ During that time, Huss published *De ecclesia*, in which he further deified papal authority. He said that the head of the church was not St. Peter but Christ alone. He stated specifically in this work that "catholic" meant universal and it was the Church and the word of God that mattered, and that the pope and clergy were not the Church. He even stated that the Church could continue to exist even without a pope or cardinals. In contradiction of Roman Church views, Huss declared that Christ had never assigned Peter as head of the Church and that the pope had no authority to claim the position of leader. These statements were revolutionary on their own merit, but going even further, Huss also described the bulls written against him as anti-Christian, and thus not enforceable. He noted that excommunication could not be enforced if it was used to prevent preaching the truth, the same action that Christ himself had undertaken and ordered others to do in his name. Huss denied the pope's infallibility and, based on Wyclif's previous statements, questioned the role of priests as essential in communication between mankind and God. The Roman Church could not let these direct challenges go unmet. By this time, the Emperor Wenceslaus resigned his office in favor of his brother Sigismund, who was extremely anxious to gain the favor of the Germans and Roman Court. Thus Huss was in a critical position.

Council of Constance

The matter was among the most important points of business to be resolved at the Council of Constance. Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg, King of Hungary and younger brother of King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia, and Pope John's main ally, wrote to Huss and asked him to attend the council. He promised Huss safe passage. Huss replied on September 1, 1414, that he was willing to attend and explain himself to the representatives of the Church. He was accompanied on his journey by several supporters from the Bohemian nobility, notably John of Chlum, Wenzel of Duba and Henry Lacembok. As he travelled through Germany he was greatly surprised to find that national prejudices had for the time been laid aside, and that at every town he was welcomed by enthusiastic multitudes. It shows how heavily the yoke of Rome rested on the nation, and how earnestly the world longed for the day of its deliverance.⁵⁷ Huss arrived at Constance on November 3, to an enthusiastic crowd of supporters. Even though Huss had been excommunicated, he held mass each day in the home where he was lodged. This incensed the attending cardinals, who pointed out that Huss was a heretic and was not allowed

to hold mass or to administer the sacraments. Under the rules of the day, anyone accused of heresy had no right to partake in Church rituals. On November 28, two bishops appeared in Huss' room and presented a summons for him to appear in front of the cardinals. The house was surrounded by armed guards to prevent his escape. Huss was brought in front of the council and, after a short hearing, was removed and placed in a dungeon at a nearby Dominican convent. Huss remained locked up in unsanitary conditions for three months, by which time he had fallen ill. Supporters protested the imprisonment, citing the promise of safe passage Huss had been given by Sigismund. The council formed a commission to document the heresy and to question Huss, who, in spite of his request for representation, was not allowed an advocate. On March 24, 1415, Huss was taken to the bishop's castle, where he was given more freedom of movement during the day, but was cuffed and chained to the wall at night. He remained there until June 5, but his health deteriorated seriously.

Huss not only had numerous ailments but was also on the brink of starvation. Over 250 of Huss' supporters signed a petition sent to Sigismund protesting their leader's incarceration and asking for a public hearing. On June 5, Huss was transferred to a third location, a prison at a Franciscan compound. Huss was expecting an opportunity for an academic debate over the issues on his writing. His persecutors were the leading nominalist theologians Pierre d' Ailly and Jean Gerson and they called upon Huss to recant the thirty alleged heresies culled from his writings.⁵⁸ They were :

1. One and only is the holy universal Church which is the aggregate of the predestined.
2. Paul never was a member of the devil, although he did certain acts similar to the acts of those who malign the Church.
3. The foreknown are not parts of the Church, since no part of it finally will fall away from it, because the charity of predestination which binds it will not fall away.
4. Two natures, divinity and humanity, are one Christ.
5. The foreknown, although at one time he is in grace according to the present justice, yet is never a part of the holy Church; and the predestined always remains a member of the Church, although at times he may fall away from additional grace, but not from the grace of predestination.
6. Assuming the Church as the convocation of the predestined, whether they were in grace or not according to the present justice, in that way the Church is an article of faith.

7. Peter is not nor ever was the head of the Holy Catholic Church.
8. Priests living criminally in any manner whatsoever defile the power of the priesthood, and as unfaithful sons they think unfaithfully regarding the seven sacraments of the Church, the keys, the duties, the censures, customs, ceremonies, and sacred affairs of the Church, its veneration of relics, indulgences, and orders.
9. The papal dignity has sprung up from Caesar, and the perfection and institution of the pope have emanated from the power of Caesar.
10. No one without revelation would have asserted reasonably regarding himself or anyone else that he was the head of a particular church, nor is the Roman Pontiff the head of a particular Roman Church.
11. It is not necessary to believe that the one whosoever is the Roman Pontiff, is the head of any particular church, unless God has predestined him.
12. No one takes the place of Christ or of Peter unless he follows him in character, since no other succession is more important, and not otherwise does he receive from God the procuratorial power, because for that office of vicar are required both conformity in character and the authority of Him who institutes it.
13. The pope is not the true and manifest successor of Peter, the first of the apostles, if he lives in a manner contrary to Peter; and if he be avaricious, then he is the vicar of Judas Iscariot. And with like evidence the cardinals are not the true and manifest successors of the college of the apostles of Christ, unless they live in the manner of the apostles, keeping the commandments and counsels of our Lord Jesus Christ.
14. Doctors holding that anyone to be emended by ecclesiastical censure, if he is unwilling to be corrected, must be handed over to secular judgment, certainly are following in this the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, who, saying that "it is not permissible for us to kill anyone" [John 18:31], handed over to secular judgment Christ himself, who did not wish to be obedient to them in all things, and such are homicides worse than Pilate.
15. Ecclesiastical obedience is obedience according to the invention of the priest of the Church, without the expressed authority of scripture.
16. The immediate division of human works is: that they are either virtuous or vicious, because, if a man is vicious and does anything, then he acts viciously; because as vice, which is called a crime or mortal sin, renders the acts of man universally vicious, so virtue vivifies all the acts of the virtuous man.

17. Priests of Christ, living according to his law and having a knowledge of scripture and a desire to instruct the people, ought to preach without the impediment of a pretended excommunication. But if the pope or some other prelate orders a priest so disposed not to preach, the subject is not obliged to obey.
18. Anyone who approaches the priesthood receives the duty of a preacher by command, and that command he must execute, without the impediment of a pretended excommunication.
19. By ecclesiastical censures of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, the clergy for its own exaltation supplies for itself the lay populace, it multiplies avarice, protects wickedness, and prepares the way for the Antichrist. Moreover, the sign is evident that from the Antichrist such censures proceed, which in their processes they call fulminations, by which the clergy principally proceed against those who uncover the wickedness of the Antichrist, who will make use of the clergy especially for himself.
20. If the pope is wicked and especially if he is foreknown, then as Judas, the Apostle, he is of the devil, a thief, and a son of perdition, and he is not the head of the holy militant Church, since he is not a member of it.
21. The grace of predestination is a chain by which the body of the Church and any member of it are joined insolubly to Christ the Head.
22. The pope or prelate, wicked and foreknown, is equivocally pastor and truly a thief and robber.
23. The pope should not be called "most holy" even according to his office, because otherwise the king ought also to be called "most holy" according to his office, and torturers and heralds should be called holy, indeed even the devil ought to be called holy, since he is an official of God.
24. If the pope lives in a manner contrary to Christ, even if he should ascend through legal and legitimate election according to the common human constitution, yet he would ascend from another place than through Christ, even though it be granted that he entered by an election made principally by God; for Judas Iscariot rightly and legitimately was elected by God, Jesus Christ, to the episcopacy, and yet he ascended from another place to the sheepfold of the sheep.
25. The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wyclif made by the doctors is irrational and wicked and badly made; the cause alleged by them has been feigned, namely, for the reason that "no one of them is a Catholic but anyone of them is either heretical, erroneous, or scandalous."

26. Not for this reason, that the electors, or a greater part of them, agreed by acclamation according to the observance of men upon some person, is that person legitimately elected; nor for this reason is he the true and manifest successor or vicar of the Apostle Peter, or in the ecclesiastical office of another apostle. Therefore, whether electors have chosen well or badly, we ought to believe in the works of one elected; for, by the very reason that anyone who operates for the advancement of the Church in a manner more fully meritorious, has from God more fully the facility for this.
27. For there is not a spark of evidence that there should be one head ruling the Church in spiritual affairs, which head always lives and is preserved with the Church militant herself.
28. Christ through His true disciples scattered through the world would rule his Church better without such monstrous heads.
29. The apostles and faithful priests of the Lord strenuously in necessities ruled the Church unto salvation, before the office of the pope was introduced; thus they would be doing even to the day of judgment, were the pope utterly lacking.
30. No one is a civil master, no one is a prelate, no one is a bishop while he is in mortal sin.⁵⁹

Huss replied that if any of his statements could be shown by references to biblical verse to be in error, he would recant. The offer was rejected by the commission, which demanded a full recantation. On June 24, the council ordered all of Huss' works burned and it became clear to him that he was going to die. He was not ashamed to acknowledge the anguish of anticipating martyrdom. Two weeks before his death on July 6, 1415 he wrote to a friend:

O most kind Christ, draw us weaklings after thyself, for unless thou draw us, we cannot follow thee! Give us a courageous spirit that it may be ready; and if the flesh is weak, may thy grace go before, now, as well as subsequently. For without thee we can do nothing, and particularly to go to a cruel death for thy sake. Give us a valiant spirit, a fearless heart, the right faith, a firm hope, and perfect love that we may offer our lives for thy sake with the greatest patience and joy. (Letter to Lord John of Chlum, June 23, 1415)⁶⁰

On 6 July, 1415, the formal act of condemnation took place. Huss was given one last chance to recant and save his life. His reply was, "God is my witness that I have never taught what false witnesses have testified against me. He knows that the great object of my life was to convert man from sin. In the truth of that Gospel which I have written, taught, and

preached I now joyfully die.” When he refused to recant, he was stripped of his vestments⁶¹ and then tonsured, according to the canon law; the priest so dealt with becomes again a layman. Then a paper crown with three demons painted on it put on his head with the words, “We commit thy soul to the devil.”⁶² Then the sentence was read to him which stated that the holy council, having God only before its eye, condemned John Huss to have been and to be a true, real and open heretic, the disciple not of Christ but of John Wyclif. Then Huss was taken to a square called the Devil's Place and was burned at the stake, and his ashes thrown into the Rhine River. The practice of offering safe passage was well established at the time and had been honored by both secular and Church tribunals. In September 1415 the council replied to criticisms of its actions after Huss had been promised safe passage that no promises of safety made to heretics were binding. Then Huss's most prominent follower, Jerome of Prague was brought to share a similar fate. Jerome panicked and recanted but later he decided to withdraw his recantation and regretted his moment of weakness and gladly accepted his fate and was burned on May 30, 1416 at Constance.

The Hussite Movement

After the executions of Huss and Jerome, a new movement called Hussites started in Bohemia, originally consisting of followers who recognized the two men as martyrs and heroes. One of the first ways in which the Hussites expressed their outrage was through a simple but defiant religious ritual. It had long been the rule under Canon Law that when the congregation took Holy Communion during the celebration of Mass they received only the consecrated bread, with the clergy alone partaking of the wine. One of the elements of religious reform already practised in Bohemia by Hus's priestly followers had been to share the consecrated wine with the congregation, thus giving them ‘Communion in both kinds’, as it was termed. As the Council of Constance had roundly condemned this ritual, it rapidly became the touchstone for expressing support for Huss's views. Priests who did not agree to give Communion in both kinds were hounded from their churches, which were then taken over by adherents of reform, who took the name of *Ultraquists* from a Latin expression for ‘in both kinds’.⁶³ The movement became one of the most widespread and influential dissenting sects of the age. The movement was more than a sect based on belief; it was also a political and social reaction to the executions. The newly elected Pope Martin V was determined to eradicate the Bohemian heresy which provided him the first challenge of his papacy. On February 22, 1418, Pope Martin V issued a bull *Inter cunctas* intended to suppress heresy as well as to strengthen the papacy as an infallible

institution. Martin decreed in his bull that when heretics wanted to seek forgiveness and return to the Church, they should be asked whether they believe that the Pope canonically elected, for the time being, his name being expressly mentioned, as the successor of St. Peter, having supreme authority in the Church of God. It expressed the demand for recognition of the pope as supreme and infallible authority and was aimed directly at the followers of Wyclif, Huss and Jerome.

In 1419, the year after the Council of Constance concluded its business, civil war broke out between Hussites and the newly elected King Sigismund. The Hussites refused to acknowledge Sigismund as their king and chose a nobleman, named John Ziska, to be their leader in the conflict with Rome and the empire. John Ziska was a ruthless soldier who led the Hussites into many victories. Jakoubek of Stribo became the successor to Huss in Prague's Bethlehem Chapel. In 1420 Jakoubek drew up a document with Four Articles which were a serious attempt to bring sanctification back to the people of God. They were.

- a. First, the freedom of priests to preach from the Scriptures.
- b. Second Holy Communion for the laity in both kinds, the cup (or chalice) as well as the bread (or host).
- c. Third, there was to be a mandatory poverty of the clergy and the return of most church lands to secular owners.
- d. Fourth, prostitution was to be forbidden and serious sins punished.

Pope Martin declared a Crusade against Bohemia to put down the uprising. An army of 150,000 was quickly put together from countries throughout Europe and it attacked Bohemia. Although the crusading army tried to defeat the region five times, they were repelled every time. The struggle continued until 1427, when the Hussite led army retaliated and launched an invasion of Germany. During the years 1419 to 1434, all monastic houses had been despoiled of their property, most of them had been demolished or burnt to the ground; the monks and nuns had been expelled; many of them had been killed.⁶⁴

There were different shades of opinion within the party: the moderate Hussites or "Calixtines" from *calix* a cup, wished for gradual reform, the extreme radical and democratic party, the Taborites, were revolutionary, hostile to every kind of authority. To the Calixtines religious grievances, and to the Taborites social grievances counted for most. The Taborites were known after a mountain where they had held their earliest important meeting. They rejected transubstantiation, worship of the saints, prayers for the dead, indulgences, auricular confession, and oaths. They also allowed women to preach, demanded the use of the vernacular in divine

service and the giving of the cup to the laity.⁶⁵ The quarreled among two parties gave an opportunity to Rome to interfere. In November 1433 an agreement was reached with the Hussites called as *Compactata* (the *Compacta* of Prague) according to which they were allowed to receive the communion in both kinds, and a nominal liberty of preaching was conceded, so long as the sacraments were only administered by ordained priests, and the authority of bishops was obeyed. The question of the benefit of clergy was left vague, but it was clearly stated that the church might possess endowments, with which it was sacrilege for laymen to interfere. These concessions satisfied the moderate Hussites, but not the extremists.⁶⁶ The Taborites still resisted, but were utterly defeated by both Utraquists (also called as Calixtines) and Catholics at Bohmischbrod (Battle of Lipany), in 1434⁶⁷, and soon afterwards ceased to be a political party. The Calixtines in time replaced the Roman Catholic in Bohemia and Moravia and became the national church of Bohemia. The Taborites grew weaker and weaker, changed their name to "Brethren", and finally, after existing for many years as the so-called "hidden seed", became the nucleus of the Christian denomination which is now known as Moravians.⁶⁸ The Utraquists movement, by 1500 had between 200 and 300 congregations in Bohemia and Moravia with over 200,000 members. The other Hussite sects, the surviving one, the Bohemian Brethren, continued to thrive even though they were targets of the Jesuit Order for many years to follow.

Conclusion

The cruel and senseless death of John Huss did not extinguish the seed thoughts he had given his life for. In fact, Huss' death moved the hearts of his countrymen more powerfully than even his living voice had been able to do. The nation from the highest to the lowest, were stirred by his life. The example of his courage and holy life inspired others to take up the effort to bring doctrinal purity and holiness of life. A hundred and two years later when Luther nailed the Ninety Five Theses on the door at Wittenberg, the immediate charge was that he was a Hussite. They said, "He's just like John Huss!" Huss was a key contributor to Protestantism, whose teachings had a strong influence on the states of Europe and on Martin Luther himself. Emphasized on holiness of life and true spirituality became part of the lasting legacy of John Huss. It was through the Bohemian Brethren and later as Moravians, John Wesley was converted. In 1999, nearly six centuries after the killing of John Huss, Pope John Paul II expressed "deep regret for the cruel death inflicted' on Huss. Cardinal Miloslav Vlk of the Czech Republic was instrumental in crafting John Paul II statement.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO REFORMATION

Introduction

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was not a result of a single event or reason but numerous complex reasons. In the preceding centuries, the seeds had been sown to challenge the church authorities as a preparation for the movement. Though the immediate precipitating reason for protestant Reformation was religious but there were other factors such as economic, social, political and intellectual. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the church and state had been in crisis. The church had been suffering from various moral and theological abuses and from the protestant perspective, reformation was necessary to correct the state of affairs in Church. It was because of all these reasons, Europe stood on the threshold of the Reformation in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

1. Political Factor

The most significant political phenomenon of the early sixteenth century was the rise of national states, which was very indispensable for the religious development of Protestantism. The rise of national states marked the transition from feudalism to centralized monarchs of the modern age. In the middle ages, the popes were successful because even though in most of the countries in Europe there were kings but they were made weaker by feudalism. Medieval Europe was a seigneurial society, a world dominated by its lords. A central authority was lacking, which was helping the popes. In the early sixteenth century the feeling of national unity in the modern national states was becoming a great threat to the papal authority. The pope had never encountered a challenge like that before. With the formation of national states, the kings also demanded a certain monopoly of the churches in their kingdom. Thus the modern national states played

a vital role in the politics and social life of nations which was very significant for Protestant Reformation.

a) Spain: In Spain, Henry IV (1454-74) ruled Castile for 20 years but he had to depend on the support of the principal nobles, clergy and towns because of the absence of a central administration. He tried to appoint corregidores (royal governors) but it was resented by town councils who wanted to rule by themselves. He was further restricted financially because the nobles or clergy refused to pay tax to him as he could not afford a standing army. On the contrary, he had to depend on them for loans, troops and co-operation as his position was very vulnerable. Even though most of the subjects recognized the advantages of strong kingship, but there were some in society who put their interest or welfare above the others. But in 1469, the marriage of Isabella, the step-sister of Henry IV, with Ferdinand, heir to the Aragonese throne changed everything and gave birth to united Spain.⁶⁹

Isabella was a woman of great piety, bravery and determination and her husband Ferdinand was equally an able person. Ferdinand succeeded his father in 1479 as the king of Aragon. It was said that he was Cautious, calculating, and persistent; parsimonious . . . he never acted impulsively, never struck unless he was well able to follow up the blow.⁷⁰ The union between the two Crowns gave birth to a politically strong and resolutely Catholic sovereignty in Spain. Ferdinand spent very little time in Aragon only eight out of 37 years leaving the administration to his viceroys and a council. He lived with his wife in Castile, the largest and most prosperous of their lands. From the outset of Isabella's reign, she directed Castilian domestic affairs and Ferdinand was responsible for the foreign relations of both Castile and Aragon. Ferdinand led the War of Succession in Castile (1475-79) and the Granada War (1482-92), with France (1488-93), Naples (1495-1504), and Milan (1509-16). Ferdinand was very skillful in his managing his resources by harmonizing Castilian and Aragonese resources and achieving his aims with the minimum of inconvenience. He concluded marriage alliances with the royal houses of Portugal, Burgundy, England and Austria to secure Castile and Aragon's political position.⁷¹ When the national life blossomed during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, they turned their attention towards purification and development of the Spanish Church. The Spanish Church and Spanish Monarchy felt that they could afford to go counter papacy in many things because their church zeal and Catholic orthodoxy were beyond question and that feeling accounted for the independence of papal dictation while strenuously maintaining the Roman cause. The most important of them was to force Pope Sixtus IV to sign a

Concordat in 1482, which brought the Spanish church under the control of the crown. According to the Concordat, only on the recommendations of the crown, the Pope could appoint anyone his officers in Spain.⁷² On March 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella ordered Jews to convert to Christianity or be expelled from Spain and employed Spanish Inquisition.⁷³ Their motives whether purely religious or political are debatable as was the case throughout Europe during the period of reformation.⁷⁴ Thus Spain became the strongest political National State before the reformation. In 1519, their grandson Charles V (1500 -1558), at the age of nineteen became the greatest prince of Christendom. He was the emperor of the Holy Roman Emperor, thus ruling Germany as well. He was a strong Roman Catholic supporter and tried to suppress the Lutheran Reformation in Germany.

b) France: The unfolding of the first modern nationality appeared in France. In the beginning of eleventh century in France, the nobles literally had a local habitation and were independent powers uncontrolled by any superior authority. In Europe, the years after 1050 have been christened the "Age of Clearance" as there was clearing up of settlement of wastes, the clearance of forests, and the draining of marshes. In France the activity was most intense between 1050 and 1150. The new settlement, or resettlement of land by done by Louis VI (1108–37), a Capetian (The Capetian dynasty was also known as the House of France, was among the largest and oldest European royal houses ruling France since 987), he was creating new villages beside the crucial road from Paris to Orleans through the heart of the royal territory. He was able to build up administration according to the districts and was reasonably successful in centralizing the administration. He campaigned strenuously against the independence of the local nobles and subdued them.⁷⁵

But it was Louis XI (1423 – 83) who brought France completely under his control and ruled France from 1461 to 1483. His reign is often described as a 'period of absolutism'. After he became the king of France, he expanded his authority abroad (Catalonia) and home. He dismissed his father's advisors and made Philippe de Commines, his councilor (1447-1511) who supported him very well. He handled his domestic enemies more strategically by isolating and destroying each in turn, preferring diplomacy to war. He first supported the Lancastrians and then the Yorkists, in order to prevent English intervention and subsidized Swiss resistance to Burgundy, whose territories he acquired. Before his death, he achieved the territorial unification of modern France.⁷⁶ In that way by the close of fifteenth century, France became a centralized state. Francis I further expanded the absolutism of the monarchy. He inherited the French aspirations and claims in Italy to Milan and Naples that had been at the

heart of the Italian Wars that had brought France into conflict with Charles' Habsburg domains. Francis' attempt to upset the traditional succession to the Holy Roman Empire by bribing the electors in 1519 had failed and only incurred the enmity of the successful candidate Charles.⁷⁷ The king also had some notable political achievements, including a concordat with the papacy and an alliance with Switzerland (both in 1516). His reign also saw domestic glory in the fullest development of the French Renaissance. He was devoted to making France a center of the Renaissance. He actively patronized (gave financial support to) painters, sculptors, architects, scholars, poets, and writers. Leonardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, and Andrea Del Sarto worked at his court.⁷⁸

One of the long standing features of institutional French religious life was its independence from Rome, a system known as Gallicanism. In 1438, King Charles VII called a Synod which met in the city of Bourges. Among the decrees of the synod was the "Pragmatic Sanction," which placed significant restrictions on the powers of the pope. The king declared that, according to the oath taken at their coronation, kings are bound to defend and protect the holy church, its ministers and its sacred offices, and zealously to guard in their kingdoms the decrees of the holy fathers. The Sanction of Bourges sharply limited the papal authority over the church in France and established the liberty of the Gallican Church. It was revoked in 1461 by Louis XI, who sought to improve relations with the Holy See, but relations between church and state remained dubious until Francis I concluded the Concordat of Bologna in 1516. The Concordat of Bologna defined the reciprocal relations of the king Francis I and the pope Leo X with the Gallican Church. The pope kept the right to be the highest authority of the ecclesiastical court and the king got the right to appoint people to the highest church offices. Thus the crown's control over the French Church was extended. The king could nominate the kingdom's 10 archbishops and 82 bishops.⁷⁹

c) England: The English (British, after 1603) monarchy was one of the oldest monarchies of Europe but the role of the king and the nature of his court were under constant revision. It was the Tudor dynasty which brought England under one unified nation. The founder of Tudor dynasty was Owen Tudor of a Welsh family of great antiquity, who was a soldier and courtier at the court of Henry V and who married that king's widow, Catherine of Valois. Their eldest son, Edmund, married Margaret Beaufort (a descendant of John of Gaunt), and had a posthumous son, Henry, who assumed the Lancastrian claims and ascended the throne as Henry VII after defeating Richard III at Bosworth Field (1485). By his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, Henry united the Lancastrian and Yorkist claims to the throne.⁸⁰ He never rested easy on his throne. Henry's

determination to assert his own place as England's legitimate king against such threats forms the background to much of his foreign policy. An alliance with Spain, sealed by the marriage of his heir Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the eldest daughter of Spain, Katherine, was a cornerstone of Henry's plans. Henry VII kept the people in such subjection as has never been the case before. He consolidated the monarchy's power over church, state, and nobility.⁸¹

The struggle between the Pope and Crown was a long story even before England became a monarchy. The Church had owned or controlled one-third of these properties ("landed property") in England.⁸² Edward I (1272-1307) was the first king to try and curtail the intervention by Rome through his Statute of Provisors in 1306. The 1306 statute enacted "that no tax imposed by any religious persons should be sent out of the country whether under the name of a rent, tallage, tribute or any kind of imposition." It became the basis on which Edward III founded his legislation in 1351, the Statute of Provisors (1351), it attempted to limit the pope's authority to make appointments to English church offices and the Statute of Praemunire passed two years later tried to prohibit the king's subjects from appealing their cases in the Roman church's courts by insisting that all such cases had to be submitted to the crown for approval before being referred to the papal judicial system.⁸³

d) Germany: Germany was not, strictly speaking, a nation. Nevertheless, a strong spirit of nationalism was abroad within the Holy Roman Empire, which was in essence a federation of German states. Since 1356 the selection of the emperor had rested in the hands of seven electors "three on the Elbe and four on the Rhine. On the Elbe were the King of Bohemia, the Elector of Saxony, and the Elector of Brandenburg; on the Rhine, the Count Palatine of the Rhine and the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Köln."⁸⁴ In addition to these rather large political entities extending from the western part of Hungary to the Lowlands, there were innumerable smaller states. Each prince was sovereign in his own realm. The larger of these held assemblies of the lesser nobility, administered justice in accordance with their own laws, and even minted their own coins. Despite a strong Germanic sense of ethnic togetherness and countless expressions of the desire for a unified Germany, the princes were apparently determined not to sacrifice their independence for unity. Thus attempts to make the emperor supreme were constantly frustrated. For their part the emperors Frederick III, Maximilian, and Charles V were not above impoverishing the Empire in the interest of augmenting their own fortunes and those of their families.

In 1519, Charles V was chosen emperor. The German people and

the electors thought on that fateful day in June that they had chosen one of themselves, a German. They could not have been more mistaken. Although a Hapsburg, the grandson of Ferdinand, Charles was, by his education and in his sympathies, a Spaniard. He was ill equipped to understand the depth of German religious devotion that welled up in the soul of the monk who stood before him at Worms. However, he did understand the longing of the German people for a united Germany. Thus he agreed to accept a *Reichsregiment*, which was the last attempt to give the German Empire a constitutional unity. But the taxation necessary for its support was to come from the cities that were not represented at the diet. When the merchants of the cities upon which the taxes were to be levied learned of the scheme, they protested. Representatives of the cities met in Valladolid with the emperor, who agreed to veto the plan and rule alone. At the turn of the century, despite the rising tide of German nationalism, Germany as a nation existed only in the dreams of the German people.⁸⁴

2. Economic Changes

a) Peasant Uprisings: In Holy Roman Empire and Europe, the peasants lived a miserable life supporting the Church and the nobility with their toil, sweat, and taxes, and there were too many restrictions for them. They could not hunt or fish to supplement their meager diet or collect firewood for warmth, as the land and forest were the property of the landowner.⁸⁵ The lot of the peasant was most deplorable in Germany, where feudalism held on with a tenacity hardly equaled elsewhere. The repeated failure of the harvests in much of Europe from 1490 to 1503 exacerbated the situation. The unrest of the German peasants gave rise to a number of peasant movements, beginning from 1475 to their final bloody suppression at the battle of Frankenhausen in 1525. The peasants had virtually no way to legally redress the increasing oppression of the nobility and church. The justice system, staffed by clergy, wealthy townsmen, and patricians would take the side of the upper classes when a problem arose.⁸⁶

In the first, relatively nonviolent period of the uprising, the grievances were directed more against the clergy, particularly monasteries and cathedral chapters, than against the aristocracy. But soon political and economic protests against serfdom, labor services, and landlords' exploitation of forests, waters, and common meadows was linked with demands by villagers to administer their own tithes and to choose pastors who would preach the Word of God without manmade additions that benefitted only the Church.⁸⁷ The first of these movements was that led by Hans Bohm of Helmstedt, an illiterate vagabond minstrel. He launched

his movement by publicly announcing that he had received a vision from the Virgin Mary to preach at Niklashausen on the Tauber during Lent on March 24, 1476. Subsequently the Chapel of Our Lady at Niklashausen, a popular shrine, became the center of his activities. In his preaching he denounced the nobility for oppressing the peasants, denied purgatory, and declared all men equal before God. When he called for his followers to arm themselves, he was arrested by the bishop of Wurzburg, condemned for heresy, and burned at the stake. He died singing a hymn of praise to the Virgin Mary. After his death his ideas spread, and peasant protests became characteristic of German society.

While it is too much to say that the peasants contributed directly to the rise of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, their discontent with the structures of medieval society did make them receptive to the gospel as preached by Luther and other Reformers. From the time of Bohm they had demonstrated a tendency to go their own way in religion, seeking a faith that spoke directly to their needs. The peasant uprisings in Germany in 1525, by Thomas Muntzer in the north and Hans Muller in the south, may be seen as a continuation of the peasant unrest of the fifteenth century, only at this point appealing to the rising evangelical movement for justification of their cause.

b) The Commercial Revolution: The rise of capitalism and the commercial revolution went hand in hand: the one demanded the other. Trading ventures, which prior to the discoveries of the last decades of the fifteenth century had often been local enterprises or family affairs, had grown too large and demanding for such simple arrangements. Now corporations were organized to raise the capital for a variety of business ventures, from a mining company to a printing firm that provided ledgers, bank drafts, and books on bookkeeping. Banking houses like that of Jacob Fugger of Augsburg loaned money for such enterprises and for all kinds of enterprises by individuals even those of monarchs as well as of city governments provided there was the promise of profit or a substantial rate of interest. The laws against usury were circumvented to suit the realities of the new economics, which demanded capital that in turn involved loans and interest. The need for cash drove the church to resort to questionable methods of finance, including traffic in indulgences. Large landowners were under pressure to exchange the products of their farms for cash. The result was that what had been a heavy burden for the peasants became intolerable.

3. Intellectual Factors

a) Renaissance: The term "Renaissance" is customarily employed to designate a cultural movement that began in Italy in the middle of the

fourteenth century. It was started by a group of scholars called humanists, who promoted the revival of the human-centered literature and philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome.⁸⁸ In Italy it was led by an Italian poet Petrarch (1304–1374), who set out to revive the Greek-based culture of ancient Rome (an era known as the classical period). The humanists focused on human achievement, which was exemplified by the arts, science, philosophy, and literature of the classical period. They believed that Greek and Roman contributions to European culture had been lost during the “dark ages,” the period after the fall of the West Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. They were not just content to look back to past accomplishments, but used classical works as models to write philosophy and literature that reflected their own times.⁸⁹ Their ideals were soon beginning to influence the arts, literature, philosophy, science, religion, and politics in Italy. During the early fifteenth century, innovations of the Italian Renaissance began spreading from Italy into the rest of Europe, where the movement became known as the northern Renaissance and put an end to the domination of Scholasticism, of feudalism, and of the Church in secular matters. This movement soon extended to and transformed manners, learning, philosophy, science, religion, politics, and art. It helped to establish the foundation of modern human freedom.⁹⁰

The Renaissance shifted human interest from the world to come to the world of today, from God to man. It substituted a pagan joy in life for the Christian concern with life after death. Reaching beyond his own life, man now strove to understand and explain the natural world in which he lived. He discovered a new relation to nature, he found a new way to his own inner being and a new manner of observing life, and he learned to know the meaning of subjectivism and individualism. Spurred by the optimism springing from the potency of a dynamic worldly culture and from a life no longer subject to dogma and ecclesiastical command, he elevated himself to the center of creation, and set up the *uomo universale*, the orator, poet, scholar. In him as universal man were merged mind and senses, all art, learning, poetry, all genius of the world. He appraised his environment realistically. In the field of art he sought to interpret himself and the beauty of the human form. He exalted the power of human reason and aspired to the achievement of classical perfection in art and literature. With emphasis upon the singular, on differentiation, on the individual, the sixteenth century produced not only great and greatest masters, scholars, geographic explorers, high-minded, intrepid liberators of mind and spirit, peerless artists, but also a motley assemblage of rebels, conspirators, freethinkers, sceptics, fantastic visionaries, audacious conquerors, insolent oppressors.⁹¹

The Italian Renaissance nevertheless had a dark side, the Popes,

emperors, kings noblemen, merchants and traders drained the resources of their communities. They funded elaborate building projects, financed extravagant courts, and organized armies all with the purpose of enhancing their personal glory. They were engaged in bribery, deception, and murder to advance their own ambitions. They ruthlessly competed for better profits, greater trading advantages, more territory, and increased political power. In fact, Renaissance Italy has often been described as a boiling cauldron of greed and corruption. One of the most influential aspects of Renaissance humanism was its new evaluation of the classical heritage. The humanist sense of the past as past alerted scholars to the problem of anachronism and thus enabled them to detect spurious and forged documents. The most notorious instance of this, and one with special relevance to the Reformation, was Lorenzo Valla's decisive exposure of the Donation of Constantine, the medieval document which purported to be a charter of endowment from the Emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester bestowing upon him jurisdiction over much of the western Mediterranean empire. It served in the high middle Ages both as a charter for papal claims to temporal rule in Italy and as useful support for its more grandiose aspirations to a universal temporal jurisdiction. It had been questioned before, usually by experts in Roman law who spotted its defects as a putative legal instrument within the parameters of that legal system. But it took Valla, the maverick genius of fifteenth-century Italian humanism, to combine legal and philological criticisms in an overwhelming assault upon its authenticity. Valla's work had little immediate impact, but through the printing press and the Reformation, it was to play an important role in sixteenth-century debates on the papacy. Martin Luther published an edition of it in pursuance of his own campaign against the pope, while an English translation was published in 1534 with the approval of Henry VIII's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, at exactly the moment when the English king was repudiating papal jurisdiction.⁹²

b) Christian Humanism: It was inevitable that Renaissance humanism would have a significant impact on Christianity, particularly upon Christian theology. Renaissance humanism unarguably stimulated some cultural developments of particular significance for Christian theologians. It not only brought knowledge of the Greek and the more obscure Latin fathers, but aroused widespread interest in the study of the canonical scriptures in their original tongues, Greek and Hebrew. Though Hebrew had been rather better served than Greek in medieval western Europe (because of the presence of Jewish communities and occasional conversions from Judaism), it is also important to realize that it is only since the Renaissance that Christian Europe has possessed a continuous tradition of Hebrew scholarship. In Italy, the Renaissance interest in

Hebrew first surfaced, with Giannozzo Manetti who, adding Hebrew and Greek to his Latin, produced new translations of the New Testament and the Psalms. The tools of philological criticism which a humanist education placed in the hands of its specialists had many uses in a specifically Christian context. Miracle stories, lives of saints and accounts of relics were easy prey. The French humanist Jacques Lefevre d Etaples (also known as Faber) neatly disentangled the confusion between Mary Magdalene and Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus, a confusion which stretched back over a millennium. His relationship with the Catholic Church was ambivalent: he was condemned by the Sorbonne and died in exile at Strasbourg.⁹³

c) Science and Discovery: The last half of the fifteenth century gave birth to a number of remarkable inventions and discoveries. The Renaissance also led to discoveries about the natural world that formed the basis of modern science. The most spectacular and far-reaching scientific development during the Renaissance was the heliocentric theory advanced by Nicolas Copernicus, who found hints about Pythagorean cosmology in ancient works. He taught that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the universe, thus decentering the earth in space. Copernicus' description of the earth as whirling about the sun, along with the other planets, created a dizzying sense of an infinite universe.⁹⁴ The Copernican theory was surely the most significant revolution ever to take place in science. Far less conspicuous, but still important, were the developments in pure and applied mathematics. Modern notation (such as the use of the "equals" sign) began to be adopted, bringing with it the possibility of greater attention to logical form.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the first "space age." New lands were discovered, leading to a new sense of the size and shape of the world and the human place within it. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, exploration parties of courageous Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish sailors had discovered routes to new territories. Vasco da Gama (1469-1524), perhaps the greatest sailor the world has known, succeeded in throwing wide open the sea gates to the East. In 1497 he sailed round the Cape, crossed the Indian Ocean, and, in the following year, he spent around six month in Calicut on the west coast of India, which was a great center of Oriental trade and he returned with a wealth of spices. From then on commerce followed hard upon the heels of curiosity and became one of the most powerful of all the motives of discovery. In 1510, Goa was captured and it was established as the trade centre of Asia. In 1493 Columbus discovered Jamaica, in 1498 he went to the mouths of the Orinoco, and in 1502 he penetrated into the Caribbean Sea. The great discoveries had important commercial results. This increase of commerce

resulted in the formation of great commercial companies whose purposes were to reduce the cost of buying and transportation and then to control the selling of their goods and wares. These combinations became monopolies. Then prices increased and in some cases doubled. The discoveries did much to accelerate the rise of capitalism, to interest man in commerce and industry far more than he had been in the middle ages when agriculture was almost his sole concern, and it did much to cause the development of city life.⁹⁵ The new discoveries were upsetting. Medieval man had never imagined the earth to be so large or populated with so many unknown aborigines. The old assumptions and concepts formulated in an unscientific age were shattered. With their demolition came a considerable loss of confidence in the church, which now found its credibility seriously questioned on a number of fronts.⁹⁶

d) Printing Press: Gutenberg's work in the development of the printing press was in many ways a turning point in the history of Western civilization. Myron Gilmore points out that "The invention and development of printing with movable type brought about the most radical transformation in the conditions of intellectual life in the history of western civilization. It opened new horizons in education and in the communication of ideas. Its effects were sooner or later felt in every department of human activity."⁹⁷ Gutenberg experimented with many materials in his attempt to make printing more efficient. He worked out a system of typesetting each letter of the alphabet individually with an engraved steel punch and matrix (mold) box. His formulas for both lead type and ink could still be used today. For the type he used an alloy (blend) of 80 percent lead, 5 percent tin, and 15 percent antimony. For the ink he used a mixture of linseed oil, varnish, and lampblack (carbon produced by burning oil in a lamp). Book pages were printed on either calfskin or on paper, which was cheaper. The printing press changed the course of Western civilization, and represented one of the most influential inventions in human history. Johannes Gutenberg perfected the method of manufacturing moveable lead based type that met the precise and exacting requirements for printed books. The first press was used in Germany to print the Bible (the Christian holy book). Soon presses began to spring up all over Europe, and the impact was enormous. Literacy grew rapidly and knowledge spread as literature became readily and affordably available to many people for the first time. With the aid of printing, the ideas born in the Italian Renaissance (a revival of ancient Greek and Roman culture) during the late 1300s spread northward to France, England, Spain, the Netherlands, Scandinavia (Denmark, Sweden, and Norway), and eastern Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The availability of printed books fundamentally changed the methods by which students, scholars, and other educated

people stored, retrieved, and shared information. Gutenberg's invention guaranteed that information could be reproduced accurately, quickly, and cheaply. The manuscript and oral culture of medieval Europe shifted to the visual world of the printed page.⁹⁸

The Reformation was inconceivable apart from the new process of printing. Luther affirmed that printing was "God's latest and best work to spread the true religion throughout the world." Lewis Spitz points out in *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements*, that from 1500 to the beginning of the Reformation, German printers were turning out only forty books a year, but once the Reformation was launched, the figure "rocketed to five hundred titles" annually.⁹⁹ In Zurich alone ninety editions of the Bible came off the presses before the close of the sixteenth century.

4. Religious

a) Babylonian Captivity of the papacy: Church historians view Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) as the most powerful pontiff in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. Most Europeans, kings and peasants alike, regarded him with awe as he ruled over his far-flung ecclesiastical regime—a veritable papal monarchy—with an iron hand. Innocent III, as "the true emperor" of a spiritual world, claimed "plenitude of power in both spiritual and temporal things." Medieval people thought of Christendom (the totality of the Christian World) as a single entity and the pope as its head, holding the keys to Christ's Kingdom and wielding the spiritual sword. The Holy Roman Emperor was nominally the chief political authority and wielded the secular sword. The pope claimed that the spiritual sword was superior to the secular sword because the Church was responsible for the eternal well-being of princes, kings and emperors. Therefore, Innocent III accepted entire kingdoms, such as Naples and England, as vassalages subject to his feudal lordship. In 1302, Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), in his papal bull

Unam Sanctam, issued in the heat of a dispute with King Philip IV (1285–1314) of France concerning jurisdiction over the French clergy, claimed for the Church effective possession of both the spiritual and the secular swords. He boldly asserted that "it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." The French king not only ignored the bull but also humiliated the pope by sending an army to Rome that took him prisoner. Following Boniface's death in 1303, the French monarchy dominated the papacy for 68 years (1309–1377), a period called by the great Italian humanist Petrarch "the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," recalling the 70 years during which the Jews were captive in ancient Babylon. The French army literally carried the College of Cardinals off to the papal territory of Avignon in France

where it would, for the most part, remain for two generations electing a succession of French popes. The Avignonese Papacy gained a sordid reputation for corruption during this period, leading to the charge oft repeated in the literature of the time that “everything is for sale in Avignon.” Most grievous during the Avignonese period, Christian Europe chose sides, some supporting the French-dominated papacy and others, led by the Germans and the English, opposing it.¹⁰⁰

b) The Great Papal Schism: Gregory XI (1370–1378), the last French Avignonese pope, returned to Rome in 1377, largely at the pleading of St. Catherine of Siena, who addressed him as “my sweetest daddy.” An effort was now made to restore the Chair of St. Peter to its historic resting place in Rome. However, the election of Gregory’s successor in 1378 fractured the papacy for nearly 40 years. The cardinals’ choice of the Italian Urban VI (1378–1389), under duress of a local mob, provoked the counter election of a Frenchman, Clement VII (1378–1394), who returned to Avignon. Again, loyalties were divided along the political frontiers of Europe, now more firmly than ever. Since France was for Clement, England supported Urban, which meant that Scotland naturally was for Clement. The age of the Great Papal Schism (1378–1417) had begun. The situation was fraught with problems. How could anyone be sure of the validity of any of the judgments and administrative acts that determined the distribution of offices and property or be certain through which line the true saving sacraments were passed? But the real scandal was ideological, exposing the implausibility of the two claimants to be the true Bishop of Rome and St. Peter’s successor as Vicar of Christ on earth. Nevertheless, each pope persisted in asserting that he was that true vicar and the other man a false pontiff. A herculian attempt to end the schism came in 1409 at the Council of Pisa when a third pope was named and the other two popes, the one in Rome and the one in Avignon, were declared deposed. Unfortunately the third pope, John XXIII (1410–1415, now an antipope in official Roman Catholic thought), could not physically unseat either the Roman or the Avignonese pontiff, and, therefore, became a kind of roving pope-at-large. Moreover, he turned out to be a scoundrel and a brigand, thus further degrading the image of the papacy in the eyes of most Christian Europeans. Finally, at the Council of Constance in 1417, Martin V (1417–1431) was chosen to replace all three pretenders to the papal throne. He was able to reclaim Rome as his seat and gradually re-established legitimate authority there. Except for Avignon, the other popes gave up. The Avignonese antipopes maintained their claims until 1429, when they, too, capitulated. Finally, Christian Europe was at papal peace, but at great cost. The erosion of papal prestige during this period had a withering effect on popular piety and spirituality.¹⁰¹

c) The Conciliar Movement: Since the competing popes were unwilling to resign, the only solution was to call a church council of the bishops on the theory that councils ranked above popes. Two German professors at the University of Paris, Henry of Langenstein and Conrad of Gelnhausen, asked the princes to call a council, just as the Roman Emperor Constantine I had once called the Council of Nicea in 325. French conciliarists Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson further argued that a council was necessary to re-establish the unity of the Church. Sharp critics of the Church such as philosopher Marsiglio of Padua, Franciscan theologian William of Ockham, and the Oxford University don and clergyman John Wycliffe went so far as to deny the divine origin of the papacy. Wycliffe even urged lay people to read the Bible in English and said that if the clergy, by their evil lives, showed that they were not in a state of grace, the secular rulers should take away their property. Pressure mounted until the cardinals on both the Roman and the Avignonese sides of the divide joined to summon a general council of the Church. Consequently, a series of reforming councils was held, at Pisa in 1409, at Constance from 1414 to 1418, at Ferrara-Florence in 1438–1439, and a competing antipapal council at Basel, from 1431–1449. As indicated, these councils eventually ended the Great Papal Schism but they did not succeed in reforming the Church. Finally, in 1460, Pope Pius II (1458–1464) reasserted papal supremacy by declaring in his bull *Execrabilis* that it is a detestable thing to appeal to a council over the head of a pope. Still worried, he warned: "Dangerous times are before us. Storms threaten everywhere. The waves of Basel have not subsided. We won through force, they say, and not by convincing arguments."¹⁰²

d) The Renaissance Papacy: Pius II was one of the first "Renaissance Popes" who occupied the papal throne from 1447 until well into the sixteenth century. During this period, the papacy survived the Great Papal Schism and once more secured itself in the Western World. A single petrine line with its seat at Rome had been restored and even a measure of prestige and wealth had been re-established. But the sagging reputation of the papacy itself would suffer further damage under the assault of a line of popes who were little more than Renaissance "princes of the church": worldly, urbane, sophisticated, talented, and corrupt but seldom religious. Some popes, such as Nicholas V (1447–1455) and Pius II, were accomplished scholars and connoisseurs of rare books and manuscripts. It was Nicholas who began what is today the fabulous Vatican Library. In 1476, Sixtus IV extended the scope of an indulgence even to the souls in purgatory thus exploiting for cash the natural anxieties of simple people for their departed relatives.¹⁰³ Some were like Innocent VIII (1484–1492), an easy-going, congenial man who was the first pope to

dine in public with his mistresses, and who was a real “papa” as the father of 16 children.

The papacy reached its nadir with the reign of Alexander VI (previously Rodrigo Borgia (r. 1492–1503). He rose to prominence when his uncle Alonso was elected Pope Calixtus III (1455 – 1458). When he was twenty five years, he was made a Cardinal and at twenty six, he was made the vice Chancellor of the papal court, which he held for thirty five years. He lived a secular life in Rome and his many connections made him extremely wealthy. In June 1460, when he was still a young cardinal, Borgia received a letter from Pope Pius II (1405–1464; reigned 1458–64). The pope reprimanded him for his sexual activities with several married women. Despite his behavior, and the fact that many in the church were aware of it, Borgia managed to gather enough support to be elected pope.¹⁰⁴ He became pope in August 1492 and took the name Alexander VI in honour of the ancient emperor Alexander the Great. His reign began well but trouble started with the death of King Ferdinand I of Naples (r 1458 – 94). The kingdom of Naples was once a possession of the French throne and king Charles VIII (r 1483 – 98) wanted to reclaim it. He invaded Italy and reached Rome in December 1494, thus starting the Italian Wars (1494 – 1559), a conflict between France and Spain over the control of Italy. Alexander managed to join forces with Germany, Spain, Milan and Venice and expelled Charles from Italy. Considerable opposition to Alexander among the Cardinals rose during the French campaign in Italy. Many felt that he was driven more by a desire to increase his family's importance and wealth rather than to promote the welfare of the Catholic Church.¹⁰⁵ Alexander was infamous throughout Europe and more especially in Rome. People feared him mainly because he threatened those who crossed him, and suspicious deaths were linked to him.¹⁰⁶ He also stands as one of the most controversial of all Renaissance popes. He has been widely condemned for disregarding the priestly vows of celibacy and placing his political goals above spiritual leadership. He shocked his contemporaries by openly acknowledging his illegitimate (born out of wedlock) children. Alexander practiced simony, and was notorious for his nepotism (favoritism based on kinship). He used his power as pope to enrich his children, he supported a mob of Spanish relatives in Rome, and he created positions for nineteen Spanish cardinals.

Pope Julius II (1503–1513), successor and sworn enemy of Alexander VI, was a great warrior who led papal armies into battle, sacking Bologna and lesser cities. Like most of his predecessors, he filled the College of Cardinals with relatives and unworthy candidates who subordinated the religious functions of their office to worldly and temporal aims. In any

event, Julius made the Papal States of central Italy a leading power in European politics. Leo X (1513–1521), Julius' successor, was the pope who greeted Luther's protests in Germany with disdain and lack of empathy. Leo was of the Medici family, the rich Florentine bankers who had controlled that city for several generations during the fifteenth century. Also, like many of his Medici relatives, Leo loved and patronized the arts but wasted a great deal of his personal and papal wealth on his fondness for gambling. A worldly and wily man, he had little understanding of theology or piety. By Leo's time, the reputation of Rome and the papacy was nearly beyond redemption.¹⁰⁷ The three popes of Luther's youth and young manhood were Alexander VI, Julius II and Leo X. Therefore, rumor and fact conveyed the essence of the papacy of the period to the faithful at large: secular, flippant, frivolous, sensual, magnificent and worldly. By 1500, the papacy clearly had lost its moral authority to lead Christendom. The masses knew all of this and looked elsewhere for spiritual leadership. The common saying of the day was: "the closer to Rome, the worse the Christians."¹⁰⁸

e) Abuses in the Church: The years leading up to the Protestant Reformation were also plagued by moral corruption and abuse of position in the Roman Catholic Church. The priesthood was guilty of several abuses of privilege and responsibility, including simony (using one's wealth or influence to purchase an ecclesiastical office), pluralism (holding multiple offices simultaneously) and absenteeism (the failure to reside in the parish where they were supposed to minister). The practice of celibacy which was imposed by the church on the priesthood was often abused or ignored, leading to immoral conduct on the part of the clergy. Secular-minded, ignorant priests corrupted their position by neglect or abuse of power. During the fifteenth century the worldliness and corruption in the church reached its worst. The problem of corruption reached all the way to the papacy.

5. Cry for Reform

a) Mysticism: The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed a widespread revival of mystical piety. The mystics did not attack the church openly and were not characterized by intense emotional exaltation that is usually associated with mysticism. On the contrary, most of the mystics of the late Middle Ages were quiet and scholarly persons who devoted themselves to study, meditation and contemplation. The most significant contribution of the mysticism was the founding of Brethren of the Common Life. They led a life of devotion and instead of spending their time in seclusion they spent their time in study, meditation and manual labor. Two of their most significant contributions were the mass production of

manuscripts and the creation of schools where the best of learning of the time was available to the youth.¹⁰⁹

b) Erasmus: (Erasmus, Desiderius 1466/9–1536). Erasmus was born in Rotterdam in Holland, in the northern Low Countries, at some point between 1466 and 1469. He was an illegitimate child of a doctor's daughter and a young man who later entered the clergy. Erasmus was schooled under the Brethren of the Common Life in Deventer, Netherlands. He later entered the Augustinian community at Steyn, but he did not like the monastic life and sought a papal dispensation, which was granted to him thus freeing him from his monastic vows. After releasing him from the monastic vow, Henri de Bergen, bishop of Cambrai, appointed him as his secretary and ordained him as priest in Utrecht in 1492. In the same year, Erasmus was sent to Paris, at the College de Montaigu, founded according to the ideals of the Brethren of the Common Life for his bachelor of theology.¹¹⁰ He found the course uninspiring and extended his reading in classical literature. In Paris, he made his ends meet through paying pupils. In 1499, one of his private pupils, Lord Mountjoy, brought him to England, where he was exposed to new learning. He met John Colet and Thomas Linacre (c. 1460–1524) at Oxford, who taught him Greek. Especially, he was impressed with Colet's historical approach to the Bible that when he returned to Paris (1500) he determined to equip himself fully as a scholar. There he also met the future Henry VIII and entered into what was to be his lasting friendship with Thomas More.¹¹¹ 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*. 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. In 1504 he published a Handbook of the Christian soldier (*Enchiridion militis christiani*), which became one of his widely read books. It was regarding a plea to return to the simplicity of the early Church and the pristine doctrine of the Fathers.¹¹²

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, and was awarded a doctorate of divinity in Turin (Torino).¹¹³ In 1508 he published at the ALDINE PRESS an expanded edition of his *Adagia*; the work made his European reputation. From Venice he went to Rome, where he was invited to stay, but Lord Mountjoy recalled him to England. He

used his experiences to produce the satirical *Encomium Moriae* (1511; THE PRAISE OF FOLLY) with a dedication to his friend Sir Thomas More. Between 1509 and 1514 Erasmus was at London and Cambridge working his Greek New Testament and an edition of the letters of St. Jerome.¹¹⁴ In 1516 Erasmus published his New Testament titled *Novum Instrumentum* in its original Greek, which became his most influential. It was printed in Basel (Basle) in Switzerland by Johann Froben, and also had a parallel Latin translation. The *Novum Instrumentum* was printed 229 times in the 16th century, was also the basis for key translations into vernaculars, including Martin Luther's German version of 1522.¹¹⁵ He produced it after some fifteen years into his study, it had critical notes and corrections of the errors he found in the Latin Bible, originally translated by Jerome in 384. Erasmus pointed out that for more than a thousand years the church had used a Bible that contained mistakes. The most notable of these errors was found in Matthew 3:2, where John the Baptist cried out to the crowd, "Metanoete!" Jerome had translated this as "Do penance!" This text supported the medieval Catholic system of confession and penance, but Erasmus pointed out that the word actually meant "Repent!" As historian Diarmaid MacCulloch remarked, "Much turned on a word." Indeed, Erasmus overturned tradition with a phrase, questioning the entire Catholic structure of salvation. "To attack Jerome," states MacCulloch, was to attack the "understanding of the Bible which the western Church took for granted." But Erasmus was not content with a Greek Bible for scholars. He called for its translation into local languages. "Would that these were translated into each and every language so that they might be read and understood..."¹¹⁶ Historians often quip that Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched. As Luther read Erasmus's Greek New Testament, the words of scripture discomfited the good monk.

There's an argument regarding the motive behind the publication of the *Novum Instrumentum* which might be argued. For several centuries it was assumed that the aim of Erasmus was to find the original Greek text of the New Testament, which indeed was a task characteristic of the best scholarship of that age. So he needed to provide a Latin translation to replace the canonical Vulgate, so that the many people who did not know Greek but knew Latin could understand what changes he was recommending to the text; and thirdly, that to justify these readings and this translation against critics who were sure to be numerous, he needed scholarly notes and hence the Annotations. But modern enquiries shows that this logical order is the reverse of what happened. He started with the idea of scholarly notes on the New Testament. This led him on to the idea of a Latin translation to explain his notes to the world. Then the Latin translation needed the reference to the Greek original in order to justify it,

and hence the Greek New Testament was in origin the third and not the first of the tasks which he set before himself.¹¹⁷

He was known as a "Christian humanist," who combined Christian teachings with classical ideals. In his own time, even critics did not dispute that he was the reigning "prince of humanists." His admirers credited him with the single-handed revival of literary study in Germany. For some years Erasmus enjoyed celebrity status. He was sought after by other scholars who conducted extensive letter exchanges with him, and visitors considered a journey to his home a cultural pilgrimage (religious journey). Many of his works, such as *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* and *Praise of Folly*, were translated into all major European languages. Erasmus's reputation began to decline in the 1520s, however, when he refused to take sides in the debate surrounding the Protestant Reformation (a movement to reform the Roman Catholic Church).¹¹⁸

In 1516 he published, *His Institutio Principis Christiani* or "Education of a Christian Prince" dedicated to Charles V, which argued for the primacy of morals in politics. In 1517, *Querela Pacis*, or "Complaint of Peace," 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. In 1529 he was forced to leave Basle when the city formally adopted Protestantism for Fribourg, but he returned to Basle in 1535 and died there.¹¹⁹

c) Early Reforming Religious Movements: During the late Middle Ages several movements arose that challenged some of the basic doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. Many of these movements were officially condemned by the church as heresy and were severely suppressed.

The Albigensians arose in southern France in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Abigensians (also called Cathari) held to a strict dualism similar to the ancient gnostics. They held the New Testament to be the sole standard of authority – a challenge to the authority claimed by the pope. The sect became the object of a terrible campaign of persecution when pope Innocent III launched a crusade against them in 1204.

Among those who spoke out for a reform of the church was the Dominican Giralamo Savonarola (1452-1498) of Florence, Italy. This fiery preacher spoke out against the corrupt morals of the city's leaders and the abuses of the papacy. The people were won over to Savonarola's

cause in Florence, but because of religious rivalries and political circumstances, the movement was short-lived. Savonarola was hanged and burned for heresy in 1498.

A movement known as the Waldensians was probably founded in the eleventh century by Peter Waldo. Traveling preachers known as the Poor Men of Lyons emphasized the study and preaching of the Bible. They translated the New Testament into the vernacular, rejected the Catholic doctrines of the priesthood and purgatory, and advocated a return to the Scriptures as the only authority in religion.

In England, John Wycliffe (1324-84), a well-known professor at Oxford, also challenged the authority of the papacy. During the Avignon Papacy, he argued that all legitimate dominion comes from God and is characterized by the authority exercised by Christ on earth – not to be served but to serve. During the Great Schism, Wycliffe taught that the true church of Christ, rather than consisting of the pope and church hierarchy, is the invisible body of the elect. He promoted the study of Scripture over the Tradition of the church. He taught that the Scriptures ought to be put into the hands of the elect, and in their own language. Wycliffe thus provided an English translation in about 1384.

Wycliffe was eventually condemned for heresy, but his influence continued. His followers, called “Lollards,” spread his teachings as an underground movement in England. They rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, the veneration of images, clerical celibacy, and other Catholic doctrines as abominations. They were an important influence in England on the eve of the Protestant Reformation.

Another early voice calling for reform was John Huss (1369-1415), a Bohemian preacher and scholar. Influenced by Wycliffe's writings, Huss argued that the true church was not the institution as defined by Catholicism, but the body of the elect under the headship of Christ. He insisted the Bible is the final authority by which the pope or any Christian is to be judged. Huss was burned for heresy in 1415, about a century before Luther's stand in Wittenberg. The Hussite movement continued to grow after their leader's death, preparing the way for the Protestant Reformation.

Conclusion

The period of the Middle Ages and Renaissance included major political, religious, and social changes and cultural shifts. The influence of the Catholic Church weakened during this period. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was greater emphasis on education, particularly for those in the Church but also among the laity. There developed a literature

written not in Latin but in the vernacular, the language of the people. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the development of humanism, the belief that the ancient Greeks and Romans had a moral wisdom compatible with and helpful to Christianity, profoundly changed many people's values, allowing them to concentrate on this world as well as the next. A more personal sense of self began to emerge, together with concepts of national identity and national monarchies. The Protestant Reformation and Catholic revival of the sixteenth century, had political, social, and economic implications as well as religious ones. Cities began to develop as places of culture and power. As part of that process different European nations were "discovering," exploring, and subjugating "New World" territories. Spain's enormous empire in central and South America and Portugal's immense territories in Africa led to the development of the slave trade, which spread to other European nations. These explorations helped to encourage growth in trade and in the evolution of more sophisticated capitalistic systems. The invention of the printing press and movable type in the middle of the fifteenth century meant that information could be distributed at a much faster rate; people read aloud to each other, and literacy rates increased dramatically. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these changes in turn led to political unrest and revolutions.

MARTIN LUTHER

Introduction

Martin Luther stands out most vividly among the historical figures associated with Reformation. He is famously known as the father of Reformation but he neither planned nor expected the Reformation Movement. He inaugurated an era of Reformation in Germany which spread to other countries like Switzerland, France, Holland, Sweden, England, and Scotland. Though he was the central and prominent figure in the reformation movement but the way was prepared for him by a host of illustrious people in different countries, by Savonarola in Italy, by Huss and Jerome in Bohemia, by Erasmus in Holland, by Wyclif in England. It is said about Martin Luther that he was the man for the task.¹²⁰

Sprung from the people, poor, popular, fervent; educated amid privations, religious by nature, yet with exuberant animal spirits; dogmatic, boisterous, intrepid, with a great insight into realities; practical, untiring, learned, generally cheerful and hopeful; emancipated from the terrors of the Middle Ages through great struggles; progressive in his spirit, lofty in his character, earnest in his piety, believing in the future and in God, such was the great leader of this emancipating movement.

On the one hand where he is hailed as the architect of Reformation on the other hand he is also criticized as the wild boar which divided the unity of the Church, which he never intended to do. He brought a massive paradigm shift within Christianity from church traditions to the sole authority of the scripture. The authority of the scripture became the slogan of the Reformation.

Early Life and Education

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben in Saxony on Nov. 10, 1483 as the eldest of probably nine sisters and brothers. His parents Hans and Margaret Luther named him Martin because he was baptized on St.

Martin's day. Luther's parents were poor peasants but following his birth they moved to Mansfeld in hopes of improving their family's finances by pursuing a career in the copper mines as local law ensured that his younger brother, Heinz, inherited the farm. Hans Luther became a copper miner, then a owner of several small mines later a small scale entrepreneur. Thus Luther, the giant of the German Reformation, had rather a humble origin compared to his future significance. As a boy, Luther began his schooling when he was seven years old and went to a Latin School in Mansfeld then at the of age twelve, he was enrolled in a boarding school in Magdeburg operated by the Brethren of the Common Life, a lay (i.e., nonclerical) movement devoted to education and the promotion of a life of piety and personal communion with God. Then a year later in 1498, Luther moved to the parish school of St. George in Eisenach. In 1501 Luther went to the University of Erfurt and completed his graduation and post graduation in 1505 with excellence and was placed in second place out of seventeen candidates. During those days only the law and the church offered likely avenues of success so Luther's father wanted him to become a lawyer to increase the family's prosperity. As an obedient son, he enrolled in the faculty of law at Erfurt to fulfill the desire of his father.¹²¹

Religious Conversion

On July 2, 1505, after visiting his parents in Mansfeld, while returning to Erfurt, Luther was caught in an atrocious thunderstorm. The lightning struck near him, out of fear he cried out saying, "St. Anne (the mother of Virgin Mary or the patroness of miners) help me, I will become a monk". This episode in the life of Martin has been debated much. Some opine that Luther was contemplating of becoming a monk for a while and it the thunderstorm incident which made him to openly confess it, while others uphold that it was an instant decision on the part of Luther to become a monk. Luther reflecting on the incident says that he himself saw the decision as sudden and was based upon fear, He recalls, "I had been called by heavenly terrors, for not freely or desirously did I become a monk, much less to gratify my belly, but walled around with the terror and agony of sudden death I vowed a constrained and necessary vow." Soon after that incident, he went home and conveyed to his parents his desire to become a monk but they tried to dissuade him from going to the monastery. But to the disappointed of everyone he entered the order of St. Augustine at Erfurt. Because of which Luther and his father had a strained relationship for many years and only in 1525 when Luther got married, it was resolved.

Life in the Monastery

The Augustinian Monastery which Luther joined was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century. During the 15th and 16th century the monastic orders were undergoing a reform because of the wide criticism of having forsaken their true mission and having fallen into greed and ignorance. The Erfurt monastery was also caught up in a reform movement that had as its objective a return to strict adherence to the rule of the order. Johann Staupitz was the vicar general of the Augustinian order at Erfurt who further revised the constitution of the order just before Luther joined. In the monastery it became must for the new entrants to be on probation for one year during which they had to live on scant diet, rough clothing, vigils by night, labors by day, mortification of the flesh, the reproach of poverty and the shame of begging. For Luther the strict ways of the monastery did not pose much of a problem but on the contrary he went one step ahead and wanted to become intense of all the monks, so he would sleep even less hours, fast more meals, spend more time in confession etc., thus fully dedicating himself to the life of a monk. His aim in the monastery was to become the best monk and secure a place for himself in heaven. But soon it became apparent to him that even the most painstaking monastic vows of obedience, poverty, chastity did not lead to the inner peace which Luther was longing for.¹²² As a young monk, Luther use to irritate his confessor, Staupitz, who remarked to Luther, "If you are going to confess so much, why don't you go and do something worth confessing."¹²³ But an excessively pursued practice of confessing also did not help rather it only increased his religious distress.¹²⁴ To Luther, Johann Staupitz became an important supporter and father confessor. Later, in 1538, Luther recalling his days as a monk wrote.

I was indeed a pious monk and kept the rules of my order so strictly that I can say: If ever a monk gained heaven through monkish works, it should have been I. All my monastic brethren who knew me will testify to this. I would have martyred myself to death with fasting, praying, reading, and other good works had I remained a monk much longer.

In the midst of such spiritual crisis, Luther made his vows and was ordained a priest in 1507. One of the most important things in the ordination was the celebration of the Mass. At the first mass he celebrated, he almost collapsed in terror before reading the words of institution that brought Christ's body and blood to the altar.¹²⁵ Because according to the medieval theology, Mass actually contained Christ, and conveyed Him to the recipients. According to Luther, if Christ was communicated to the recipient in the Mass then on what grounds the individual can be deemed worthy of the encounter! To which, the Medieval theology's response was, no

one was worthy for an encounter with Christ but all he/she could do was to do his best and God will consider him worthy. Again Luther's question was, doing one's best was extremely difficult or impossible because one's best cannot be the best before God. This question sowed the seeds of personal unworthiness in Luther and it is also called as the "seed of reformation".

At the Augustinian monastery, Luther was taught the humanist principles of learning which was highly esteemed during the Renaissance, and which stressed the importance of studying ancient classical languages. He studied Plato, the Church Fathers, and because of the tradition of his order, Augustine. From Augustine, he imbibed a heightened respect for the Bible as an authority in theology, as well as in Christian living.¹²⁶ He rather felt spurred on to study the Bible more intensely. Unlike the approach of the scholastic tradition, Luther did not read the Scriptures for intellectual purposes but for existential meditation. Even later the professors at Wittenberg were well impressed by Luther's outstanding knowledge of the Bible. For Luther, Bible was most important and whatever he read from the fathers and teachers of the church, he would always relate it to the Bible and compare it with its original message. In 1507, he was ordained as a priest, and he was selected by his superior to study theology.¹²⁷

Luther at Wittenberg

In 1508, Luther was sent to the University of Wittenberg to lecture in arts. Wittenberg was a new university founded on 18 October 1502 by the elector Frederick the Wise. While Luther was teaching in the university, he was also preparing for his doctorate of theology at the advice of Johann Staupitz. After teaching the winter term of 1508 Luther returned to the University of Erfurt in October 1509 to press on with his theological studies. From November 1510 to April 1511, Luther and a fellow monk from Erfurt journeyed to Rome because Johann Staupitz wanted to introduce some reforms in the monastery but the other members were not cooperating with him so to solve the issue, they were sent to consult Rome. In Rome, Luther was shocked to see the clergy leading a worldly and scandalous lifestyle unknown to monks in Germany. Despite his severe disappointment with the state of the clergy, Luther still performed some rites of the pilgrimage, one of which included climbing the sacred steps of the Lateran church (supposedly the same steps, extracted from Jerusalem by crusaders, Jesus went up on the day of his judgment before Pilate). Luther arrived at the top of the stairs on his knees only to experience an extreme sense of doubt over the veracity of the church's beliefs.

On October 19, 1512, Luther received his doctorate in theology and was appointed to succeed Staupitz as professor of theology at Wittenberg, where he taught till the end of his life. The University of Wittenberg played an important role in the development of the Reformation, for it was there that Luther began to study, teach and preach the scriptures in their original language. Luther also used the Erasmus's Greek Testament which was published in 1516. At Wittenberg, Luther was given a room with a fireplace in a tower at the southwest corner of the monastery. In 1513, he assumed lectures on Biblical books, beginning with Psalms (1513–15), Romans (1515–16), Galatians (1516–17), Hebrews (1517–18), and then the Psalms again. The interpretation of the scripture was not only an academic assignment for Luther but he used it to search for answers to his own personal experiences with faith. To the end of his life he continued such lectures. In the 1510s he departed from strict adherence to the "allegorical" method of medieval exegesis and developed a literal prophetic interpretation, coupled with the theological hermeneutic, it initiated a new era in Biblical exposition and theological method.¹²⁸ He interpreted the passages not with a scholastic's eye, but from the Bible's perspective, not on the background of traditional interpretations by church authorities, but within the framework of the whole biblical tradition. So Luther's Reformation theology should not be looked at as a sudden event, which might have occurred overnight, but rather a complex developmental process spreading out over several years, furthering sudden insights on a continuous basis.¹²⁹ So it can be said that Luther's years at Wittenberg were marked by slow but clear theological progression. In 1514, Luther also became a priest in the parish church of Wittenberg in addition to his duties at the university. In 1515, he was appointed the Augustinian vicar for Meissen and Thuringia with responsibility of overseeing eleven monasteries. At the age of thirty one, Luther was well on his way to a successful career in the church but from inside he was a deeply troubled man. He could not find relief from his inner conflict. The personal and pastoral problem that plagued Luther was whether salvation is achieved or received. In accordance with the teachings of the church, Luther worked hard at trying to earn his salvation through good works. But no matter how hard he worked, the peace that was supposed to follow from having earned God's favor eluded him. He found only physical and emotional exhaustion. Luther said of that time, "day and night there was nothing but horror and despair."

Tower Experience

Sometime in the fall of 1515, Luther found the answer to his spiritual problems. He was in the tower room allotted to him in the monastery,

studying Paul's letter to the Romans in preparation for a series of lectures on the Pauline epistles. By his own account, he was pondering the meaning of Romans 1:17, "For it is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, the just shall live by faith." In that little verse Luther discovered the heart of his spiritual problem, as well as its answer. Medieval interpreters, based on the Latin in the old Bible, believed the sentence to be active. Those who love God have faith, Luther did not love God, and therefore he had no faith. No faith meant eternal damnation. But the Greek opened up the words in a surprising new way. Luther realized that the sentence was passive, not active. Faith does not consist in the right acts you do to earn God's favor; God bestows faith as God wills, thus making Christians right, the passive recipients of God's work. Faith is a gift. He discovered that righteousness before God is not what the sinner achieves but what the sinner receives as a free gift from God.¹³⁰ Luther called it "an alien righteousness." What he meant by that was that it is a righteousness that is completely outside of us. It is not a righteousness to which we contribute at all. It is the righteousness which Jesus acquired throughout His life, and in His death. When Luther understood these words, his God transformed from dreadful judge to one of unconditional love. Luther wrote "the merciful God justifies us by faith... Now I felt as though I had been reborn altogether and had entered Paradise."¹³¹ Luther's "tower experience" has become known as one of the great moments in the history of religion. Luther's discovery in Scripture that salvation was to be achieved by grace through faith in Jesus Christ was not new, for it was the doctrine of salvation taught by the early church but was forgotten in the medieval period. Luther believed that the individual who places his faith in Christ's self sacrifice is freely forgiven by God. The believer's conscience is cleansed and set free from any burden of guilt for sins committed. Luther reversed the medieval piety of achievement, good works do not make the sinner acceptable to God, but rather God's acceptance of the sinner prompts good works.

Crisis of Indulgence

Indulgences began as gifts of money given to the clergy in appreciation or gratitude for forgiveness of sins (wrong doing). Soon, however, indulgences began to represent an outward showing of grief for sins. People would pay for indulgences to prove to the church and others that they were truly repentant for their sins. In the thirteenth century, the Catholic Church formulated what was called the "treasury of merits." It was a spiritual bank of sorts that "contained" the good works performed by Jesus Christ, the saints, and all pious, or devoted, Christians. In other words, because Jesus and the saints had lived better lives than necessary

to get into heaven, their good deeds had been left on Earth in the treasury of merits. Good deeds from this treasury could be redistributed to Christian believers in the form of indulgences. One would give money to his or her clergyman, who would in turn make a "withdrawal" from the spiritual bank on behalf of person who paid for the indulgence. This system was supposed to reduce the amount of time the soul (spirit of a dead person) spent in purgatory (place between heaven and hell), but many church members did not fully understand this aspect of indulgences. It was widely believed that people could sin as much as possible and still buy their way into heaven by purchasing indulgences.

In 1517, John Tetzel, a Dominican monk arrived outside Wittenberg to sell indulgences. He could not enter Wittenberg as Frederick the Wise did not allow him to sell indulgence in his territory to prevent money from flowing to Rome and, moreover he himself was selling relics. Tetzel was a well known indulgence seller, one of Tetzel's sales jingles was, "As soon as the coin into the box rings, a soul from purgatory to heaven springs." Tetzel's extravagant claims for the power of an indulgence included remission of sin even if one had raped the Virgin Mary. Another claim, according to popular lore, reflected back upon Tetzel to his own dismay. A knight bought an indulgence on the basis that it extended to future sins and then robbed Tetzel himself! Normally Tetzel entered towns with fanfares of trumpets and drums and the flags and symbols of the papacy. After a vivid sermon on hell in the town square, he proceeds to the largest church and would give an equally vivid sermon on purgatory and the sufferings awaiting the audience and presently endured by their dear departed friends and relatives. After the next sermon depicting heaven, his audience was sufficiently prepared and eager to buy indulgences.¹³² Johann Tetzel was appointed by Archbishop Albert von Hohenzollern (b. 1490, elected 1513, served 1514 - 45), the brother to the elector of Brandenburg, to sell indulgences to the people. He was the bishop of Brandenburg and purchased the archbishopric of Mainz for 10,000 ducats borrowing from the Fugger bank in Augsburg. To repay the funds he borrowed, Pope Leo X (1475–1521; reigned 1513–21) authorized him to sell indulgences in Germany. Albert hired Johann Tetzel who had a great reputation as an indulgence seller and sent him near Wittenberg. The money he raised would go paying the debt of Albert and also to finance the new Saint Peter's Basilica, which was under construction in Rome.

The Posting of the Ninety Five Theses

Luther was compelled to act in the fall of 1517 by his observation of the blatant abuse of the doctrine of indulgences by indulgence seller, Johann

Tetzel. Luther had vehemently preached against the buying of indulgence in his church but the congregation in spite of listening to him went to buy indulgence from Tetzel. Luther's argument was that if God could release the souls from Purgatory with the buying of indulgence then He would be cruel to do so because the poor cannot buy indulgence. Out of a concern for the souls of his parishioners, and wishing to call attention to the abuse of the indulgence system, Luther posted his *Ninety Five Theses* written in Latin on the church door in Wittenberg. Luther's intention for writing in Latin because during that time Latin was the language of the scholars and his aim was to call them for an academic discussion on the issue of indulgence. During those days, Universities were known for their posters advertising forthcoming events, and the door of the castle church was the recognized bulletin board for Wittenberg University. So it should be seen as a fairly routine announcement of, and the agenda for a forthcoming university debate amongst theologians on the legitimacy of indulgences. Luther meant it only as an invitation to his colleagues at the university to debate the issue and he never expected that it would trigger the Reformation. But because of the availability of the printing press within two weeks of its posting on October 31, 1517, the *Ninety Five Theses* were translated into German and were circulated throughout the German speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire. It is estimated that during the first years after the appearance of the *Ninety Five Theses* (1517–23), the output of printed works in Germany increased sevenfold, with more than one half being works of Martin Luther. The appearance of the printing press in the mid-1450s was associated with Johann Gutenberg (c. 1390–1468). It was a primary reason why the Reformation occurred at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Luther himself acknowledged it and called the Printing Press as God's latest and best gift to humankind. He further remarked, '... now they are printed, reprinted, and spread far and wide, beyond my expectation'. The Lutheran reformation was "the first major, self-conscious attempt to use the recently invented printing press to shape and channel a mass movement."¹³³ By 1520 some 30 publications had appeared from Luther's pen, with estimated sales of 600,000 copies.¹³⁴

On the same day that the Theses was published, Luther sent a copy of it with a letter to the Archbishop Albert addressing him as "revered and gracious lord and shepherd in Christ." After his humble introduction, he begged him to prevent the scandalizing of indulgences, and reminded him that he had to give an account of the souls entrusted to his Episcopal care. The publication of Theses also led to the downfall of the sales of indulgences. John Tetzel reported it to his Dominican Monastery and Archbishop Albert, who both in turn reported it to the church authorities in

Rome. Initially, the Pope did not take it seriously and thought that it was a petty quarrel between the monks of different orders and remarked that soon it would die down. Dominican curial theologians in Rome, led by the Master of the Sacred Palace Silvester Mazzolini Prierias, charged Luther with heresy and pressed for citing him to Rome for trial.¹³⁵ Later the Pope ordered Luther on August 7, 1518, to appear in Rome within sixty days to answer to the charges of heresy.

Augsburg Disputation

When the Pope summoned Luther to Rome, Frederick the Wise came to the rescue of Martin Luther and wrote a letter to the pope, pointing out that it was right for German citizens to be tried in their own country. Since the Pope had political interest with Frederick the Wise, he could not ignore the letter of Frederick. The Pope made an arrangement and sent his legate (emissary), Cardinal Thomas Cajetan (1464–1534) to conduct the hearing in Augsburg from October 12 to 14, 1518. Cardinal Cajetan was tasked with getting Luther to recant; if he would not recant, Cajetan was to have Luther bound and sent to Rome. Cajetan demanded Luther to recant but to his surprise Luther refused to recant and asked him to instruct him about his errors. The argument went like this,

The cardinal replied that the chief [error] was the denial of the Church's treasury of merit clearly enunciated in the bull Unigenitus of Pope Clement VI in the year 1343, "Here," said Cajetan, "you have a statement by the pope that the merits of Christ are a treasure of indulgences." Luther, who knew the text well, answered that he would recant if it said so. Cajetan chuckled, leafed through the page to the spot where it said Christ by his sacrifice acquired a treasure. "Oh, yes," said Luther, "but you said that the merits of Christ are a treasure. This says he acquired a treasure. To be and to acquire do not mean the same thing. You need not think we Germans are ignorant of grammar."

..."My son," [Cajetan] snapped, "I did not come to wrangle with you. I am ready to reconcile you with the Roman Church." But since reconciliation was possible only through recantation, Luther protested that he ought not be condemned unheard and unrefuted. "I am not conscious," said he, "of going against Scripture, the fathers, the decretals, or right reason."

Luther demanded for a council to be convened in order to determine whether his teaching was in line with Scripture. Cardinal Cajetan replied, "The pope is above a council, above everything in the Church." Luther retorted "His Holiness abuses Scripture and I deny that he is above Scripture" To which Cajetan angrily had Luther thrown out of his meeting place, warning Luther not to come back until he was ready to recant. Realizing that he was going to be arrested, Luther escaped from Augsburg

in the middle of the night.

Leipzig Disputation

In June 1519, in the University of Leipzig, the famous Leipzig debate took place between Martin Luther and Johann Eck (1486–1543). Unlike Cardinal Cajetan, Johann Eck was a professional debater and was a professor at the University of Ingolstadt. The universities of Paris and Erfurt are chosen as judges. The eighteen day debate addressed matters ranging from purgatory to indulgences to the primacy of the Church in Rome. What began as a small issue over indulgence turned into a wholesale clash of theologies. In the course of the debate, Luther appealed to Scripture as his final authority, thus denying the authority of the pope, church councils, or other human institutions, where they conflicted with Scripture as he interpreted it. Eck was supremely knowledgeable and a gifted orator, but Luther far surpassed him in his knowledge of the Scriptures. During the debate, Eck cleverly maneuvered Luther into admitting that some of his opinions agreed with those of John Hus, whom a century earlier had been condemned as a heretic by the Council of Constance and turned over to the secular authorities for execution. Luther, in effect, admitted that his views were heretical, as defined by the church. The Leipzig debate made clear that the real issue Luther was grappling with was the question of whether authority on matters of religious faith and practice belonged to the pope and church tradition or to Scripture alone.

Luther's Writings

During the year 1520, Luther produced an enormous number of publications, but three treatises that put forward in a more systematic way all his insights about the errors in doctrine, ritual, and church governance that he saw present in the Catholic Church. The first was *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, in which he urged the German princes to overthrow the unjust domination of the pope over the German Church. He denounced papal claims of authority over secular rulers, the sole right to call church councils, and the unique power to interpret the Bible. Luther also revealed that he had rejected clerical celibacy and monasticism. He called on the German ruling class to take the lead in reforming the Church. Luther's second treatise, written in Latin for theologians, was the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. It set out the implications of Luther's beliefs for the Catholic sacramental system. He found only two sacraments baptism and the Eucharist with a basis in the New Testament. In respect to baptism he had little disagreement with the Catholic practice, but his doctrine of the Eucharist was different in two key

ways. Luther agreed with Huss that the sacrament would be complete only if the cup was shared with the laity, but his doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament was consubstantiation, not transubstantiation. Luther believed Christ's body and blood were truly present along with the bread and wine of the sacrament. Luther's third work of 1520 was *On the Freedom of the Christian* which was his most influential and enduring book. In the book, Luther portrayed from Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and said that the Christian is freed in Christ to live as sons of God, obediently and joyfully serving our Lord Jesus Christ. The memorable and most important argument of the book was, "The Christian is the lord of all, and subject to none, but virtue of faith; he is the servant of all, and subject to everyone, by virtue of love." For Luther, the Gospel freed a person from bondage to sin and self, so that they could love and serve God and neighbor rather than being under the Roman Church's tyranny and enforced bondage to the sacramental system of penance and good works. He also defined his doctrine of the priesthood of the believers. There can be no difference among Christians between clergy and laity; all stand equal before God in faith and grace. All the baptized are priests because they share in the spiritual estate. Luther did agree that there was an office of minister, who preached the Gospel and presided over the sacraments. Being a minister, however, conferred no special privileges on them. Every occupation had equal merit as an opportunity to serve God in the world. This view led to the Protestant definition of "vocation" as referring to a career in the secular world, not a calling to the life in the clergy.

Burning of the Papal Bull

When the Pope Leo X could not put up with Luther anymore on June 15, 1520, he issued a papal bull, *Exsurge Domine*, formally condemning Luther as a heretic. The issuance of the bull was followed by the burning of Luther's works in Rome. The bull reached Luther in Wittenberg in October. In November, Luther's works were publicly burned in Cologne and other German cities. On December 10, student followers of Luther at the University of Wittenberg ceremoniously burned copies of the canon law of the church, various papal decrees, and publications by Luther's enemies. In a dramatic gesture, Luther cast the papal bull of excommunication into the fire as well. On January 3, 1521, Leo X issued a second bull, *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, confirming Luther's excommunication. Excommunication is a denial of the right to the sacraments, seen as necessary for salvation.

Diet of Worms

In early 1521, Emperor Charles V was preparing for an Imperial Diet at

Worms and summoned Luther. Once again Frederick the Wise came to the rescue of Luther and persuaded Charles V to grant him safe passage to appear before the Diet. The Diet of Worms provided the stage for the most dramatic and significant event in Luther's career. Luther's friends pleaded with him to abstain from attending the diet fearing he might be arrested but Luther was determined to attend the diet in hopes of debating his position. But Charles V did not intend for a debate but for a public recantation from Luther. Finally Luther and his friends arrived at Worms on April 16, 1521, escorted by Franz von Sickingen, a German knight, among much fanfare from the local population.¹³⁶ On April 17, 1521, Luther was called before the Diet for the first time. Johann Eck, an assistant of the Archbishop of Trier acted as spokesman for the Emperor. Johann Eck asked Luther whether the books kept in front of him were his own writings and if he would like to repudiate any or part of it. In response to the questioning, Luther admitted that the books displayed before the court were his, but, when asked to repudiate them, he asked for time to consider the question. That night Luther prayed this famous prayer,

"My God, stand by me, against all the world's wisdom, and reason ... Not mine but yours is the cause ... I would prefer to have peaceful days and to be out of this turmoil. But yours, O Lord, is this cause; it is righteous and eternal. Stand by me, you true Eternal God! In no man do I trust Stand by me, O God, in the name of your dear Son Jesus Christ, who shall be my Defence and Shelter, yes, my Mighty Fortress, through the might and strength of your Holy Spirit. Amen"

The next day in front of the assembled Diet, Luther gave his timeless reply: "I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the Councils, because it is clear as day they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless therefore, I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, I cannot and will not retract my statements. Here I stand, I can do no other. So help me God, Amen." At this, disorder broke out at because of Luther's refusal to recant, and the Emperor dismissed the Diet for the day. On May 4, when Luther was on his way home, he was kidnapped by unknown bandits. It was later told to Luther was it was Elector Friedrich the wise who had whisked away Luther to a place of safety. He did so because Luther's life was in danger and also to avoid openly supporting Luther as he was to be declared a heretic. Though Luther felt he had secured a moral victory at the Diet of Worms, but his detractors had also scored a victory because Luther went into hiding. On May 26, the Imperial Diet acting under the authority of the Emperor, declared Luther to be an outlaw, and placed him under the ban of the Empire. His works were banned, and he was to be hunted down, arrested, and put to death. All who would give him aid and comfort, or who would publish, distribute, or publically

approve, defend, or assert Luther's ideas were to be dealt with in the same way.

Luther in Exile

Frederick the Wise brought Luther to his fortress castle at Wartburg where he remained for eleven months under an assumed identity "Junker George." Being isolated, Luther spent much of his time studying the Bible besides writing numerous letters. During that time he prepared the first section of a book of sermons, his *Church Postil*, (a collection of exemplary sermons) which served as a continuing education program for priests, who had little idea how to preach. The Postil provided both instruction in Luther's way of thinking and models for proclaiming his message.¹³⁷ The most significant of Luther's work at this time was his German translation of the New Testament which he completed in eleven weeks.¹³⁸ He wanted the common people to read the Bible and for that reason he set out to translate the Bible into German. He wrote, "we are working very hard to bring out the prophets in the mother tongue." For his translation of the New Testament, Luther used the Greek translation of noted humanist scholar, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus published his Greek New Testament in 1516, together with a revision of the Latin Vulgate text and various philological, theological, and historical notes. In addition to Erasmus's work, Luther also made use of published grammars and glossaries by Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), a noted German humanist. After completing a draft of his German translation within eleven weeks, Luther submitted it to his colleague at the University of Wittenberg, Philip Melancthon (1497–1560). It was first published in September 1521 with 3000 copies and was known as "September Testament." By December a revised edition (December testament) was published. Between 1522 and 1533 Luther's New Testament saw a total of eighty five editions. He did not complete his translation of the entire Bible until 1534. The vernacular translation of the Scriptures became one of the key characteristics of Protestantism.

While Luther remained at Wartburg Castle, Andreas Karlstadt, a friend of Luther and also a reformer won over the Wittenberg city council to his views and performed the first reformed Communion service on Christmas Day 1521. He did not elevate the Eucharist during Communion, he wore secular clothing during the service, and he made no references to sacrifice from the traditional Mass. He spoke aloud the words of Communion in German rather than Latin. He also rejected the confession as a prerequisite for Communion. He allowed the communicants to take the bread and wine themselves instead of it being given to them. In

January 1522, the Wittenberg city council authorized the removal of imagery from churches, affirming the changes introduced by Karlstadt.¹³⁹

Luther back at Wittenberg

While Luther was in Wartburg, his teaching spread all over Germany, and his books were read everywhere. It seemed that all Germany was becoming Protestant in spite of the Edict of the Emperor. There was a great movement spreading out on all sides in favor of Gospel teaching, and against superstition and idolatry. It began to spread from cities and towns to remotes of villages. But some people wanted to move too fast or too far with the reformation. In the borders of Saxony and Bohemia, the people of Zwickau accepted the Reformation. Their leader Claus Storch embraced it with more zeal and gathered some followers around him. They insisted on purging their village of all signs of the old religion, church decoration, crosses, altars and caused some riots, till their fellow townsmen rose against them and banished them. Driven from Zwickau, they went to Wittenberg, and expounded their views to the impetuous Carlstadt and Melancthon, who in Luther's absence were the religious leaders there. Carlstadt became a convert, Melancthon was persuaded to some extent, the mass of the people was stirred and the images were torn down from the churches.¹⁴⁰ Word came to Luther at Wartburg in 1522 that preachers in and around Wittenberg, including his friend Andreas Carlstadt, were promoting more radical changes in the Church. He then responded in written form, with his *Earnest Exhortation to All Christians against Insurrection and Rebellion* but when he realized that written encouragement was not helping his cause, he came in person. In the beginning of March 1522 Luther preached for a whole week every single day. Thus he was able to stop the radical iconoclasm, cooling down the heated feelings. It was also the start for the reorganization of the budding church of the Reformation. Luther reformed the current form of worship service cautiously; he encouraged the congregation to actively take part in the worship. He also initiated congregational singing in the native language. In 1524 he also published the hymnbooks most of hymns were contributed by Luther.

The Diet of Nurnberg

The ban of the Empire on Luther was still there because of the Edict of Worms but no one thought of executing it. Luther was freely preaching, writing, publishing and traveling in Wittenberg, and no one in Germany considered him an outlaw. On the contrary some of the German princes felt that the Edict of Worms ought to be reversed. After the Emperor had gone back to Spain, a council of regency ruled in his stead, which knew

Germany and the feelings of its people, and were not prejudiced in favor of the Pope. The new Pope, Adrian VI, sent his nuncio to the Nurnberg Diet of 1522 to insist that the Edict of Worms be executed and action be taken promptly against Luther. The demand was coupled with a promise of thorough reform in the Roman hierarchy and admitted the partial guilt of the Vatican in the decline of the Church.¹⁴¹ But when the Diet met at Nurnberg in 1522 and 1524, the Pope's Nuncio found that the German princes would not listen to his demand for Luther's death. They rather pressed on him demands of their own, and had drawn up a long list of grievances for the Pope to redress; and some of their grievances were related to the very matters for which Luther had been condemned.

In the end, after much disputing between the German princes and the papal Nuncio, the Diet declared that a General Council of the Church was needed to abolish abuses and to settle doubtful questions which had arisen in doctrine; that the Edict of Worms was annulled; and that the whole question of religious differences was to be settled at another Diet to be held at Speier. In short, almost all Germany seemed to be on Luther's side. They demanded the abolition of the five false sacraments, of the abuses of the Mass, of saint worship, and papal supremacy. The Reformation, too, had spread beyond Germany, and followers of Luther were to be found in France, in Denmark, and in the Low Countries as early as 1524.¹⁴²

Peasants' War/ Luther and the Radical Reformers

Up to 1524, Luther's doctrines had been spreading without much hindrance through all Germany and in countries beyond. But Germany had need of other reforms besides ecclesiastical reorganization. The peasants had been living a miserable life and it was said that their lot was so bad that "life was so painful that death had little terror." The peasants had been revolting in various places over Europe from the middle of the fifteenth century but their revolts had been quelled. They felt that the movement of the Reformation might help them and appealed to Luther. He being a peasant's son appealed to the proprietors saying, "I might now make common cause with the peasants against you, who impute this insurrection to the Gospel and to my teaching; whereas I have never ceased to enjoin obedience to authority, even to authority so tyrannical and intolerable as yours. But I will not poison the wound; therefore, my lords, whether friendly or hostile to me, do not despise either the advice of a poor man, or this sedition; not that you ought to fear the insurgents, but fear God the Lord, who is incensed against you. He may punish you and turn every stone into a peasant, and then neither your cuirasses nor your strength would save you."

But when the peasants saw that it was not helping them, they under the leadership of Karlstadt and Thomas Muntzer were demanding for a social change and were preparing for a revolt. Luther disliked the fact that the peasants did not voice their concerns in a political and pragmatic manner, but rather justified their cause from the Bible, thereby revoking the secular system of laws in the name of the gospel.¹⁴³ The peasants began by saying that they asked only what the principles of the Gospel warranted them in demanding. They asked all Christians to read the following articles, and judge them according to the Word of God:

1. The whole congregation shall have power to elect their minister and to dismiss him if he does not conduct himself properly; and the minister must preach the pure Gospel, without human addition.
2. They promise to pay the great tithe of corn for the support of the ministry, provided that after the stipend is paid the rest goes to support the poor; but they refuse to pay the lesser tithe, the tenth pig, etc., for, they say, God created beasts for man's free use.
3. Serfdom must be abolished. Scripture teaches that men are free
4. Game, fowl, and fish shall be free as God created them, and for man's use.
5. Whatever woods have not been bought by the proprietors shall be restored to the commune, and every inhabitant shall be at liberty to take what he needs for fuel or carpenter's work, an officer appointed by the commune taking care that there be no wanton destruction.
6. The forced services shall be restricted to what was allowed by the old customs.
7. Anything done over and above this shall be done for reasonable pay.
8. The rents are too high; lands should be revalued and fair rents adjudged.
9. Punishments for crimes shall be fixed by law, and all wanton punishments and arbitrary infliction shall cease.
10. The grass lands and other fields taken by the proprietors from the commons shall be restored.
11. The death right shall be abolished.
12. All these propositions shall be tested by Scripture, and if they can be refuted they shall be withdrawn.¹⁴⁴

Most of the articles were reasonable enough, and almost all of them are now law within Germany. But Luther completely turned from his position

when he saw that the peasants did not hesitate to use violence to achieve their goal. Carlstadt also felt that Luther stopped short of following the full teaching of Scripture that Luther in effect had sold out to the princes. Luther felt that Carlstadt, along with Thomas Muntzer (d. 1525) and other members of what has been called the Radical Reformation (e.g., the Anabaptists) threatened to disrupt the Reformation. They seemed to deemphasize the authority of Scripture by emphasizing direct spiritual revelation. Muntzer went well beyond Carlstadt in proposing a radical transformation of society. Muntzer believed that the age of revelation had not ended with the death of the last apostle and God could give new revelation to some men, such as himself. He proclaimed that God had revealed to him that the harvest time of the world was at hand and he would be God's scythe for his harvest. Violence against the ungodly was necessary to prepare the world for Christ's second coming. Luther's return enabled him to wrestle control of the Reformation in Wittenberg back from the radicals, but expelling them from the city simply moved them into different locales to preach their ideas. By early 1523 Muntzer's gospel of violence was finding an audience among German peasants. Economic and social changes were having a severe impact on the peasants, who looked to Luther, the man who challenged the authority of pope and emperor, for leadership against the established powers. The peasants misinterpreted such Lutheran terms as the freedom of the Christian and the priesthood of the believers as referring to the material world. Since they as Christians were free, they should be free from serfdom, and as priests they had the right to the clergy's property. Muntzer himself led the peasants into battle against the nobles in May 1525. He promised his followers that God would protect them from their enemies by empowering him to catch the cannonballs in his sleeves. It proved untrue, and they were slaughtered. As this and other violent episodes of the German Peasants' War unfolded, the peasants found that Luther was not as sympathetic to their cause as they thought. Early in the rebellion he had urged the nobles to satisfy the just demands of the peasants, but as the violence and chaos escalated, he turned against them. He called on the nobles and princes to use whatever violence was necessary to put down the rebellion.¹⁴⁵ The war was a disaster for the farmers and villagers of Germany. About 100,000 were killed, and large numbers were left homeless. Disease and famine abounded. Bandits ranged the roads and forests, and beggars crowded into the larger cities. Orphans, the sick, and the elderly were severed from the normal charities. Rural artisans, miners, foresters, bakers, everyone suffered. Intense resistance extended mainly from late January to early June 1525, mostly in upper Swabia, the upper Rhine, Franconia, Wurttemberg, Alsace, Thuringia, and Tyrol. The

rebel groups numbered about 300,000 at their high point.¹⁴⁶

In June 1528, Luther advised the Protestant princes to banish the Anabaptists from their territories, rather than execute them. Later, in 1536, Luther reconsidered, and allowed for the possibility of executing Anabaptists who disturbed the public order or who refused banishment.¹⁴⁷ Catholics meanwhile were making the case to the nobles that rebellion and chaos were exactly what would happen if heretics were allowed to go free. Consequently, large numbers in both the upper and lower classes returned to Catholicism, blunting what had been the Reformation's triumphant advance until then. Because of this, the Reformation lost to a large extent its hold over the poorer classes, who thought that Luther and the middle classes had deserted them. Luther himself lost a great deal of his firm quiet courage, and shrank back from many opinions he had formerly held. All these things hindered the Reformation. In the same year Luther also got married to Katherine von Bora, a nun who had left her convent. This was one of the dark spots in the life of Luther because when whole of the peasant community in Germany was mourning, he got married.

Controversy with Erasmus

The Peasants' War had barely ended when Luther found himself in a heated dispute with Erasmus. The years 1524 and 1525 were two of the most momentous in Luther's life. In 1524, Erasmus, as the leading Christian humanist of the day and a former supporter of Luther, yielded to pressure from both lay and ecclesiastical princes, and attacked Luther's teachings in his book, *On Free Will*. Luther responded with *The Bondage of the Will* in the autumn of 1525. The central difference between the Christian humanists and the leaders of the Protestant Reformation was the issues of whether or not education could, apart from divine intervention, produce a virtuous person. Both Christian humanists and Protestant Reformers believed that the church of their day was corrupt and in need of reform. But whereas the former believed that the problem was due to corrupt or poorly educated individuals in positions of authority, the latter believed that the problem was corrupt, or false, doctrine that was the cause of corrupt practice. For the Christian humanists the solution was a better educated clergy. For the Reformers the solution was to remove the bad doctrine that had crept into the church over the centuries by returning to the authority of Scripture. Scripture alone, not Scripture and church tradition, must be the judge of what is, or is not, correct doctrine. The controversy between Luther and Erasmus marked the point at which Christian humanism parted with the Protestant Reformation. Both criticized

the corruption in the sixteenth-century church, but differed fundamentally on the cause of the corruption and its cure.

The Diets of Speier, 1526 and 1529

The Emperor did not return to Germany after the Diet of Worms. He was in Spain, ceaselessly occupied with his policy of humbling the power of France. The German princes met at Speier, and discussed that a large number of people did not wish to see Luther and his doctrines banished from Germany. In 1526, the imperial diet at Speyer issued a directive that “until a general council of the Church could convene to settle matters, princely territories and self governing cities should be free to regulate religious matters as they pleased.... every state shall live, rule and believe so that it shall be ready to answer for itself before God and his Imperial Majesty.”¹⁴⁸ Thus it was really left with each state to declare what religion should be professed within its borders. The states which had embraced the evangelical doctrines were free to reorganize the Church within their dominions and to carry out the necessary reforms in accordance with German imperial law. The first ruler, who tried to do so, in accordance with the true principles of the Reformation, was Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. He asked Martin Lambert to draw up articles of Church government for the Church within his dominions. In 1529 a second Diet of Speyer, six of the princes present, along with the delegates from fourteen towns, signed a ‘protestation’ against the diet’s decision. Their action created a new proper noun ‘Protestant’ and a new political identity.¹⁴⁹ This edict foreshadowed the famous Peace of Augsburg, which practically determined the legal religion of Germany down to the present time.

Colloquy of Marburg (Luther and Zwingli)

Philip of Hesse arranged for a conference between the leading theologians of Germany and Switzerland at Marburg in October 1529. It was attended by Zwingli and Johannes Oecolampadius from Switzerland, Martin Bucer from Strasburg and Luther and Melancthon, from Wittenberg. They went over the great articles of the Christian faith and over fourteen articles they came to an agreement and on the fifteenth and last one on the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper they were divided. The Roman Catholic theologians divided this sacrament into two distinct things, the Eucharist and the Mass. The Eucharist is said to be the “thanksgiving” and the Mass is said to be its celebration. The Mass is not so much a sacrament as a sacrifice; it is believed that during the Mass, Christ suffers in the same way as He suffered on the cross. The Roman Catholics teach that Christians see Christ actually crucified in their midst, see Him enduring the pains of the cross for them in their very presence.

Thus the suffering Christ and the worshipping believer are face to face in the one moment of time in the Mass. According to the Roman Catholic when the priest prays for the communion elements, the bread and the wine they become Christ's real body and real blood is called as the doctrine of transubstantiation. They are no longer what they seem to be, but are the very body and blood of Christ. They teach that the priest, because he is a priest, and has been consecrated by a bishop, is able by prayer and ceremony to perform the miracle of changing bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ. The Protestant reformers refused to accept the Roman Catholic doctrine that a priest was able to work the miracle which the Roman Catholics said was wrought. They believed that Christ was in some way present in the sacrament but not by miracle but by faith.

Of the two leading reformers, Zwingli denied the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Sacrament. Zwingli argued that the body was in heaven and not there in the elements. Zwingli emphasized the command to "do this in remembrance of me" and believed in a symbolic presence; he said that the bread and wine were only signs of His presence, in somewhat the same way that a letter is the sign of the absent writer. For Luther, the words of Christ must be taken literally when Jesus said "this is my body given for you" it should be taken literally. He argued that Christ of His own will comes down from heaven to be present consubstantially with the elements of the sacrament. To explain this, Luther took another idea from the mediaeval theology. According to which, one of the attributes of God is that He is everywhere. Christ's human nature got this attribute from the divine, and is able to be everywhere too. If Christ's body is everywhere, it will be in the elements on the Lord's Table without any miracle, for it is everywhere. In that way, Luther was able to explain that Christ's body was really present in true bodily fashion in the bread and in the wine. But he did not explain how the bread and wine changes into the real body and blood of Christ. Because of this difference of opinion Luther and Zwingli could never come together and the two branches of Protestantism went their separate ways.

Luther's Family Life

After Luther entered into married life in 1525 with Katharina von Bora, a former nun, they had six children. In addition to his own children, he also took in children of both his deceased sister, and an aunt of his wife. The burden of Luther's household was immense. He also housed some foreign students in his home to meet the financial requirements. This large operation posed a continuous domestic challenge and Katharina was a great support to Luther, she not only managed the domestic matters but

also secured their economic survival through husbandry and agriculture. Luther always appreciated her with deep gratification and the relationship between them was conducted in mutual respect and happy love. Luther in his last will named her as the sole heir which was in contrast to the law of his time.

Augsburg Confession

The Emperor Charles V was victorious everywhere apart from Germany as he was not able to put an end to the Reformation. He had called a meeting of the Imperial Diet in 1530 to deal with the Lutherans. The leaders of the Protestants were John, Elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse and Margrave of Brandenburg, the ancestor of the present Emperor of Germany and on the opposite side was Ferdinand of Austria, the Emperor's brother with his theological advisers, protesting against encouragement to heresy. Before the diet started, the protestant princes had chaplains who conducted public worship in the evangelical fashion in their hotels. The Emperor ordered that it should cease, to which Margrave of Brandenburg stepping forward, put his hands on his neck, and bowing, said, "I would rather have my head roll at your Majesty's feet, than allow myself to be deprived of the Word of God, and deny my Lord." That was the spirit with which the Protestants participated at the diet. When the Diet opened, the Emperor asked the Protestants to state their opinions. Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), Luther's closest associate, drafted a Confession of Faith, stating in clear sentences the chief articles of their faith to be presented at the meeting. He and Luther hoped that it might provide a basis for unity between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholic Church. The Emperor Charles wished the Confession be read in Latin but John of Saxony responded by saying, "No, we are Germans and on German soil...I hope your Majesty will allow us to speak German." Thus the confession was read in German by a spokesman for the princes, most of the articles attacked the Roman Catholic doctrines of Transubstantiation, Celibacy of clergy, importance given to rituals, etc.

The Emperor realized that nothing but war would destroy the Reformation and he was not ready for that so he tried to entangle the Protestants in conferences. In the conferences he proposed to them, for the sake of peace, to surrender one point after another and Melanchthon being a meek and yielding character was compromising the protestant stand. When Luther heard the news, he wrote to Melanchthon, "To Master Philip Kleinmuth (Smallheart), I understand that you have begun a marvelous work to make Luther and the Pope agree. . . . Now mind, if you mean to shut up that glorious eagle the Gospel in a sack, as sure as Christ lives, Luther will come and deliver that eagle with might." The

Protestant princes and people were indignant when they found how Melanchthon was acting. They said, "rather die with Jesus Christ than conquer the favour of the whole world without Him." But the Roman Catholics were asking more that even Melanchthon could not agree. At last the Confession presented by the Protestants was rejected. The final decree of the Diet stated that the Protestants would have one year to return to Catholicism and give back the church lands they had seized or face the emperor's full military might. The Protestant princes met at Schmalkald, and formed a Protestant league of which Philip was the most active member. The League of Schmalkald was the most powerful confederacy within Germany. In 1532, after long negotiations, a peace was concluded between the Protestant princes and Charles at Nurnberg. This Peace of Nurnberg permitted the adherents of the Augsburg Confession to hold their doctrines, and granted other privileges. In return, the Protestant princes, and among them Philip of Hesse, cordially assisted the Emperor in all his national enterprises against the French and the Turks.

By the time Charles V gained a long enough respite from war with the French and the Turks in 1547 to deal militarily with the Lutherans, they had become too well entrenched to be rooted out. Eight years of, off and on war resulted in defeat for Charles, who was forced to accept the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. It recognized the right of the German princes to choose between Catholicism and Lutheranism as the religion of their states and established legal existence for Lutheran churches in those principalities that chose Lutheranism. Germany became permanently divided between Catholic and Lutheran.

Lutheran Movement

Luther was largely concerned about the German Church; he took little interest in other parts of Europe. Perhaps for that reason Lutheranism remained a Germanic movement. It had success where there was a strong Germanic element the Scandinavian countries, where the kings of Denmark and Sweden imposed Lutheranism on their churches in 1537 and 1540 respectively, and Prussia, where in 1525 the grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights proclaimed himself Duke Albert and turned his new duchy Lutheran.

Luther also introduced a number of reforms in the form of worship in the Protestant churches. They were for the most part not innovations, but revivals of practices lost by the medieval church. In the Lutheran reform, preaching became more important than it had been in many medieval churches, and hymns became more important than religious images as a

means of focusing religious feeling. Also, Luther, himself a fine musician, reintroduced music and congregational singing into the service. Luther himself wrote about 36 hymns (scholars differ on the exact number) and he translated many more from Latin to German.¹⁵⁰ He published a hymn book in 1524 and even wrote the music and lyrics for one of the best known hymns, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God." In the 1540s Luther was stricken with diseases a number of times, drawing great comfort from his family and from the lyrical, plain devotional exercises which he had written for children. In 1546 he was called from a sickbed to settle the disputes of two German noblemen. On the return trip he fell sick and died at Eisleben, the town of his birth, on Feb. 18, 1546.

Conclusion

Martin Luther is a figure of titanic greatness in the history of religion, a man of insurmountable courage, a writer and preacher of vast output and great depth, with the most powerful sense of the immediacy of the divine. He was one of the few who walks out on to the historical stage to briefly dominate the drama and then leaves the audience forever inspired and troubled by the echo of his words. Luther drew strength from his conviction that he was only an instrument in the hands of a God whose presence permeated and sovereignty directed the course of history. Ripples from his life and thought continue to shape learned discourse, provoke scholarly dispute, and attract human interest even in the twenty first century.

REFORMATION IN GERMAN SPEAKING SWITZERLAND

Introduction

The Reformation in Germany led by Martin Luther received and continues to receive much attention then the Reformation in Switzerland because of its larger than life Scenario. But if a reformation is judged by its later consequences than its beginning, then the reformation in Switzerland is more important than the German Reformation. The principles of the Swiss Reformers, both in doctrine and in Church organization got transplanted to other lands like France, Scotland, Hungary, and a large part of Germany. In most of the protestant churches today the traditions of Zwingli and Calvin are followed than those of Luther and Melanchthon. Ulrich Zwingli was the leader of the Protestant Reformation in Switzerland and he was strongly influenced by humanistic principles. He expressed his views in sermons, private conversations, and public debates, called disputations, before the city council. Like Luther, he considered the Bible the sole source of moral and spiritual authority, and he set out to eliminate everything in the Roman Catholic system that could not be supported by the Scripture Zwingli eventually made Zurich the center of church reform. Thus Zwingli successfully started a political, ecclesiastical, and theological movement in the Swiss town of Zurich.

Political Scenario of Switzerland

In the sixteenth century Switzerland was not a state but was a confederation of states or cantons. It was as divided as Italy or Germany, and yet it was united as they were not. Each state or canton was independent of its neighbor, and yet was banded together with them in common league. The original Swiss Confederation was formed in 1291 and consisted of only three cantons, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden in response to the attempts by Habsburgs to consolidate their hold over

inner Switzerland. It assumed real significance in the 1350s, when the city states of Berne, Zurich, Lucerne and Zug, along with rural Glarus, formed a series of alliances with the original confederates. The development of the Confederation received a further boost during the early decades of the fifteenth century, when combined military action by the Swiss states brought them control over areas such as Eschental and Aargau. The joint administration of these "common lordships" required regular consultation between the allies, which gradually became formalized as meetings of the Swiss Diet. During the remainder of the fifteenth century the area under the Confederation's control expanded rapidly as the Swiss gained for themselves a fearsome military reputation. However, the eight (original states) were determined to maintain a legal distinction between themselves and those states which had joined during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Basle (Basel) was only admitted to the Confederation in 1501 on condition that it agreed in future to seek the consent of its new allies before going to war with an outside power and was not allowed to vote in the Diet. So in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Swiss Confederation was a confederation of thirteen cantons, seven urban and six rural, each governed by its town councils. The determining say in religious matters did not lay with the Confederation's federal body the Diet, but with its member states with town councils and local communities.

The Swiss Church

Most of German speaking Switzerland came under the diocese of Constance, which covered most of the areas of southwestern Germany. Generally, in the Churches, the educational standards and moral conduct of the clergy fell short of the canonical requirements. Most of the parish priests lived in permanent quasi marital arrangements. After the Council of Basle (1431-43) successive Bishops of Constance tried to improve matters within their diocese, by holding occasional synods of the clergy, issuing mandates for the correction of abuses and also by reinforcing the disciplinary powers of local deans. In Lausanne, Bishop Aimon de Montfaucon issued a constitution for a diocesan synod and authorized a new missal in 1493. But such initiatives had little long term impact because the bishops lacked the financial resources to carry them out. On the other hand the secular authorities in many parts of Switzerland were intent on weakening the bishops' position to increase their power over the people. In the cities of southwestern Germany, the magistrates of Zurich, Berne and other Swiss urban centres had long been campaigning to bring the religious life of their citizens, including the local clergy, under their direct control. This involved an attack on clerical judicial and financial immunities,

as well as attempts to sideline the bishops' courts. In Zurich, a priests' court was created to deal with criminal cases involving clerics and lay people as early as 1304. By the late fifteenth century control over ecclesiastical appointments was largely in the hands of the civic authorities; even marital disputes were no longer automatically referred to the bishop.

Episcopal authority was also steadily rolled back in rural inner Switzerland during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In response to perceived abuses of the church's power of excommunication and interdict, the confederates sought to reduce the areas subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop's court in Constance. Such actions did not amount to a form of 'proto-Reformation' rather they were a lay response to what was seen as the failure of the bishops to deliver acceptable standards of pastoral care. By making the clergy answerable to the secular courts or by obtaining the right of presentation to their parish (as happened throughout central Switzerland during the course of the fifteenth century), local magistrates and communities hoped to ensure that this situation was put right. However, there was no sign that the traditional Catholic devotion was in decline.

Zwingli's Early Life and Education

Zwingli was born on 1 January 1484 at Wildhaus, Toggenburg Valley in Switzerland approximately seven weeks after Martin Luther. His grandfather and then his father Huldrych served as the local magistrate, an elected position usually filled by one of the wealthier farmers. His uncles were clergymen, and one of them was Bartholomew. In 1487, Zwingli left his home to be with his uncle Bartholomew who was a priest at Wesen and received his elementary education at Wesen attending a Latin school. When he was ten years, he left for Basel to attend an advanced Latin School. From there he was sent to Berne to a school run by Heinrich Wolflin who was a humanist. During that time, Bern was a free imperial city and was developing into a political center of Switzerland. The religious life was also flourishing at Bern and the monasteries were also looking for young recruits. The Dominicans in Bern persuaded Zwingli to join them as he was developing into an excellent Latin scholar and also an able musician. When his parents heard that Zwingli had joined the monastery, they immediately moved him to Vienna. During the closing years of the fifteenth century, Vienna was increasingly becoming a recognized center for humanist studies. Although little is known of Zwingli's interests and concerns at that time but it can be assumed that he might have been associated with a humanist in the university. From the University of Vienna, he was again shifted to University of Basel for his higher

studies.¹⁵¹ At Basel, he came in contact with Thomas Wyttenbach, a humanist, whom Zwingli remembered as the one who awakened him about the abuses of the traditional Church especially the Indulgences and also the teaching him the importance of the death of Christ as the forgiveness of sins and also the sole authority of the scripture. Wyttenbach taught Zwingli a truth that he never forgot, he said to him, "Do not rely on the keys of the Church (in speaking of indulgences that are purchased for the forgiveness of sins), but to seek the remission of sins alone in the death of Christ, and to open access to it by the key of faith." Having received his education from humanists, Zwingli also became a humanist and held on to their method of going back to the sources till the end of his life.

Zwingli as Parish Priest at Glarus (1506 – 1516)

After his graduation in 1506, Zwingli was appointed Parish Priest in Glarus through the influence of his uncle Bartholomew. For the next ten years, Zwingli fulfilled his duties as pastor, teacher, minister and student. It also proved to be the most decisive period of his life because it was during this time he developed his views as a reformer.¹⁵² He began to read and study the works of the early church fathers, particularly Origen and Jerome; he also began to learn Greek eagerly, and wrote to a friend, "Nothing but God shall prevent me from acquiring Greek, not for fame, but for the sake of the Holy Scriptures." It is said that his favorite books in the New Testament were the Epistles of St. Paul. He copied them out in his own hand from more than one manuscripts and he learnt them by heart.¹⁵³ During that time the Swiss soldiers were renowned for their skill and ferocity and were sought after by the Pope, French and Spanish. The Pope use to call them as "the army of God, chosen to rescue the bride of Christ." They were signed up as mercenaries, or hired soldiers, in the armies of the pope or foreign kings and dukes. Mercenaries could make quite a bit of money, especially from raiding captured cities. In 1512 men from Glarus joined a unit in the army of Pope Leo X (1475–1521; reigned 1513–21), which was fighting in Italy against France on the side of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. Zwingli went to Italy with the unit as the chaplain in 1512, 1513 and 1515. In the first two campaigns, the Swiss army successfully defeated the French but in the third campaign, the French also bought soldiers from Swiss cantons as a result the Pope's army was defeated in the battle at Marignano and around 10,000 soldiers lost their life. Moreover, those who came back from the war come with broken bodies and were corrupt in morals. Zwingli as the parish priest experienced the pain of informing families of the dead. Zwingli's pastoral concern and his patriotic nationalism motivated him to oppose the

mercenary practices he believed were eroding the moral and social fabric of the Swiss, not to mention their very existence as a people as they killed each other in the pay of opposing armies. Thus he began to openly criticize the mercenary service but since it could have adverse affect on the economy of the people, he was forced to leave Glarus.

Earlier in 1510, he recorded his patriotic feelings in a fable (a story with animal characters that teaches a moral lesson) called *The Ox*. His message was that, for the security of the Swiss Confederation, it was essential not to sell out to foreign warlords, whether for the Pope or French. He suggested that Switzerland should remain neutral in the power plays of European wars. His abhorrence of the mercenary business was clearly expressed in his poem *The Labyrinth* (1516), in which his politics now take on a religious tone: "Whoever commits crime and murder is considered a bold man. Did Christ teach us that?"¹⁵⁴

Zwingli at Einsiedeln

After being removed from Glarus, Zwingli went to Einsiedeln and served as a chaplain at the Shrine of the Virgin of Meinrod (the black virgin) which was and continues to be the center of cult of Mary worship in Switzerland. Tradition holds that the chapel was dedicated by an angelic host in 948 A.D. A number of pilgrims from Germany, Italy and other cantons use to visit the shrine throughout the year as it was said to be having miraculous power. It presented an opportunity to Zwingli to preach to people from far and near and his eloquence spread everywhere. He began to preach to the pilgrims, and to tell them the folly and sin of image and saint worship. It created a great deal of excitement and reports of them were even sent to Rome, and the Pope's legate was ordered to do his best to silence the preacher by offering him promotion in the Church but he refused all offers of advancement from the legate.¹⁵⁵ In 1518, Pope Leo X appointed Zwingli as chaplain for one his campaigns but he refused the offer and subsequently pension was doubled by the pope but Zwingli could not be pacified.

During the years at Einsiedeln, Zwingli began to show more interest in the writings of Erasmus and it is said that he read almost everything Erasmus wrote and started questioning the indulgences. The most important gift he owed to Erasmus was the Greek Testament published in 1516, as it afforded of an independent study of Holy Scripture. Erasmus after reading one of Zwingli's writings commented, "O good Zwingli! What have you written which I have not already written earlier?" Bucer remarked that a point by point comparison of Erasmus and Zwingli could suggest Erasmus was "the secret reformer of Zurich, if not the father of Reformed

theology generally.”¹⁵⁶ During that time he also learnt Hebrew and discovered the remarkable differences between the original text and the ecclesiastically sanctioned Latin translation, the Vulgate. According to Zwingli's own testimony and that of his friend Capito, the Strassburg Reformer, it was while Zwingli was still at Einsiedeln, and before the world had heard anything of Luther, that in his heart he had already broken loose from the existing ecclesiastical system, without however showing any outward manifestation of this separation; with Erasmus and thousands of others he still hoped for reform from above. At Einsiedeln, he preached against indulgences and other abuses of Romanism as early as 1516. On the basis of that, some historians' say that the Swiss Reformation began actually earlier than Luther's Reformation in Germany. The truth is that although Zwingli preached against abuses in as early as 1516, but it did not have the immediate consequences like Luther's posting of his Ninety five Theses.

At that much frequented place of pilgrimage Zwingli acquired the reputation of a distinguished and talented preacher. In the mean time, his preaching had become a topic of conversation at Zurich. In 1518, two weeks after Easter, around 1500 men from Zurich walked on foot to the Shrine of the Black Mary to pray. Zwingli's sermon made a great impression upon them and when the office of the people's priest became empty at the Great Minister at Zurich, Zwingli was invited to take up the office. But it was not without any opposition, his detractors raised the issue of Zwingli's womanizing. Zwingli responded to the rumor that he had seduced the daughter of an influential citizen by admitting his struggle with sexual temptations but denied both the woman's "purity" and her father's influence. He told that, "some three years ago I firmly resolved not to touch any woman ... I succeeded poorly in this, however. In Glarus I kept my resolution about six months, in Einsiedeln about a year ... That girl was a 'virgin' during the day and a 'woman' at night. She was such a 'day' virgin, however, that everyone in Einsiedeln knew exactly her role. ... She had had affairs with many men, finally with me. Or let me say it better: she seduced me with more than flattering words".¹⁵⁷ The charge of immorality was finally ineffective since the other priest vying for the post was a German priest who reportedly had three concubines and had eight children. Zwingli was preferred because he admitted that he was unable to remain chaste, regardless of how hard he tried and moreover the people also realized that he tried to live a morally ethical life. In light of this specific example and the generally widespread practice of priestly concubinage in the late Middle Ages, it is not surprising that one of the first reforms initiated in the Swiss Reformation was the right of the clergy to marry.

Zwingli's transformation at Zurich

Zwingli assumed the office at Zurich on 1st January 1519. At that time, Zurich was one of the more important cities of the thirteen cantons. The city with its surrounding villages had several thousand inhabitants with numerous churches. The Zurich church belonged to one of the largest dioceses in the Empire, the diocese of Constance. The bishop of Constance had oversight of some 1,800 parishes and over 15,000 priests, 200 of whom were in the city of Zurich. The two major churches of Zurich were the Great Minster and the Minster of Our Lady, both dating back to the ninth century. The most impressive of the churches was Great Minster, where Zwingli was posted. The work of Zwingli involved saying Mass, preaching, visiting the sick and dying. Soon after his induction he declared that he was going to preach a series of sermons beginning from the gospel of Matthew which was not in accordance with the existing system of that day. From the fifth century, the Church had selected special sections of the Bible for the different Sundays and Feast days, called as "pericopes," which the sermon of the day must comment. He argued that Chrysostom and Augustine did not have such list to follow. Zwingli also declared that in his exposition he was not going to keep to the interpretation of the Church, but to the sense of the texts that he obtained by his own private study. It was indeed a bold innovation from Zwingli. It is said that within four years he preached through all of the books of the New Testament except the book of Revelation. For him, the Word of God was the final rule for faith and life; the Word of God was to be understood and given primacy over the Church Fathers and any tradition. At that time, an indulgence seller Bernhard Samson, a Franciscan came to Zurich to sell indulgence. Zwingli preached against him, and prevailed on the authorities to send him out of the country.¹⁵⁸ However, in contrast to Tetzl, there were no vested interests aligned with Samson and hence no ecclesiastical reactions against Zwingli. But at this point, Zwingli did not intend to start a religious revolution but he was working within the context of Erasmus's concept of reform, which called for a cleansing of the church by returning to the scripture.

But before he could finish his sermons from Matthew, a serious plague spread in Zurich killing almost one third of its population. In all these, Zwingli proved to a faithful priest ministering to the people and putting the welfare of the people before his, to the extent that he himself became critically ill to the point of death.¹⁵⁹ Another serious blow to him was the death of his younger brother Andrew to the plague. These tragic events precipitated the most serious spiritual crisis Zwingli has ever encountered. But it awakened a sense of divine mission in him and marked his transformation from enlightened humanist to earnest reformer. In 1520,

he publicly rejected the papal pension and asked for forgiveness for having accepting it so long.

Reformation in Zurich

Zwingli's way of reformation was to begin through his preaching. After recovering from his near death sickness, he became bolder in his preaching. His preaching became his most effective means of advancing the cause of reform. Most of his preaching was from the New Testament, he preached from the book of Acts, Timothy, Galatians, first and second Peter, Hebrews, Luke and John, a series of sermons. After completing his exposition of all the books of the New Testament in 1525 he turned to expounding the first book of the Pentateuch. The impression produced by his sermons was overwhelming. Thomas Platter who after listening to Zwingli's sermon comments that, "I felt as if I was being pulled up by the hair on my head." "His eloquence," said Kessler of St Gall, "was true, pure, reasonable, free from theatricality, thoroughly straightforward and comprehensible to all; there was nothing underhand about it, but it was living, and went somehow with a loving energy to the hearer's heart." The result of his preaching was that, there was also a growing conviction among the highly placed members of the church that internal reform was the only answer to the church's plight.

The catalyst for Zwingli's public emergence as a reformer was an incidence of fast breaking during Lenten season¹⁶⁰, which took place in the house of his friend Christoph Froschauer, a printer, during Lent 1522. Christoph deliberately and publicly transgressed the ordinances about fasting by eating meat. He defended himself by saying that an unusual heavy amount of work was making his workers exhausted and he was just treating them with meat as advocated by Zwingli in his preaching. Though Zwingli had been present, but he did not participate in the meal. When outraged citizens, along with the Bishop of Constance, called on the city council to punish the offenders, Zwingli took the responsibility upon his own shoulders, and preached a sermon titled *On Choice and Liberty in Food* (23 March 1522), it was soon enlarged into a printed pamphlet (16 April 1522). Zwingli argued that Christians are free to fast or not to fast because the Bible does not prohibit the eating of meat during Lent. He claimed that it was the right of every individual to choose freely what to eat.

After hearing that, Bishop Hugo von Hohenlandenberg of the diocese of Constance wrote a letter to the council of Zurich to adhere to the practice of the tradition church. At the same time Bishop Hugo also persuaded the Swiss annual Diet which met at Baden a few miles away

from Zurich to pass a mandate prohibiting the preaching of Reformation doctrines. While the diet was still in session, Zwingli, then living with the widow Anna Reinhart, led ten other Swiss priests who were planning to marry or were already in a relationship to be accepted and wanted to make affair public in a petition to the bishop of Constance, Bishop Hugo, *To Allow Priests to Marry, or at Least Wink at their Marriages* (July 1522). The priests signing this petition declared that chastity is a rare gift of God, and that they hadn't received it. During that time though the clerical marriage was commonly recognized by the people but it was forbidden by the canon law. It was also estimated that during that time the diocese of Constance had as many as fifteen hundred children who had been fathered by the priests.

The Disputations

Because of the great commotion that was stirred up by Zwingli's stand for Biblical Christianity, the Council of Two Hundred, the main ruling government in Zurich called for a disputation to settle the issue. On January 3rd, 1523, the Council issued a circular letter to all the priests of the town and country districts of Zurich to the effect that, since there had been much dissension among the preachers, for some were trying to preach the Gospel while others were calling them false teachers and heretics for doing so, all priests were to assemble on January 29th at the town hall, and before the assembled Council were to defend their views with the aid of Scripture. An invitation was sent also to the bishop of Constance and to all the Cantons, asking them to send learned men to participate in the debate.

The disputations were common in those days especially among the universities, where students and professors debated the most questionable subjects with Episcopal permission. Zwingli saw this as a perfect vehicle to carry forward his reform programs in educating the common people. The disputation of Luther also gave enough publicity and aroused the interest in the concept of disputation. Before the first disputation, Zwingli was involved in two lesser know disputations in 1522, one with a Franciscan monk, Francis Lambert from Avignon on July 16, which was focused on the worship of Mary and saints, and another on July 21 with Dominican and Augustinians on the authority of scripture.

First Disputation: January 29, 1523

The civil authorities of Zurich called for a disputation for 29 January 1523, during which Zwingli was required to defend his preaching. The primary concern of the council was the restoration of order and religious unity in Zurich. They also invited the Bishop of Constance to the first Disputation

but he declined the invitation and sent his vicar general, Johann Fabri along with some Roman Catholic priests. It was attended by some six hundred men. The meeting was held in the city hall in the presence of the Zurich council. All the clergy from the canton and representation from every stratum of the canton's society attended the disputation. Roist presided over the disputation by delivering a speech which set forth the purpose of the disputation.

Very learned, venerable, noble, steadfast, honourable, wise, ecclesiastical lords and friends; In my lords' city of Zurich and its territories there has risen some discord and strife on account of the sermons and doctrine given to the people from the pulpit by our teacher here in Zurich, Master Ulrich Zwingli. Wherefore he has been reproached and spoken by some as a false guide, by others as a heretic...on account of this master Ulrich Zwingli has offered often from the public pulpit to give before everybody the rationale and ground of his preaching and doctrine delivered here in Zurich in an open disputation before numerous clergy and laity...Therefore if anyone now present has any displeasure or doubts over the preaching of Zwingli...let him here before my lords convict the oft mentioned Master Zwingli of untruthfulness...

When the floor was opened for discussion, Fabri declared that he has not come for debate but to investigate and to reconcile. He further added that it was not a proper forum for discussion but should wait for a general council. Then Zwingli proceeded to the heart of the matter and asserted that it was not important how old the practices of the Roman Catholic Church may be but it was whether it has been established by God. Therefore it was not necessary to wait for the General council or any such forum but the word of God was competent enough to judge. When Zwingli asked Fabri to cite some passages against his teachings, Fabri could not cite the errors and it became clear that he was not match for Zwingli. Apart from Fabri, no one else spoke against Zwingli. After the disputation ended, the members of the council issued a mandate approving Zwingli's teachings and demanding that all the clergy follow his lead. In observation it can be said that the Zurich magistracy had taken a crucial step towards creating the conditions for a successful Reformation, effectively setting itself up as an arbiter in matters of doctrine and worship. Whether consciously or not, it had transformed the disputation from a forum for scholarly debate into a mechanism for the implementation of religious change.

The Sixty Seven Articles: In the first disputation, Zwingli presented his Sixty seven articles which are said to be one of the most systematic writings of a reformer. It could be divided into two of unequal length. The first fifteen laid the theological foundations and contained positive

affirmations of evangelical truths and the other fifty two condemned ancient rules, regulations and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. The summary of the theses, in short are as follows.

Jesus Christ, and He alone, is the true object of worship, and is alone to be glorified; and the one thing needful is to lay hold on Him and on His Gospel. All claims made by the Roman hierarchy to come between Christ and His people, and to add to or take from the Gospel, are therefore mere pretensions, and are insulting to Jesus Christ, our sole High Priest. Christ died on the cross once for all for the sins of His people, and therefore the Mass, which professes to continue or repeat that sacrifice, is false, and the Eucharist is only a commemorative rite. Jesus Christ is the only Mediator between God and man, and therefore saint worship is idolatry. The Holy Scripture says nothing about purgatory, and there is none. Nothing is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy; it follows, therefore, that everything which assumes sanctity in the sight of man is folly: this condemns symbols, vestments, and tonsures. In similar fashion Zwingli condemned ordination, auricular confession, and absolution, the celibacy of the clergy, all merely ecclesiastical rule, and so on.¹⁶¹

The first fifteen articles were christocentric and said that Christ is the sole mediator between God and man. From the sixteenth article, he proceeded to condemn the Roman Catholic Church for its practices which were unsupported by the gospel.

Second Disputation: October 26, 1523

During the course of 1523, Zurich's population became increasingly polarized between supporters and opponents of reform. The debate moved on from the scripture principle to the potentially explosive questions of the mass and the cultic use of images. The second disputation was fixed for October 26th, 1523 and the invitations were sent to the bishops of Constance, Chur and Basel and to all the Cantons. But the attempt to give the affair a general Swiss character was foredoomed to failure as all of them refused to attend with the exception of the Confederates from Schaffhausen and St Gall. Like the first disputation, Roist opened the debate with 900 persons present. Three learned men from outside, Vadianus and Schappeler from St Gall and Sebastian Hofmeister from Schaffhausen, were named presidents. Since the Catholics had no leading representatives, such as Fabri had been at the first disputation, Zwingli who appeared against the mass, and Leo Juda who appeared against the images had an easy task. But the Town Council postponed its decision and punished the image breakers as it was not disposed to tolerate the riotous acts of isolated individuals. For the time being, the mass continued to be said in its traditional form and images remained in

place. From the beginning of 1524 popular Catholic devotion in the city began to show signs of collapse, while acts of iconoclasm were reported from Hongg and Zollikon in the Zurich countryside. Under mounting pressure from below, the council ordered the removal of all images from city churches on 15 June.

Abolition of the Mass

The mass still persisted as the last pillar of the vanished glories of the Roman Catholic Church till 1525. On Tuesday in Holy Week, 1525, Zwingli and the other pastors of the town appeared before the Great Council to demand that the mass should be replaced by the Lord's Supper, as the Evangelists described it. On this question there was still a strong opposing party, and it was only by a small majority that the proposal was adopted. The mass was said for the last time on Wednesday, April 12, 1525 and its place was immediately taken, the next day, Maundy Thursday, by a simple communion service. On Maundy Thursday, April 13th, 1525, the first Lord's Supper was celebrated in the Great Minister (Grossmonster) in accordance with the simple and beautiful liturgy composed by Zwingli. There was a large number of crowd to attend this new service of commemoration, which was repeated on Good Friday and on Easter Day, but the celebration of which was otherwise restricted to the principal festivals. After the abolition of the Mass, the altars and tabernacles were destroyed as superfluous, the gold and silver chalices, monstrances and reliquaries were melted down, the altar cloths and the vestments were sold.

In May, 1525, the council instituted a marriage law mandating clergy living in concubinage either to end the relationship or to marry. A marriage court was also established that clarified marital relationships by expanding grounds for divorce to include extreme incompatibility, desertion, physical and mental illness, and fraud.¹⁶² It is easy, in retrospect, to see the triumph of the Reformation in Zurich as somehow inevitable, given the relative swiftness with which it was accomplished. In fact, Zwingli was obliged to proceed cautiously throughout in order to neutralize opposition to his proposed reforms. Initially, for example, he suggested only limited changes to the liturgy, rather than the replacement of the mass by a fully reformed Lord's Supper. The reformer was aware that he had many powerful adversaries in the Zurich Small Council, the committee which handled most day-to-day administration. On the other hand, his preaching had made him a favorite of the Zurich populace and of the craft guilds, whose representatives dominated the larger Zurich council. The key civic positions of council were also held by evangelical sympathizers during the first half of the 1520s. They were able to ensure that traditionalists were excluded from the commissions appointed to

advise the council on religious questions. Even so, according to the (Catholic) chronicler Gerold Edlibach, the crucial vote for the abolition of the mass was passed by only a narrow majority, at a poorly attended night time session of the council. Zwingli himself long remained fearful that the reforms he had initiated might be reversed by his Zurich opponents in collaboration with foreign Catholic powers. According to Church Historian Philip Schaff, the Reformation of Zurich was substantially completed in 1525 and was accomplished by the secular and spiritual powers that God had appointed in Switzerland at that time and this radically caused the Roman Catholic powers that were still present in Zurich to submit to the civil Swiss government because the law protected the Reformation there. Beginning in 1525, Zwingli instituted the practice of weekly Bible studies known as "prophesyings." The name, taken from 1 Corinthians 14, meant biblical instruction. The goal was theologically to inform and mold the ministers and advanced students of the Latin school. A similar practice was instituted in Geneva around 1536 by Calvin and Farel under the name of "congregations." The centrality of biblical instruction was basic to Zwingli's conception of reform: all of life, personal and communal, is to be normed by Scripture.¹⁶³

Printing Press

Under the leadership of Zwingli, Zurich became one of the intellectual centers of the country. It became a centre of printing. Zwingli's friend, Christopher Froschauer helped him to produce astonishing amount of printing during the reformation. He printed the works of Zwingli, Leo Juda, Bibliander, Pellicanus, Collin, Bullinger, Conrad Gesner, Stumpf, Josias Simler and many others. The books issued from his press number nearly a thousand. The breach with Luther made the Zurichers feel the need for their own translation of the *Bible*; and Leo Juda, the pastor of St Peter's, was the soul of this movement. About 1531, the complete *Zurich Bible* was issued from Froschauer's press, magnificently illustrated; and it was the pride of Zurich that this translation was completed before that of Luther. It was formerly believed that Coverdale's *Bible*, the first complete English translation, published in 1535, was printed by Froschauer, but this is now disputed. It is, however, certain that in 1550 the New Testament and also the whole *Bible* were printed in English by Froschauer.

Zwingli and State Authorities

The reproach that has been frequently leveled against Zwingli is that he subjected the Church to the State, and that he simply replaced pope and bishop by the Town Council. Zwingli carried out his reformation in Zurich was with the help of city council in which all powers of discipline were

placed in the hands of the city magistrates. Zwingli's theory of the Christian community and the council's actions to create such a community had their roots in the late medieval communal idea which viewed the city as a "sacral community." This corporate ideal led to the blurring of the distinctions between the civil and ecclesiastical communities. There were two institutions in particular which marked the spirit of the Zurich Reformation, the *Ehegericht* (marriage court) and the synod. The *Ehegericht*, created by the council in 1525, was the most important institution in assuring magisterial control over Christian discipline in Zurich. It was originally a marriage court only, but in 1526 its jurisdiction was expanded to include adultery and fornication, and it became a true morals court. The council set the penalties, and the council itself was the only court of appeal. Then, in 1528, the synod came into existence. Its purpose was to watch over the morals and teaching of the pastors. The synod, however, had no authority to legislate or to discipline. The council, then, controlled all discipline within the "sacral" community. Zwingli and the city magistrates had collaborated fully in the process of reform that institutionalized magisterial authority over the church in Zurich. Zwingli's own theory on the roles of church and state within the Christian community fully supported the results of that process.

Zwingli and the Radicals

The stability of the Reformation in Zurich was threatened by radicals among Zwingli's own followers. Differences of approach within the evangelical party had become apparent towards the end of 1523. The failure of the second Zurich disputation to deliver the immediate abolition of the mass led some evangelicals to question Zwingli's policy of waiting on the Council. Zwingli told the rebels that the time when the mass should be abolished was for the council to determine, Manz shouted, 'No, the Spirit of God is the one who must decide.'¹⁶⁴ In the summer of 1523 they had demanded that the faithful, without awaiting the decision of the Council concerning images and the mass, should separate themselves from the others as the people of God, and should institute divine service in precise accordance with the example of Apostolic times. But Zwingli's did not want separate himself from the community, but was expecting an all embracing reformed popular Church. As a result they started calling Zwingli as the anti Christ and they held aloof from the church and assembled in private houses. In the year 1524, most probably under the influence of the German agitator, Thomas Munzer, who was living near the Swiss frontier, rejection of infant baptism came into vogue among the Zurich extremists and the Anabaptism were rooting for extreme Reformers. Zwingli who till now had left his extreme opponents undisturbed; but

when they declared open war against a custom so deeply rooted in the life of the people as was infant baptism, he found it necessary to take up a definite position. Though he did not himself attach any profound importance to baptism. When the Anabaptists could not be silenced by the interviews by the priests, the Town Council announced a public disputation concerning the question of baptism on January 17th, 1525. It was followed by several other disputations. All the disputations ended in the victory of the Council and Zwingli, and the defeat of the Anabaptists. The consequence was that the Council enjoined infant baptism, forbade the private assemblies of the Anabaptists, and expelled their foreign preachers from the country. Zwingli supported the persecution of the Anabaptists who took his ideas well beyond its intended goals. Six executions took place in Zurich between 1527 and 1532 because of their threat to the laws of Zurich, and their ongoing persistence in splitting from the reformed Church. In 1529, the Diet of Speier joined the Swiss in silencing these radical schismatics by decreeing, "Every Anabaptist and rebaptized person of either sex will be put to death by sword, or fire, or otherwise." Though the Zurich authorities quickly suppressed their congregations but the Swiss Brethren (as they are usually termed) long remained a thorn in the side of the Reformed establishment, clinging on in the Zurich countryside well into the seventeenth century despite occasional savage repression. Much of the polemical energy of Zwingli and his successor Heinrich Bullinger was poured into refuting the 'errors' of the Anabaptists, who also established a presence in Berne, Basle, St Gallen and Graubünden.

Reformation spreads to other Cantons

Berne: The introduction of the Reformation at Berne (1528) meant much more to Zwingli than just another canton won over. It was a decisive step on the way toward a "true confederacy". He wanted not just a loose cooperation between Swiss towns and cities at Tagsatzungen (federal Diets), but a firmly established Swiss nation.¹⁶⁵ The Reformation was prepared in the city and throughout Bern by three ministers, Sebastian Meyer, Berthold Haller, and Francis Kolb, and by a gifted layman, Niclaus Manuel, all friends of Zwingli. Haller was a native of Wurtemberg, and was also a friend of Melancthon settled in Berne as teacher in 1518. In 1521, he was elected as the chief pastor at the cathedral of Bern and labored there faithfully till his death (1536). A disputation took place in Berne in Jan 1528. The disputation at Berne lasted nineteen days (from Jan. 6 to 26). It had the same effect for Berne as the disputations of 1523 had for Zurich. The invitations were also sent to the Roman Catholic cantons and the four bishops but they refused to come with the exception

of the bishop of Lausanne as he sent delegates. The Reformed party was strongly represented by delegates from Zurich, Basel, and St. Gall, and several cities of South Germany. Zurich sent about one hundred ministers and laymen, with a strong protection. The chief speakers on the Reformed side were Zwingli, Haller, Kolb, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Bucer from Strassburg; on the Roman side, Grab, Huter, Treger, Christen, and Burgauer. Joachim von Watt of St. Gall presided. Popular sermons were preached during the disputation by Blaurer of Constance, Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius, Megander, and others. The ten Theses or Conclusions, drawn up by Haller and revised by Zwingli, were fully discussed, and adopted as a sort of confession of faith for the Reformed Church of Berne. They are as follows:

1. The holy Christian Church, whose only Head is Christ, is born of the Word of God, and abides in the same, and listens not to the voice of a stranger.
2. The Church of Christ makes no laws and commandments without the Word of God. Hence human traditions are no more binding on us than as far as they are founded in the Word of God.
3. Christ is the only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. Hence it is a denial of Christ when we confess another ground of salvation and satisfaction.
4. The essential and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ cannot be demonstrated from the Holy Scripture.
5. The mass as now in use, in which Christ is offered to God the Father for the sins of the living and the dead, is contrary to the Scripture, a blasphemy against the most holy sacrifice, passion, and death of Christ, and on account of its abuses an abomination before God.
6. As Christ alone died for us, so he is also to be adored as the only Mediator and Advocate between God the Father and the believers. Therefore it is contrary to the Word of God to propose and invoke other mediators.
7. Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life. Hence all masses and other offices for the dead are useless.
8. The worship of images is contrary to Scripture. Therefore images should be abolished when they are set up as objects of adoration.
9. Matrimony is not forbidden in the Scripture to any class of men; but fornication and unchastity are forbidden to all.
10. Since, according to the Scripture, an open fornicator must be excommunicated, it follows that unchastity and impure celibacy are

more pernicious to the clergy than to any other class.

By a reformation edict of the Council, dated Feb. 7, 1528, the ten Theses were legalized; the jurisdiction of the bishops abolished, and the necessary changes in worship and discipline provisionally ordered, subject to fuller light from the Word of God. The parishes of the city and canton were separately consulted by delegates sent to them Feb. 13 and afterwards, and the great majority adopted the reformation by popular vote, except in the highlands where the movement was delayed.¹⁶⁶

Basel: The example of Berne was followed by Basel, the wealthiest and most literary city in Switzerland as the University of Basel was there. It was also the centre of papermaking, and Froben's printing press had made it celebrated. In 1521, Erasmus had made it his headquarters. Many of the scholars residing there were under the influence of Wyttenbach, Zwingli's teacher, and were prepared to welcome the new teaching, Capito, the future reformer of Strasburg; CEcolampadius, the scholar of Reuchlin and future companion of Zwingli; Farel, a young Frenchman from Dauphine, who was to win over Calvin to active work as a reformer, were all scholars living at Basle. The Zurich disputation quickened some of them, and CEcolampadius and Farel began preaching against superstition. CEcolampadius was second only to Zwingli in importance among the Swiss reformers. He studied Greek and Hebrew and had made acquaintance with Reuchlin, Melanchthon and Erasmus. He produced one after another a series of translations and printed texts of the Greek Fathers, beginning with Chrysostom. He also got the attention of Luther, who wrote to Spalatin (June 10, 1521): "I am surprised at his spirit, not because he fell upon the same theme as I, but because he has shown himself so liberal, prudent, and Christian. God grant him growth." Luther and Oecolampadius met personally at Marburg in 1529, but as antagonists on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in which the latter stood on the side of Zwingli. He was appointed Lecturer of the Bible in the University. His lectures and sermons excited so much comment among the townsmen that the bishop ordered their cessation. Then a series of disputations were held and the results were encouraging to the reformers. In 1525, CEcolampadius was appointed by the city council as the public preacher in St. Martin's church and empowered to make such innovations as were justified by the Scripture. The crisis came at the end of 1528 when violence was about to break out between Catholics and evangelicals. On 4 January in a meeting it was observed that the evangelicals were in their thousands, the Catholics in hundreds. There were iconoclasm in the city and finally the council announced on 8 February that the mass would be abolished and all images removed in Basel and the surrounding countryside. It made Erasmus, Clareanus and

other humanists and most of the teachers in the university to leave the city. On 1 April 1529 came the great reforming ordinance, with its new frame for parochial organization, education and public worship.¹⁶⁷ In the next months Oecolampadius exercised a genuinely Episcopal oversight over the church, which on the Zurich model began to organize a system of synods. He spent rest of his years in quietly developing the reformed church.¹⁶⁸

Zwingli and Luther

Martin Luther and Zwingli were the two important leaders of Protestant movement of the 16th century. From 1518 onward Zwingli was acclaiming Martin Luther as a hero or Elijah of reformation. He said that a person like Luther was born once in thousand years. At the same time, he was keen to draw a clear line between himself and Luther and said he did not learn the gospel from Luther. Both of them were similar in their teachings because their source is the Scripture. Philip of Hesse, Germany brought them together to unite them to create a common front against their Catholic opponents. The meeting was significant for both the sides, Zwingli came out of conviction that an alliance was necessary for the preservation of the Reformation in Zurich, and Luther followed suit out of consideration for those princes upon whom the fate of his reforming movement in Germany depended. They met face to face along with others for extended discussions over four days on the issues in October of 1529 at Marburg in Germany. The two sides had many things in common. It is said that they agreed on 14½ statements of Marburg but on the issue of Lord's Supper they were divided. Both were champions of reformation and had absolute command over the Scripture but they differed in their interpretation. Zwingli was more radical and Luther was conservative. Luther refused to budge from a literal understanding of Jesus' words, "This is my body," and said that every departure from the literal sense is a device of Satan, by which, in his pride and malice, he would rob man of respect for God's Word, and of the benefit of the sacrament. Luther's insistence that Christ is really present in the sacrament appeared to Zwingli to be a relapse into the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Zwingli insisted that the literal meaning was impossible and he emphasized the figurative understanding of those words.¹⁶⁹ The Swiss proposed that they agree to disagree they could be Christians in full communion with each other and yet hold different doctrines on the sacrament. The Lutherans said that it was not possible.¹⁷⁰

Conflict between the Protestant and Catholic Cantons

According to the origin of the Swiss Confederation in 1291 it was established "in the name of the Lord." Now, with the Reformation unfolding in Zurich,

the cantons which remained faithful to the pope denied Zurich the right to be still considered a member of the Western Catholic Church. Troubles arose as a consequence, which quickly turned into acts of violence; the reformed pastors were arrested when crossing the Roman Catholic cantons and were burnt at the stake. Zurich was isolated and excluded from the renewal of the covenants. Zwingli strongly felt the political weakness of Zurich against the Catholic cantons and the power of Austria. He dreamed to see his city at the head of a great evangelical confederation and in 1528 succeeded in building the Christian Civic League which by 1529 included Bern and Basel, Constance, Biel, Muhlhausen, Schaffhausen, St Gall, and in 1530, Strassburg.¹⁷¹ The situation was further complicated by economic difficulties in the Roman Catholic cantons. Zurich and Berne (won to the Reformation in 1528) were richer than them. Tension was growing of a kind which could only lead to war. The first conflict burst out in 1529, but was ended without any open recourse to battle as Zurich was able to form a Christian Civil Alliance with other Cantons who were not supporting the other five Catholic Cantons. But they were looking for revenge and the second civil war broke out in Kappel in 1531 and this time Zurich was forsaken by its alliances and even Berne had prudently kept its forces far from the probable battlefield. Zurich went forth alone to fight, unfortunately unprepared, and this time was beaten. Zwingli, who was among the troops as a chaplain, was killed. Then the Roman Catholics soldiers burnt his body and his ashes were mixed with the ashes of swine and were scattered to the four winds of heaven.

Further Reformation under Heinrich Bullinger

Two months after Kappel, the Zurich council invited Heinrich Bullinger to replace Zwingli. In the following months Bullinger and the council labored to reinforce the institutions of Reformed society in Zurich: the morals legislation of the 1520s was renewed, the prohibition of the mass was reaffirmed, and the synod was reorganized. Bullinger himself authored the new church ordinance that was issued by the council in October 1532. The ordinance carefully defined the role of the synod and the clergy. All of the pastors, along with eight councilmen, were members of the synod. There were two presidents - a pastor and a council man. The pastors would not involve themselves in civil matters; they accepted fully the authority of the civil magistrates over themselves and the church. The synod had authority only over matters of faith and the behavior of its clerical members, although even in the latter case a censured pastor would be disciplined by the civil government. Any other issue was to be referred to the council by the eight councilmen who were members of the

synod. Moreover, pastors would be appointed to parishes by the civil authorities.

By late 1532 it was evident that the pastoral office was not only an ecclesiastical but also a civil office, that the pastors were servants of both the word of God and the Zurich council. The magistracy held all disciplinary power; the role of the clergy was limited to preaching and other pastoral functions under the watchful eye of the council. The "sacral" community of Zurich was completely controlled by the civil magistracy. Thus the system that gradually had come into existence during the 1520s was completely institutionalized, within a year of Zwingli's death, under Bullinger's leadership.

His conception of Christian community was based largely on his covenant idea. In brief, Bullinger taught that there was only one covenant in history. God first made this covenant with Adam, then renewed it with Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, and Christ. This covenant was mutual and bilateral. God promised to be all-sufficient for those who kept the conditions of the covenant, which were faith in God and piety of life, or love of the neighbor. Thus, to keep the covenant was to have faith in God through Christ and to keep God's commandments. The moral law was a summary of the conditions of the covenant. The moral law was the eternal will of God and had never been abrogated. Therefore, the covenant conditions were the same in both the Old and New Testaments. Thus the pastor could only urge the ruler to establish religion according to the divine word and exhort the people to keep the covenant conditions. His function did not include discipline or even exclusion from the eucharist. The magistrate was the successor of the Old Testament kings. Like the Old Testament ruler, the magistrate alone had the power to establish religion and to discipline. It was the magistrate who had been given the authority to enforce the covenant condition of love within Christian society.

Conclusion

The reformation in the German speaking part of Switzerland is credited to Zwingli. The Reformation in Switzerland was much more radical than in Germany. The Swiss took their stand strongly on the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, and were not bound by so many medieval traditions as the early Lutherans. The reform principle formulated by Zwingli was based on his humanist and biblical studies. From the outset the Swiss Reformation gave emphasis to church discipline and moral control. Zwingli turned academic disputations into occasions of public decision which became a formidable weapon for reformation. The disputation proved to be the proto-type of a whole series of similar disputations throughout the period 1523–36 converting most of the parts of Switzerland. Thus

Reformation was closely connected to politics, Zwingli and others believed that the state should protect the church. They believed that civil magistrates were ordained of God and could rule over the church. He always promoted national self defense; a stance that cost him his life at the second battle of Kappel in 1531. Zwingli's patriotism is graphically represented by his statue in Zurich, which portrays him with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other.

JOHN CALVIN

Introduction

John Calvin is known as the most influential of all religious leaders of the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth century Europe. He was the second generation of reformers so his task was more of consolidation than initiation. It is said that "if Luther sounded the trumpet for reform, Calvin orchestrated the score by which the reformation became a part of Western civilization." The first phase of the Reformation focused on issues relating to personal salvation and the need for reform in the life of the church. In the second phase, Calvin settled the issues concerning the identity of the church and its place in public life. One of his most significant works was "The Institutes of the Christian Religion" which detailed his reformatory program. He developed his thinking against the all important background of the life of the city of Geneva, which can be thought of as the laboratory within which Calvin forged his new ideas. Calvin believed in a sterner, more "puritanical" interpretation of Christianity. Under his tireless direction, Geneva became the focus of a far reaching evangelical movement. It was called as the Protestant Rome in the sixteenth century.

Early Life and Education

John Calvin actually Jean cauvin was born on July 10, 1509 in Noyon fifty miles northeast of Paris. His father Gerald Calvin was one of the most influential persons in Noyon. He was secretary to the Bishop and being a lawyer was also taking care of the legal matter of the noble families of Noyon. After the death of his mother in 1515, John Calvin was sent to live with a noble family where he received his early education, which gave Calvin his aristocratic bearing and enabled him to associate with French nobility with ease that set him apart from other reformers. John Calvin and his brother Charles received support for their studies from the diocese as they were groomed for ecclesiastical careers by their father. At the age of twelve, Calvin was sent to Paris for his higher studies. The university

had lost its former glory but was left with few brilliant teachers; one of them was Maturin Cordier who turned Calvin into an excellent Latin scholar and also taught the art of debate or vocal argumentation. During his Paris days he was a diligent student, sleeping little and studying much. It was his habit to repeat everything new he learned during the day before going to sleep at night, and to recall the previous days' lectures when he awoke the next morning. In this way his remarkable ability to retain an enormous amount of information was greatly enhanced. He completed his bachelor's and master's degree in philosophy in 1528 when he was just eighteen years old from College de Montaigu at Paris. He also became fluent in Latin and proficient in philosophy and humanism. And when Calvin was about to embark upon the serious study of theology his father had a fallout with the Bishop of Noyon and was accused of mishandling funds and was thus excommunicated from the Church. This made him to change his opinion regarding his son's future and directed his son to leave theology to pursue a law degree which Calvin followed as an obedient son.¹⁷² Calvin went to the University of Orleans which was famous for its law faculty especially Pierre de VEtoile who was the most famous among the French legal scholars of the day. After a year at Orleans, he shifted to Bourges to study under Andrea Alciati, an Italian scholar, who was the most scientific legal teacher of the time.¹⁷³ It was at Bourges, he came under the influence of a German protestant, Melchoir Wolmar, who taught him Greek and introduced to him the Greek New Testament for which Calvin remained grateful till the end. In Bourges, he began to preach even though he was not ordained. He qualified himself to be a lawyer, he never received his degree because he lost his interest in pursuing Law as his career and moreover his father who wanted him to pursue law was no more as he passed away in May 1531.

In April 1532 Calvin published his first book, a commentary on *De clementia* (The Clemency) by the Roman political leader and philosopher Seneca (c. 4 b.c. – a.d. 65), which demonstrated his potential as an intellectual, and indicated a bright career. In 'The Clemency' he expanded on the work of Dutch humanist and scholar Desidius Erasmus (1466–1536), who had a great influence on the religious thought of the people in Europe. Calvin's work flaunted both his fluency in Latin and his ability to use Greek sources. He was also well educated in the classic traditions and the work of contemporary humanist commentators. He quoted not less than seventy four Latin and twenty two Greek authors, which demonstrated his remarkable knowledge of the ancient classics. In the intellectual community of that time, a dialogue had been ongoing between the humanists and scholastics. (Scholastics were scholars who followed a method developed in the middle ages, which sought to integrate

Christian faith with the philosophy of reason found in the works of such ancient philosophers as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle). Calvin's writing shows that he was a firm humanist rhetorician. In spite of all his efforts, the book did not sell and got a cold reception.

It was during this period, probably in 1533–1534, that Calvin experienced in an evangelical sense what he called a "sudden conversion." Trained in law and imbued with humanist learning, Calvin echoed Luther's understanding of personal salvation through faith in Christ and not by works.¹⁷⁴ In 1533, Calvin came to visit his friend Nicolas Cop, who had been appointed the dean of the University of Paris. In his inaugural address on the All Saints' Day, Nicolas delivered a lecture which had overtones of Protestantism and quotes from Erasmus and Martin Luther. It began with an Erasmian plea for a purified Christianity, then proceeded to a Lutheran theory of salvation through faith and grace, and ended with an appeal for a tolerant hearing of the new religious ideas. Paris was a Catholic city at that time and the entire city rose against Nicolas but somehow he managed to escape. He fled and a reward of 300 crowns was offered for his capture alive or dead, but he managed to reach Basel, which was now Protestant.¹⁷⁵ Then they caught Calvin and suspected him to do something with Nicolas' lecture so they warned him to leave Paris. Following that he went into hiding and wrestled with himself only to come out in the spring of 1534 to return to Paris to meet a famed Bible scholar Lefevre D'Etaples. Calvin heard of Lefevre in his college days. Lefevre was a Catholic priest but he became the leader of French Reform Movement. He searched the scripture and came to the conclusion that the Bible was the sole source of authority. He coined the phrase, "Literal Spiritual," meaning only scripture could interpret the meaning of scripture. After meeting with Lefevre on April 6, 1534, Calvin went convinced that reform would never take place as long as he remained within the Catholic Church. After this Calvin made up his mind to break away from the Catholic Church, which he had been wrestling for so many years. After which he arrived at Basel, where in 1534, and taught himself theology and had written his Institutes.

The Institution of Christian Religion

In March 1536 Calvin published (in Basel) the first (Latin) edition of his *magnum opus*, (*Christianae Religionis Instituti*) *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. It was the most notable work of John Calvin and it established his reputation among the reformers. The first edition he published had only six chapters but the last and eighth edition published in 1559 had eighty chapters in four volumes. Calvin might have got the idea for his Institutions during his years as a law student because in the

Civil Law, *the Institutiones* was the elementary but authoritative textbook for the law students. In the similar way, Calvin wanted his institutions to be an elementary textbook for the Christian faith. The first edition contained a catechism for the French Protestants; it was a short work dealing with the Law, the Apostle's creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, false sacraments and Christian Liberty. He primarily depended on the Bible as his only standard. Some of the changes that characterized the subsequent editions were due to Calvin's increasing knowledge and appropriation of the Church fathers, and new Protestant doctors. He dependent on Luther, especially, *the Catechisms*, *the Bondage of the Will*, and *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. He also borrowed something from Bucer, Erasmus and Schwenckfeld, as well as from three writers who were in a certain sense his models, Melancthon's *Commonplaces of Theology*, Zwingli's *True and False Religion*, and Farel's *Brief Instruction in Christian Faith*. In the Institutes Calvin succeeded in summing up the whole of Protestant Christian doctrine and practice. It was a work of enormous labor and thought. Its rigid logic, comprehensiveness, and clarity have secured it the same place in the Protestant Churches that the Summa of Aquinas has in the Roman theology.¹⁷⁶ It was dedicated to Francis I, the king of France and it was also designed as an apology for the evangelicals who were the objects of persecution in France. Two events gave occasion for addressing Francis: the royal edict of January 1535 against the French Protestants, and the almost simultaneous invitation of Francis to Melancthon and Bucer to come to France and arrange an alliance between the French monarch and the Lutheran princes against Charles V. Calvin hoped to reinforce political expediency with theological arguments, and help incline the King, like his sister, toward the Protestant cause.¹⁷⁷

After finishing the Institutions Calvin felt that he needed a much deserved rest and was look out for a place. It was in those circumstances, he stayed at Geneva for a night on his way to Strasbourg. It was on that night Guillaume Farel met John Calvin and asked him to stay back in Geneva and help him in its reformation. But Calvin was in no mood to stay back as he had planned a life of scholarship and writing. He protested Farel by saying he needed rest, but Farel confronted him by saying "May God curse your rest!" These words of Farel shook Calvin and he took it as the call of God to stay in Geneva and work for its reformation.

Geneva before the Arrival of Calvin

Even before the arrival of John Calvin, Geneva was a protestant Canton. Geneva had a complicated political and ecclesiastical history. For centuries the Bishop dominated the political affairs of the city with the help of the

House of Savoy. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were three councils governing the city along with the Bishop but in 1527, when the Bishop Pierre de Baume left Geneva, the city councils took over his responsibilities.

In 1528, Bern a neighbouring city of Geneva formally embraced Zwinglian variety of Protestantism and became its aggressive supporters. In 1532, a crisis developed at Geneva as Pope Clement VII had issued an indulgence to be sold in the city but the people were not interested in buying the indulgence. When the city was buzzing over the crisis, Guillaume Farel with his two companions from Bern arrived at Geneva and started their work silently. Farel has been termed 'the Elijah of the French Reformation.' He was a Frenchman of noble descent who had been converted by Lefevre des Etaples, 'the father of Protestantism in France.' In his youth, Farel recalled that, he was "more popish than the pope," but when he became a Protestant he undid it with all his heart. Lefevre des Etaples translation and explanation of the Bible upset Farel's orthodoxy. For in the Scriptures he could find no trace of popes, bishops, indulgences, purgatory, seven sacraments, the Mass, the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of Mary or the saints. Farel's associates describe him as a perfect firebrand. Oecolampadius, the reformer of Basel, warned him that his mission was 'to preach the Gospel and not to curse the pope.' Even Zwingli also warned him that his life was too precious to be sacrificed by acts of imprudence. He set out as an independent preacher, wandering from town to town in France and Switzerland. He went to Geneva and rented a house and started preaching the gospel. It is said that, one day, he met a priest carrying relics; in his enthusiasm he took them away from him by force and threw them into the river. Because of his violent methods, he was soon discovered and thrown out of Geneva which was a Catholic city.¹⁷⁸ But Guillaume Farel was not willing to give up and sent his friend Antoine Froment in the disguise of a French teacher. He attracted lot of students and used the French New Testament, which gave him a splendid opportunity to present the gospel. As a result the students became ardent supporters of reformation. On March 30, 1533, the council issued a decree granting toleration to the evangelicals. With this encouragement the evangelical took heart and became more aggressive. On April 10, they held a communion service, which provoked the Roman Catholics and they launched an attack on the Protestants in which a Roman Catholic Priest was killed and immediately he was proclaimed a Martyr. In December a Roman Catholic monk name Guy Furbiti arrived in Geneva and started preaching against the Protestants which created an uproar and people turned against Antoine Froment and he was almost seized. Upon this Bern demanded a public disputation in the wake of Geneva's failure to

protect Froment.

Farel was sent to Geneva for the disputation but Furbiti failed to defend his views from the scripture. But the Bishop of Geneva was not willing to give up and he formed an alliance with the duke of Savoy to organize an army attack on the city. This proved to be a blunder on the part of the Bishop and the people turned towards the evangelicals. Evangelical theses were drawn up and posted in the city on May 1, 1535 and copies were sent to all the priests and convents. The Bishop of Geneva had forbidden the disputation so no one showed up for the opening session. In the subsequent sessions the Roman Catholics were represented but they proved no match for Guillaume Farel. When the disputation ended on June 24, 1535, Farel demanded that Geneva should formally declare itself as a Protestant Canton, but it hesitated. Then the evangelicals took matters in their own hands and iconoclastic riots broke out. Then on 9 August, the council of two hundred met and resolved to temporarily abolish the mass and worship of the saints till the Roman Catholics defend their position. On November 29, 1535, the Roman Catholic monks were not able to defend their practices. The council informed them that they must cease saying their mass till further notice. It was on May 21, 1536, Genevan Council announced that it had formally embraced Protestantism. Ecclesiastical properties were converted to Protestant uses for religion, charity, and education. Guillaume Farel was working with all his energy to build a truly evangelical church. The Reformation was beginning to capture the hearts and minds of people. Later Calvin would recall that "They had preached. They had burned images. But there was no real reformation. It was all in the melting pot."¹⁷⁹ It was in that situation, Farel asked Calvin to stay in Geneva and to help him.

Calvin and the Disputation at Lausanne

In September 1536, Calvin returned to Geneva with his belongings and was introduced to the Church but the people knew very little about John Calvin. It was his disputation at Lausanne which put him in spotlight. Lausanne a neighboring city of Bern was helped by Bern for its liberation from House of Savoy. Bern being a promoter of Protestantism was pressing for a disputation at Lausanne. The disputation was arranged in the first week of October. Once again, Guillaume Farel and Pierre Viret drew up evangelical theses and presented the agenda for debate. Around 174 Roman Catholic priests were present for the disputation and a Catholic priest presented a well prepared paper on the doctrine of transubstantiation and accused the Protestants of neglecting the early church fathers. It was then that Guillaume Farel asked John Calvin to

defend the argument. John Calvin rose hesitantly and his opening remarks were, "those who attempt to quote the Fathers need to read them before they attempt to use them." He then proceeded to quote from memory one passage after another citing from different books in an amazing display of learning. It is said that one of the Catholic priests was converted on the spot and in the weeks that followed around 200 Catholic priests became Protestants and Lausanne embraced Protestantism. And Calvin was no longer an anonymous Frenchman and his reputation as a scholar and theologian spread everywhere.

Calvin and the Church of Geneva

Calvin along with Guillaume Farel attempted to bring order in the church of Geneva. They drew up a *Confession of Faith* to give some shape to the newly established church. It had a brief creed of twenty one articles and it was present to the smaller as well as the larger council and both of them approved it, of course not without any opposition from few members. But once it was approved, everyone in Geneva was to adhere to it. The captains of different divisions of Geneva took the people to the cathedral in groups where they had to accept the new creed with an oath. But there were few who disapproved it and stayed away. Along with the *Confession of Faith*, articles on *Discipline* were also submitted to the Council. The *Discipline* sketched an ecclesiastical organization and outlined the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical power. Calvin considered discipline very necessary for the establishment of the church at Geneva as was in the early church. In Geneva, he was shocked to people given to singing, dancing, gambling, drinking intoxicating drinks, adultery, prostitution and similar gaieties. He recommended the ecclesiastical sentences for the breach of discipline was to the extremity of excommunication but if they refused to amend their lives even after admonition they were to be cut off from the communion with believers until they gave satisfactory proofs of repentance. The censures of the church were to be enforced by the civil authorities. The council approved secular enforcement of discipline but did not approve excommunication recommended by Calvin. He also produced a *Catechism* for the instruction of children in 1537. It was a condensed edition of the *Institutes* explaining the Ten Commandments, the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Sacrament. But proved too difficult and theological for children and was replaced by a revised edition in 1541.

Calvin directed the Reformation in Geneva, hoping to fully establish Protestantism as part of a total moral reform and to eliminate the lack of discipline associated with Catholicism. Calvin believed that it was not only the duty of the Pastor to preach but also to watch over them. Calvin

tried to abandon all the things that seemed contrary to the divine law. On January 16, 1537, the council of two hundred ordered that on Sundays during the time of sermon every business should be shut and people should attend the worship service. In July 1537, the council issued decrees against all manifestations of Catholicism as well as all forms of immorality. Rosaries and relics were banished along with adulterers. Gamblers were punished and so were people who wore improper, that is, revealing or exposing, clothing. Calvin brought the 'holy reign of terror' on the people of Geneva which many did not appreciate. Calvin wanted to have communion every month but the council directed him to hold communion once in three months. Infact this wish of John Calvin was not fulfilled till the end. The council also insisted that the announcement of a forthcoming marriage should be made three successive Sundays before celebration.

The new rules were too severe for many citizens, and in February 1538 a combination of *Libertines* (freedom lovers) and suppressed Catholics captured a majority of the council and banished Calvin and Farel from Geneva. Calvin went to Strasbourg and Farel to Neuchatel, where he remained for the rest of his life.

The Strasbourg Exile

After being removed from Geneva, Calvin received an invitation in Strasbourg to lead a French congregation of refugees from Martin Bucer. When Calvin turned down the offer, Martin Bucer accused Calvin of being another Jonah whom God could not possibly bless, and then Calvin changed his mind and yielded to come back to Strasbourg. In September 1537, Calvin arrived at Strasbourg, where apart from his pastoral duties he also managed to translate Institutes into French, prepare a second edition of the Latin version, and write a major commentary on Romans. The second edition was not just a revised one but also an enlarged one which reflected his growing maturity and understanding of the scripture. In the second edition, he also gave more importance to the doctrine of predestination which is said to the influence of Martin Bucer. Another important contribution of Calvin at Strasbourg was his translation and adaptation of the Protestant liturgy developed by Bucer. It provided the following order of worship; invocation, prayer, confession, absolution, singing of the table of the Law, Scripture reading, sermon, singing of a psalm or hymn and benediction. He published it in 1542, under the title, *Prayer Book for French Churches, According to the Word of God*, which became the model for later Calvinist forms of worship. Calvin opposed the use of organ in singing as it detracted the simplicity of worship. In 1540 he married Idelette Bure, the widow of one of his converts, who had a son and a daughter. The couple's only child together died shortly after

birth in 1542. Idelette died seven years later, after which Calvin did not marry. His three years in Strasbourg was a productive time for him. In Strasbourg, Calvin worked closely with Martin Bucer, one of the seminal figures in the German Reformation, and learned a great deal from Bucer on how to organize a Reformed church.¹⁸⁰

Crisis in Geneva

Meanwhile, conditions in Geneva deteriorated. The remaining Protestant preachers were not capable of providing effective leadership. Leaders of the Roman Church in the area began putting pressure on Genevans to return to Catholicism. In March 1539 Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto, archbishop of Carpentras wrote a letter to the council of Geneva at the instruction of Pope Paul III to return to the bosom of the Holy Mother Church. Sadoleto bluntly acknowledged the sad state of the Catholic Church and agreed that ecclesiastical reform was needed but he argued that it was not necessary to reject the customs of centuries or to sever ties with the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁸¹ But the people of Geneva did not wish to return to the Catholic Church and the council was looking for someone to write a fitting response to Sadoleto, when they could not find anyone capable of answering him, they approached Calvin who wrote a response to Sadoleto, which became one of the classical apologies for the Reformation. In *The Reply to Sadoleto*, Calvin following the outline of Sadoleto's letter to the council and answered it point to point. He compared the two forms of church on the basis of doctrine, discipline, Sacraments and Ceremonies; and in each of these he accused the Roman Catholic Church of wanting. He also made a point that the Roman Catholic Church had forsaken the Word of God and rejected the Holy Spirit and therefore was in shambles. Geneva was jubilant over Calvin's reply and soon they invited Calvin to come over to Geneva. There were other factors also contributing to recalling Calvin to Geneva because the ministers who replaced Farel and Calvin proved incompetent both in preaching and in discipline. The public also had lost their respect for them, and returned to the easy morality of unreformed days. Gambling, drunkenness, street brawls and adultery flourished. An official delegation was dispatched from Geneva to entreat the Reformer to return. When Farel added his voice to the solicitations, Calvin replied to him by writing "I would prefer a hundred other deaths to this cross (that is Geneva) on which I would have to die a thousand times each day". To another friend he wrote, "I tremble in my innermost being when mention is made of my return..." On May 1, 1541, the Council annulled the sentence of banishment, and pronounced Farel and Calvin to be honorable men. Deputation after deputation was sent to Strasbourg to persuade Calvin to resume his pastorate at Geneva.

But Calvin had made many friends in Strasbourg, felt obligations there, and saw nothing but strife in store for him at Geneva. In Strasbourg, Martin Bucer was anxious to keep Calvin with him and the civil authorities there were unwilling to release him until persuaded by insistent letters from Zurich and Basle as well as from Geneva, which urged the necessity of Calvin's presence for the well being of both church and state in Geneva. After some hesitation and some hard negotiations, he accepted this invitation, and arrived in Geneva on September 13, 1541. He was received with many honors, apologies, and promises of co-operation in reestablishing order and the Gospel. On September 16, he wrote to Farel, "Your wish is granted. I am held fast here. May God give His blessing."

Calvin and the Organization of Church at Geneva

Thus Calvin after an absence of three and half years started his ministry in Geneva from the place where he left off. Calvin was invited back to Geneva because he possessed precisely the skills the Genevans needed at that juncture. He labored twelve to eighteen hours a day as preacher, administrator, professor of theology, superintendent of churches and schools, adviser to municipal councils, and regulator of public morals and church liturgy. He slept little, ate little, and fasted frequently. His successor and biographer, Theodore de Beze, marveled that one little man could carry so heavy and varied a burden. He was assured by the city council that he would be given the freedom he felt was necessary to build God's earthly kingdom. He wanted Geneva to be the model Christian city. He wanted Geneva to be the new Israel of God. Just like Israel had a covenant relationship with God and stood for the purity of worship, Calvin wanted Geneva to have such covenant relationship with God and stand for purity of worship. Within six weeks of his return in 1541, Calvin completed and submitted to the magistrates of Geneva his Ecclesiastical Ordinances, a blueprint for the reformation of the Church of Geneva. In November, 1541, the city council approved the *Ordonnances ecclesiastiques* (Ecclesiastical Ordinance) formulated by a committee led by Calvin. In the Ordinance, Calvin laid down detailed guidelines to govern every aspect of the church. The Ordinance was to fashion a church according to the Biblical paradigm. The *Ordinance* proposed fourfold ministry, which he claimed was based on the Acts of the Apostles, where he found four divine offices of pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons.¹⁸² The pastor's job was to preach the Word of God and minister sacraments. No one was allowed to preach in Geneva without the permission of the pastors. They were not formally ordained, in the traditional Catholic way. They were simply nominated by the group of existing pastors, approved by the Small Council and members of the parishes to which they were to

be assigned, and then put on the city payroll. They were not given independent income in the form of *beneûces*, as were Catholic clergymen. They were rather paid salaries from the city treasury, usually supplemented with grain and rations, and often provided with free housing. At a second level were teachers or doctors. Their job was to teach the Word of God, primarily to those in training for the pastorate and also to instruct the young in sound doctrine. In the beginning, doctors were often pastors as well. Calvin held both jobs and so did Theodore Beza, his successor. Only after 1559, when Geneva established an Academy to train pastors and others, the independent scholars were hired solely as doctors. Both doctors and teachers received financial support from the city treasury.¹⁸³ The pastors and doctors belonged to a Company of Pastors that met once a week to coordinate all religious activities within the city. Then the elders or presbyters were laymen who were responsible for maintaining the discipline among the members of the congregation. The elders had to supervise the church under them and were also expected to visit each family at least once in a year. Whenever necessary they had to make a report concerning those who err and submit to the ministers who will correct them. The elders, along with the pastors, belonged to a body called the consistory. It also met once a week to superintend the behavior of everyone in Geneva. The deacons were to assist the Pastors by supervising poor relief, visiting needy and sick members and administering the city hospital, which cared not only the sick but also widows and orphans. The deacons were members of a body of procurators for the city's General Hospital, assisted by a hospitaller who actually directed that institution on a day-to-day basis. The General Hospital was not primarily an institution for caring for the sick. It was rather a kind of poor house. It supported a number of orphans, providing for their education until adolescence, and then placed them as apprentices or domestic servants within city households. It also supported a few people incapable of caring for themselves, including cripples, the blind, and the very elderly. It also provided free rations of bread for households in the city temporarily too poor to support themselves. This institution and its officers had been created before Calvin's arrival in Geneva, to replace a number of small hospitals controlled by religious communities or confraternities that had provided charity before the Reformation. By calling its officers "deacons" Calvin was in effect sacralizing this institution, giving it a religious status, gaining more civic respect for its work.¹⁸⁴ The Ordinance also spelled out that sermon should be preached twice on Sundays, Catechetical classes at the noon time, additional sermons on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

The most distinctive and controversial aspect of Calvin's system of

church government was the Consistory. This institution came into being in 1542 and had five pastors and twelve lay elders elected by the council who were responsible for the conduct of all citizens. Calvin held power as the head of this Consistory from 1542 till his death in 1564. "The office of the Consistory is to keep watch on the life of every one." The committee had the authority over the private lives of citizens and its aim was to create a society of saints. So the city was divided into quarters, and the members of the consistory visited every house at least once a year and passed in review the whole life, actions, speech, and opinions of the inmates. They had the right to visit search the home of the citizens. The consistory had the right to summon any one and also to excommunicate them which meant virtually automatic banishment from the city by the council. The Elders sat as a regular court, hearing complaints and examining witnesses. It was said that a gesture was enough to bring a man under suspicion.¹⁸⁵

Calvin compelled all the citizens to fulfill their religious duties. The citizens were forced to attend all worship services. In addition to Sunday services there were morning prayers every work day and a second service three days a week. The business was supposed to remain closed during the time of preaching. Dancing which accompanied kisses and embraces were forbidden. Theatres were closed, gambling was prohibited, singing profane songs were banned, and immodest or luxurious dresses were suppressed and even the way the women did their hair was also censored. He also drew up a list of baptismal names which he thought objectionable. It was also forbidden to name children after saints venerated near Geneva; an obstinate father served four days in prison for insisting on naming his son Claude instead of Abraham. In one extraordinary instance a child was beheaded for striking his parents. It was also a criminal offense to speak ill of Calvin or the rest of the clergy. The press was severely censored, with writings judged to be immoral and books devoted to Catholicism or other false teaching forbidden. Punishment for first offenses was usually a fine and for repetition of minor crimes, banishment. Fornication was punishable by exile, and adultery, blasphemy and idolatry by death.

Like most men of his century, the reformer was convinced that believing wrongly about God was so heinous a crime that not even death could expiate it. There were some ugly moments in theocratic Geneva. Between 1542 and 1546, fifty eight people were executed and seventy six banished in order to preserve morals and discipline. Calvin said that, "it is better that two or three be burned than thousands perish in Hell." One of the notable figures was Michael Servetus (1511–1553), a Spanish theologian, Physician and scholar. In 1531, he published a book titled

Errors about the Trinity, which alienated him from both Catholics and Protestants. In 1545, he made contact with John Calvin and exchanged his ideas. He was very critical of John Calvin and in 1553 published his *Restoration of Christianity* which was also a response to Calvin's *Institution*. He called for a complete restoration of apostolic Christianity including baptism. When he was traveling in disguise to avoid persecution for his scandalous and radical religious ideas. He stopped over at Geneva and attended the church where Calvin was preaching but Calvin recognized him and got him arrested and put on trial. As the "Defender of the Faith," Calvin demanded that Servetus be executed. His order was supported by the city government, and on October 27, 1553, Servetus was burned alive for heresy (not obeying the laws of God and the church).

Regulation was extended to education, society, and the economic life. Calvin established schools and an academy, searched through Western Europe for good teachers of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and theology, and trained young ministers who carried his gospel into France, Holland, Scotland, and England with all the ardor and devotion of Jesuit missionaries in Asia; in eleven years (1555-66) Geneva sent 161 such envoys into France. Calvin considered class divisions natural, and his legislation protected rank and dignity by prescribing the quality of dress, and the limits of activity for each class. Every person was expected to accept his place in society, and to perform its duties without envy of his betters or complaint of his lot. Begging was banned, and indiscriminate charity was replaced by careful communal administration of poor relief.

In 1546, a major issue developed between Calvin and Pierre Ameaux, a manufacturer of playing cards and member of the little council who saw his business being ruined, called Calvin a false teacher. Calvin humiliated him by passing a mild sentence on him with the help of small and large council. His people was looking for an opportunity to retaliate and continued to be a thorn in the flesh for Calvin for sometime but after the death of Servetus, the opposition to Calvin declined. In 1555, the supporters of Calvin came to power in the councils and over an issue of violence sentenced Perrin and his supporters to death. Perrin managed to escape but four of his supports were beheaded. After which the opposition to Calvin disappeared and the consistory and city government worked hand in hand to carry out the ideas of Calvin.

Theological Education

Calvin understood the importance of education in consolidating the gains of the Protestant Reformation in Geneva. Catechizing, or teaching, became paramount because the Christian citizens of Geneva were expected to have more than a passing acquaintance with Holy Scripture

and the doctrines of the Reformed faith. In 1541, when Calvin returned to Geneva to lead the church, Calvin began to make a case for theological education. According to The Ecclesiastical Ordinances there were to be four offices in the church: pastors (ministers or teaching elders), teachers (doctors), elders, and deacons. Candidates for the ministry "were to be examined in two main areas: on their doctrine and on their morals."

In terms of doctrine (i.e. teaching), those who wished to become ministers had to have "a good and sound knowledge of scripture, an ability to communicate it clearly to people in an edifying way, and an understanding and commitment to the Reformed doctrines held in Geneva." Between 1541 and 1559 in Geneva, the theological education of ministers took place primarily within the church, in three ways. First, students were expected to attend some or all of the 20 weekly services taking place in the city parishes. Secondly, they could attend the daily public lectures on the Bible offered by Calvin and other doctors in the cathedral church; thirdly, they needed to participate in the weekly congregations or gatherings of ministers, teachers, and interested lay people, the so-called Company of Pastors. They were especially encouraged to be present at special monthly meetings when the group organized disputations to discuss and argue points of interpretation and doctrine. In addition to this, personal study of the Old and New Testaments in the original languages was expected along with the Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion. Calvin constantly revised his summary exposition of Christian doctrine with students for the ministry in mind. For almost two decades that was the character of theological education in Geneva under Calvin's influence: it was intended to be comprehensive, communal, and continuing.

The year 1559 marked two important milestones for Calvin's legacy in theological education. First, he published the final edition of The Institutes, which had by then become the primary textbook for theological study in many reformed churches. And second, the Academy of Geneva was inaugurated. It was the fulfillment of a vision Calvin had for the church and for the city: a first-class institution of learning committed to the training of reformed leadership. The school cemented the best innovations of humanistic scholarship and teaching method into the Protestant consciousness. As a theological school, the academy brought together the discipline of theology with the practice of pastoral ministry. This distinguished it from many of the late medieval universities, which often had highly educated and sophisticated theologians, while the clergy were poorly trained elsewhere. The academy was a remarkable achievement and it became a pattern for Protestant theological education in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and in Scotland. Constantly

preaching and writing, Calvin involved himself in all aspects of civic affairs in Geneva, including education, trade, diplomacy, and even sanitation. In 1559 he established the Genevan Academy (now the University of Geneva) for the training of clergy.

Calvin's Teaching

Total depravity: (total inability) It refers to the fact that because of the fall of man (original sin), everyone is a slave to sin. People are not naturally inclined to love God wholly, but are inclined to pursue their own self-interests. In this belief, the Roman Church agrees and, in fact, points to the need for belief in Christ to overcome original sin.

Unconditional election: It refers to the predestination of eternal salvation or fate, determined by God before the world was even created, regardless of an individual's piety or lack of piety. The Church is completely opposite in its doctrine, and believes that salvation comes from the exercise of free will in choosing to accept Christ.

Limited atonement: It refers to "particular redemption," and implies that the forgiveness of mankind's sins by Jesus' sacrifice only affected the elect but excludes the reprobate. The Church does not subscribe to this limitation, but believes that all of mankind was meant to be forgiven by Christ's sacrifice.

Irresistible grace: ("efficacious grace") It is the belief that God has decided to save only some people (the elect) and not others and that, as a result, God's grace cannot be resisted by those whom he has identified to be saved. The Church does not acknowledge any exclusive rights of a predestined elect, but believes that all can be saved.

Perseverance of the saints: It claims that because God is all-powerful, his will cannot be contradicted by humans. So the term "saint" is applied to those set apart by God to be saved (the elect), and not those canonized by the Roman Church. The Church, understandably, holds to its doctrine that a saint is not an elect, but rather an especially divinely blessed individual whose sainthood is the result of exceptional divine inspiration.

Scripture: Calvin was a biblical theologian. He wrote commentaries on almost all the books of the Bible. According to him, God can be known in two activities: in nature as creator, and in scripture as redeemer. He was adamant that the books of the Old and New Testaments were breathed out by God through human authors, that they were God's Word and that no others were to be added to them. Calvin made a very significant statement on this subject in Book I, Chapter 7 of the Institutes. He wrote, now daily oracles are not sent from heaven, for it pleased the

Lord to hallow his truth to everlasting remembrance in the Scriptures alone. Hence the Scriptures obtain full authority among believers only when men regard them as having sprung from heaven as if there the living words of God are heard.¹⁸⁶

Spirit: Calvin taught that Spirit and scripture must be considered together because Spirit works through scripture. Scripture and Spirit refer to and imply one another. He was adamant on this point, opposing radical reformers who advocated the authority of visions and direct personal illuminations. He recognized interpreters of scripture as prophets, not visionaries. Calvin said, If scripture is clear and its meaning evident, then the Spirit is needed to produce conviction and certainty.¹⁸⁷

Predestination: Calvin's place in the history of theology arises from the major role he gave to the doctrine of predestination. In the first edition of his Institutes Calvin only mentioned predestination twice, and in so doing stressed how it brought assurance to the people of God. By contrast, the 1559 edition devoted four chapters to this doctrine. According to this doctrine, God had determined a soul's fate from all eternity, every person is destined to be either saved or lost. The doctrine was not new to Calvin; various earlier Christian theologians had argued for it. What was different for Calvin was that he could not accept what most previous defenders of the doctrine maintained, for example, St. Augustine had stopped short of asserting that God had predestined anyone to damnation. Calvin pointed out that God's choice of individuals in the matter did not rest upon foreknowledge, even though God possessed this knowledge but it was upon his sovereign and inscrutable will. But Calvin was also eager to stop his followers from lapsing into fatalism, the belief that it makes no difference what they do in life, since their fate has already been determined.¹⁸⁸ He taught predestination as a pastoral doctrine that was designed to comfort believers because it assured them that their salvation was not dependent on their own efforts.¹⁸⁹ He contended that the elect will naturally lead pious lives because that is also part of God's predestined plan.

Sacraments: Calvin defines Sacrament as "an external symbol by which the Lord seals on our consciences his promises of good will towards us, in order to sustain the weakness of our faith." Knowing the divergences between Luther and Zwingli, Calvin attempted to steer a middle course. Like Luther and Zwingli, Calvin believed in only two sacraments, namely baptism and Lord's Supper. He believed that infants have faith (like Luther) and asserted that infant baptism of New Testament is similar to the circumcision of the Old Testament therefore rejected the insistence of the Anabaptist of adult baptism (like Zwingli). He believed that child baptism

was an authentic tradition of the early church not a later medieval development. He believed that baptism was a mark that an infant belonged to the church, the community of the new covenant. In the Lord's Supper, like Zwingli, he believed that the Lord's Supper as a thanksgiving remembrance and the confession of one's faith in the atoning work of Christ. He rejected Luther's concept of "real presence" of Christ in the Lord's Supper, he preferred the concept of spiritual presence that the recipient receives in the supper.

Justification by faith: Luther's *justification by faith* doctrine meant God provides everything necessary for salvation, so that all the sinner needs to do is to receive it. In justification, God is active, and humans are passive. The doctrine of justification by faith alone is an affirmation that God does everything necessary for salvation. Even faith itself is a gift of God, rather than human action. God himself meets the precondition for justification.

During 1530's Martin Bucer developed a doctrine of *double justification* because he felt that Luther more importance on the one sided stress on the grace of God. Bucer argued that there are two stages of justification, first, justification of the ungodly which consisted of God's gracious forgiveness of human sin, second, justification of the godly which consisted of an obedient human response to the moral demands of the gospel. (This is referred as the process of regeneration or sanctification, in the later protestant theology)

For John Calvin, the believer's union with Christ leads directly to his or her justification. Through Christ, the believer is declared to be righteous in the sight of God. Second, on account of the believer's union with Christ and not on account of his or her justification, the believer begins the process of becoming like Christ through regeneration. Bucer argued that justification causes regeneration but Calvin asserted that both justification and regeneration are the results of the believer's union with Christ through faith.

Social and Political Theory: Calvin's social and political theory has also proved most influential. Man, according to Calvin, is a creature of fellowship, created with tendencies that find their fulfillment in a variety of natural groupings, each concerned with a certain facet of man's life in society. One of these groupings is the church, another the state. Church and state are differentiated primarily by reference to their different tasks. The concern of the church is the spiritual realm, the life of the inner man; the concern of the state is the temporal realm, the regulation of external conduct. In regulating external conduct, the general aim of the state, in Calvin's view, is to insure justice or equity in society at large. It is the duty

of the church to seek the welfare of the state, but equally it is the duty of the state to seek the welfare of the church.

Calvin believed that, the magistrate has his authority from God. In a sense his authority is God's authority; for magistrates, Calvin said, are ministers of Divine justice, vicegerents of God. Thus the duty of the magistrate is to apply the law of God, implanted on the hearts of all and clarified in the Scriptures, to the affairs of civil society. For Calvin, both magistrates and ministers were the agents and servants of the same God, committed to the same cause, differing only in their spheres and means of action. The Anabaptists regarded the church discipline as a matter of the church whereas Calvin regarded it a matter of public concern within the legal legitimate authority of the magistracy.

Calvin's Last Days

Calvin was also interested in the spread of the Reformation movement abroad, especially within his native France. Under his direction Geneva became a haven for persecuted Protestants and the unofficial center of growing Protestant movements. Thousands of religious refugees poured into Geneva beginning around 1550. They came from nearly every province in France as well as from England, Scotland, the Low Countries, Spain, Germany, Poland, and Bohemia. And when returned home, they took Calvinism with them.¹⁹⁰ Calvin's constant activity was a major factor in his failing health. In 1558 he had suffered an attack of pleurisy (disease of the lungs), and later, after delivering a sermon, began to cough blood. By 1563 he was effectively bedridden. Yet Calvin remained true to his moral standards and dutifully bound to his ethic of hard work, determined to continue his mission in whatever manner possible. On May 27, 1564, he died of pulmonary tuberculosis (severe lung disease). His successor at Geneva, Theodore Beza, was a man after his own heart but, as he was far weaker, the town council gradually freed itself from spiritual tyranny.

Conclusion

Calvin left an indelible mark not only on Geneva but also the Christian world. His goal was to make Geneva a just and holy commonwealth based on the Bible. For that he worked tirelessly. It is said that "Calvin never slept," his successor and biographer Beza says, that "many a night Calvin did not sleep, and many a day he had no time to look up to the blessed sun." Utterly worn out he Calvin referred to his branch of the Protestant Reformation as the Reformed Church. In the years that followed Calvin's introduction of sweeping reforms in Geneva, the city became a veritable Protestant Rome, not in an institutional but in an ideological sense. Geneva was the new center for the evangelical movement and

Calvin was its leader. The Englishmen and Frenchmen, Dutchmen and Italians, thronged to Geneva to learn the laws of a new type of Christianity. For Calvin's Reformation was more thorough and logical than was Luther's. It was said the Geneva under Calvin was 'the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in this earth since the days of the apostles.' When we look at other side, the records of Geneva show more cases of vice after the Reformation than before. The continually increasing severity of the penalties enacted against vice and frivolity seem to prove that the government was helpless to suppress them because religion or spirituality is not a matter of external ordinances but inner purity.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

Introduction

The Reformation in England was unique and was different from the reformation of many European Countries like Germany or Switzerland. In England, Reformation was intricately bound up with the power struggle between the pope and the emperor. Most of the countries in the European continent adopted the reforms before breaking with the Roman Catholic Church, but in the case of England, it first broke up with Rome and then made the changes in religious practices. In other European countries, reform began as a reaction to corruption in the Catholic Church, but in England the confrontation between the king and the pope led to the establishment of the Church of England. H.A.L. Fisher comments that "The English Church was Erastian (Doctrine that the state is superior to the church in ecclesiastical matters) in government, Roman in ritual and Calvinist in theology." The Reformation in England began with Henry VIII's troubled marriage with Catharine and was accomplished by his daughter Queen Elizabeth I, who established Protestantism in England.

Church and State in Medieval England

The religious organization of England till the sixteenth century followed the pattern common to all Western Europe at the time. The West had accepted the Christian faith as taught by the missionaries who evangelized them and accepted the authority of the See of Rome, whose supremacy was unchallenged. So almost all the churches had uniformity of worship, church law, as it was controlled from Rome. Even in purely political matters the religion played an important role. There were not one, but two powers which had by divine decree, rights over the individual. As a citizen he was subject to the political state which demanded his obedience and as a member of the church, the church had authority over him. It was also asserted that the kings and Emperors were subject to Pope even in temporal matters and derived their right to rule from God through him. The

Pope was viewed as an absolute ruler in spiritual matters and whose decisions and judgments were unquestionable and beyond appeal. The state had to help them in carrying out the orders. The laity had no voice in doctrinal decisions, in legislation or in the administration of discipline. Their duty was to be passive recipients of the churches sacraments and other spiritual aids. Such was the agreement between the church and state in the beginning of reformation.

For many reasons this unity of the Western Church and State was in decay towards the fifteenth century and the forces which were ultimately to dissolve it can be traced back to at least to the century before, like the great schism of Papacy, the Wycliffite movement in England, Hussite movement in Bohemia etc. With this background, the people in Europe were getting accustomed to the idea of unitary sovereignty of having one head in any country, also called as Sovereign State. It was with the permission of secular power the national churches could exercise their authority on their members. Everywhere in Europe the Reformation involved the sweeping away of the old system of Church and State, but it was the peculiarity of England that there the constitutional revolution came before the adoption of a new religion. There were some features in English situation which differentiated it from other places. The church excited hatred by the wealth it had and the wealth it sought. About one-third of England's lands was in ecclesiastical hands, great lords like the abbot of St Albans or the bishop of Winchester controlled larger revenues than any temporal nobleman. The king of England always had to depend on the church because of its revenues. The fees taken by the clergy in the performance of their office and especially for burials (mortuary fees), and the revenues collected by the ecclesiastical courts, had come under attack on many occasions in the previous centuries. England was anticlerical and had little respect, much dislike, and often virulent hatred for all the institutions of the church. In addition, the court of Rome drew a very large number of cases each year from England by appeal or revocation. The English clergy paid sizeable revenues to Rome. In the fourteenth century, when kings and lords in England had found their rights of patronage was threatened by the growing papal power and legislation was passed to protect the "regality" of the Crown against such invasion in the form of the acts of provisors and praemunire.

In 1213, John was forced to recognize the Pope as overlord even in temporal affairs and also to surrender the control of Episcopal appointments which from Anglo – Saxon times the monarch had been discharging (When Pope Innocent III selected Stephen Langton to be Archbishop of Canterbury, King John refused to accept him and suffered excommunication as a result. It was after the pope placed England under an interdict for five years

prohibiting church services anywhere in the land that John finally gave in and put himself under papal). In the fourteenth century, the kings of England won back the power of nominating Bishops. In 1351, the Statute of Provisors was passed by Edward I, according to which no tax imposed by any religious person or authority should be sent out of the country whether in the name of rent, tribute, offering or any kind of imposition. William of Ockham (1349), educated in Oxford, had served the emperor and developed political theories which were hostile to the papacy. Although kings continued to co-operate with the popes in maintaining ecclesiastical control over the English people but from time to time it had been challenged.

Henry Tudor

The Tudors rulers in England established a strong monarchy. Henry VII (1485–1603), the English monarchy attained a power and prestige seldom known before and certainly never known since. He achieved a lot because of his shrewd, grasping, and meticulous planning and strategy. He brought peace and stability to the kingdom harassed for more than a century by foreign and civil wars and general distress. He also encouraged the growth of towns by stimulating manufacturing, making commercial treaties with foreign powers and maintaining peace. He struck political treaties with neighboring countries like Spain and Scotland so that they would become his friends. He got his son Arthur married to Catherine, the daughter of King Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The marriage was undertaken for the purpose of maintaining a strong alliance between Spain and England, and took place in 1501, but Arthur died shortly after the wedding. The king, still pursuing the alliance, decided to marry his younger son, Henry to Catherine. Though as the second son of Henry VII, he was not expected to reign as king. That honor was to go to his older brother, Arthur. So Henry was given a first rate education, he was known to have been proficient in Latin and French with some knowledge also of Italian and Spanish, and enough Greek to be fashionable among humanists. He was also instructed in mathematics, astronomy, and, though no great theologian, his grasp of theology was better than that of most monarchs. Because of a Biblical prohibition against marrying one's brother's wife, Henry was forced to obtain a dispensation (permission) from the pope for the marriage. In the end, the marriage did not take place until after Henry VII's death. The eighteen year old Henry married Catherine as he took the English throne in 1509. Henry VII also gave his daughter in marriage to Philip II of Scotland. In this way he was able to build a strong political network.

The Crisis of Henry VIII's Marriage

Henry VIII became the king of England at the age of eighteen. He was

also a strong and handsome man, a skilled rider and archer, a scholar and an able theologian. In 1511 he formed a triumvirate (three-party association) of power called the Holy League with Pope Julius II and King Ferdinand II of Aragon for the purpose of driving French out of Italy. He also continued his interest in theology, when Martin Luther published *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, he responded by writing his *The Defense to the Seven Sacraments* in 1521. Henry considered Luther to be a heretic, and he dedicated his volume to pope Leo X. Pope Leo X was very much pleased with Henry VIII's response, that he conferred on him the title *Fidei Defensor* (Defender of the Faith), a title retained by his successors. During the first part of his reign, he encouraged the able Thomas Wolsey who was educated from Oxford for a career in the Church. Wolsey entered the royal service in 1506 and was admitted to the royal council five years later. His successful expedition to France and his negotiation of the treaty with France led to further advancement. In 1514, Henry VIII made him archbishop of York and then a Cardinal and papal legate in 1518. This gave him the ability to exercise papal authority over the English church, including the archbishoprics of York and Canterbury. Several times he aspired to the Papal throne but could not succeed. He was ambitious and power hungry, and was only too willing to take advantage of the opportunities presented to him for glory. With power and wealth, he became arrogant and became the most detested man in England. He was involved in many of the abuses which his countrymen objected. He seldom visited his dioceses and rarely performed the spiritual functions of his offices. Henry was aware of it and took all the credit for the success and permitted the criticism of his failure to fall upon Wolsey.

The major crisis in Henry's life was his troubled marriage with Catherine. In 1501, Henry VII arranged the marriage between his elder son Arthur and Catherine, the younger daughter of King Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. It also marked the political alliance between the two countries. But unfortunately, Arthur died within six months of his marriage as he was a sickly boy but to maintain the political interest Catherine was betrothed to Henry VIII and Pope Julius II was requested to grant a dispensation (relaxation of rules). But since it was against the canon law, the pope was hesitant and reluctantly granted the dispensation in 1509, and Henry and Catherine got married. Catherine gave birth to seven children but six of her children died but only Mary born in 1516 survived. Henry felt that he had sinned against God by marrying his brother's wife and God's wrath was manifested in the fate of his offsprings. By 1525, it became evident to Henry that Catherine could bore no more children and Henry became desperate to have a male heir to rule England after him. Along with this, Catherine's interference in politics and Henry's love

for Anne Boleyn, one of Queen's ladies in waiting led Henry to think of the possibility of a separation. At first Henry attempted to work within the system and tried to find biblical basis for separation as according to Leviticus 20:21, a man must not take his brother's wife. During that time some of the sharpest ecclesiastical minds like Vives, Fisher, and Cajetan, were against Henry's idea and Deuteronomy 25:5 permitted a man to take his brother's wife if the brother died childless. After much wrangling over Scripture that all eventually came to nothing for Henry, it was Thomas Wolsey who had to find a way out for Henry.

Break Away From Rome

Henry approached the Pope expecting to grant him divorce from Catherine as he had rendered great services to the Catholic Church. Normally the pope could declare it null on one of the many grounds provided by canon law. But in this instance two obstacles appeared. One was that it was through the Papal dispensation Henry VIII married Catherine and he could not contradict himself and secondly Emperor Charles V was a nephew of Queen Catherine. Charles V because of his strong family sense and his belief in dynastic prestige opposed the dissolution of his aunt's marriage. Pope Clement VII who was completely under the control of Emperor Charles V could not do much for Henry. Cardinal Wolsey was also in a tight situation because of Henry's demand and Pope's inability. The Pope kept delaying the decision and upon further inducement, the Pope suggested bigamy but Henry insisted on legal correctness. At last when Henry threatened to join the Lutherans, the Pope decided to give it a hearing in May 1529 and after fruitless hearings, the court adjourned to meet in Rome in October. Henry realizing that a favorable decision would not arrive as long as Charles V was there, so he decided to try the case in his own courts regardless of the consequences. As a result Wolsey was arrested and Henry placed himself at the head of the antipapal and anticlerical forces in England. He made Sir Thomas More as the Chancellor and also depended on Thomas Cranmer(1489-1545) and Thomas Cromwell(1485-1540). Thomas Cranmer was a Cambridge scholar with Lutheran leanings, he suggested the king to refer his divorce issue with the scholars at European universities and if they returned an unsatisfactory judgment then it could be tried in the king's court. In November 1529, Henry increased his popularity and at the same time took advantage of a rising national sentiment by posing as a victim of Papal policy and by placing his issue before the Parliament which was anti clerical and anti papal. In the session, the Parliament also attacked a number of clerical abuses, including pluralities and non residence but especially evils of the administration of the ecclesiastical courts. In 1531, Henry forced the

bishops were forced to acknowledge him as their single protector and supreme Lord. In the following years, he turned the tide against the Rome and which had no defence to his attacks.

In 1532, he took up the question of annates which were being paid to the Pope. Parliament enacted a new law that annates should be paid to the King and he, at his discretion might or might not send the same to Pope depending on the Pope behavior towards the King. In February 1533, the Parliament passed the Act of Restraint of Appeals, which virtually renounced the allegiance to the Pope and it became illegal to take appeals from the archbishop's court to Rome. In March 1533, Henry VIII appointed, Thomas Cranmer as the archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn in January 1533, who was already pregnant. When the case was taken up, Thomas Cranmer declared the marriage between Henry and Catherine as void. The Pope threatened to excommunicate Henry, he replied by crowning Anne Boleyn the queen and forbade the payment of annates.

Thomas Cromwell, Henry's chief minister until 1540, proceeded to weaken the Catholic presence in England by taxing papal lands, including monasteries, and burning shrines. During a four year period Cromwell expelled more than eleven thousand Catholic monks and nuns from England. In 1534 Henry's Parliament (the main law-making body of England) passed the Act of Treason, a law stating that anyone, including church officials, who called the king a heretic, would be tried for treason, or betrayal of one's country. This law placed the king above the church and the pope. The act also prohibited either the clergy or the laity (unordained members of a church) from sending money to the pope in Rome. In 1534, Henry passed the Act of Supremacy in the Parliament, which meant the king not the pope was the head of the church in England, but only as a laymen for he could not consecrate the clergy. Thus the power of the king was increased and the church came under the control of the state. In the beginning of the Tudor era the Catholic religious houses owned as much as one-fourth of all land in England. These estates had been given or bequeathed (granted in wills) to monks by religiously devout men and women in exchange for prayers for their souls after they died. In 1535, Henry set up a commission to examine the condition of the monasteries which reported that they no longer served as outstanding examples of piety, their educational methods were antiquated and they lost their leadership skills in agricultural and other economic affairs and they were unable to solve the problem of poverty in England. From 1536 by the Act of Dissolution, the monasteries whose annual income was less than 200 pounds were suppressed and around 376 monasteries were closed. In 1539, the Parliament passed another Act to suppress all the monasteries

in England which left only few monastic churches which became the cathedrals of the newly created bishoprics. In this way Henry increased his wealth and used some of the revenue to build coastal defences, educational institutes and rest he sold to the aristocracy in England.

Cromwell and Cranmer

Two new advisors on Henry's council, Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) and Thomas Cromwell (1489–1540), quickly gained power after Wolsey's dismissal. Both were Protestants, and many historians consider them the architects of the English Reformation. Cromwell and Cranmer both took advantage of the king's desire for a divorce to get into his good graces. Each worked in his own way, Cranmer through the church and Cromwell through the government. They began by convincing the king that England was an empire (a large political body made up of several territories or groups of people under a single, all-powerful leader). As emperor, they explained, Henry was the supreme leader of both state and church and therefore not subject to the authority of the pope or the Catholic Church in Rome.

Cromwell brought the matter of the Henry's role in the church before Parliament, the legislative body in England. Many members of Parliament had been so outraged at the power Wolsey had achieved through his connections with Rome that they were glad to work toward a break with the pope. Under Cromwell and Cranmer's influence, the Reformation Parliament, which sat for seven years beginning in 1529, created a series of acts that cut the ties between England and the Catholic Church in Rome. Under Cromwell's fierce pressure, in 1531 the English clergy accepted Henry as the head of the church in England.

In 1532 Cranmer was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief religious leader in England. The king had arranged the appointment because he expected Cranmer, as head of the church, to annul his marriage to Catherine. Indeed, things had become a little more urgent for the king since Anne Boleyn was pregnant. Henry was certain the child was a son and wanted him to be legitimate; that is, born to married parents. Though not yet divorced, he had married Anne in secret and brought her into the royal court as if she were queen. As soon as he became Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer carried out Henry's wishes. He declared Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon invalid and then publicly affirmed that Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn had been lawful and crowned Anne as queen of England. Henry had gotten his way. His excommunication (being deprived of church membership) from the Catholic Church followed Anne's coronation, or crowning as queen.

When Anne's child, the future Queen Elizabeth I, was born in

September 1533, Henry was deeply disappointed to learn that she was a girl, but the course for England had already been set. In March 1534 Parliament passed the Act of Succession, which made the children of Henry and Anne the future heirs to the English throne, and effectively proclaimed his daughter, Mary, illegitimate. The act required the English people to pledge their loyalty to the succession of the new queen's children and to Henry's role as the supreme head of the English church. That same year Parliament passed the Act of Treason, making it a crime punishable by death to dispute the king's religious rulings. Anyone who refused to go along with the succession act or the supremacy act was suppressed.¹⁹¹

Doctrinal Changes

Cromwell arranged a marriage between Henry and the German princess Anne of Cleves (c. 1515–1557), a Protestant. When the marriage did not please Henry, he had it annulled and blamed Cromwell for it and fired him and later executed him a year later. After that, Henry controlled the church in England more directly, fully utilizing his power as the head of the church to decide what doctrine was and what heresy was. In 1536, he attempted to bring some changes by introducing the Ten Article, divided equally between doctrine and ceremonies. These articles were generally a reaffirmation of the Catholic faith, just that they omitted the word 'transubstantiation'. The doctrinal decisions of the first four ecumenical councils were upheld. Infant baptism was declared necessary, the sacrament were reduced from seven to three, faith and charity were held necessary for salvation, the images need not to be destroyed but worshipping them was forbidden. However by observing that many were turning towards radical reform, he passed the Six Articles in 1539, which reaffirmed six basic catholic doctrines, Transubstantiation, Withholding the cup from laity, celibacy of the clergy, the inviolability of monastic vows, saying the private Masses and the importance of oral confession. Denial of the first article was punishable with death. The penalty of the first denial of the others was imprisonment and forfeiture of property, for the second denial, death. Only two Protestant influences remained: the availability of the English translation of the Bible and having the king, not the pope, as the head of the church. Henry did not allow people to pick and choose which church doctrines to follow. Under the act, heresy was punishable by death by burning. Catholics who could not accept Henry as the head of the church were executed, along with Protestants who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was a confusing and frightening time for people on both sides of the issue. Catholics feared that the fate of their souls might be doomed for all eternity because of the break with Rome. Some Protestants chose to be burned at the stake rather than agree to

Catholic doctrines. Most people learned to be silent about their true beliefs, hoping for better days to come.¹⁹²In May, 1541 Henry accepted the Bible (Tyndale's translation of the Bible which was further revised by Miles Coverdale and was called as the Great Bible) and proclaimed that a copy of the Bible be accessible in every parish church.

Henry's last years

When Anne Boleyn was not able to give birth to a son, she was accused of incest and adultery and her daughter Elizabeth was declared illegitimate. After her execution, Henry married Jane Seymour, who gave birth to Edward VI, but she died soon after his baptism. Henry married three more times after the death of Jane Seymour. Cromwell arranged a marriage between Henry and the German princess Anne of Cleves (c. 1515–1557), a Protestant. The marriage did not please Henry. He had it annulled and, blaming Cromwell for the ordeal, fired him. Cromwell was executed on some questionable charges a year later. In 1540 Henry married the teenaged Catherine Howard (c. 1525–1542), Anne Boleyn's cousin, who later was accused of adultery and executed for treason. Henry's sixth and last marriage was to Katherine Parr (c. 1512–1548), who nursed the sick and aging king through his last years. Parr served as a warm and loving stepmother to his two younger children, Elizabeth and Edward. She was intrigued with evangelical reform and held daily religious study classes at court. Both of her stepchildren attended this instruction eagerly and were therefore in regular contact with some of the prominent Protestant reformers of the time.

When Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547, he left behind him a Church in England that was in transition. The Church in 1547 did not look Protestant. Ofcourse, the monasteries were dissolved, the Pope's name had been removed from the prayer books, but the Mass was retained and so was most of the beliefs and ceremonies that had come to be such important parts of the lives of local parishioners. The Reformation in England during the time of Henry VIII was different, it was different in its motivation; it was different in the methods used to achieve its ends; and it was different in its immediate result.¹⁹³

Edward VI: Reform Continues

After the death of Henry VII, on 20th February 1547, his ten year old son Edward VI took the throne. Henry had named a large council of regents (around sixteen) to rule England until Edward was old enough to be king. The Duke of Somerset was appointed his regent and who made a great impact on Edward. He was raised Protestant and Renaissance ideas dominated his education. He was taught Latin and Greek by one of

England's finest scholars, John Cheke (1514–1557). He was instructed in religion by Richard Cox (1500–1592), later the bishop of Ely. Edward was king for only six years but under his leadership Protestantism reached its highest point in English history. He was ably supported by Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer. Although Henry VIII had severed the link between the Church of England and Rome but he never permitted the renunciation of Catholic doctrine and Ceremony. It was only under Edward, England completely became a protestant nation.

Edward's Parliament revoked Henry's Act of Treason, and also repealed the Act of the Six Articles, and legalized the communion of both kinds and marriage of the clergy. In 1547 Parliament passed the Dissolution Act, which ended yearly payments to Catholic priests for saying prayers for the dead. The following year all Catholic icons, or symbols, and images were removed from churches. In 1549 Parliament passed the first Act of Uniformity, which imposed upon all the churches to adopt Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* for use in worship services. It was moderate in tone and did not reflect drastic changes from Roman Catholic worship services. The *Book of Common Prayer* was revised in 1552 and the second Act of Uniformity was passed to follow the revised edition. The new edition was radically different from the first one. This edition was largely influenced by Martin Bucer, who shortly before his death submitted his suggestion and comments over the first edition for its improvement. In the new edition, the priests were referred as ministers, altars as tables and Lord's Supper as a remembrance of Christ's sacrificial death. Edward and Cranmer also persuaded Parliament to issue the Forty-Two Articles, which eliminated most of the remaining Catholic doctrines of faith. The Forty – Two Articles contained protestant doctrines like justification by faith, sole authority of the Bible, denied transubstantiation while still affirming Christ's real, spiritual presence and accepted only two of the seven sacraments, forbade the use of medieval vestments.

Edward died of a lung disease in 1553. During his last days some of his advisers attempted to give the throne to Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554), the king's distant relative and a supporter of Protestant causes. They knew that Edward's half sister, Mary Tudor, would restore the Catholic faith because she was raised as a Catholic. Lady Jane was proclaimed queen in 1553, but after only nine days she was imprisoned for high treason as a result of an ambitious plot to make her queen. She was beheaded, along with her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, in 1554.

Mary I: Back to Catholicism

Mary Tudor took the throne as Queen Mary I in 1553, when she was thirty

seven years old. She was a capable and determined person. Soon after being crowned, she married Philip of Spain (soon to be King Philip II) against the wish of the Parliament who wanted her to take an Englishman. So the Parliament prevented him from taking the English throne along with his wife. Mary had widespread popular support because some of the people were not happy with the sweeping changes in the English Church introduced by Edward and she immediately began undoing the Reformation. Her Reformation was parallel to a part of the Catholic Reformation in the European continent. In 1553 she restored the Latin Mass and the following year she recognized the jurisdiction of the pope in England. Cranmer was dismissed from office and placed under house arrest, while Reginald Pole, a papal legate was brought back to England in November 1554 to take the archbishop's place and restore Catholicism. Pole was an English aristocrat who had lived in Italy since Henry VIII's break with the papacy. Many people supported Mary's restoration of the Catholic faith, believing that Edward's reign had gone too far in abolishing cherished ceremonies and beliefs.

Mary wanted to bring swift changes because of which she retorted to persecution of those who did not accept her religious views. Because of her persecutions, Mary is also called as "Bloody Mary." During her brief five-year reign nearly three hundred people were burned at the stake. This method of punishment, which was introduced by the Inquisition (an official Catholic Church court charged with finding heretics), supposedly drove evil spirits out of sinners. Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer were also burnt at stake, while being burnt, Latimer encouraged his comrade by saying, "...we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was also made to recant his protest faith but later he was changed his heart and died as a martyr, while being burnt at stake, he thrust his right hand into the flames and said, "This which has sinned, having signed the writing must be the first to suffer punishment." And many who refused to reject Protestant beliefs continued to worship in underground churches or fled to countries on the European continent. Others became involved in a series of plots against Mary's government. Protestant leaders looked to the queen's half sister, Elizabeth, as a possible Protestant replacement. Mary then had Elizabeth arrested and sent to the Tower of London, a prison for members of royalty and the nobility, and later to Woodstock. Five years later when Mary was in her death bed surprising she named Elizabeth to be her successor. Thus, on March 17, 1558, the last Tudor monarch of England ascended the throne.

Elizabeth I: Protestantism Re-established

Elizabeth's reign is looked back as a golden age for England; it was a time when England not only established itself in Protestantism but also politically. The long reign of Elizabeth I was one of the most remarkable period in English history and Elizabeth was a legend in her own lifetime. During the 45 years both English Protestantism and English nationalism achieved success, and England experienced new maritime supremacy, a strengthened economy, and a brilliant literary vitality. When she became the Queen, the condition of the England was very critical. A contemporary noted: "The Queen poor. The realm exhausted. The nobility poor and decayed. Want of good captains and soldiers. The people out of order. Justice not executed." Both internationally and internally, the condition of the country was far from stable. At the age of 25, Elizabeth became the Queen. She was an able administrator and a person of determination. After being crowned, she appointed Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley) as her chief secretary. Cecil remained her closest adviser; like Elizabeth, he was a political pragmatist, cautious and essentially conservative. They both appreciated England's limited position in the face of France and Spain, and both knew that the key to England's success lay in balancing the two great Continental powers off against each other, so that neither could bring its full force to bear against England.

Since Elizabeth was unmarried, the question of the succession and the actions of other claimants to the throne bulked large. She toyed with a large number of suitors, including Philip II of Spain; Eric of Sweden; Adolphus, Duke of Holstein; and the Archduke Charles. Her greatest diplomatic weapon was she cleverly kept her government and her nation guessing about whom she might choose to marry; had she married, it could have greatly affected English in foreign relations. By refusing to marry, Elizabeth could further her general policy of balancing the Continental powers. From her first Parliament she received a petition concerning her marriage. Her answer was, in effect, her final one: "this shall be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a Queen, having reigned such a time died a virgin." At last the Parliament reconciled itself to the fact that the Queen would not marry.

Elizabeth set about restoring the Church of England. Although she was raised a Protestant, she vowed to continue Henry's moderate policies in the Church of England. In 1559, she declared herself as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England through the Act of Supremacy. Also at the same time through the Act of Uniformity in 1559, she required the Book of Common Prayer be used in all the churches, and also imposed penalties on those who did not attend the parish church on Sundays and

holy days. The form of religion that gradually took shape during her reign was uniquely English. It rejected the Church of Rome but retained a great deal of Catholic tradition, although not as much as the queen herself would have liked. Elizabeth believed that outward compliance with the Church of England on the part of her subjects was necessary in order for her to maintain her position of power and legitimacy on the English throne. Elizabeth was not very interested in theology and not particularly concerned about what men believed in their hearts, but she was determined that they should accept the royal authority in religion and conform outwardly. Though not personally cruel or vindictive, she, like most 16th century rulers, Catholic and Protestant, was not prepared to tolerate two religions within the state. The repression of Catholicism was particularly significant to Elizabeth's reign because many Catholics did not recognize Henry VIII's annulment of his first marriage and so considered Elizabeth, the child of Henry's second marriage, to be an illegitimate child and therefore not a rightful heir to the English throne.

Not only Elizabeth had to contend with the Roman Catholics but also the Puritans. Puritanism emerged during the reign of the Protestant king Edward VI (from 1547 to 1553). It began with opposition to the use of certain vestments (garments) by church officials. The Anglican Church required members of the clergy to wear the vestments. However, reformers objected because the use of these garments was not based on the Bible. When Mary I, a Catholic, took the throne in 1553, many Puritans fled to Germany, Geneva etc. When Elizabeth I became queen in 1558 and restored Protestant religious practices in England, they returned to England hoping for a Genevan kind of changes in the Church of England. They began pressing for a radical reforms. The Puritans renewed their attacks on the use of traditional vestments, and Elizabeth settled the issue by ordering all members of the clergy to wear them. In 1566 the Puritans tried to obtain religious reforms through Parliament, but their efforts failed. In 1574 Queen Elizabeth banned prophesying (a practice in which ministers and students of theology met for Bible study, followed by a sermon) apparently viewing them as a way for Puritans to spread their demands for reform. Puritans responded by holding "exercises" or "classes," in which a minister preached a sermon, followed by a group discussion. But Puritan hopes for early reform were bolstered when Edmund Grindal (1519–1583) succeeded Parker as archbishop of Canterbury in 1575. A progressive bishop, although not a Puritan, Grindal was less concerned than Parker with enforcing practices that had caused friction in the church. He promoted efforts to upgrade the education of the clergy and to reform ecclesiastical abuses, positions strongly supported by Puritans but advocated by progressive members of the establishment

as well. When Grindal refused to carry out the queen's desire to suppress prophesying (clerical conferences designed to promote the continuing education of the participants), Elizabeth suspended him, and the division within the church widened. Many insisted that the church be run by "presbyteries," which consisted of unordained clergymen and members of church congregations. Founded by Scottish religious reformer John Knox (1505–1572), this system of church organization was the beginning of the modern movement known as Presbyterianism. Puritan leader Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) asked Parliament to discontinue use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which he considered too Catholic. He later wrote the *Book of Discipline*, which outlined a "new order" for the Church of England. Furthermore, the issue of "free speech" was now being debated in Parliament. Elizabeth was frustrated by all this clamoring for power and reform. In exasperation, she sent a message to Parliament warning that even though she was a woman, she would not let any of the factions pressure her into taking action. She ended by saying that the members of Parliament were being ridiculously quarrelsome.

In 1570 Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth I and absolved her subjects from their allegiance to her. From Elizabeth further legislation against Catholics followed, but the most ferocious parts of the penal code in the 1580s and 1590s were the product of two other factors—the great success of the missionary priests who began to come into England from 1574 onward and the growing possibility of foreign invasion. The seminary priests and the laity were, with few exceptions, loyal to the queen; but Cardinal William Allen, the Jesuit Robert Persons, and others were working for her overthrow. In 1585 Elizabeth retaliated by expelling Catholic priests from the country, telling them that if they did not leave they would be charged with treason. Two hundred priests who defied the queen's order were drawn and quartered (a method of execution that involved hanging a person by the neck, and then cutting his or her body into four parts). Elizabeth also sent six thousand troops to France to aid the Huguenots in their civil war against the Catholic government of Francis II. The highest point of Queen Elizabeth I's reign was the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The Reformation created tension between Europe's Catholic and Protestant nations. Catholic countries, Spain in particular, believed that Protestant nations like England should be returned to Catholicism. The struggle against Spain culminated in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. The Queen showed a considerable ability to rally the people around herself. At Tilbury, where the English army massed in preparation for the threatened invasion, the Queen herself appeared to deliver one of her most stirring speeches. That the Armada was dispersed owed as much to luck and Spanish incapacity as it did to

English skill. In some ways it marked the high point of Elizabeth's reign. Elizabeth was generally successful in imposing her religious settlement and by the end of her long reign the Church of England enjoyed national prestige. Initially reluctant to become involved, Elizabeth finally accepted the argument that England, as the chief Protestant power in Europe, had an obligation to aid Protestants elsewhere.

The finances of the Crown, exhausted by war since the 1580s, were in sorry condition; the economic plight of the country was not much better. The Parliament was already sensing its power to contest issues with the monarchy, though they now held back, perhaps out of respect for their elderly queen. Religious tensions were hidden rather than removed. For all the greatness of her reign, the reign that witnessed the literary accomplishments of Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and Christopher Marlowe, it was a shaky inheritance that Elizabeth would pass on to her successor, the son of her rival claimant, Mary, Queen of Scots. On March 24, 1603, the Queen died; as one contemporary noted, she "departed this life, mildly like a lamb, easily like a ripe apple from the tree."

Conclusion

The English Reformation started much before the time of Henry VII as a power struggle between the king and the Pope. England's march away from Rome was led by the government for reasons which had little to do with religion or faith. All the anticlericalism of the people, supported by such nationalist objections to a foreign pope's interference in England and above all the personal crisis in the life of Henry brought the break from the Roman Church. Once England had broken with Rome the purely political beginning of the Reformation very quickly acquired a truly religious and even a truly spiritual companion force. Though a Protestant, Henry VIII did not wish to make any major changes in the doctrine and theology of the church. It was Edward I who made some significant in the Church and introduced the Book of Common Prayer thus bringing in the uniformity in the Church of England. But after him, all the protestant reforms were undone by Queen Mary and she established Catholicism for a brief period. She tried to establish Catholicism by force because of which many were put to death and some were forced to leave England. After her, Queen Elizabeth re-established Protestantism in England but she was careful not to apply force like her sister Mary. Having restored Protestant worship, breaking away from the pope, and re-dissolved the monasteries, Elizabeth determined that nothing else should really change over the course of her 45-year reign, despite the urgings of 'Puritans' who wanted the Church of England more closely to resemble the 'best reformed' European churches.

CATHOLIC REFORMATION OR COUNTER REFORMATION

Introduction

The Revival of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century has been called as Counter Reformation or Catholic Reformation. The Protestants tend to use the term Counter Reformation because they believe that it was a reaction to their Reformation but the Roman Catholic Scholars prefer to use the term Catholic Reformation because they believe that it was an indigenous revival within the Catholic Church and had nothing to do with Protestantism. While analyzing both the views it can be safely said that the revival of Roman Catholicism was both a Counter Reformation and Catholic Reformation as it had roots originating even before the time of Luther and the form it took was largely determined by the Protestant attack.¹⁹⁴ The Counter Reformation was led by conservative forces whose aim was both to reform the church and to secure its traditions against the innovations of Protestant theology and against the more liberalizing effects of the Renaissance.¹⁹⁵ The Catholic Reformation consisted of two closely related developments: first, a revival of Christian piety among secular and regular clergy and to some extent the laity also, and secondly, a series of institutional reforms like administrative changes, doctrinal definitions and cohesive measures to counter Protestant heresy and schism.¹⁹⁶ The result of the Catholic Reformation was that Church of Rome, which had lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost.

Attempts at Reform

There were two main centers of early Catholic revival namely Spain and Italy. In Spain, in 1480, Inquisition was established as a national institution to prevent the spread of heresy by Isabella and Ferdinand.¹⁹⁷ In 1559 -

1560, in a few Islands where Lutheran ideas had spread were completely wiped out by the imposition of Spanish Inquisition.¹⁹⁸ As a result of the renewed spirituality by the end of the seventeenth century there were more than nine thousand monasteries in Spain and the Clergy constituted about a fourth of the entire population and about half of the land was owned by the church. Spain produced some of the outstanding leaders like Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, St. Teresa of Avila (1515 – 82), who became a reformer of Carmelite monasteries, Melchoir Cano (d.1560) who developed a new dogmatic and moral theology which placed Catholics in a much better position to come in grips with Protestant theologies. In Italy also there were signs of revival, when Luther published his theses; the Oratory of Divine love was established in Rome in 1514.¹⁹⁹ Apart from the founding of new orders and the older ones were reformed. There have been individuals like Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, Teresa of Avila, Erasmus and new orders like Oratory of Divine Love, Theatine, Society of Jesus who longed for a cleansing and renewal of the church. Some of them are.

Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros (1436–1517): Cisneros was born in Torrelaguna, near Madrid in central Spain, and was educated at the University of Salamanca (western Spain). In 1473 Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) appointed him archpriest of Uzeda in the diocese of Toledo, south of Madrid but the archbishop of the region refused him entry, and put him in prison for six years. Following his release, Cisneros became vicar general and diocesan administrator to Pedro Gonzalez 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 and started living an ascetical life. On the basis of his reputation for holiness, he became confessor to Queen Isabella in 1492. By papal order, he became archbishop of Toledo, the most prestigious archbishopric in Spain and the wealthiest in Europe. In 1495, he became the primate of Spain and in 1507, cardinal of the Church. As a prelate and Franciscan head, Cisneros was an active reformer, his Catholic reform measures are widely seen as having kept Spain immune from Protestant influences. He compelled the religious orders to observe their vows, and also closed the religious houses that did not comply, and made the priests to stay in their parishes and preach.²⁰⁰

He founded three universities; the most famous was the University of Alcalá near Madrid in 1500 in order to advance Christian humanism. The university's major achievement was its publications which were entirely funded by Cisneros. In 1514, a Greek New Testament was completed two years before Erasmus but was published in 1520. Around thirty scholars including some eminent Jewish converts put their best efforts to produce

this work. Then in 1522, published a six volume edition of the whole bible, known as the Complutensian Polyglot, named after the Latin name of Alcala, Complutum. The production had parallel columns of Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Latin, with a Hebrew grammar and dictionary. It was first of its kind and became a great help to the scholars who wanted to do a comparative study of the Bible in its original language. His other publication includes "The Life of Christ" by Ludolph of Saxony (d. 1378), a work which was instrumental in Ignatius Loyola's conversion.²⁰¹

Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542, An Italian reformer): Gasparo Contarini was born in a famous patrician family of Venice. He studied philosophy and science at the University of Padua (Padova) in Venetian territory then he turned his attention toward theology, especially the writings of the Father of the Church, St. Augustine. In 1511, he underwent a religious crisis which resulted in his conversion. After his conversion he remained sympathetic to Erasmian doctrine and humanist principles throughout his life. In 1518 he became an ambassador and developed a profound knowledge of Rome and the imperial court.²⁰² In 1518, he was appointed the Venetian envoy to Charles V between 1521 and 1525. He was also an ardent advocate of reform within the church and was a member of the Oratory of Divine Love. In 1535, he was promoted to the rank of cardinal and 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, and guided Pole in the writing of his condemnation of Henry VIII, "A Defense of the Unity of the Church." In 1536 he was appointed head of the commission designed to initiate reform of the Church. He along with Carafa submitted its report to Pope Paul III and persuaded him to implement its administrative reforms. He also took up the Spiritual Exercise course by Ignatius Loyola in 1539 and supported papal recognition of the Jesuits. He was also a supporter of the Theatines. He was strongly believed in the evangelical theology of salvation that emphasized the role of God's grace in human redemption. This gave him 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.²⁰³

Teresa of Avila (1515–1582): Teresa of Avila also called as Teresa of Jesus, was born in March 1515 into an upper class Jewish family in Avila in central Spain. In 1535, she entered the Carmelite Order at Avila. Carmelite order of nuns originated in the fifteenth century, was inspired by the same spirit of austerity as the male order of friars. A softening of the

rule took place over the course of time. 'The convent', writes Po-Chia, 'was a special social space for upper-class women; servants and lay sisters attended to manual work; sisters enjoyed individual rooms furnished by their families; plays, music and dances were performed; and a constant stream of visitors led occasionally to scandal and rumor'. Teresa lived under the relaxed rule when she entered the order.²⁰⁴ In mid 1550s she experienced a religious conversion after which she turned her attention to the reform of the Carmelite Order. With astonishing energy, determination and defiance Teresa set herself the task of restoring the primary rigor of the Carmelite nuns' order. A vivid expression of the austerity she sought was the abandonment of the comfort of footwear, so that her sisters took the title of the *Discalced*—the shoeless—Carmelites. Her restoration of original discipline in turn recoiled back on to the male orders of friars, supported by the Franciscan Peter of Alcantara (d. 1562) and the Carmelite mystic John of the Cross (1542-91).²⁰⁵ St. John of the Cross was a member of the male branch of the Carmelites and was an ascetic who also longed for a return to strict obedience to the primitive rules of the order. He collaborated with Teresa by bringing the Carmelite reform to men, as she was doing for women. In 1566 the Carmelite general, the Italian Giovanni Batista Rubeo, encouraged Teresa 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. Teresa's writings had enormous influence within Counter Reformation Catholicism. She authored four books which had her teachings. In 1562, she compiled the first version of her autobiography, "The Book of Her Life" which incorporated a study of contemplative prayer. "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, "The Mansions, or the Interior Castle" in which she described the seven "mansions" of the soul's mystical journey toward God. Teresa of Avila was canonized in 1622 just forty years after her death and was declared a doctor of the Church in 1970, and is a patron saint of Spain.²⁰⁶

Oratory of Divine Love: Oratory of Divine Love was founded by Ettore Vernazza in the northwestern city of Genoa (Genova) in 1497, which was modeled on a prayer group, the Oratory of St. Jerome, established in the northeast Italian city of Vicenza in 1494. It was a confraternity devoted to charitable work like hospital and prison visits and care for orphans and also asceticism and frequent reception of the sacrament of penance, and prayer. They opened a branch at Rome in 1514 even before Luther published his Thesis. The Oratory at Rome

consisted of around 50 members, including Gian Pietro Carafa, Gian Matteo Giberti, Gaetano da Thiene, and Jacopo Sadoleto 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 Sadoleto, began to apply themselves to the direct reform of their dioceses.²⁰⁷

The Theatine: The order of Theatine was founded by Gaetano di Thiene (St Cajetan 1480-1547), and was known for its moral strictness. Gaetano di Thiene was from an aristocratic background and his family had produced numerous prelates, cardinals and civil servants. Gaetano di Thiene took a degree in canon and civil law at Padua in 1504 and moved smoothly into a career in ecclesiastical administration. Everything pointed to a lucrative, comfortable career in the Church, until a religious conversion intervened. The di Thiene family's fortunes were badly damaged during the Italian Wars, and that crisis turned Gaetano di Thiene towards religious fervour. In 1516 he was ordained priest and joined the Oratory of Divine Love. In Rome, the Oratory's sixty members included some of the most eminent individuals in the city, working in hospitals, prisons and orphanages and providing a model for similar activities by other religious groups in war-torn Italy's suffering towns and cities. After his ordination, di Thiene took up a practice which was to characterize the new orders, saying Mass regularly. He renounced his well paid ecclesiastical posts and extended his charitable work to co-operate with religious associations in Verona, Vicenza and Venice, attending to the victims of Italy's new plague, syphilis. The piety of di Thiene and his companions was characterized by frequent Holy Communion and veneration of the Blessed Sacrament. Returning to Rome from his own Venetian territory, di Thiene, along with his new associate Gian Pietro Carafa, who was at that point a bishop, assumed his part in the moral restoration of Rome, which di Thiene labelled 'Babylon' on account of its corruption. Out of the Oratory, di Thiene, Carafa, a nobleman Paolo Consiglieri and Bonifacio da Colle, of an old north Italian family, evolved a new religious congregation between June and December 1524, and named it Theatines after the Latin form of Carafa's southern Italian diocese: his episcopal title was *Theatinus*. The name was a sign of Carafa's predominance in the order. Though he and Cajetan, and later others, alternated as superior in three year periods, Carafa, partly because of his episcopal orders, seems always to have thought of himself as having a special place of eminence.²⁰⁸ Clement VII approved the congregation in 1536 the bull *Exponi nobis*, designating them as clerks regular. The

members of this group were neither monks, nor friars, nor canons. They were a body of pastoral priests living together who took the monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience in order to live the apostolic priestly life in as perfect a manner as possible. They wanted to hold the standard of the early Christianity as the model for the Catholic Church to adopt. Their aim was the purification of the clergy at large, setting norms of holy poverty by holding no property, abstaining even from begging and relying entirely on voluntary charity for their maintenance. So all the first members gave away their property and resigned their benefices before entering, accepting an absolute poverty which, like that of the Capuchins, rejected both fixed revenues and regular mendicancy. They took up the commitment to social work which di Thiene had already adopted, establishing hospitals. The new recruits did not accept the official charge of either parishes or hospitals but were busy in preaching, hearing confessions and exhorting to the more frequent reception of the sacraments, in charitable works for the sick and distressed, in study, and especially in preparing for the reform of the liturgy. Their life was retired and unobtrusive, and they did not preach in the open air like the Capuchins and the early Jesuits.²⁰⁹ The Theatine 'occupied a middle ground between monasticism and modern clerical practice'.²¹⁰ The Theatines' expansion was steady rather than spectacular, there were still only twenty one of them in 1533 but their influence was great. They continued to attract noble entrants who later became bishops and Caraffa went on to become the pope (Pope Paul IV). Caraffa brought the Theatine ideas and methods with him with his appointment in Rome.²¹¹

Capuchins: The Capuchin movement, coming as part of the general spiritual revival that lay at the heart of the Counter-Reformation, was by far the most successful and the most lasting of the many attempts to return to the letter of the Franciscan rule that had marked the history of the Friars Minor from earliest times. It created in time a new independent order of Friars Minor, as the true fulfillment of the prophecies foretelling the eventual restoration of the original way of life taught by the founder. In 1517 Leo X had sought to simplify the complicated Franciscan situation by grouping all the existing Franciscan bodies into two separate organizations. The Observants, who maintained personal poverty but used lay agents to collect and spend money on their behalf, and the Conventuals, who were permitted to handle money directly. Matteo da Bascio, a simple minded young priest of peasant origin, of the Observant house at Montefalcone, felt himself called to live according to the strict letter of the Rule of St Francis and to observe all the precepts of the saint's last testament, the obligatory nature of which had been denied by Rome. Early in 1525, Pope Clement VII gave him verbal approval 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 (dress) in Italian cappuccino, that was thought to have been worn by the founder, St. Francis (c. 1181–1226).

In July 1528 Pope Clement gave canonical approval to a new Franciscan variant in the bull *Religionis Zelus*. But they were to remain under the formal authority of the Conventuals. They held their first general chapter at Albacina in April 1529, and elected da Bascio as superior, and approved the regulations known as the Statutes of Albacina, drawn up by Ludovico da Fossombrone 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 re-entered the mainstream Franciscan Observance. They began to live in hermitages, from 1528 onwards such hermitages began to be constructed, the four earliest, already existing in 1529, being at Colmenzone near Camerino, and at sites near Pollenza, Albacina and Fossombrone (the home of Ludovico and his brother). In these hermitages and the others that followed them, the spirit of St Francis and his first companions lived again. In food, sleep, space, comfort, they sought the absolute minima. They took literally no thought for the morrow and abstained even from begging save in moments of the direst need. In their tiny chapels they followed an extreme simplicity in ritual and in the manner of reciting the canonical Hours. Two hours a day were set apart for individual prayer. They also in the name of Franciscan simplicity, did not encourage theological study. Their earliest members were either priests already, or else, like Raffaele da Fossombrone, lay brothers. There was also a complete equality between priests and lay brothers, even to the extent of placing lay brothers in positions of authority. Towards the middle of the century, it was abandoned. On the other hand, it seemed that not all the priests were preachers and throughout the sixteenth century the non-preachers were in a majority. And while, as with all the other orthodox reformers of the hour, a more frequent recourse to the sacraments of penance and Holy Communion was a central theme in their exhortations.²¹²

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 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.²¹³

Somaschi: The Somaschi were "clerks regular" priests living in community who did not take vow and lived a non monastic regime. It was founded in 1532 in Samoasca, near Bergamo by Girolamo Aemiliani who was also a member of Oratory of Divine Love. Their original title, in 1531, was the "Society of Servants of the Poor."²¹⁴ The first members of the group were friends of Girolamo Aemiliani who had worked with him during the plagues of 1527, 1528 and 1529 at Verona, Brescia and Bergamo, and reflected his revulsion from war and all its social consequences. They were mainly involved in the foundation of orphanages. After Aemiliani's death in 1537, his chief follower Angelo Marco Gambara took the leadership and was confirmed by the pope in

1540. In 1547 it unsuccessfully sought incorporation into the Society of Jesus. From 1547 to 1555 it was united with the Theatines, but their spirit was different, and when Carafa became pope the union was dissolved. The restored Somaschi were nevertheless encouraged in their independence by Paul IV. Confirmed again by Pius IV in 1563, the society was elevated by St Pius V in 1568 to the status of a true religious order by the introduction of solemn vows and was given exemption from episcopal control. They always remained a small order, but in the second half of the seventeenth century enjoyed a considerable expansion by undertaking educational work on a larger scale in colleges and seminaries.²¹⁵

Barnabites: Like Somaschi, the motive of active charity inflamed by the spectacle of the suffering caused in North Italy by war, poverty and disease were the reason for the formation of this order. The founders of this group were, St Antonio Maria Zaccaria, a native of Cremona, who had been a doctor before he becoming a priest, Bartolomeo Ferrari was a lawyer before becoming a priest and Giacomo Antonio Morigia a professor of mathematics before becoming a priest. They were known as Barnabites because of their possession of the Church of St Barnabas at Milan. The foundation took place at Milan in 1533 and the first members were allowed to take solemn vows. In spite of their devotion to pastoral work and especially to the care and education of youth, the society adopted a way of life so severely penitential that reports of its singularity compelled Paul III to undertake an enquiry in 1535. As a result of this, however, he confirmed the order, exempted it from episcopal control and bestowed certain privileges on it.²¹⁶ The rule was established in 1542 but did not take its final form until 1579. They assisted Carlo Borromeo, bishop of Milan, 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 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.²¹⁷ They retained as part of their life the recitation of the divine office in choir and had a special choir dress which they wore over their normal priestly cassocks.²¹⁸ 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.

Society of Jesus / Jesuits: The Society of Jesus or Jesuits, a religious order of men within the Catholic Church, officially came into being on September 27, 1540, with the bull of Pope Paul III, *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*.²¹⁹ They became the single most powerful weapon of the Catholic Reformation. Ignatius Loyola was the founder and leader of the order. He was born in a family of the lower nobility in Azpeitia, northern

Spain in 1491. At the age of 14, he took up the traditional military career of his family. In 1521, he was wounded in battle at Pamplona, Spain, during the Italian Wars (a conflict between France and Spain over control of Italy; 1494–1559). During his extended recovery not so much from the injury as from incompetent surgical treatment of it, he turned to two medieval religious works which changed his life, “Life of Christ” by Ludolph the Saxon, (d.1378) and a collection of saints’ lives, “Flower of the Saints,” popularly known as the “Golden Legend,” by the Dominican and archbishop of Genoa (Genova), Jacopo di Voragine (Jacobus de Varagine, 1230 –1298). The religious conversion 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 Jerusalem. Increasingly aware of a calling to the priesthood, and therefore conscious of his need for a proper education, Loyola attended school in Barcelona, and then went to university, in Alcala de Henares, near Madrid, between March 1526 and June 1527, studying Scholasticism. During that time, he also worked in hospitals, caring for the poor and sold all his property and given away the proceeds to the poor. In February 1528, he proceeded to the University of Paris and earned his M.A. 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. In June 1537, Loyola and his associates were ordained in Italy; he then requested that Pope Paul III (1468–1549) allow his group to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he hoped they might remain as hospital workers. The pope was delighted by the group’s zeal and funded their journey. They planned to take a ship from the port of Venice to Syria, but Turkish pirates (ship robbers) in the Mediterranean prevented any pilgrim ships from setting sail that year. This was the only year in the past half century that pilgrim ships did not leave Venice for Syria. They took it as an omen (warning sign) that their future work did not lay in the Holy Land.²²⁰ But when they could not secure passage they decided to stay together and form a new order.²²¹ From the beginning, he told them, their new Catholic order, the Society of Jesus, was to be different from older orders, such as the Benedictines, Carthusians, Franciscans, and Dominicans. The three fold vows of the new order was; first to be loyal to the pope. Second, they would not live a monastic life with regular hours of prayer and choral singing. Third, strict

obedience to leaders of the order would be the foremost priority. (One of the oldest Jesuit tales is about a mortally ill novice on his deathbed, asking the novice-master for permission to die.)²²² Within a few years of the founding, the members began to be known as Jesuits. In Latin, *Jesuita* means a good Christian or a follower of Jesus. Ignatius Loyola accepted the term as shorthand for the official name of the organization. Ignatius was especially insistent on the inclusion of Jesus in the official name, even though it had provoked persistent criticisms within the church for sounding arrogant²²³, as if all Christians were not members of the Society of Jesus.²²⁴

Within a few years of their existence they proved how valuable they were for Catholic Reformation. Requests began to pour in from Bishops and Princes who were struggling to regain lost Catholic territory. The Jesuits were able to supply able and dedicated priests and soon it became evident that they were more capable to withstand their protestant counterparts who were better educated. In 1546, the Jesuits established their first college in Bologna. Loyola founded a couple of Colleges in Rome, Collegium Romanum in 1550 and Collegium Germanicum in 1552, which became exceedingly useful in training missionaries for reclaiming the lost territories in Germany, especially for a Council of Trent.²²⁵ One of the original members, Francis Xavier, became a missionary to India, Indonesia, and Japan. Diego Laínez, was an important theologian at the Council of Trent and succeeded Ignatius as superior general of the order. Apart from him several other Jesuits acted as experts at Trent. (a series of meetings held to decide upon church reforms). Pierre Favre (Peter Faber; 1506–1546), another of Ignatius's earliest companions, was the first Jesuit to go to Germany. He advocated reconciliation with Protestants rather than conflict.

The Jesuits were only one of a number of new religious orders of men and women founded in the early modern period, but by reason of their size, the influence of their schools and other ministries, their missionary activity, and their ventures into almost every aspect of culture they are the best known. They were responsible for a significant amount of missionary work and the establishment of many educational institutions throughout the world. Some Jesuits became missionaries to North and South America and others went to Poland. The Jesuits also moved into the field of education, founding colleges in Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, and India. These colleges became the basis of the Jesuit educational system that has continued to the present. By maintaining good relations with the popes, Ignatius was also able to improve conditions in Rome. For instance, he set up Saint Martha's, a refuge (safe place) for reforming prostitutes (women who engage in sexual intercourse for

money). For most of the last fifteen years of his life he worked a twenty-hour day, resting only to recover from increasingly severe illnesses. By the time Loyola died in 1556, they numbered about 1,000 members, divided into 12 administrative units called provinces. By 1565 the order numbered about 3,500 and 13,000 by 1615, and it continued to grow. Even in the field of education, 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.²²⁶ In the middle of the eighteenth century there were some 3,000 Jesuits in France operating, besides their other institutions, 89 “colleges” (secondary schools) and 32 seminaries. In Italy at about the same time they ran, besides the prestigious Roman College, 132 other colleges and 22 seminaries.²²⁷

Reforms of the Popes

The Popes before the time of Clement VII were least interested in reforming the Church. Leo X (1513-21), who was the Pope when Luther published his 95 theses, responded by saying; it is only a quarrel between the monks, thus ignoring the threat of a rising movement against the Roman Catholic Church. Some of the Popes who were most responsible for the reforming the Papal office were Clement VII (1523-34), Paul III (1534-49), Paul VI (1555-59). Pope Clement accomplished little despite of his sincere efforts. It was during his time, Henry VIII of England requested him to annul his marriage with Catherine but unfortunately she was related to Emperor Charles V. Thus when he refused Henry's wish, the English Reformation took place. Moreover he was caught between the political struggle between Charles V and King Francis I (1515-47) of France and had to suffer the wrath of both. Even though he entertained the idea of calling for a general council but could not do so due to the rivalry between Charles V and Francis I.²²⁸

Paul Paul III was another sincere Pope who wanted to reform the church. Clement recommended Alessandro Farnese, who was a Cardinal and had demonstrated his desire for a reform council was appointed his successor. He was elected pope as Paul III (1534 – 49). Before taking priest's orders, he had fathered four illegitimate children but later he regretted for it. He appointed sincere cardinals and formed a reform commission in 1536 to study the abuses of the church. He appointed a group of nine known reformists, including Gasparo Contarini, Gian Pietro Carafa, Gian Matteo Giberti, Reginald Pole, and Jacopo Sadoletto in the commission. The commission submitted its report to the pope in February 1537 which dealt candidly with the ills of the Church. But unfortunately

the report was leaked and the Protestants' got a copy of it and it was 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"²²⁹ Some of his other sincere reforms were to centralize the inquisition in Rome and also calling for a General Council at Trent in 1545.

The Council of Trent

The Calling of the Council of Trent was the most significant action of Pope Paul III. It was the central event in what is said called as the Catholic Reformation. The main aim for calling the council was to reform church from within and also to stop the growing menace of Protestantism. After intense negotiation with the Emperor Charles V and the French King Francis I, Pope Paul III finally decided the venue of the council as Trent (Trento in Italian, Trient in German, in Latin Tridentinum). The site was a compromise between those who wanted a German city and those who wanted an Italian one. It was ruled by the Emperor and at the same time it lay on the Italian side of the Alps, where the sessions would be safe from outside interference and could be dominated by the papacy.²³⁰ The Council of Trent had **25 sessions** spread over three groups of years, 1545–47, 1551–52, and 1562–63. The Emperor and Pope wanted the Council to perform different functions. The Emperor wanted to council to deal with the questions relating to discipline and abuses in the church that would take the wind out of the sails of Lutherans. He wished to begin with reforms, and be free to make such moderate doctrinal concessions as might be needed to unite the Protestants to the Catholic Church. He

sought the council to perform the reconciling act between the Catholics and Protestant as he was hoping that the church could be one once again. But the Pope wanted to discuss the issues relating to doctrine of the church as most of the doctrines of the church were under attack by the Protestants. At last it was agreed that both the doctrine and discipline would be dealt alternately. In the Council of Trent, only the archbishops, bishops, generals of religious orders and influential abbots were given the right to vote. And the voting was not according to nations but by individuals, which assured that the Pope had absolute control over the Council. The role of the theologians and canonists were restricted to advising the Prelates.²³¹

First Assembly (1545 -1547)

The first assembly was held from December 1545 to June 1547 and had ten sessions, eight sessions were held in Trent and the next two were in Bologna. The council started its first session 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 French support was no more than tepid and consisted only of three or four bishops as they were not happy about the venue. But when the Council in March, 1547 moved itself to Bologna (the second city of the Papal States), the French support became more active and about a dozen French bishops and some eminent French theologians graced the meetings. It is also to be noted that in an Instruction of December 31st, 1545, Cardinal Farnese formulated the principle, according to which 'the opinions of the heretics should be condemned rather than the heretics personally and by name'. It did not follow the practice of earlier Councils; for Wycliffe and Hus had been condemned by name at Constance.²³²

The first session began with Cardinal legates, Reginald Pole and the future popes Marcellus II (Marcello Cervini, b. 1501, r. April–May 1555) and Julius III presiding over the assembly and proposing the subjects for debate (all in Latin). Reginald Pole started the Council of Trent by eloquently giving the Council its opening agenda of Catholic reform. Then the Leading expert theological consultors, like 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.²³³ After procedural issues were addressed in the first and second sessions, from the third session they went on with their business and some of the important discussions in the assembly were.

Scripture: The Roman Catholic faith tradition had placed the ex

cathedra pronouncements of the Pope and other authoritative church traditions as being on the same plane of authority as Scripture. Roman Catholics qualified sola Scriptura at the Council of Trent in 1547 by asserting that both Scripture and the pronouncements of the Pope, church councils, church fathers, and other such teachings from the church were due “equal affection of piety, and reverence” (Council of Trent, Session 4, “Decree concerning the Holy Scriptures”). In contrast, the leaders of the Protestant Reformation enunciated the principle of sola Scriptura—“by Scripture alone.” In sola Scriptura, the Bible is the only and final source of authority for religious beliefs.²³⁴ Along with that the Trent declared the Latin “Vulgate” version as authentic text where as the Protestant regarded the Greek “*Septuagint*” as the authentic text. The canon of the Bible was also defined according to its traditional form, thus ascribing authority to certain Old Testament books which Protestants reckoned apocrypha.²³⁵

Justification: The Council of Trent 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]”²³⁶ Diego Lainez one of the co founders of the “Society of Jesus” was a leading and highly influential theological consultant at the Council of Trent. It was against the basic protestant doctrine of Martin Luther who emphasized on “Sola Fide” meaning Faith alone was necessary for salvation. In March 1547, in the Council's sixth session, Lainez's influence was crucial in propounding the Council's eventual resolutions on justification and free will.²³⁷ It was declared that, If justification is lost by mortal sin, penance is the condition of its restoration. Justification is free in that it is merited by no preceding faith or works. Man cannot be justified without God's prevenient grace, though he has free will sufficient to cooperate with or reject the gift. And in justification, man receives not merely remission of sins, but “all these infused at once, faith, hope and charity.” The growth in these Christian virtues “the increase of justification received” is aided by “the observance of the commandments of God and of the Church, faith cooperating with good works.”²³⁸

Sacraments: The sacraments were declared to have been instituted by Christ, and were fixed as the mediaeval seven namely Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Marriage. After reaffirming the traditional position of the church, the council took up each of the sacraments for further discussion which continued till the last session in 1563. Some of the discussions regarding the sacraments were Ordination, Eucharist and penance. The council declared that the Church, through its duly consecrated priesthood, is the sole

dispenser of sacraments, which bring salvation to all who receive them with a sincere desire to profit by them. In regard to the Eucharist, it was affirmed that, at the consecration, the substance of the bread and wine is entirely transubstantiated into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. In regard to penance, it was declared that the benefit of the death of Christ is applied to those who have fallen after baptism through penance.²³⁹

The council concluded its work by briefly discussing on purgatory, invocation of saints, veneration of relics and images, and indulgences. It was admitted that serious abuses had crept in, but the doctrines themselves were maintained in their mediaeval integrity. Beside these doctrinal decisions, the council directed concerning the "Study and Preaching of Holy Scripture" instructed 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. The residence of bishops in their dioceses was also stressed. These reforms simply embodied the spirit which had long been manifest in the Spanish Awakening, the Italian reform movements and the Jesuits.²⁴⁰

During the seventh and eighth session, the relationship between the Emperor and Pope got strained because the Emperor's demand was completely ignored as sessions were dominated by the issues concerning doctrine and not discipline. Pope Paul III fearing that the emperor might appear in person with his military took advantage of the plague which had broken out at Trent and induced the prelates to vote to move the council to Bologna in March, 1547. But Charles succeeded in retaining fourteen Prelates at Trent and made it clear that he considered the proceedings at Bologna illegal. In September 1549, Pope Paul suspended the Council of Bologna.²⁴¹

Second Assembly (1551 - 1552)

The Second assembly was convened by Julius III in May 1551. The second assembly was the most interesting assembly because of the Protestant participation. The Emperor held back the German bishops from the assembly until the Pope agreed to allow the Protestant participation but he did not agree to the demand of the Emperor to allow the Protestants to vote. Thus the safe conduct was granted to the Protestant delegations so that they were able to participate in the council regardless of the outcome of the negotiations. In the autumn of 1551, the delegates of Joachim II of Brandenburg and of the Duke of Wurttemberg and a representative from Strasbourg, the historian Johann Sleidan and the envoys of the Elector Moritz of Saxony (all Protestants but no one represented the Lutherans

or Calvinists as they were denied voting rights) arrived for the second assembly and remained there from October 1551 to March 1552. On 11 October 1551, the Council resumed its deliberations on the Sacraments and it resolved on the 'Real Presence of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist'. By the consecration of the bread and wine a change is brought about of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ...and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood...[,] transubstantiation. In this resolution Trent's foundation was the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215. Trent reiterated Lateran IV's requirement that the faithful communicate at least annually and also restated the Lateran Council's basic Eucharistic theology. Lateran IV established that in the Mass, despite the continued appearance of bread and wine on the altar following the words of consecration, Christ's 'body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance by God's power into his body and blood'. Following Lateran IV, Aquinas developed the Council's distinction between unaltered appearances of bread and wine 'accidents' and an altered underlying reality, 'substance':

The true body of Christ begins to be in this sacrament by the fact that the substance of the bread is converted into the substance of the body of Christ and the substance of the wine into the substance of His blood.

Aquinas further argued that unless the total transformation of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ were accepted, the logical alternative would be that in the Eucharist, Christ's body and blood co-existed simultaneously with bread and wine. Wyclif, condemning Aquinas's eucharistic doctrine as 'rash', proposed that bread and wine remained in their substance, albeit alongside the eucharistic presence of Christ, after the words of consecration. A variant of the eucharistic theology associated with Wyclif and known as 'remanence' from the Latin *remanere*, 'to remain', characterized Luther, who maintained with Wyclif that the bread remains, alongside the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531) saw the Eucharist as a commemoration of Christ without His bodily presence. Also in this session, as one gesture, on a relatively superficial level, of conciliation to the Protestants, the Council adjourned the issue of the reception of Holy Communion in the forms of both bread and wine (on which Protestants insisted).²⁴²

In late October the Council turned its attention to the final Sacrament in a person's life, Extreme Unction, the anointing of the sick. It was included in the list of seven sacraments in the Council of Florence. The source for

this sacrament is found in rite of anointing (Mark, 6:13). The primary reason for disagreement between Trent and Wittenberg over Extreme Unction arose over the role of Sacraments as the Church's aids to human striving within the entire economy of salvation. For the Catholic Church, Extreme Unction was the final stage in the lifelong process whereby Sacraments enabled sinners to secure reconciliation with God. They were dispensed to those 'who by sin had been cut off from God, [who might] be disposed through his quickening and helping grace to convert themselves to their own justification by freely assenting to and co-operating with that grace'. But the Protestant denied any human participation in redemption which involved free will, except for the passive response of divinely implanted faith.²⁴³

In the fourteenth session, in November 1551, the subject of the Sacrament of Penance was guided by Lainez and Cano. According to them, Penance was the mechanism of the absolution of sins by which God's forgiveness was channeled sacramentally through a priest as auditor of the penitent's full and contrite confession of sins, the confessor reciting the words of absolution and setting a penance as a condition of complete forgiveness. An addition of this Sacrament was indulgences which were dispensations to discharge penances and were also applicable to the dead.

The protestant delegations were annoyed because they were not given a hearing and they drew up a list of demands which included a re-examination of all the decisions taken in the first assembly on scripture and tradition, original sin, justification, and the sacraments be jointly revised. They indicated that all their points were negotiable. The Protestants also demanded that the Council should declare itself superior to the Pope and the Pope was not its master but its servant. When they saw that they were not taken seriously they left the council in March 1552, convinced that there was nothing to be gained by remaining at Trent.

Pope Paul IV: After a brief pontificate of Marcellus II (1555), Caraffa became the Pope Paul IV (1555 – 59) at the age of seventy nine. He carried out his reform program with vigor and success. He took stern measures against simony, ordered the datary to dispense the religious graces without pay. He also took strong action to improve the moral condition at Rome. He banned prostitution, questionable entertainments, hunting and dancing.²⁴⁴ He employed papal inquisition to get rid of heretics. He even imprisoned Cardinal Morone an important person in the Council of Trent. He also summoned Cardinal Reginald Pole to be tried at Rome. He became best known for one innovation that would shape Catholic life for centuries to come: In 1559, he published the *Index of Prohibited Books*.

He charged the administrators of the index with compiling a list of works that were believed to be subversive to Catholic truth. The list was to be made available to Catholics so that they could know what works were forbidden. The index came to include many works written by Lutherans and Calvinists, but also by moderate Catholic reformers like Erasmus and also the vernacular translations of the scripture. Paul encouraged Europe's Catholic rulers to enforce the index in their states and to strengthen their efforts to punish Protestants as heretics. Not all Catholic monarchs pursued the harsh counter-reforming campaign he and his successors advocated, but the most fervent did. In Catholic Bavaria, a territory in the German Empire, the duke instructed his officials to conduct house searches and regular inspections of the territories' booksellers for prohibited Protestant books. To try to re-establish Catholic orthodoxy, Bavaria's dukes also required their subjects to attend Mass and confession regularly. The Priests gave out certificates to their parishioners at Mass, and each year, subjects had to present these proofs of attendance when they paid their state taxes. Those who failed to attend were fined. Harsh and repressive measures like that became common in those states where staunch Catholic rulers enforced the uniform beliefs that a counter-reforming church demanded. Pope Paul IV never considered reopening the Council of Trent as he felt that Papacy was quite capable of handling the affairs of the church without the help of council.²⁴⁵

Third Assembly (1562-1563)

From the Roman Catholics perspective the third assembly was the most fruitful one because a number of issues debated in the earlier meetings were resolved and medieval orthodoxy was reaffirmed as it under dispute during the Protestant Reformation. The seven sacrament from the Council of Florence in the 12th century were 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.²⁴⁶ Some of the other doctrines which were affirmed were the Justification by faith and works, practices connected with the mass, the celibacy of the clergy, indulgence, purgatory, were all upheld.

The third assembly (sessions seventeenth to twenty five) began on January 18, 1562 and closed on December 4, 1563. The council took forward the decrees taken earlier at Trent. The seventeenth session opened with questions relating to the revision of the Roman Index of

Prohibited Books, published by Paul IV in 1559. In the next session, a commission of eighteen was appointed to update the INDEX. At the same time safe passage was also granted to the Protestants, though no one expected the Protestant to participate. Philip II and the Spanish Prelates opposed the safe passage as it might effect the inquisition in Spain. Then, there were heated debates in the Council in the eighteenth session 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.²⁴⁷ It was argued that the residence of bishops was obligatory by divine right and could not be dispensed by the Pope.²⁴⁸

In the 22nd session, in September 1562, the Council regarding the Celebration of the Mass, reiterated that the doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice having limitless benefit. "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 Mass was uniquely holy, not to be celebrated in the vernacular, to be free of all monetary deals, and was Christ's saving sacrifice, forever renewed.²⁴⁹ But Luther had earlier insisted that Mass must allow the full involvement of congregations and it must be said in the language of the people.

The Council of Trent decreed in the 23rd session, in 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.²⁵⁰ Bishops were also obliged under the decrees of the Council of Trent to hold regular diocesan synods and visitations of the churches under their jurisdiction. Bishops had to see to it that the monks lived according to their vows, and had to stimulate the work of active congregations in the care of the sick and the poor, and in elementary teaching. They were also responsible for the recruitment and training of priests for their churches.²⁵¹

In December 1563, the Council of Trent approved a decree of 22 chapters "Concerning Regulars and Nuns". The reform of the monasteries or religious life had not been Trent's top priority, but it was taken up in the last session and the council addressed the issue of monastic abuses and regulation. Since the celibate and monastic life had come under particular attack by the Protestants, it was an area the clergy knew must be reformed. The important resolution regarding this was to reaffirm the medieval prescription of female enclosure (*clausura*), first officially promulgated in

1298 with Boniface VIII's decree *Periculoso*. Enclosure meant the physical separation of the nun from the secular community. Not only was she symbolically dead to the world, but this death was reinforced by the architectural boundaries of tall walls, locked doors, and metal grilles. Enclosure was both active, meaning no professed nun could leave the cloister, and passive, that is, no one else could enter the cloister without speciûc reason or dispensation. Even the nuns' spiritual advisers had to hear confession through a shuttered window. Women religious were further restricted in 1566 when Pius V, in the bull *Circa pastoralis*, decreed that all female religious communities not practicing enclosure had to be suppressed, including tertiary, beguine, and other active orders. From the point of view of the organized church the most important aspect of female religious life became its strict enclosure. This emphasis on the cloister seemed to place Trent and its handling of female religious out of step with the new reforming times. Just when the church and society were emphasizing a more active spirituality, women were excluded from this form of piety.²⁵²

Another frequent topic of discussion was simplifying the music used in the liturgy, or church service. Some officials even suggested totally eliminating polyphonic music because it was too elaborate and secular, or nonreligious, and distracted from the solemnity of the worship service. In 1562 the council issued a canon, or church law stating that all secular matter must be removed from liturgical music. While music should be pleasing to the ear, it must also be simple and direct, having no embellishments that would interfere with an understanding of the text.²⁵³

The Council of Trent, having reaffirmed the status of matrimony among the seven sacraments in 1547, 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.²⁵⁴

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. 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"²⁵⁵

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). At the Council of Trent (concluded in 1563) the Church issued a *ûnding* that

Since the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, has, following the sacred writings and the ancient tradition of the Fathers, taught in sacred councils and very recently in this ecumenical council that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are aided by the suffrages of the faithful and chieûy by the acceptable sacriûce of the altar, the holy council commands the bishops that they strive diligently to the end that the sound doctrine of purgatory, transmitted by the Fathers and sacred councils, be believed and maintained by the faithful of Christ, and be everywhere taught and preached...²⁵⁶

The Council of Trent advocated a focus on Christ and the Eucharist over the traditional cult of the saints. It prescribed a more frequent communion, and consequently frequent confession, for which the regular priests provided the necessary manpower. There was some measure of specialization in the different orders, which preached for the educated or for the masses, dedicated themselves to teaching or care of the sick and burying of the poor, but the most versatile order of all were the Jesuits. The religious orders promoted lay devotions, bringing people together in clubs and fraternities for a combination of pious exercises and conviviality. Many of these were socially exclusive, but others catered to the common people. Both regular and secular priests acted as father confessors to loose groups of devout lay sisters, who combined a life of prayer and meditation with pious work, such as teaching children their catechism, caring for the sick and the poor, and engaging people in devout conversation.²⁵⁷

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, 1962–65.²⁵⁸

Outcome of the Council

It was hoped by some that the Council of Trent would make concessions to the teachings of the Protestants (if only to reestablish political unity in countries split apart by religious factions), the first session did nothing of the sort. Instead, it established a theological beachhead to affirm traditional Catholic teachings on justification (the importance of works), the number of sacraments (seven), and the authority of tradition equal to that of

Scripture. It was not until the later sessions that the issues of reform within the Roman Catholic Church came to be addressed. These included the condemnation of corruption within the administration of the Church, abuse of indulgences, and immorality among the priests and religious orders. The problem with uneducated clergy was addressed with the mandate to establish seminaries and to teach according to the scholastic method, not a biblical one. On the other hand, the teachings on purgatory, the priesthood as replacing the Levitical priesthood of the Old Testament, celibacy, the veneration of the saints, and especially of Mary, were upheld. The Vulgate was to be used in all public readings and the basis of all commentaries. The interpretation of the Scriptures was the prerogative of the Church, and anyone who held to a private interpretation was condemned. The conservative shift within the Church was immediately felt and reflected in the leadership. Bishops became more pastorally minded. New religious orders were established to respond to the laxness of the late medieval religious orders such as the Capuchins, a breakaway from the Franciscans that sought to recapture the early vision of Francis of Assisi (Marshall, 292). Trent established and normalized Catholic belief and practice for the next four centuries.²⁵⁹ The Council of Trent strengthened the Church view that all Protestants were heretics. The council did achieve some limited reforms. By this time, however, the Protestant movement was well underway and could not be brought back into the Church.²⁶⁰ After the Council of Trent Catholics knew exactly what to believe and teach on scripture and tradition. The Council eliminated existing uncertainties and produced clarity and security on the Catholic side. It fixed the border line between Catholic and Protestant religious thought and thus confirmed the separation.

The Roman Inquisition

The Catholic Reformation aimed not only at spreading the faith through reform of the church and through preaching and teaching; in another of its aspects, it also sought to suppress heresy. The chief institution directed to this purpose was the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition. It was not altogether new; in the Middle Ages, there had been papal and episcopal inquisitions established for the task of searching out heretics and bringing them to trial. By the fifteenth century, however, the activity of these bodies had lessened. In Italy, the power of the papal Inquisition had declined, together with its organization. In 1478, however, Ferdinand and Isabella had revived the Inquisition in the Spanish kingdoms, and it operated very effectively. Cardinal Caraffa (later Paul IV), who had observed it in operation, was impressed by it and wanted a papal Inquisition of the same sort a permanent, centralized tribunal with universal jurisdiction

and power over all persons, even the most highly placed, who might be suspected of heresy.

It was Caraffa who was chiefly instrumental in persuading Paul III in 1542 to reestablish the Roman Inquisition. It had six Inquisitors General, with great powers. They were independent of the bishops in their jurisdiction, could degrade priests from their offices, could exercise censure, call in the aid of the secular arm, and delegate powers. While they could punish, only the pope could pardon. Caraffa himself was president of the tribunal, a fact that prevented any serious deviation into leniency. The Dominicans, long associated with the suppression of heresy, were put in charge of the courts of the Inquisition. Caraffa was inflexible and had no mercy for anyone. It is clear from the four rules of procedure that he established: 1) punish on suspicion; 2) have no regard for the great; 3) punish most severely those who take shelter behind the powerful; 4) show no mildness, least of all toward Calvinists.

At first the establishment of the Inquisition in the Italian cities was slower than Caraffa had hoped. The Italians did not show any natural disposition toward the burning of heretics, and some of the cities resisted the foundation of the new tribunal. When Caraffa became Pope Paul IV in 1555, he had his opportunity to give the Inquisition the scope and effectiveness that he desired. Even as pope, his interest in the work of the Holy Office was enormous. It was said by the Venetian ambassador at Rome that nothing on earth could prevent him from attending its meetings. Michele Ghislieri (later Pius V), a man after the pope's own heart, was put at the head of it, and Paul greatly increased its authority and powers. He was able to make it effective in the Italian cities that had harbored unorthodox views, especially Venice.

The states of Europe were asked to facilitate the work of the Inquisition. In France, the request was denied. In Spain, however, the activities of the Inquisition, long vigorous, were stimulated even further. Persecution reached a new peak; even St. Teresa came under suspicion, and the archbishop of Toledo was arrested. When Paul IV, long an enemy of the Hapsburgs, finally made peace with Philip II, the result was to strengthen the Spanish domination in Milan and Naples and, in turn, to provide the Inquisition with Spanish support and enable it to oppose the resistance of the Italian states. Thus the increasing Spanish domination helped in the repression of heresy and free thought in Italy.

Even after the death of Paul IV in 1559, the repression of heresy in Italy continued. The French duchess of Ferrara, Rene, daughter of Louis XII, was forced by the Inquisition to leave Ferrara, where she had long been hospitable to advanced opinions in religion. In 1562, in Calabria,

two thousand Waldensian heretics were massacred. With the coming of the implacable Michele Ghislieri to the papal throne as Pius V in 1566, the Inquisition he had headed became particularly active. Burnings became common in Rome, and cardinals and ambassadors were compelled to attend. Throughout Italy the same policy of repression was carried out.

The INDEX

Another means of suppressing heretical doctrines was found in the Roman Index of Prohibited Books, a list of works considered dangerous to the faith, which Catholics were, therefore, forbidden to read. Even before this list was officially drawn up, there had been cases of censorship of the reading matter of the faithful, particularly since the invention of printing in the fifteenth century. Popes, councils, and secular rulers both Catholic and Protestant all engaged in censorship. In 1501 Pope Alexander VI made archbishops official censors for their provinces. Paul III also undertook to prevent the dissemination of pernicious books, and imposed severe punishments on those who sold them.

The Roman Inquisition was active in censoring books, and Cardinal Caraffa, after becoming Pope Paul IV, published the Roman Index of Prohibited Books in 1559 and established a special committee to look after censorship. Three classes of authors and books were placed on the Index: 1) authors who had erred, all their works were forbidden, even those that contained nothing against the faith; 2) authors of whom only some works were condemned. In this category was placed the 1537 report of Paul III's reform commission, of which the present pope had been a member; 3) books with some harmful doctrines, mostly by anonymous heretics. In this third group were also books that lacked the name of the author, or the date and place of publication, or had been printed without ecclesiastical permission. All translations of the New Testament in the vernacular were forbidden, and sixty-one printers were named, all of whose works were prohibited. Erasmus was placed in the first category, and all of his writings were condemned.

Paul's successor, Pius IV, revised the Index and relaxed the harshness that had appeared excessive to some Catholics. For example, the total condemnation of Erasmus was lifted, and only some of his works were prohibited. The Council of Trent, which had shown an interest in censorship since its earliest sessions, drew up its own list of forbidden books. This list, the Tridentine Index, was published in 1564. Erasmus was put in the second class. On the other hand, a wide variety of books was now condemned, including not only heretical ones but also obscene books

on witchcraft, and so forth. Pius V appointed a Congregation of the Index, to keep the Index up to date and to publish revised editions periodically.

Conclusion

The Counter or Catholic reformation did two things for the Roman Catholic Church. First, it regenerated the Roman church and secondly it helped in regaining nearly half of what she had lost to Protestantism. It also raised the moral and educational standards of the clergy. The Council of Trent put an end to the many current uncertainties about Protestant doctrine like the subject of justification. After the Council of Trent Catholics knew exactly what to believe and teach on scripture and tradition. They stressed those elements that were most bitterly opposed by their adversaries, especially the Mass and the sacraments, and the veneration of Mary and the saints. The Council eliminated existing uncertainties and produced clarity and security on the Catholic side. The Roman Church also distinguished its own teaching sharply from that of the Reformers by publishing the INDEX thus fixing the border line between Catholic and Protestant religious thought. The chief agencies in carrying out this work were the papacy, which was much different from the papacy of the Renaissance; a group of religious orders, some reformed and some new, most notably the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits; and the Council of Trent.

WOMEN AND REFORMATION

Introduction

The Protestant Reformation was a paradigm shift in the history of Christianity. It touched every aspect of the Christian life, but how far it affected the condition of women is a question of much debate. On the one side it is believed that the Reformation was a significant turning point for women but others claim that Reformation had nothing to do with women. Women prior to reformation had an important place in the church as nuns and mystics but post reformation the protestant churches had little role left for women in the church activities. Women lost the environment that had most essentially supported women's individual spiritual development and mystical activity and nurtured many a visionary writer. Protestant women were to forget prophesying and mystical experiences and instead embrace their domestic holy vocations as spouses, mothers and caretakers of their households. Even among the Roman Catholics the convents were brought under strict discipline thus limiting the role of women in the church. Then how did the reformation affect the women who formed almost half of the church. Did the reformation in anyway affected the status and role of women in the church and society? Did it help the women to gain greater access to power? Did it help women to express themselves in different ways other than the middle ages? Or was there a reformation for women? Roland Bainton commented, "The reform, in my judgment, had greater influence on the family than on the political and economic spheres." The reformation did not directly affect the role of women in the church but it brought a fundamental change in the way the Church looked at women and marriage which greatly influenced society both in the short and the long run perspectives. The Reformers set the tone for this by elevating the status of marriage and discussing about the spiritual equality of men and women. This essay will mainly focus on the women during middle ages to see their role in the church and then compare with the women during the period of reformation and also on

how the reformer's perspective on women.

Women during Medieval Period

During the medieval period there had been number of women mystics, prophets and saints who commanded respected in the religious world. "In the first part of the sixteenth century women were seen as spiritual authorities because of their visionary and prophetic experiences. They based their claim to authority not on office, but on experience, an extraordinary vocation. Such experience often took the form of prophetic visions". This tradition of mystical and prophetic writing flourished in the Middle Ages. For instance, Hildegard von Bingen and the visionaries from the Helfta Convent (from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and Julian of Norwich, Caterina da Siena, and Birgitta of Sweden (from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries) earned a following as holy women who had dedicated their lives to a God given mission to deliver divine messages.²⁶¹ Some of the most outstanding women of this period are discussed below.

Catherine of Siena (ca. 1347-1380), Italy, visionary and religious activist: Catherine of Siena is heralded as one of the most remarkable women in the history of the Church, indeed as the one who changed the course of European history. Catherine was a visionary who convinced the Pope to leave Avignon and return the papacy to Rome. She was born in Siena, Italy, on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1347. She was the youngest of 25 children, born into the bustling household of prosperous wool dyer Jacopo Benincasa and his wife Lapa Piacenti.²⁶² Despite the size of her family, she felt loved by both of her parents. She began to have mystical experiences at an early age. At the age of six, it is claimed that she had a vision of the Virgin Mary some others say a vision of Christ in glory; at age seven, she declared that she heard voices telling her to devote herself to God.²⁶³ At about the same time she began to abstain from food as much as possible. Given the large size of the household in which she was living, she was able to do this fairly unobserved. For the rest of her life, she consumed only bread, water, and greens. Later in her life, some people criticized her for ostentatious piety in fasting, and Catherine would respond by trying to eat but her body had become so used to its regimen that much intake of food would make her severely ill.²⁶⁴

At a young age, Catherine also took a vow of virginity but kept it as a secret from her parents. When she was about twelve her parents began to arrange a marriage for Catherine. To lessen her good looks so that she could look less attractive she cut off her hair. During those days, long,

loose hair was the symbol of a girl's virginity; at her marriage, a young woman would bind up her hair to indicate her new state. Thus, with short hair like that of a nun, Catherine could not participate in a marriage ceremony until her hair grew out. Catherine's parents', responding to what they thought was simply bad behavior punished her with an intention to show their daughter what life would be like with the low status of an unmarried woman. To their chagrin, she willingly performed the menial, unpleasant tasks assigned to her and even requested more from the family housemaid.²⁶⁵ Catherine, with her strong sense of sin and the need to expiate it, seems to have encouraged these punishments. Eventually, Catherine's father Jacopo, a peaceful and pious man, took pity on his beloved youngest daughter and defended her decision to choose Christ rather than an earthly spouse for her bridegroom, ordered that Catherine be left in peace and allowed her a room of her own for prayer and meditation.²⁶⁶ Finally, When Catherine was 18, her parents relented and allowed her to join the the Sisters of Penance Dominican order, an order usually reserved for widows. Catherine joined only as a tertiary: a lay sister who did not reside in the convent and was expected to live "in the world."²⁶⁷ But for the next three years, Catherine stayed in her room, speaking only with her confessor. During that period, Catherine had frequent visions of Christ and the Virgin Mary and conversed with them. Catherine considered herself a bride of Christ and had a ring she wore given by him that only she could see. It is claimed that after her death the marks of the 'wedding band' were clearly visible on her finger.²⁶⁸ Catherine also had, visible only to her, the stigmata (the wounds of Christ at his crucifixion experienced by religious mystics as pain in the palms of the hands, soles of the feet, forehead, and left side) of Christ as well. After three years of intense isolation in which she developed her mystical theology, Christ told Catherine it was his wish that she go out into the world and save souls. Catherine felt bound to obey this divine command and spent her time with the poor and ill of the town, doing all she could to relieve suffering. She also gave away her family's possessions to the needy. There were many plague victims in Siena, and Catherine's courage and compassion in caring for them brought her great fame.²⁶⁹ At one point, in an effort to ally herself with the suffering of Jesus, she drank the water she had used to bathe the sores of a leper, claiming that it was miraculously transformed into the blood of Christ as she swallowed it. Since she was not a nun and had no formal education, she could not found a new order. Instead, she gathered an informal group around her, a small religious community, comprised of men and women of all ages, from all social classes, some in the religious life, some not, who had been inspired by tales of her holiness. She called all her followers, regardless

of age, her children. They called her “mamma” and worked with her to help fulfill her goal.²⁷⁰

Word spread of her visions and fastings. People came to see her in her trances. Between trances, she settled quarrels and converted people. She had a strong base of support from her own followers and the people of Siena and surrounding areas who were familiar with her visions and who believed she had a special connection to God. This popularity gave her words credence and led even the upper classes to put faith in her spiritual authority. From 1370's, she turned to politics and exhorted rulers and prelates about how they should live their lives. Catherine was a stubborn person, not at all timid about speaking her mind to those whom others deemed her superiors. She gave orders rather than requests. Her influence lay in her absolute conviction that God's will and hers were one. Catherine was living when the papacy was in great disrepute. Since 1309 the Popes had resided not in Rome but in Avignon and had been thoroughly dominated by the French kings. Avignon was a city of great cultural attraction but also deep corruption. The Church had become more and more corrupt during the seventy years the papacy had been in Avignon, and the Pope was losing power. The wars in the Italian states and the Holy Roman Empire engulfed Rome and the Papal States themselves. For the papacy to maintain control of the Papal States from Avignon was impossible. Pope Gregory XI realized that it was necessary for the papacy to return home to Rome, but the pressure to stay in Avignon was intense. Catherine gained such a powerful reputation that the city of Florence asked her to go to Avignon and convince the Pope to return to Rome. In June 1376 Catherine arrived in Avignon and began to exhort Gregory to return to Rome and revitalize the Church. She referred the Pope as ‘the sweet Christ on earth’ and as ‘the sweet daddy’. She begged Gregory to return to Rome and passionately assured him that God was speaking to him directly through her. Catherine's stirring command that Gregory do “God's will and mine” persuaded him to return to Rome despite the pressure of the French king to remain in Avignon. Despite his poor health, he left Avignon and finally entered Rome in January 1377. Gregory died only a year later. He probably wanted to die in Rome in order that the election of a new Pope should take place there and keep the papacy where it belonged.

On the death of Gregory the citizens of Rome saw a chance to finally end the reign of the French Popes. As the College of Cardinals met, crowds of Romans chanted outside that they wanted an Italian Pope who would stay in Rome. Urban VI, the Pope elected, promised to do just that. But Urban also almost immediately alienated a number of the high churchmen. A group of cardinals assembled and declared the election

void since they had been pressured by the Italian mob, declared the papal throne vacant, and elected a new Pope, Clement VII. These cardinals thought this would force Urban to resign. But instead of resigning, Urban excommunicated the dissident cardinals, created an entirely new College of Cardinals, and hired a company of mercenaries to maintain his See by force of arms. Italy was clearly unsafe for Clement, and he and his College of Cardinals returned to Avignon. The Catholic Church was divided by what was known as the Great Schism, where each Pope was to declare he was the one and only Pope and the other was an anti-Christ. It was a terrible time for Christian Europe. When each Pope had excommunicated the followers of the other, who could be sure of salvation? According to a popular saying toward the end of the century, no one had entered Paradise since the Schism began. Although people could soon see all the problems caused by the Schism, the difficulty was how to end it. The Schism was to last for forty years and was not resolved until the Council of Constance, called in 1414.

Catherine saw this as a personal failure of diplomacy on her part. By 1380, seeing the Church in decline, Catherine, in despair, abstained from both food and water in an attempt to expiate the sin from herself and society. This final self-punishment proved too much for her frail body. Despite finally ending her fast, Catherine died within a few months. Within a century, she was canonized a saint of the Catholic Church.²⁷¹ During her lifetime, she wrote 383 letters to various people, clergy, laity, monarchs and others on matters of the spiritual life. One third of her letters were written to women, which give historians rare insights into the role of women in medieval times.²⁷²

Mechthild of Magdeburg (1208 - 1282/1297), Germany Christian Mystic and Writer: Mechthild was born into a noble family in Lower Saxony in about 1208. It is said that at the age of twelve she was greeted by the Holy Spirit, and had ecstatic experiences. From that moment forward, she stated, she could never commit any 'great daily sin' and desired to lead a spiritual life. Mechthild described herself at that point as having only a simple notion of a spiritual life, with little knowledge of God beyond basic Christian beliefs. She continued to have daily greetings or visions for the next thirty one years. She later recalled them in a seven part book, *Das fliessende Licht der Gottheit*, or *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*. She was the first German mystic, male or female. She originally wrote in a Low German dialect, which was translated into High German and Latin.²⁷³ Heinrich of Halle, a Dominican friend of Mechthild, organized her writings into six books or chapters. He was most likely her confessor mentioned in *The Flowing Light* who in 1250 urged her to record her

mystical experiences. Historians generally agree that at that time in Christian history women were more likely than men to have ecstatic or visionary experiences and acquired reputations as mystics. Scholars suggest that such experience allowed women personal contact with divinity at a time when they were increasingly excluded from direct participation in the liturgy and sacraments.

At the age of twenty-three, Mechthild left her family for Magdeburg, rejecting material comfort and social privilege in order to devote herself to God without distraction. In Magdeburg, she joined a community of Beguines (a beguinage) and she stayed there for forty years. Beguines were women who lived together and pursued a devout, celibate life but who did not live in cloisters or take religious vows. Established mainly in urban areas, Beguines lived austerely, supporting themselves through their labor, and dedicated themselves to serving the poor and needy; in that respect, their beliefs were compatible with Dominican and Franciscan friars who also embraced poverty and service to others. Like nuns, Beguines rejected marriage and secular pursuits for a life dedicated to God, yet unlike nuns, they did not reside in convents and had a more ambiguous place in the hierarchical organization of the Church.

Mechthild practiced an extremely rigorous program of physical self denial that left her always sick, weak, and tired. Her self inflicted bodily pain was not a sign of self-hatred, but a means to identify more closely with Christ's suffering and to achieve a purer union with God. Like many in the medieval period, Mechthild viewed her body as an instrument to achieving oneness with God. In 1250, at about the age of forty three, Mechthild began to write down her spiritual experiences as advised by her confessor a Dominican friar named Heinrich, from nearby Halle. One of the most striking features of her work is the passionate, erotic language with which she describes the soul's desired union with God. Religious writings of that time, by both men and women, used sexual imagery to convey the intimate, ecstatic fusion of human and divine. Mechthild's language expressed an earnest desire for and experience of communion with God. In a famous allegorical passage, she describes, Christ as a "beautiful youth" who leads his courtly mistress (Mechthild's soul) in a dance that ends with her seduction and "two-fold intercourse" that is "Love eternal." Elsewhere God and Mechthild's soul are lovers "who could not be closer" and who "are fused in one." Scholars interpret these visions as part of a trend in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that emphasized Christ's humanity, the individual's likeness to Christ, and a more approachable God. Historians suggest that mystical union with God helped to satisfy the desire some women felt for direct contact with God, at a time when women were increasingly barred from exercising

clerical authority, especially performing the sacraments.

At one point, when she was told that her book would be burnt, she prayed to God and He reassured her that no human can burn truth. She then lamented that if she were a "learned priest," people would have praised for his revelations, it shows the inferior status of women. God explained that he deliberately chose Mechthild to receive his "special grace" rather than learned men *because* of her humility. Moreover, God continued, the Church is strengthened when "unlearned lips" teach his words to "learned tongues." Other sections of her writings show that Mechthild's firm belief that she had both the authority and the duty to communicate her experiences. Some portions of *The Flowing Light* deliver harsh criticism of religious individuals whose conduct did not demonstrate genuine piety. She condemned a priesthood corrupted by unchastity, gluttony, pride, and hypocrisy that acted contrary to God and his true servants and warned divine punishment.

In 1270, at the age of sixty she moved to the Cistercian convent at Helfta where she was welcomed and honored as an important spiritual person. Beginning in the mid thirteenth century, the Helfta convent was famous for the learning and piety, of its nuns. It also gained a reputation as a spiritual center, for two other mystics: the abbess, Gertrude the Great and Mechthild of Hackeborn also lived there during Mechthild of Magdeburg's stay. The two younger women later became influential, central figures in the development of German mysticism. Mechthild was the first of the three female mystics directly to experience a vision of the sacred heart, a vision whose symbolic importance Gertrude and Mechthild of Hackeborn elaborated in later years. Shortly after Mechthild's arrival, she became seriously ill and lost her sight. Although deeply grateful for the care and respect she was given, Mechthild worried about her uselessness until God told her to teach and enlighten those around her. Perhaps in response, the seventh book of *The Flowing Light*, dictated to a nun at Helfta, contains fewer visions and more general prayers and advice. Mechthild died at Helfta in 1282 or 1297.²⁷⁴

Women during Reformation

Katherine Luther (1499-1550), Germany Protestant Reformer: Katharine von Bora was born on January 29, 1499, her father Hans von Bora was a nobleman. Soon after her birth, her mother died. When she was five years old her father remarried and Katherine was placed in a nunnery, where her aunt was abbess, so that she could gain an education. At the age of ten she was moved to another nunnery, Nimschen, where another aunt was also a nun. In 1515, at the age of sixteen Katherine took her

vows as a nun. By the early 1520s, when Luther argued that there was no special grace to be found in leaving the world to be a monk or a nun and that there was a priesthood of all believers. Nine of the sisters at Nimschen, including Katherine, wrote to Luther, asking his advice and sharing their concerns about how to live in a way that could be justified by their consciences. Luther sent back word that if they wanted to escape the nunnery, he would make the arrangements. It was a difficult promise for him to make because Nimschen was in the section of Saxony ruled not by Prince Frederick but by Duke George, who hated Luther and his ideas. But Luther with the help of his trusted friend Leonard Kopp smuggled them out in the empty herring barrels on the Easter day in 1523.²⁷⁵

The relatives of most of the women refused to accept them back into their families. Luther took responsibility for all of them and arranged marriages or find positions for most of the women. Since Katharine was one of the oldest in the group, she was considered the least marriageable. For a year and a half, she boarded in the home of Argula von Grumbach (1492–c. 1563), one of Luther's female disciples, who began urging him to marry Katharine. Luther had good reasons to resist because he thought that he who was 40 years was not a match for a 25 years old Katharine and moreover he was labeled as heretic, condemned by the pope, and declared an outlaw by the emperor so did not wish to leave his bride a widow.²⁷⁶ Luther suggested an older man, Dr. Kasper Glatz, the former rector of the University at Wittenberg to Katherine but she refused to marry him.²⁷⁷

Luther frustrated by what to do, asked Katherine whom she did want to marry. Katherine sent word to Luther through Dr. Von Amsdorf that she would like to marry Martin Luther. But when Luther thought it over, he decided it would be a good idea. It would please his father who had never been totally reconciled to his choice of profession and wanted grandchildren. It would also annoy the Pope, something Luther always enjoyed. Moreover it would seal his testimony that he practiced what he preached. So on June 13, 1525, Luther married Katharine von Bora. The marriage of Martin Luther and Katherine was not, then, a romantic match, but gradually they deeply fell in love with one another. Luther admitted that in everyday affairs he relied more on Katie, as he called her, than on Christ. He once wrote that he would not exchange Katie for both Venice and France. Luther and Katharine had six children and also raised a number of nieces and nephews as well as four orphans they adopted.²⁷⁸ Martin Luther lived in a building known as the Black Cloister which had 40 rooms on the ground floor, with smaller cells above them. She remodeled them and was a host to the deluge of travelers who came from all over Germany, Hungary and England. Even though they had little

money, Martin spent it foolishly or gave it away so she took control of the management of the house as it was always packed with visitors. Someone called it an "asylum for renegades" and sometimes the table was set for 120 people!²⁷⁹ She established a hostel for the Students who came from all over Europe to study though they were supposed to pay for their keep but too often they did not.²⁸⁰ She planted a huge garden and an orchard to supply vegetables and fruit. She saved enough money to buy some farms to raise cattle and provide income for the family.²⁸¹ She made butter and cheese and also ran a brewery attached to the farm. She also took care of Luther so well his health improved dramatically once he married. She worked to overcome his depressions, and she accepted his eccentricities. She was greatly skilled in the use of herbs, in what constituted a healthy diet, and in massage. Many years later their son, himself a physician, praised his mother for her care of his father and stated that Katie Luther was almost a doctor.

Katherine as a former nun was well educated. She knew Latin and could follow the talk about theology. She shared issues of the Reformation with Luther and supported his endeavors to accomplish religious reform in Germany. She talked through issues and encouraged Luther's writing. When other theologians attacked Luther, she was furious and encouraged him to respond. She never entered the public arena herself or it may be said that Luther did not encourage her beyond the domestic affairs.²⁸² Luther acknowledged that Katie knew the Psalms better than any papist. Katherine was aware that she was considerably younger than Martin and was deeply worried over how she would support herself and the children, should anything happen to him. After Luther's death in 1546, Katherine insisted on keeping the Black Cloister, rented rooms to students, and did the planting and harvesting herself. But she was forced to flee as the Emperor Charles V unleashed his army against Protestant Wittenberg. But when she returned she found that her lands had been burned, her livestock devoured, and her gardens destroyed. With great determination, she set herself to rebuild, but in 1550 she died after an illness.²⁸³

Argula von Grumbach (1492 - 1563), German, Protestant Activist: Noblewomen who sponsored and protected Protestant reformers were often successful and respected leaders, but women who took the next step and began speaking or writing publicly on issues of theology and church government were almost always thought to be operating beyond their legitimate sphere. During the first decade of the Reformation in Germany, Argula von Grumbach set aside the injunction of St. Paul that women should be silent in the presence of men and entered into the public controversies generated by the Reformed message. Her letters

and appeals to a variety of public authorities won the tacit support of the Protestant leader Martin Luther and placed her at the center of discussion over the role of women in the spiritual life of the Christian community.

A few opportunities for female leadership emerged in the earliest days of Protestantism. Some female advocates of reform circulated their views in writing. Among them was Argula von Grumbach, who was born into an aristocratic and well-educated family near Beratzhausen, Germany. She was orphaned in 1509 while being educated at court in Munich. In 1516 she married Friedrich von Grumbach, an administrator for the Bavarian dukes of the Franconian town of Diefurt. She was then drawn to Protestantism, probably by Paul Speratus, a scholar and cathedral preacher who was a champion of church reform. Inspired by the pamphlets of Protestant Reformation leader Martin Luther and other reformers, Grumbach immersed herself in reading Scripture (the text of the Bible).

Grumbach's brief public career began in 1523 when an instructor at the University of Ingolstadt, Aracius Seehofer, was forced to renounce elements of his teaching that he had learned under one of Luther's disciples, Philip Melanchthon. Ingolstadt was the home of Luther's adversary Johannes Eck. She challenged Catholic theologians to a debate about their coercive conduct. Inviting the faculty to discuss her position publicly, she cited examples of churchmen like St. Jerome who were not ashamed to write to women and pointed to Christ's instruction of Mary Magdalene as precedent for her own exceptional activities.²⁸⁴ Concerning her role in the affair, she said, "I am not unacquainted with the word of Paul that women should be silent in church (I Tim. 1:2) but, when no man will or can speak, I am driven by the word of the Lord when he said, "He who confesses me on earth, him will I confess and he who denies me, him will I deny" (Matt. 10, Luke 9), and I take comfort in the words of the prophet Isaiah (3:12,), "I will send you children to be your princes and women to be your rulers."²⁸⁵ When they refused to participate, she published a pamphlet that eventually went into fourteen editions. Rather than respond directly, the university sent a copy of her appeal to the two Dukes of Bavaria, Wilhelm and Ludwig. Grumbach also wrote to Duke Wilhelm, calling upon him to condemn the evil academics and to embrace the Gospel message alone. She admonished the duke to reform the corruptions within the Church without recourse to Rome. Her disdain for the clergy, both secular and regular, was intense. She joined with other pamphleteers in calling for an end to celibacy, monasticism, and clerical absenteeism. In six open letters to German princes and to officials in the cities of Ingolstadt and Regensburg, she outlined a reform program for society as well as the church. In October 1523, Grumbach wrote to the mayor and city council of Ingolstadt and to the leader of Saxony, Frederick

the Wise, requesting that she be given a hearing at a general meeting of the princes of the Holy Roman Empire scheduled for the fall of 1523 at Nuremberg. In her letter to the city council, Grumbach insisted that despite her lack of formal education, she belonged to the universal priesthood of all believers and would not be silenced in her testimony. In 1524 she sent her final public letter to the Diet meeting at Regensburg, declaiming against the condemnation of Luther.²⁸⁶ The authorities left her to her husband's discipline, and he maltreated her in his anger at losing his position.²⁸⁷

Argula responded to the anonymous personal attack with her own satirical verse, calling her opponent a coward and citing biblical examples of women who were called on to give witness for Christ. More important, she was invited to attend the Imperial Diet. There is little extant evidence of her activities there beyond some deprecatory remarks about the debauchery of the assembled delegates. In 1530 she met Martin Luther for the first time. She had earlier encouraged Luther to marry, sent reports to him on the activity of fellow evangelicals in Bavaria, and later sent her own sons to study under Melancthon at Wittenberg. Grumbach's theology mirrored Luther's very closely in its emphasis upon the need for all to read Scripture, and she skillfully used her attacks on the Roman clergy as a means of politicizing the literate commoner.

While she trusted that other women would follow her example into print, few were willing to break free of the age old injunction that women restrict themselves to private, domestic, and familial reform. Pamphlet and pulpit decried against women's public involvement in matters involving theology or ecclesiology. After the death of her first husband in 1530, Grumbach remarried but ceased her public involvement in religious affairs. Only toward the end of her life, in 1563, did she reemerge on the public stage, this time briefly imprisoned by the Duke of Bavaria for circulating anti-Catholic books, officiating at funerals, and holding religious meetings in her home. While no longer involved in the print wars of the Reformation, Grumbach apparently continued to advance the Reform movement irrespective of "appropriate" female roles in the life of the Church.²⁸⁸

Katharina Zell (b.1497/98) German Protestant activist: Katharina Zell was a German Protestant activist and reformer in the city of Strasbourg. Katharina Schutz Zell was born in a respected artisan household in the city-state of Strassburg, in 1497 or early 1498. Very little is known about her childhood except that she was one of the middle children of a large family, and she received good training in reading and writing. She grew up as a devout young girl, reared in a family where spiritual growth was

encouraged.²⁸⁹ Her marriage to the clergyman Matthew Zell (1477-1548) in 1523 marked the beginning of a life of public activity on behalf of Protestantism. Matthew Zell after a brief tenure as rector at the University of Freiburg (1517- 1518), arrived in the city of Strasbourg to serve as the Roman Catholic priest of the cathedral parish. But soon he found himself attracted to the views of reformer Martin Luther, and as early as 1521, he began preaching sermons with a Lutheran emphasis. His stirring ministry attracted a large following, especially among the poorer classes of the city. But the Bishop of Strasbourg attempted to have the cathedral chapter oust Zell, but his effort failed because of the popularity of Zell's sermons. The city council decided to extend their protection to the preacher and wanted a reform of the church.²⁹⁰

Zell led the reform movement for in Strasbourg from 1521 until 1523, when he was joined by Wolfgang Capito and Martin Bucer. In 1523 Zell published a defense of the Reformation entitled *Christliche verantwortung* (*Christian Answer*). Throughout his professional life, Zell focused on preaching and pastoral work. But it was his renunciation of the celibate life that had the greatest impact on the religious life of Strasbourg. Following Bucer's example, Zell broke his vow of celibacy and married Katharina Schutz on 3 December 1523. In response, the bishop suspended Zell and a handful of other married clergymen from their offices, and on 14 March 1524, they were placed under a ban. Katharina Zell was Matthew's junior by twenty years. She had read Luther's early works before her marriage to Matthew. The priests were attacked as a libertine after their marriage, but Katharina spoke publicly in defense of her husband, even publishing an attack on priestly celibacy in 1524.²⁹¹ In February 1524, the city council forbade publication of the brief treatise, but some months later the *Apologia of Katharina Schütz for Her Husband, Master Matthew Zell, a Pastor and Servant of the Word of God in Strassburg, Because of the Great Lies About Him* appeared in print. The *apologia* was a lively declaration of the Biblical passages in support for marriage among the clergy, as well as a defense of the religious convictions that had motivated her and Matthew.²⁹² In her treatise she argued that the bishop's opposition to clerical marriage was based solely on financial considerations, not spiritual ones. She argued that married priests who left their money to family members would damage the financial standing of the universal church based in Rome. She wrote that her marriage should stand as an example to those priests living in sin with concubines with the silent consent of the Church hierarchy.²⁹³ Her position was not different from that taken by other Protestants, but the city council was trying to pacify the bishop at the time, and the treatise fanned the flames of controversy. The fact that the writer was a woman probably added further to the annoyance

of the council.²⁹⁴

Not willing to accept the Pauline appeal that women should be silent on religious matters, Katharina referred to St. Paul's insistence (Gal. 3) that in Christ there is no difference between Greek or Jew, slave or free, man or woman.²⁹⁵ Katharina and Matthew Zell established a remarkable partnership in ministry, worked together closely. They shared the pastoral activities of welcoming refugees and traveling reformers, aiding the needy and displaced, and visiting the sick and imprisoned or dying. During her husband's lifetime, Zell shared in the work of her husband's teaching and preaching assignment to an unusual degree. Many people, mostly ordinary citizens of Strassburg, came to her for counsel and comfort, and she drew on her own religious study and experience to reach out to them. Her primary concerns were for the women and the poor of the city, but she also counseled men, including leaders of society as well as followers.²⁹⁶ She was a tireless worker for the Reformation cause. She was one of the few women to continue writing lay pamphlets on behalf of the Reformers after 1525. And her intellectual efforts were matched by her practical activities.

In 1534, she began the publication of a hymnbook, issued in four small, inexpensive booklets, the first of which was entitled *Some Christian and Consoling Songs of Praise about Our Savior Jesus Christ: His Incarnation, Birth, Circumcision, and so forth*. The songs were primarily for family and private devotions, for parents to teach their children, and for ordinary Christians to sing as they went about their daily work. The idea of ordinary people expressing their faith through song was not unique, but the collection is striking for its imagery of women's work as a balance to the primarily masculine imagery that was dominant among male reformers. In the songbook's preface, along with the mention of farmers and artisans who praise God as they go about their jobs, there are mothers soothing their fretful babies, and kitchen maids singing hymns while they wash dishes.²⁹⁷

In 1548, Matthew Zell died during a severely trying time for the Protestant movement. The death of her husband was a terrible personal loss, but Zell did not turn from her ministry. At Matthew's funeral, she gave an impromptu sermon, a most unusual thing for a woman to do at the time. It demonstrated both her sorrow and her faith, as she called on Matthew's students and congregation to remember and be true to his teaching. She continued her benevolent activities visiting the sick of the city and even took up residence in the syphilis hospital in order to care for a sick nephew. She boldly participated in the service, breaking the traditional injunction that women remain separate from the official

ministries. In 1557, angry with the increasingly dogmatic temper of Lutheran pastors in the city, she published A Letter to all the citizens of Strasbourg in which she criticized ministers who persecuted Anabaptists and spiritualists. Toward the end of her life, she conducted funerals for two women who had been refused clerical services because of their association with sectarians. Katharina went so far as to call for the toleration of Roman Catholics and Anabaptists.²⁹⁸

Marie Dentiere, Switzerland, Reformist, Defender of Women, and Writer: Marie Dentiere was the abbess at a convent of Augustinians in Tournai in the 1520s, but she left the convent and married former priest Simon Robert. Shortly after their marriage, they met Guillaume Farel, a well known Protestant reformer and moved to Aigle with him, then to Strasbourg, where they grew increasingly involved in reformist activity. After Robert's death in 1533, Marie married another reformist, Antoine Froment. Marie, Froment, and their five children moved to Geneva to be near their friend, Guillaume Farel, who was especially instrumental in fanning the flames of political and religious rebellion in the city that played such an important role in the history of the Reformation. Farel, Froment, Dentiere, and other activists helped galvanize the Protestant reformists' opposition to the Catholic clergy in Geneva. After several years of dissent by May 1536, Geneva successfully became an independent Protestant city. In 1536 John Calvin arrived in Geneva. He and Farel were influential for awhile in Geneva, but their reformist practices were ultimately considered too radical, and they were exiled and did not return to Geneva until 1541.

Marie Dentiere was active in this Protestant reform movement as a speaker and as a writer of religious tracts. She published two works: The first was an account of the reform movement in Geneva in the 1520s and 1530s, *The War for and Deliverance of the City of Geneva*. Dentièr's version of these events makes no attempt to be impartial; her chronicle is a celebration of reformist achievement, filled with biblical allusions and colorful, contemporary language. In spite of her active role in the reform movement, Marie felt compelled to publish her work as written by "a merchant living in that city." As she felt that her writing would be taken more seriously if its readers thought the author was male. It was not until the nineteenth century that this work was fully proven to be Dentiere's.

Dentiere's second work was more outspoken in defense of women. In the second publication, she fully acknowledged her identity as the female creator of the work. It was addressed to Marguerite de Navarre, sister of the French king Francis I and wife of Henri de Navarre, ruler of the small French territory in southern France; this publication also

included a letter to Marguerite de Navarre, *A Most Beneficial Letter Prepared and Written Down by a Christian Woman of Tournai*,” and a tract in defense of women’s involvement in religious reform.²⁹⁹ Dentiere explicitly asked Marguerite to intervene with her brother, and reminds her that she too has political power and a God given responsibility to declare her faith openly. She wrote “what God has given you and revealed to us women, no more than men should we hide it and bury it in the earth”³⁰⁰ Dentièrè passionately, believed in the need to include women in the mission of Christianity. She wrote to Marguerite de Navarre: “Didn’t Jesus die just as much for the poor illiterates and the idiots as for the shaven, tonsured, and mitred lords? . . . Did he not say, ‘To all?’ Do we have two Gospels, one for men and one for women?” She made many allusions to the many good women named in the Bible and argues that it would be wrong for women to hide the talents God has given them. She used them explicitly as examples to authorize women as preachers, “What woman was a greater preacher than the Samaritan woman, who was not ashamed to preach Jesus and his word, confessing him openly before everyone, as soon as she heard Jesus say that we must adore God in spirit and truth? Who can boast of having had the first manifestation of the great mystery of the resurrection of Jesus, if not Mary Magdalen, from whom he had thrown out seven devils, and the other women, to whom, rather than to men, he had earlier declared himself through his angel and commanded them to tell, preach and declare it to others?”³⁰¹ She also vigorously defended the right of women to discuss and interpret Scripture. She began her letter with a defense of women and an argument in favor of women’s right to interpret and discuss Scripture on their own. She was also extremely critical of some of the Genevan ministers who were not, in her view, sufficiently supportive of reformist ideals, and she spoke out in defense of some of the exiled leaders, especially Guillaume Farel. Her criticism of some of the leading officials of the city resulted in a scandal. Though the printer, Jean Gerard, published 1,500 copies of the work under another name, his identity was discovered, he was imprisoned, and the remaining copies were confiscated. Gerard was eventually set free, but the work was censored for years. Dentiere’s husband tried repeatedly but unsuccessfully to obtain some of the confiscated copies of the work.

In spite of Dentiere’s defense of Farel in her publication, he eventually repudiated both her and her husband Froment. Dentiere’s work on behalf of the reform movement and for women’s role within that movement was powerful and influential, but ultimately, the extremity of her views caused their suppression. Even the reformists themselves were not willing to concede positions of power to women. Women were excluded from public

discourse on matters of religion, and important writings like Dentiere's were censored or ignored.³⁰² On two occasions Dentiere spoke out vehemently. The first one was in August 1535 to a group of women, the Catholic nuns of the Poor Clares convent in Geneva, whom Dentiere urged to follow her example, that is, leave the convent and marry. That proselytizing effort is recorded by Jeanne de Jussie in her *Short Chronicle*. Eleven years later, in 1546, Calvin reports that Dentiere did preach in public and had a hostile encounter with him on that occasion. Calvin reports the incident derisively in a letter to Farel.³⁰³ For many years, Dentiere's reputation was under a cloud after critical comments were made about her by Calvin and another contemporary Reformer, Guillaume Farel. It is only now, centuries later, that those works are being discovered again. We do not know what happened to Denti re in the later years of her life, but we know that her courageous and vigorous activism was important in the early years of reform even though her powerful voice was suppressed once the reform movement became more established.³⁰⁴ The increased interest in women's history and literary activity has led to new research on Marie Dentiere and new assessments of her role in the Reformation. In 2002, Marie Dentiere's name was chiseled on the Wall of the Reformers in Geneva, a major monument to the Reformation and one of the most frequently visited sites.³⁰⁵

Elizabeth of Brandenburg (1485 – 1555): Elizabeth was born Elisabeth Oldenburg in 1485 in Copenhagen as the only daughter of Frederick I, the king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In 1502, at the age of 17, she was married to Joachim I (born 1484), the elector of Brandenburg, who was the brother of Albert von Hohenzollern, archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg (whose purchase of church office brought Tetzl to Wittenberg). Joachim I vehemently opposed Luther and his reforms. After few years of peaceful and happy life she gave birth to Joachim in 1505, and daughters Anna (1507), Elisabeth (1510), Margaretha (1511), and Johann (1513). Elisabeth came to be involved with Lutheran faith through her brother, King Christian II and his wife Isabella (the Lutheran sister of the Catholic Emperor Charles V), who legalized the Reformation in Denmark. He remained in personal contact with Luther. Elisabeth being close to Christian and Isabella, was influenced by their Lutheran theology. Her privileged status and connections gave her access to an assortment of printed works like Luther's translation of the Bible and his other circulating texts. Joachim I must have observed Elisabeth's growing interest and the books she was reading, but he made no effort to control her until she made her new faith public.

Just before Easter 1527, while Joachim I was traveling, Elisabeth chose to receive Communion in both forms from a Lutheran pastor.

Elisabeth intentionally proclaimed herself Lutheran in that way and did not wish to hide her decision. When Joachim I heard about it, he was outraged and consulted a team of theologians (bishops and doctors), who suggested different punishment options from imprisonment or drowning to exile or divorce. But Joachim took a moderate road and demanded Elisabeth to return to her old faith within six months. By that time Elisabeth was living away from him in Spandau and she was expected to attend Mass on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1527. But when that date passed, Easter 1528 was set as new deadline. It has been claimed that Joachim mishandling her but did not refraining from receiving communion in both kinds. She tried to explain her theological and spiritual reason in her letters that she could not disobey the will of God and was rather willing to give up her life for her faith. Her flight angered many people, even the protestant leaders like Philip Von Hessen did not appreciate such disobedience from a woman but she did not consider her womanhood an obstacle to demonstrate her faith. She stood for what was right according to her conscience. Another personal reason, Elisabeth could site for her continued absence was Joachim's affair with many women. In response to his requests for Elisabeth to return, Elisabeth made counter requests, she demanded guaranteed safety for herself, a right to call her own pastor and receive the Sacrament as often she liked and she expected a return to marital relations. Elisabeth's reasoning for her requests were complex. It suggests that she could forgive adultery but not compromise on the issue of religion. She wanted her husband back, but not at the expense of her new faith. Joachim's return to her bed would seal his approval of her religious choice in a way approval of Lutheranism. It was during her exile, she also spent four months in 1537 with Luther at his residence at Wittenberg. Luthers' testified that she was a high maintenance guest and she occupied more than her share of space and resources. During this time she was also visited by her daughter Elizabeth of Braunschweig who would later carry the Lutheran reformation. Luther mentioned about the older Elisabeth in his letter as childish, unruly, and erratic in behavior and argues that he is unable and unwilling to host her any longer.

It was only after her husband's death in August 1532, she returned to Brandenburg in August 1545 (almost spent 18 years abroad for her faith). She agreed to return only after her son Joachim II, who replaced his father as the elector of Brandenburg agreed to establish a Lutheran order of Church in his territory. Even after that she was not happy with the kind of reformation taking place in Brandenburg because it included some old practices of the traditional church. Martin Luther was also consulted to look into the reformation and he suggested a middle way.

He wrote in a letter about the freedom in Christian life and the harmlessness of allowing people to maintain some of the old religious practices (even ones not allowed in Wittenberg). He reminded Elisabeth of the freedom of one's conscience and remarked that as long as the Mass and the invocation to saints were abolished things were in good order but Elisabeth was not tolerant like Luther and wanted complete change of order of worship. She conducted family devotions in her household and remained active in religious affairs till the end of her life and died at the age of 70 on June 1, 1555. For her, religion was more important than her personal life. She risked her life and used her position to ensure legalization of Protestant faith in her territory.³⁰⁶

Elisabeth of Braunschweig (1510-1558), Protestant Political Leader: Elisabeth of Braunschweig was the daughter of Elizabeth of Brandenburg. Her mother, Elizabeth of Brandenburg, was sister to Christian II of Denmark, the prince who introduced Lutheranism into that state. Elizabeth's maternal grandmother Christine was the sister of Frederick of Saxony, the elector who protected Luther from Roman Catholic Emperor Charles V. On the opposite side of the religious divide was her father, the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I. His strident opposition to Luther at two Church councils, one at the city of Worms (1521) and again at Augsburg (1520), marked him as one of the leading political figures in the early efforts to undermine the Protestant cause. In 1525, at the age of fifteen, Elizabeth of Braunschweig was married to Erich von Braunschweig - Calenberg (1470–1540), whose territories included Luneburg, Calenberg-Göttingen, Wolfenbüttel, and Grubenhagen. He was forty years older to her. During the first decade of their marriage, Elizabeth remained firmly within the Roman Catholic communion. From 1534, she began reading Luther's writings and her views began to change. In 1538, after visiting her mother, her brother John of Kustrin who had recently accepted Lutheran faith, and the Lutheran pastor Antonius Corvinus, Elizabeth announced her conversion to the Reformed faith.³⁰⁷ Erich was more understanding husband and allowed Elizabeth to free practice of her beliefs so long as she did not attempt to disturb the established faith. In Erich's words, "My wife does not interfere with and molest us in our faith, and therefore we will leave her undisturbed and unmolested in hers." Erich personally appreciated Luther, even sent him beer after the Diet of Worms, but nevertheless he wanted to die in his old faith, and had no interest in the "new" theology.³⁰⁸ His position was really quite exceptional in a strongly patriarchal age, because it was commonly thought that women who demurred from their husbands on religious matters were challenging age old assumptions about proper gender roles.

In 1540, when Erich died, Elizabeth became the regent for her twelve

year old son, a position enjoyed by a select few noblewomen of the period. She held that post for the next five years, supervising a household staff of officials and servants numbering upwards of 200 persons. She took full advantage of the time and undertook a concerted effort to disseminate the Lutheran vision of Reformed religion.³⁰⁹ She took the help of pastor Antonius Corvinus to implement Reformation in her land. Corvinus was given the role of overseeing the affairs of the church and also wrote the church order under Elisabeth's mandate and with her input. The four part church order entailed provisions about education (including that of the clergy) and teaching the catechism, about administering Communion in both kinds, and adherence to the teachings of the Augsburg Confession, along with words of advice about preaching the Word. The larger cities, to Elisabeth's dismay, did not receive the order favorably at first.³¹⁰ Corvinus also composed numerous expository *postillae* (sermon aids) on the Gospels, Epistles, and Psalms. They were printed in Low German dialects and were instrumental in the spread of the Reform movement. He also undertook a series of extensive visitations, often accompanied by the regent, to churches throughout the territory in an attempt to introduce Lutheran belief and practice.³¹¹

An important piece of Elisabeth's writing was her "Sendbrief," her official letter to her subjects written in 1544. First part of the 72 page long "Sendbrief" contained a general exhortation for Christian life and betterment of life and the second part addressed different pertinent groups, the pastors, the cloister people, the nobility, the four big cities (Gottingen, Hannover, Northeim, and Hameln), and the smaller towns and farming villages. She urged all the parties to obey their duty in the name of God, priests to preach the importance of penance and the nobility to give up their sinful "Epicurean" ways, and the big cities their "usury" business. She exhorted people to leave their sins and immoral behavior, and the priests were ordered to marry their concubines.³¹² In regards to the reform of the convents, Elisabeth was sensitive to the dilemma of the convent women. Instead of use of force, she allowed those who wished to stay in their convents to do so, and allowed individuals to leave at their own will. Later she also advised her son about how to dissolve the convents without force but with understanding for the needs of the "homeless" women.³¹³

Elisabeth also carefully schooled her son Erich II in the Lutheran faith and arranged his marriage to the Lutheran sister of the Duke of Saxony. In 1546 -7, as an eighteen old, he traveled to the Regensburg Diet and there joined the Catholic princes in the combat against the Protestants. After returning from his travel he began the process of undoing his mother's Reform efforts. Elisabeth could do little in the face of her grown up son who was also now the Duke. Out of her agony, she wrote,

"O Lord God, to whom have I given birth? Whom have I reared? To deny the plain truth is a sin which cannot be forgiven on earth or in heaven. To persecute, maltreat, and abuse the servants of the Word of God is to persecute, maltreat, and abuse Christ Jesus, our only Savior, mediator, and intercessor, who has borne our sins. My son has brought me to bed. If he keeps on, he will bring me to the grave."³¹⁴ Erich II also imprisoned the pastor Corvinus in 1549, because the pastor advocated complete church autonomy from state control, and supported his mother's entreaties to uphold the Lutheran cause. Elisabeth pleaded with him with tears but his response was negative. He reminded her of the hierarchy of authority that he will act as answerable to Almighty God and the emperor. He also threatened to act, even if with pain, if her mother did not drop the subject. In 1552, the turn of political events led him to return to the faith of his childhood. In a mandate of May 21, 1553, Erich confirmed the Protestant faith as the legal religion in his territory. But in battle in 1553, he was defeated by his Catholic cousin Heinz, and Elizabeth was expelled from the Calenberg duchy of Braunschweig. After spending three years in exile and poverty, she returned home and died at the age of forty eight. Her efforts did not go unrewarded as all of Braunschweig accepted the Lutheran Communion.³¹⁵

Reformers and Women

Luther on women

Luther's ideas about women set the tone for sixteenth century Protestant thought. Pastors of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican Churches spoke about the position of women and the spiritual and emotional significance of marriage with very little deviation from Luther's ideas.³¹⁶ We will look at some of the important teachings of Luther on women.

Marriage: Medieval theology had distinguished between Christian lives in two ways. The first was marriage life which was intended by God to be the normal rather the ideal life for human beings. The second was a higher calling, possible for a few, which demanded virginity and merited greater reward in heaven. Celibacy was considered spiritually and ethically superior to married life. Luther saw that marriage had been seriously depreciated by the Roman Church and quite early in his career, he ruled out that distinction as untenable. He said that there cannot be two classes of Christians among the baptized. Luther was both traditional and innovative in his views on marriage. In 1519, Luther considered marriage a sacrament but he gradually denied it and later emphasized both its worldly and spiritual significance. He declared that marriage was a better state than monasticism life and a natural and honorable calling for all. According to his interpretation of Genesis 2:18-24, God singled

out man and woman and placed them above the animals when he created marriage for them alone before the Fall. Marriage would have been a lovely state if it had remained uncorrupted by sin. But since the Fall, it had become a means for restraining powerful human sexual appetites in addition to its originally intended purposes of companionship and procreation.³¹⁷

Luther openly spoke about conjugal duty in marriage and even in the Augsburg Confession of 1530 contained the statement that marriage was commanded by God to avoid fornication. He emphasized that though marriage will help in containing sexual lust, but it does not exist for sexual gratification alone but for establishing a household and bringing up children. Luther believed that sex in marriage should not be limited to procreation, he believed raising children was the primary purpose of marriage. Marriage was a "school for character" where men, women, and children learned to live by faith through struggling with everyday problems. Thus, beginning with Luther, there was a shift in thought about marriage from the traditional emphasis on sexual intercourse solely for procreation and on marriage as a mere remedy for sexual incontinence.

Luther was concerned about the freedom of men and women to choose to marry, yet he recognized the need for individuals to select their marriage partners. Those were important ideas in a period when young men and women, of the upper classes especially, were often forced to accede to parental wishes to marry for the family's social or material aggrandizement. Luther emphasized the need for love and companionship between husband and wife.

Divorce: The recognition of the importance of a good marriage relationship led Luther to consider the issue of dissolving bad marriages. He acknowledged that there could be conditions, other than those permitted by the Roman Church, under which men and women might need to end a bad marriage. In his treatise *"On Married Life,"* Luther discussed the subject of divorce. He acknowledged that there were instances in which divorce might be necessary, as when a husband or wife had a previously unknown physical deficiency or adultery. He based his view on adultery on the words of Jesus in Matthew 19. Luther recognized that adultery might be an acceptable reason for divorce. He made suggestions to civil and religious authorities for divorce procedures that would discourage all but the most determined couples and prescribed stringent measures against the adulterer. Luther also recognized that the refusal of one party to fulfill conjugal duties or to live with the spouse should also be a valid reason for divorce. Luther believed that the stubborn party should be publicly rebuked in church. If the offender

remained recalcitrant, divorce might follow. The civil authorities could also intervene, he suggested, and threaten the resistant spouse with the death penalty. Luther made a veiled reference to another justification for divorce, incompatibility, an idea which followed naturally from his emphasis on companionship in marriage.³¹⁸

Leadership: Having glorified the status of marriage, Luther was notably conservative in his attitude toward women's roles in married life or society. Luther's views of women's roles were in fact notably traditional and patriarchal. Women were not only forbidden to teach or preach in church, but they were not to participate in politics or rule at home. Luther's most famous passage on women reveals the conventional trend of his thinking on the subject, "Men have broad and large chests, and small and narrow hips, and more understanding than women who have small, narrow breasts, and broad hips, to the end that they should remain at home, sit still, keep house and rear and bring up children." Luther acknowledged women's spiritual equality with men. It was a logical outcome of justification by faith and "the priesthood of all believers." But following St. Paul, Luther believed they were not to teach or preach in church.

Luther heavily relied on Scripture for his views on women. He said God originally created Adam and Eve equal in all respects, according to a definite plan. If Eve had not been deceived by the serpent and had not sinned, women would have remained equal to men in all respects. But God imposed Eve's subjugation to Adam as punishment after he discovered her sin. In addition all women must bear children in pain and carry the burden of raising children and running the household. But, according to Luther, Eve was not to be despised. She was neither abandoned by God nor separated from companionship with Adam for her sin. While she might have to bear children in pain, she recognized that the glory of motherhood belonged to her and regarded the pain as a joyful punishment. Woman's purpose in life is procreation, companionship to man, management of the household, and, because of her sin in the Garden, to be an antidote to lust.

Education: During the middle ages and Renaissance, women were described as morally weak and intellectually feeble. Traditionally, women were told to obey their fathers and then their husbands; to be virgins and then chaste wives; to prefer silence to speech and self-expression.; they claimed not only that women were unworthy of education but education would be positively dangerous for them. The Reformation period did not lead to very specific concepts of education for girls and women. Nevertheless, Luther stated a number of general principles of Christian

education that took the religious education of women into account. According to these, schooling and education are absolutely necessary. Every Christian must be enabled to understand the Word of God and to acquire and cultivate the ability to engage responsibly with Holy Scripture. In his treatise *To the Christian Nobility* (1520), Luther admonishes the nobility to set up schools so that everyone would be able to read the gospel. The school education of girls was explicitly mentioned: "And would to God that every town had a girls' school as well, where the girls would be taught the gospel for an hour every day either in German or in Latin." It was an authentic voice from the Reformation demanding the introduction of schools specifically for girls. But Luther differentiates education on the grounds of gender. According to him higher education was reserved for male students and for girls education was required to orient themselves towards family life like domestic management, marriage and the raising of children. In Wittenberg following Luther's advice, a girls' school was founded. The curriculum for the girls included the following, Classes were taught on all working days. The morning sessions were devoted to learning to read, to practicing reading, and to repeating what had been read. Those who had mastered reading were to be given lessons in writing after lunch from 12 to 2 p.m. Following that, the singing of psalms and the practicing of scales were scheduled. In due course the girls were also supposed to learn the numbers and some arithmetic. Wednesday and Saturday mornings were reserved for catechism lessons. The girls had a lunchtime break. There were no classes on Sunday. Though Luther emphasized the practical training of women for running a household but did not envisage higher education for women. Nevertheless, he contributed to a development which, at least in theory, improved access to elementary skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic for wider sections of the female population. That contribution must not be underestimated. Reading skills above all facilitate an independent acquisition of knowledge by the individual. They are therefore a significant step towards the emancipation of women.³¹⁹

To conclude, readers may get mixed impressions of Luther's contribution to the development of school education for girls and young women. Scholarly opinions cover a wide spectrum about this, ranging from the view that Luther was a promotor of equal rights for women to the view that he was a protagonist in the oppression of women. It may well be that we have to leave the issue undecided. Some of Luther's ideas were more traditional, others were more progressive.³²⁰

Scholars generally agree that Luther was traditional in his views on women. He viewed women as creatures inferior to men, subject to impulse, governed by emotion, incapable of profound thought, vain, gossipy, and

unsuited for responsibility beyond the home. His attitudes toward women were influenced by his own marriage and family life and later, after he became a public figure, by his acquaintance with women from a wide variety of backgrounds. While he treated women with respect, he never overcame his conviction that women had limited abilities and should be subject to man. Because of Eve's sin men and women are not totally equal.

Calvin and Women

Marriage: Calvin had two reasons in joining with Luther in protesting against the vow of celibacy, firstly the conviction that marriage was a holy institution ordained of God and the equally strong conviction that marriage was a very necessary human institution. Secondly he said, Continence was a special gift of God, not granted to many. He said "Continence is a remarkable gift, indeed a rare one, and bestowed upon very few." It is therefore sheer presumption on the part of one who has not received this gift from God to think that he can live the celibate life. Further, he cited from his experience that, "It was scarcely possible to find one convent in ten which was not rather a brothel than a sanctuary of chastity." He added "If one takes a wife, it was regarded as a capital crime; if he committed adultery a hundred times; it is atoned for with a small sum of money." He declared that the vow of celibacy had deprived the church of many good and faithful ministers, for pious and prudent men will not thus ensnare themselves. God has provided a remedy for all that in marriage.

Calvin had in mind two conviction regarding marriage, first was to bear offspring and second a remedy for continence. Calvin was outright in his view that a marriage which cannot fulfill the second function was no union at all, and therefore null and void. He was less outspoken on the question of sterility as a ground for divorce, and makes no provision for it in the divorce laws. In condemning Elkanah for taking a second wife because the first was barren, he said that when one desires to have children, he should earnestly pray about it, as Isaac did. Then if the prayer is not granted, he should accept the denial of his petition in all patience and humility, as the dispensation of an all wise God in whose hand are both the giving and withholding of offspring.

Calvin followed Luther in holding that marriage was not a sacrament. He said that Marriage was a good and holy ordinance of God similar to agriculture, architecture, shoemaking, and many other things that are legitimate ordinances of God but they were not sacraments. According to Calvin, "A sacrament must not only be a work of God, but it must be an external ceremony appointed by God for the confirmation of a promise".

When the Catholics said that it is a sign of a sacred thing, that is, of the spiritual union of Christ with his church. Calvin said on such a basis there will be as many sacraments as there are similitudes in Scripture, for example, even theft will be a sacrament, for it is written, the day of the Lord cometh as a thief. (I Thess. 5:2.).³²¹ In both Lutheran and Reformed territories, parents were given the right of veto over children's marriages, and the blessing of a minister became mandatory. Similar social concerns motivated the Fathers of Trent, who in 1563 declared a church ceremony and the presence of witnesses (though not necessarily the consent of parents) to be necessary components of a valid marriage. For Catholics, the sacramental status of marriage made (and still makes) it an indissoluble lifelong bond.³²²

Subordination of Women: Calvin believed in qualified subordination of women and gentle supremacy of men in all human relationships as was ordained and established by God at the time of creation. In his commentary on Genesis 1:27, Calvin reminded his followers that Eve, like Adam, was created in the image of God and, like him, "a preeminent specimen of divine wisdom, justice and goodness." Eve was one degree removed from man: she, like Adam, had dominion over the beasts and nature but was to be forever under the dominion of man by God's ordinance. God assigned Eve as an aid and accessory to man, Calvin said, "the order of nature implies that women will be helper to man." According to him, the Fall was not the cause of woman's subordinate position to man. Before the Fall, woman's subjection to man had been a free and easy one. The Fall caused her to be placed in a kind of serfdom. In contrast to Luther, Calvin argued that her subordination was rooted in her creation. God ordained woman's subordinate position because it suited him.

For Calvin, the principle of supremacy and subordination applied to all relationships between men and women. In commenting on 1 Corinthians 11:3, Calvin said that as far as spiritual things are concerned Christ is the head of man and woman; but in political arrangements and outward behavior, man should follow Christ, and woman should follow man. Commenting on verse 7, Calvin said that woman is the glory and distinguished ornament of man, for it is a great honor that God has appointed her as a partner to man for life and has made her as subject to him as the body is to the head. Commenting on verses 11 and 13, Calvin went on to say: "Let the man therefore carry out his function as head ruling over her; let the woman perform her function as the body helping him. Let that be rule not only for married people, but also the unmarried." The man should exercise his authority with moderation and not abuse the woman who has been given to him as a partner. Although a man's

wife is subject to him, he must love her as Christ loved the church. He must exercise his authority responsibly and must not ill-treat the woman who has been given to him as a companion. For a woman to refuse to accept the subject role is for her to defy God.

Leadership in Church: The strong patriarchal strain in Protestantism was also continued by John Calvin and his followers. Calvin was definite in his opinion that women should not assume ministerial functions, such as teaching, preaching, administering baptism, or participating in congregational decision making. Calvin acknowledged the spiritual equality of men and women but he counseled women to be silent in the church and limited their participation to congregational singing. In some Reformed churches, and later in Puritan churches, the women were segregated from the men, and the men took communion first. The French pastor Pierre Viret explained that while men and women were spiritually equal, the order of nature and society required that women not preach or teach in church. A woman's task was to instruct the young in the faith, and a gifted woman might be a school mistress to girls. Some congregations tried to revive the diaconate among women for the purpose of nursing and distributing alms to the poor, but the leaders of the Reformed church in Geneva would not consent to women's participation even to that extent. In 1562, a Calvinist pastor Jean Morely proposed that women serve as deaconesses, Calvin openly condemned his ideas. Both Calvin and Francois de Morel, the pastor to the French noblewoman Renee de France, vehemently opposed any female participation in congregational affairs and decision making. Thus, neither Calvinist nor Lutheran women gained the right to participate or lead in church affairs in the sixteenth century.

Education: After 1536 there was some small improvement in the education of children in general and girls in particular following the Reformation in Geneva. Whereas there had been no education for girls prior to that time, after 1536 all children in Geneva were required to attend school, and the schoolmaster was paid by the City Council to ensure the education of children of poor families. Boys and girls learned reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism. After 1541 girls seemed to have had their own school for primary instruction, but there were complaints that no public secondary schools existed for girls.

Anabaptist on Women

Even among the Anabaptist, women were not encouraged but they rose to a degree of importance courtesy the Martyrdom. According the *Martyrs Mirror* an official record of the martyrdom of the radical, out of 900, women

were about 278 in number making up nearly one-third of the Anabaptist martyrs. Their deaths were gruesome. They were drowned, burned, tied crooked, gagged, strangled, and buried alive; but their spirits were heroic. The writer of *Martyrs Mirror* arranged his stories to make the point that God needs both women and men. He said, Women, to be sure, are the “weaker vessels,” but in God’s power they too can stand firm in the faith.

In the writings of Menno Simons (1496-1561), the chief Anabaptist theologian, the picture was not much different. Menno was far from encouraging a sisterhood of unmanageable, charismatic females. His model of womanhood was a chaste, demure sister in the Lord, “I, therefore entreat and desire all women through the mercy of the Lord to take this sorrowful, sorrowing woman [the woman who washed the feet of Jesus with her hair] as a pattern and follow her faith. Humble yourselves before the Lord. . . . Do not adorn yourselves with gold, silver, costly pearls and embroidered hair. . . . Be obedient to your husbands in all reasonable things...” He further added, “Remain within your houses and gates unless you have something of importance to regulate, such as to make purchases, to provide in temporal needs, to hear the Word of the Lord, or to receive the holy sacraments, etc. Attend faithfully to your charge, to your children, house, and family, and to all that is entrusted to you...”

Although theology and the writing of books were mostly in the hands of the brethren, some sixteenth-century Anabaptist women also authored books for the service of the church. Only a few are known. Anneken Jans (Anna of Rotterdam), martyred at Rotterdam in 1539, wrote an inspiring will and testament for her son. It was posthumously printed as a little book in 1539 and several times thereafter, eventually being incorporated into *Het Offer des Heeren* (1562 edition) and the *Martyrs Mirror*. She was a supporter of David Joris. It has been suggested that she might qualify as the first duly recognized Anabaptist woman theologian.

They were forbidden to preach, teach, and baptize; and they did not participate by voting to choose church officers. An early leader, Conrad Winkler of Zurich, in 1529 reported that “they prohibited women to preach or baptize.” According to the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* article by Harold S. Bender, “no women are known to have been chosen as preachers or deacons” in early Anabaptism. Women, of course, were drawn into fellowship and distinguished themselves in deeds of evangelism, witnessing, and caring within the family of the congregation. Many a woman gave their wealth to the church, opened thier home to house meetings, or entertained itinerant evangelists.³²³

Visible Changes in the Status of Women

During the reformation period no any conscious effort was made by the reformers to change the social status of women. The reformers were innovative in certain respects and profoundly traditional in other. But the new theology in some way contributed to limited freedom and equality for women in marriage law, in education, and in Church life. Though reformation was did not make an impact or benefited women immediately but it provided motivation for more sweeping changes in women's role in later centuries.

Marriage law: The Reformers in general did not see marriage as a sacrament. So they urged that laws concerning marriage should be revised, often by the secular authorities, to reform many abuses. Among the actual changes brought about was the increased effort to make all marriages publicly recognized. The banns were conscientiously published, the marital status of strangers desiring to marry investigated, and in Geneva provision was made for marriages to be celebrated in the framework of the normal public worship services. Considerably more emphasis than in the past was placed on parental consent to marriage.

But the most striking change was the permission was granted to divorce and remarriage. Until the Reformation, separation of bed and board had in some cases been possible, but the marriage bond remained and prevented remarriage so long as both spouses lived. The Reformation as a whole continued to be extremely reluctant to grant divorce. Luther was well known to have declared that he preferred bigamy to divorce. Martin Bucer tried unsuccessfully, to persuade Strasbourg and then England to permit divorce and remarriage whenever the fundamental conditions for marriage, according to his definition, including love, were lacking.

Public education: Reformation teaching of the "priesthood of all believers" made it very important that all Christians should be capable of reading the Bible and other religious literature. Some public education had existed prior to the Reformation, as early as 1428 for boys but not girls in Geneva. But the Reformation provided the impetus to expand and develop these small beginnings.

Luther as early as 1524 called on the civil authorities to establish schools to educate the children. After 1536, the official beginning of the Reformation in Geneva, all Genevese children were required to attend school. Those families that could pay for tuition were expected to do so, but the schoolmaster was to be paid by the city so that he could feed and teach the poor children without fees. Girls and boys learned reading, arithmetic, catechism, and writing. After 1541, girls seem to have had

their own school for primary instruction, but there were complaints for many years that no public secondary school for girls existed in the city.

Church life: With the disappearance of the nuns in Protestantism, women lost one visible, official role in the Church that was not immediately replaced, even by the revival of the deaconesses later in the century. Women were not ordained to the ministry in mainstream Continental Protestantism for centuries, nor were they permitted to be elected as laymen to the official boards that governed the churches.

Yet the protestant encouragement of a married clergy gave rise to the new role of the pastor's wife, created by Reformation influence. Luther's wife Katherine von Bora had acquired a familiar place in histories of the Reformation for her firm though simple faith, her eagerness to help Luther experience the goodness of marriage of which he had been writing, and her valiant skill in managing the enormous household domiciled in the old monastery. The story of Calvin's search for a properly virtuous wife and his marriage to Idelette de Bure is far less generally known, partly because Calvin is far less free than Luther with personal references in his writing. But evidence of his warm affection for his wife can be gleaned particularly from his correspondence.³²⁴

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that changing women's role in society was not the original intent of the Protestant Reformers like Luther and Calvin but the changes they advocated had great significance for women. Marriage, divorce, priesthood of all believers, and other theologies made significant changes in the way women were perceived. The reformers were men of their times and they did not take any substantial steps to improve the status of women. Equality requires particular social, political, and economic conditions. Within the context of the sixteenth century, terms such as subjugation and subordination were less emotionally charged than they are today. During the reformation, it can be said that it was the women from royal families and the wives of the reformers who had some role to play but otherwise the idea of inferiority of women remained. Women were equal to men in the presence of God according to the Bible, but inferior to men on Earth.

THE ANABAPTISTS

Introduction

The major group to emerge from the Protestant Reformation was the Anabaptists. They were the least known and the least understood. Historians refer to them as the “stepchildren of the Reformers” and locate the Anabaptist movement within the “left wing of the Reformation” or the “Radical Reformation.” Such nomenclature is employed to distinguish the Anabaptists from “magisterial Reformers” such as Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, and John Calvin, who enlisted the authority of the state (“magistrates”) to support religious reform. The Anabaptists departed radically from the three major Protestant groups (Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans) over issues such as the relationship between church and state, the use of coercion in religious matters, the taking of oaths, adult baptism, and the legitimacy of warfare. In other words, the Anabaptists embraced the “free church” or “believers church” tradition, rejecting the twelve hundred year tradition of “Constantinian Christianity” that legally bound together the faith of Christians and the force of state. They thus fashioned their own view of history, interpreting the rule of Constantine as the beginning of the “fall” of the church and their own movement as the restoration or restitution of Christianity. Unlike other Protestant groups intent on renewing the existing social, political and religious order, the Anabaptists proposed a separate Christian alternative to the existing social order.³²⁵

The term Anabaptist in Greek literally means “baptizing again”. It was first used by Zwingli to refer to his former Swiss brethren who denied the validity of infant baptism and insisted on adult baptism or believers’ baptism. From then on it became a pejorative term used by the Catholics and Protestants to associate various groups who differed from them on the issue of infant baptism. The Anabaptist preferred to call themselves as “evangelicals,” “Christians,” “believers,” and particularly “brethren”. They advocated adult baptism, or believers’ baptism because according

to them infant baptism was invalid. Two Americans, Baiton and George Huntston Williams coined the phrase “left wing of the Reformation” and “Radical Reformation” respectively to refer to those individuals and groups who rejected both the Roman Catholic tradition and the Protestant alternatives.³²⁶ The protestant doctrines like Sola Scriptura, justification by faith alone and the priesthood of all believers seem to have struck a right cord with many. But there were some who were not happy with the reformers especially with regard to the phase they were reforming and soon fundamental differences began to appear. Some sought to substantiate their social, political, economic views basing on scripture. Thomas Muntzer and Zwickau prophets believed in a continuing revelation and hoped to establish a true kingdom of God on earth by either peaceful or forceful measures. Some of them also wanted the church to follow its own reform program instead of relying on the secular authorities. Still others differed and questioned the doctrines accepted by both the Catholics and Protestants.³²⁷ They believed in the supremacy of the New Testament as the authority for Christian living and church order, the gathered (voluntary) church, believer's baptism, strict discipleship, pacifism, and religious freedom (secured by the separation of church and State. As a result, they were persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike and their ideas and lives were bitterly attacked.³²⁸

Even though all of them rejected child baptism, the differences among them were vast. On the basis on that they can be divided into four separate but related groups, (1) New Testament-oriented pacifists (2) Old Testament-oriented revolutionaries (3) Spiritualists (4) Rationalists.

New Testament-oriented Pacifists: This segment had its origin in Zürich, Switzerland (1523–25). They were closely associated with Zwingli's reform movement (Conrad grebel, Felix Manz, Georg Blaurock, and later Balthasar hubmaier). The theology of the group was expressed in the Schleithem Confession. Besides condemning infant baptism and favoring adult baptism as confession of faith, it advocated the “ban” (the strict discipline of the community of the baptized), a memorial view of Holy Communion, complete separation from all who did not share their views, and the refusal to bear arms and participate in political life.

Old Testament-oriented Revolutionaries: This group originated in Zwickau in Saxony (c. 1520) among the impoverished weavers of that town. Led by Nicholas Storch, they were soon joined by Thomas Muntzer, who became their spokesmen, and participated actively in the Peasant War. They emphasized more on the Old Testament especially on Daniel 2; God bringing in a heavenly kingdom that will crush all earthly corrupt kingdoms. They also stressed upon the direct and independent revelations

from God. After Muntzer perished (1525) in the fiasco of the Peasant War, similar were later expressed by the Munster Anabaptists, who, influenced by the millennial hopes of Melchior hoffmann and under the leadership of Anabaptist refugees from the Netherlands, the “prophet” John Mathijs and his successor “king” John Beukels (John of Leiden), attempted to establish a communist and polygamous “kingdom of God” in this Westphalian city by force of arms (1533–35). After the utter collapse of this “kingdom” the surviving Anabaptist elements were absorbed in the New Testament-oriented pacifist Anabaptists under the leadership of Menno Simons.

Spiritualist Anabaptists: This group, whose rejection of infant baptism was not accompanied by an equally clear endorsement of baptism for adults saw in the organizational structures of the church, as well as the sacraments and even the Bible, regulations applicable only to the infancy of God’s people. Thus Sebastian Franck (1499–1542) suggested that in its childhood the church could not dispense with such crutches, but when it discarded them in its maturity, the Father would be pleased rather than angered. Similarly Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489–1561) advocated the suspension of infant baptism, since he considered it so utterly immersed in superstition and abuses as to be worthless. They believed in an invisible church, which might well include not only sincere Christians but also good Muslims and pagans obedient to the “inner Word” wherever they might be. Such emphasis upon the inner Word of the Spirit distinguished the Spiritualist Anabaptists from the other groups and their Biblical literalism.

Rationalist Anabaptists: This group had its roots primarily in the Spain and Italy. Michael servetus (1511–53), Italians Laelius (1525–62) and his nephew Faustus Socinius (1539–1604) not only opposed infant baptism but also rejected the Trinitarian theology of the ancient Church.³²⁹

Anabaptists have survived in some contemporary denominations. Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites carry on the tradition of the New Testament-oriented pacifists. The Schwenckfelder Church originated in the spiritualist tradition, and the Society of Friends (Quaker) has incorporated many of its teachings. Unitarians are loosely related to the rationalists. Only the Old Testament-oriented revolutionaries have found no permanent institutional expression although some of their millennial claims can be found in groups at the fringe of Protestantism.³³⁰ Some of their most outstanding leaders of the Anabaptists were.

1. Conrad Grebel

Conrad Grebel was one of the first Anabaptists among the Swiss Brethren.

He was born into a leading Zurich family, the son of a city councilor. He studied at the universities of Paris and Vienna (Wien), and was familiar with humanistic thoughts. He was attracted to the idea of Church reform, and studied the New Testament in its original Greek. Initially, he was a friend of Huldrych Zwingli and helped him in the reformation at Zurich. In the Zurich disputations of January and October 1523, Grebel and his supporters became impatient at Zwingli's gradual pace of change and insisted that the laity should take the Bible into their own hands and carry out the reformation.³³¹ They pressed for immediate abolition of the mass and the removal of the images of Catholic worship, which they regarded as idols. They followed the footsteps of the Wittenberg movement, which was led by Carlstadt in 1521-22 before it was suppressed and Carlstadt was silenced by the joint action of Luther and the Electoral Saxon court. Once in a fiery interview, Zwingli told the rebels that the time when the mass should be abolished was for the council to determine, but one of the associates of Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz shouted, "No, the Spirit of God is the one who must decide."³³² Conrad and his supporters became increasingly disheartened with what they saw Zwingli's abandonment of evangelical principles. He along with others broke up with Zwingli when they felt that Zwingli refused to strictly follow the Bible especially in regard to the issue of infant baptism and inclusive church state. Initially, Zwingli expressed serious doubts over scriptural basis for infant baptism but later he changed his mind and supported infant baptism.³³³ Conrad's vision of the Church was a fellowship of those who entered into it by baptism, not as children, but as believers, confessing their faith, rejecting sin, renouncing war, refusing to swear oaths (Matthew 5:34), and withdrawing from a sinful world. According to him, 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 Muntzer in 1524) "anguish and tribulation, persecution, suffering, and death" as their lot.³³⁴

The first Anabaptist movement took place not among the city dwellers but among the peasants and rural artisans. Infant baptism which has been frequently questioned in the early years of the Reformation became of topic of discussion. In August 1524, the peasants outside Zurich refused to have their children baptized. Then Conrad Grebel began to compile a collection of scriptural proof texts against infant baptism. In December the group demanded talks with Zwingli and the pastors on the matter of baptism. When these talks led to no conclusion Grebel's associate, Felix Mantz made a Protestation to the Zurich councils. The government decreed a formal disputation to settle the matter on 17 January 1525. Grebel,

Mantz and Reublin represented the dissidents against Zwingli and the pastors.³³⁵ In the disputation even though Grebel and his associates defended their views with great eloquence, denying infant baptism and quoting from the scripture but the city council ruled in favor of Zwingli and infant baptism.³³⁶ In the debate for the first time the radicals expressed their view that, since infant baptisms were invalid, new adult baptisms were necessary for all Christian believers.³³⁷ Following which, the city council ordered that the practice of infant baptism be observed in line with Zwingli's view of the necessity and validity of infant baptism.³³⁸ The city council also warned Grebel and Felix Mantz not to express their opinions publically. It exiled all non-citizens among the prominent dissidents specifically, the rural pastors Reublin and Brotli and the bookseller Castelberger. But Grebel, in response on January 21, 1525, to an invitation by Georg Cajakob (or Blaurock, c. 1492–1529), administered believers' baptism to Blaurock, who then baptized 15 others present in the house of Feliz Manz in Zurich.³³⁹ Till now, the Brethren had openly opposed infant baptism; now they went farther and, by that fateful step, introduced the practice of adult baptism. Thus January 21, 1525, marked the beginning of a movement that added a new dimension to the religious ferment of the period and a new element in the history of Christianity.

Though the meetings of the radicals were forbidden but their movement spread rapidly. The radicals began evangelizing the surrounding territories with great success, converting and baptizing many. The baptizing movement quickly spread to the rural communes of Witikon and Zollikon. At Zollikon, the first Anabaptist congregation was constituted. Soon Anabaptist conventicles spread to nearby areas, including Waldshut in the Black Forest, where Balthasar Hubmaier, the most learned and prolific among the first generation of Anabaptists (the only one to possess a doctor's degree), convinced the authorities to institute a "magisterial Anabaptist Reformation."³⁴⁰ They believed in a free church as opposed to inclusive state church of Catholics and most Protestants. According to Grebel, one did not become the member of the church by being born into the church or Christian family but by professing faith in Christ and the promise to lead a holy life. The church was to be a true and visible communion of believers leading lives of holiness. Another important aspect according to Grebel was that the church service should be simple and should be modeled on the primitive church. The Lord's supper was merely a remembrance, a meal signifying a union with Christ and the brethren and it should not be celebrated in the church giving undue devotion (in other words simplified communion services) but in homes according to Christ's example. They also believed that the leader or shepherd should be chosen by the congregation and be supported by them. The duty of the

pastor was to read the scripture, preach according to the word of God, lead the services consisting of prayers and the breaking of bread, spiritual care for the brethren, and administer discipline and ban the unfaithful.³⁴¹

After being released from Zurich, Reublin and Brotli went directly to villages outside Zurich to Hallau in the Klettgau, the place that led the rural subjects of Schaffhausen in resistance against tithe and compulsory labour services. They took over the church of Hallau from an unpopular pastor and baptized most of the population. Reublin was also joined by Conrad Grebel and both became very active for the new baptism in the Schaffhausen area. Zwingli initially believed that tithes were not a divine authority and that payment should not be obligatory, they should be made voluntarily. Zwingli also made strong statements against tithing in 1520 after reading Huss' on the Church. At that point Zwingli desired a recovery of the original purpose for tithing, a contribution to the church. But after six churches in countryside needed financial help from Zurich (June 1523), Zwingli moderated his tone and said that most forms of tithing are valid. He said that although it was not a divine right, it was a human right. He considered tithing as binding, not on scriptural grounds, but on legal grounds, and declared that if people refused to pay tithes then they would be made to pay new and heavier taxes. In order to settle the matter the Council adopted the usual plan and held a public debate on June 22, 1525, in which Zwingli had the leading part. At its conclusion the Council ordered the payment of tithes and taxes, and asked the peasants to be quiet and obedient to their lords.

Zwingli developed the polemical notion that baptism was an unimportant external matter for the Grebel group and they were really out to create a 'separate church'. To him it meant that they intended to divide both the political community and the supporters of the Reformation in the city and territories of Zurich even though they had no such dastardly intentions. Their lay baptisms and lay communions, which continued which marked a new stage in the popular Reformation was being taken as a threat. It created a form of nonconformist Christianity was created in conscious opposition to the more or less established clergy of the Reformation, and in contempt of the rulers who supported them.³⁴² So in an attempt to disseminate the Anabaptists' worship, message, and practice of believers' baptism more widely in the countryside around Zurich, Grebel, Mantz, and Blaurock were imprisoned and death sentence imposed on them 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.³⁴³

Schleitheim Confession: The new "Anabaptist Theology" attained

formal expression in the Schleithem Confession of 1527. It was a classic statement of the Anabaptist vision and the confession brought form and structure to a movement heretofore varied and scattered. Tradition ascribes authorship to Michael Sattler, who was a former Benedictine monk at St. Peter's in the Black Forest. He had only recently joined the Anabaptist cause and emerged as the leader of the Swiss Brethren in the summer of 1526. Conscious of the movement's tenuous existence, Sattler met with other Anabaptist leaders in Schleithem (on the Swiss - German border) and drafted the "Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God Concerning Seven Articles." The Schleithem Confession (or Articles) signifies the formal clarification of Swiss Anabaptist views. Published in February 1527, its seven articles clarify Anabaptist positions on (1) baptism, (2) church discipline, (3) the Lord's Supper, (4) separation from the world and all evil, (5) selection of a pastor, (6) the sword, and (7) oath taking.³⁹ The first three defined the beliefs of all Anabaptist groups, adult baptism following confession of faith, the practice of the ban as discipline within the fellowship of baptized believers (according to Matt. 18:15-18), and observance of the Lord's Supper as an act of Christian unity in remembrance of Christ's broken body and shed blood. The last four articles introduced new commitments. Sattler, an ex-monk, called the church to the monastic ideal of separation from the world and its violence. In the Article 4, he affirmed a dualistic cosmology that there are two kingdoms, "good or evil, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, Christ and Belial, and one will not have part with the other." In Article 5, he clarified on the choice of pastor by the local congregation reflecting the demands of the peasants. In the last two articles, he detailed the relationship between the Christian and State. Article 6 disallowed the use of violence and committed the movement to an "apolitical" and pacifistic stance. "The sword is an ordering of God outside the perfection of Christ, "who "teaches us and commands us to learn from Him, for He is meek and lowly of heart." Article 7 rejected oath-taking of any kind (let your "yes" be "yes" and your "no" be "no"), including the common and widespread civil oaths of allegiance.³⁴⁴

2. Balthasar Hubmaier (c1480–1528)

Balthasar Hubmaier was born in 1480 at Friedberg near Augsburg in southern Germany. He studied at the University of Freidburg and then did his masters under Johannes Eck, and later obtained his doctorate of theology at the University of Ingolstadt in 1512.³⁴⁵ After completing his doctorate Hubmaier became the chaplain of the church of the Virgin, the Ingolstadt University Church and at the same time he was also a lecturer of theology at the University. After three years, he became the vice rector

of the university. In 1516, he was invited to become the preacher at the new cathedral of Regensburg, which became a turning point in his life because it was only beginning from there he demonstrated his independent thought and theological exploration outside Eck. In 1518, Luther was up against Johannes Eck, who in his *Obelisks* presented a strong case for the Catholic argument that a sacrament confers grace upon the recipient regardless of a person's spiritual awareness. Luther claimed instead that faith was always necessary on the part of the recipient, for the sacramental action itself does not justify. Scripture, Luther argued repeatedly, clearly teaches that faith alone brings justification. It followed for Luther that a sacrament can only justify because it is believed, not because of the sacramental action in itself. By the time he wrote *The Freedom of the Christian*, Luther called Eck a "servant of Satan" and an "enemy of Christ" and used other similar pejoratives. Till that time Hubmaier was a supporter of Eck.

Balthasar Hubmaier at Regensburg: In Regensburg, in 1519 Hubmaier organized a campaign against the city's long established local Jewish community who had been in confrontation with the Christians. Because of his efforts the Jews were expelled from the city and a new chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary was erected on demolished Jewish Synagogue.³⁴⁶ It has been criticized about Hubmaier that he had not been wise in dealing with the Jewish as it showed his lack of conscience in the matter. The new chapel was an immediate success, according to Hubmaier miracles happened there daily. As the news spread, the site became a pilgrimage. An unfortunate incident occurred at the shrine as pilgrims were involved in wild dancing. Hubmaier witnessed the Orgy himself and was sick at heart and he immediately set himself against the scandalous conduct. Along with that an epidemic of an unknown disease, pushed him to a much smaller town in Waldshut.³⁴⁷

In the beginning of 1521, Hubmaier was at Waldshut and performed his duties like a typical medieval Roman Catholic priest. It was said that, Waldshut had never witnessed such an elaborate and impressive ritual. In June 1522, he visited Desiderius Erasmus and Glarean (Conrad Grebel's teacher) in Basel (Basle) in Switzerland. He also visited other Swiss cities and observed the course of reformation and returned to Waldshut. From then on he became more intense in his study of the New Testament, which became the source for his theology. In the later part of 1522, he received an invitation from Regensburg but he without giving up his church at Waldshut, he took up the responsibility as chaplain at the Chapel of Virgin Mary. There he began to attend a Bible study group led by a tanner, Hans Blabhans. It was perhaps in one of those meetings; Hubmaier experienced a spiritual renewal and became a firm disciple of

Jesus and by March 1523 he was back in Waldshut. In October, he took part in the second disputation at Zurich and made acquaintance with Zwingli, Grebel, Reublin, Felix Manz and others. He became an ardent follower of Zwingli and persuaded the town council of Waldshut to introduce Reformation from late 1523. Even though he was influenced by Zwingli but his reformatory ideas developed from his own study of the scripture. He was strongly driven by the belief that Scripture should be interpreted literally. His transformation led him increasingly towards his famous dictum "truth is immortal." By the end of the year it transpired that he was more attracted to the radical Congregationalists in Zurich (such as Hofmeister), who also believed in literal interpretation of the scripture and whose stance on tithing he fully shared. In 1524, he published "The Eighteen Theses Concerning the Christian Life" which contained his reformatory ideas. He drew the theses to serve as a basis for discussion in the chapter meeting of Waldshut clergy. In the articles, Hubmaier suggested believer's baptism, the financial support of the clergy which he believed that the pastor should be supported by the members of the church and not the traditional means. He also advocated marriage for the clergy and his position on Lord's Supper, which was in line with Zwingli's. In the same year, he also challenged his mentor Johannes Eck to a disputation in the "Fundamental Articles" better known as Theses Against Eck and called him the "elephant of Ingolstadt." In the pamphlet, Hubmaier underscored a Protestant principle in line with Luther, "Search in Scripture, not in papal law, not councils, not fathers, not schools; for it is the discourse which Christ spoke which shall judge all things. He is the truth, the plantation, and the vine". Hubmaier, then, like Luther, had broken free from his late medieval Scholastic training and began making public his belief in the principle of Scripture as the sole arbiter of all questions, the rule of faith and practice. Nonetheless, even though he publicly separated himself from his former mentor, Hubmaier was not ready to reject entirely all of Eck's teachings.

The changes taking place at Waldshut drew reaction from the Catholic King Ferdinand. An Austrian delegation came to Waldshut to warn them about the changes taking place over there and also to handover Hubmaier to them, but the town council refused to meet their demands defending its freedom to follow their evangelical faith. King Ferdinand planned a military expedition to attack Waldshut which forced Hubmaier to flee to Schaffhausen in northern Switzerland September 1524.³⁴⁸

At Schaffhausen, Hubmaier found refuge in a Benedictine monastery that was in the process of dissolution. It was from there he published "Concerning Heretics and Those Who Burn Them" which became one of the most important treatises of the entire reformation. It was an argument

for toleration and defense for religious liberty.³⁴⁹ He argued that "If heretics cannot be turned from their errors by means of the Scriptures, he argued, they should be left to their madness. The inquisitors who condemn heretics to the fire are the greatest heretics of all". In October 1524, he returned to Waldshut following this, the services were rendered in the vernacular German language, images were being removed, the meaning of the mass was changed, and priests were allowed to marry. Following his own convictions, Hubmaier had married on January 13, 1523 to Elizabeth Hugeline. The political pressure on Waldshut was mounting and its attempt to come under the protection of Swiss Confederation also failed. During that time, he was visited by Conrad Grebel and Reublin. Hubmaier who been critical of infant baptism declared that God had directed him to renounce it on Easter day, April 15, 1525, he along with the majority of his congregation, accepted believers' baptism from Wilhelm Reublin (who had been driven out of Zurich) and he then proceeded to baptize other adults.³⁵⁰ On May 28, 1525, Zwingli's pamphlet entitled '*On Baptism, Anabaptism, and Infant Baptism*' was published. It was an attack on the Anabaptist's view on baptism. Following that, Hubmaier published "*The Christian Baptism of Believers*" which further deepened the wedge between him and other reformers. It is said that Hubmaier's response was one of the best writings on believer's baptism ever written.³⁵¹ In it, he suggested that the prerequisites of scriptural baptism are 'hearing the word, repentance and confession.' Then he must be baptized in water which was the public expression of his faith. According to him, baptism was not a part of saving process but an act in which the new disciple confesses his allegiance to Jesus Christ. The pamphlet of Hubmaier was widely read and Zwingli was forced to write a response on 5 November '*A True, Thorough Reply to Dr. Balthasar's Little Book on Baptism*'. In the pamphlet, Zwingli's response was bitter and he blamed that the Anabaptists were schismatic's and would ultimately destroy the existing order in Switzerland if allowed to continue unchecked. Though Hubmaier immediately wrote a response to Zwingli but it was not published for a year. Late in 1525 Austrian troops occupied Waldshut but Hubmaier along with his wife fled to Zurich where he and his wife were arrested by Zwingli. They were tortured, and made to recant their Anabaptist beliefs, a lapse he later bitterly regretted.

Ashamed and broken, Hubmaier fled to Constance, Augsburg, Regensburg and finally found shelter at Nikolsburg, Moravia which was under the king of Bohemia, and became a leading pastor in the Anabaptist movement. In Moravia, the nobles enjoyed a large degree of independence and could protect religious radicals on their estates. Hubmaier won some of the leading clergy and a leading nobleman,

Baron Leonhard Liechtenstein for Anabaptism as a result he was able to freely work in the neighborhood of the towns of Nikolsburg. At Nikolsburg, the Anabaptists experienced their most significant growth and for more than a year Hubmaier enjoyed the fruits of his labor. Within a year six thousand persons mostly Lutherans were said to have been rebaptized.³⁵² Within the community, however, a split occurred. Hubmaier was more conservative than some of the other leaders, especially Hans Hut, who had been much influenced by the radical ideas of Thomas Muntzer. Hubmaier believed that the state was ordained by God, envisaged the possibility of a Christian magistrate, and sanctioned capital punishment and just wars. The more radical group wanted community of goods, and denied that Christians could use the sword in self-defense, serve as magistrates, or pay taxes.³⁵³

Hut, like many of the Anabaptists, lived in an eschatological atmosphere and expected the imminent coming of Christ, which he was said to have predicted for Pentecost in 1528. He was a believer in visions and dreams as bearers of divine revelations. He spoke with a wild enthusiasm that convinced many; before coming to Moravia he had had great success in leading the Anabaptist community in Augsburg. It was his mission, he claimed, to announce the overthrow of the ungodly by the righteous. In Moravia, however, he was successfully opposed by Hubmaier, who had the support of the local nobles, and Hut was imprisoned. Hut managed to escape and made his way to Vienna. In Austria he preached with great success. In 1527, while attending the so-called Martyrs' Synod of Anabaptists in Augsburg, he was arrested, tortured, and put on trial. Before the trial was over, he died, either accidentally or in an attempt to escape. His corpse was condemned to be burned at the stake. Hubmaier's favorable attitude toward civil government did not save him from the fate civil government reserved for Anabaptists. In 1526 King Ferdinand finally gained political control of Moravia, when he was elected king of Bohemia. He set out at once to crush the Anabaptists. Hubmaier and his wife were imprisoned and tried. This time he was steadfast under torture and was burned at the stake in Vienna on March 10, 1528. Three days later his wife, whose loyalty to her husband and his principles had never wavered, was thrown into the Danube River with a rock tied around her neck.

At Nikolsburg, conflict continued between the Hubmaier and Hut factions, until the lord of the area asked the radical group to leave his lands. They moved to Austerlitz, about thirty miles to the north, where they were well received by the local nobles and settled there in 1528. The Austerlitz group occupies a position of great historical significance because they were the first Anabaptists to form a completely communistic

society. Following the example of the Apostles and the early church, they practiced complete community of goods, administered by elected officials. Communism was fully established by 1529, the year that saw the arrival of Jacob Hutter, whose influence among them was so profound that they took his name and have since been known as the Hutterites.

3. Thomas Muntzer (c. 1489 –1525)

Thomas Muntzer was born in the small village of Stolberg in the Harz Mountains (now Saxony - Anhalt) in about 1489. He studied at the University of Leipzig and Frankfurt and earned his Master of Arts and Bachelor of Theology degrees. He was interested in languages and became a linguistic specialist in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He also read the church fathers and Rhenish mystics.³⁵⁴ In May 1520, on the recommendation of Luther, he was temporarily appointed to replace John Egranus, in St. Mary's, Zwickau, which was a prosperous and cultured town. There he became an eloquent interpreter of the Reformation movement in a socially radical way. At Zwickau, he took the same stand with Luther on the centrality of the sacrament of the altar (not a memorialist, like Carlstadt) and on the bondage of the will, but on issue of baptism and Spiritualist hermeneutics, he differed. He rejected the infant baptism and believed that the scripture should be interpreted in the Spirit. On the arrival of Egranus (October 1), he resigned from Zwickau and became a preacher at St. Catherine's, Prague, in Bohemia, a parish consisting of the humble weavers and miners, where he became more radical. At St. Catherine, among Muntzer's parishioners there were three radical laymen, the so called Zwickau prophets. When they expressed their views of baptism and marriage in Wittenberg, it gave a very bad impression of Muntzer to Luther. The Zwickau prophets were made to appear before the Wittenberg magistrates on 16 December 1521 to answer the charges held against them. They on the basis of Mark 16:16, "He who believes and is baptized will be saved," argued against infant baptism.³⁵⁵

Prague manifesto: On 1 November 1521, Muntzer posted his Prague *manifesto* in a centrally located church in Prague.⁴² His Prague *Manifesto* appeared in several versions, a shorter German version on 1 November 1521,⁴³ and a longer German version on 25 November upon which, in turn, the Czech and Latin versions were based. The second German and the Czech versions were directed to the common people, and were gross and violent in language and tone. The poverty of the people was held up as occasion for repeated denunciation of their oppressors, both the learned and the priests. In the Latin version, along with many other modifications, Muntzer confined his rebuke to the priests. Muntzer had in mind the clerics, the scholars, and the priests for the spiritual

impoverishment of all classes. According to him, it was they who had obscured or completely distorted the gospel. He cited Hegesippus as witness to the prostituting of the early church by the clerical monopolization. He argued that the lay people should be given the power to elect their pastors, who in turn will deliberate in councils or synods responsible to the Christian laity. In the Prague *Manifesto*, Muntzer also spoke about the sevenfold gift of the Spirit. Among the gifts was the reception of direct instruction from the Holy Spirit in the form of vision, dream, ecstatic utterance, or inspired exegesis. The *Manifesto* was apocalyptic in character and suggested that the end of the age was at hand and that a new apostolic church must gather the elect and separate them from worldly people. But when his *Manifesto* failed to win acceptance for his Reformation program, he withdrew from Bohemia in December 1521.

After wandering about somewhere obscurely, Muntzer was accepted by the town council of Allstedt, to become the pastor of the local St. John's church. At Allstedt, Muntzer elaborated his more radical views in a series of important works which he published. He openly attacked Luther in his *Protestation or Proposition (Protestation oder Erbietung ... von dem rechten Christenglauben und der Taufe)* in twenty two articles. In it, he gave full expression to his conception of baptism. He distinguished between the inner and the outer baptism. He believed the outer baptism was surely not administered to children according to the New Testament, and to saintly adults such as Mary and the apostles. He therefore believed that outer baptism was unnecessary for the faithful to be included in the church. But according to him the inner baptism was necessary, which he interpreted on the basis of the first six chapters of John, which contains a series of references to water. He interpreted water as the movement of the Spirit. Another important tract, he wrote during that time was his martyr's theology. There he challenged that the elect must go through the trails that God would place before them. The "lazy elect" are as good as lost. The "grace of tribulation" was bestowed only upon those who have demonstrated themselves worthy thereof by the discipline of self imposed restraints. The most extraordinary public utterance of Muntzer during his sojourn in Allstedt was the sermon delivered on 13 July 1524 at the castle, in the presence of Duke John (brother of Elector Frederick) and the duke's son. Where, he clearly enunciated his view of faith in contrast to Luther. He outlined his conception of history and of reform, and promulgated his doctrine of a godly magistracy.

Thomas Muntzer: Sermon to the Princes: Thomas Muntzer's sermon was based on the visionary dream of the prophet Daniel 7. He called upon the Saxon princes to enlist on the side of the gospel, and condemned the priests who were responsible for the corrupt condition of the Church.

He challenged the Princes by saying,

"Therefore, my dearest, most revered rulers learn true judgment from the mouth of God himself. Do not let yourself be seduced by your hypocritical priests into a restraint based on counterfeit clemency and kindness. ...Only seek without delay the righteousness of God and take up the cause of the gospel boldly... Now if you are to be true rulers, you must seize the very roots of government, following the command of Christ. Drive his enemies away from the elect; you are the instruments to do this. My friend, don't let us have any of these hackneyed posturing, about the power of God achieving everything without any resort to your sword; otherwise it may rust in its scabbard. ...Hence the sword, too, is necessary to eliminate the godless...There is no doubt that many...will be similarly offended by this little book, because I say with Christ...and with the guidance of the whole divine law, that one should kill the monks and priests who denounce the holy gospel as heresy and yet count themselves the best Christians. ...For the godless have no right to live, unless by the sufferance of the elect... So be bold! He to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth is taking the government into his own hands."

For Muntzer, Luther's understanding of the scripture was merely bookish and his message was a soft and easy illusion, shorn of an essential gospel of suffering. Because of his preaching, Muntzer was called to Saxony to explain himself, but he took refuge in the self governing Imperial city of Muhlhausen in Thuringia and began 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.

The Peasants' War: The Peasants' war of 1524 - 26 in south Germany (Franconia, Swabia, and Thuringia) was the climax of a series of local revolts dating from 15th century. Sporadic peasant revolts were not unknown in the late fifteenth century since the peasants were a horribly oppressed class, who had little to look forward to but a short life of monotonous toil for their masters. The attitude of the ruling class towards the peasants was evident in the proverb, "Peasants and pigs are one and the same," or another that said, "Don't grieve for a peasant or a Jew."¹ The peasants existed on the earth to produce the wealth that allowed the lords and their ladies to enjoy a life of leisure and luxury. But despite their labor, the peasants were not allowed to hunt in the forests, fish in the streams, or even cut down a dead tree for firewood. They were expected to survive off the little grain that was left for them after the lord of the manor took the lion's share. It was because of that from time to time, when the thin line between mere survival and starvation was crossed, the peasants,

like cornered rats, rose up against their oppressors, only to be struck down again by the lords.³⁵⁶ The first peasants' uprising was recorded on June 23, 1524, when the countess of Lupfen – Stuhlingen interrupted some of her peasants working in the field to collect snails. They expressed their resentment and Sebastian Lozer of Memmingen published the Twelve Articles of Upper Swabia on March 1, 1525, stating the demand of the peasants.³⁵⁷ It presented their demands in a simple way and it became popular quickly (some 25,000 copies were published). The twelve articles were

- 1) Every congregation should have the right to elect and to dismiss its own pastor. Tithing for the support of the clergy should be limited to the "great tithes" (grain and produce), while the "small tithes" (livestock and dairy products) should be allowed to lapse.
- 2) Serfdom should be abrogated.
- 3) Because Jesus Christ has redeemed or freed all men. Thus all men, not only the lords, have the right to hunt and fish.
- 4) And also to gather wood from the common forest.
- 5) Services are not to be exacted above what was permitted in the Scripture.
- 6) Or what is customary.
- 7) And must be in proportion to the value of the land held
- 8) Punishments must not exceed those provided by the customary law, whatever the provision of the Roman law might have been
- 9) Meadow and field which have been common must be returned.
- 10) The lords should not exact the customary death toll, depriving widows and orphans of their livelihood.
- 11) A final provision stated that if any article can be shown to be contrary to the Word of God, it will be withdrawn.
- 12) Although much in the Articles could be found in Luther, he himself in a manifesto would attack its unidentified author as a rebellious prophet.

Following that the peasants were involved in violence besieging cities and castles in that area. On April 17, 1525, the peasants were confronted by 12,000 troops of Seneschal George of Waldburg. Bloodshed was avoided and the Weingarten Treaty was signed which granted some of the demands of the peasants. But the peasants were not happy with the Treaty and took to violence and on July 9, they were badly defeated by Seneschal George's troops. As the Peasants' Revolt moved north,

preachers like Hubmaier and Karlstadt attempted to direct the movement into constructive evangelical channels.³⁵⁸

While in Muhlhausen, Thomas Muntzer was preparing for the great eschatological event as he was convinced that it was at hand. He declared that the princes were the godless and the peasants who were godly, were called to slay the ungodly. He led the citizens of Muhlhausen to replace their city council with men of their choosing, whom he called Eternal Council. In the mean time, a large number of peasants convinced that the time had come to inherit the earth assembled near Frankenhausem around 1 May and sent a request to Muhlhausen for two thousand additional men. Thomas Muntzer leading the peasants started on 12 May. But the Duke George of Saxony and Philip of Hesse confronted the Frankenhausem peasant before Muntzer reached there. The prince gave them a last chance to handover Thomas Muntzer but when they refused. The well equipped army massacred the peasants killing around 6000 of them. Thomas Muntzer and few others managed to escape but he was discovered hiding in an attic of a farmhouse and was beheaded on 27 May, 1525.

Luther and Peasants' War: Martin Luther's role in Peasants' war has been a subject of much controversy right from the time of Peasants war in 1525. Even though it was a short lived war but there were plenty of atrocities from both sides that it changed the course of the Reformation and hurt its development in southern Germany and most certainly hurt its appeal among the peasants. Luther was attacked by conservatives claiming that the revolt was a natural outgrowth of his reforms. Supporters of the peasants agreed with the conservatives, but added condemnation to their criticism because having once encouraged them, Luther abandoned them at their crucial hour and led them to the slaughter.

Luther came into contact with the Peasants' War in Thuringia while on a trip. He was initially sympathetic to their demands but was later shocked by what he saw in riot torn areas. Luther wrote six essays in connection with the Peasants' War. The first, *Admonition to Peace* (c. April 15, 1525), addressed the demands of the peasants and set the blame for the present situation at the feet of the princes who did not administer their lands with justice. In the *Twelve Articles*, the peasants had called for mediation and Luther sought in his *Admonition* some middle ground in the hope of reconciliation. To further his hopes of reconciliation, he republished the Weingarten Treaty. The Weingarten Treaty was made on April 17 between the Swabian League (a union of lesser estates in southern Germany) and a peasant association. Luther thought the Treaty provided a model of reconciliation so he republished it with a preface

and a postscript in which he eagerly encouraged people to read and learn from its example. By late April, however, the situation in Thuringia had degenerated significantly. In the first week of May, he issued *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants* which was a blistering attack. He still felt that the peasants had just grievances but the actions of the rioters undermined the case for reconciliation. In an attempt to differentiate between the just demands of the peasants and the riotous actions of others, Luther published his second attack under the title, "Against the Murdering Hordes of *the Other* Peasants." It was said that his tract against the other peasants was quickly bound together with the first essay and the key "the other" was dropped thus leaving the impression that Luther was speaking of the same people in both. In the tract, Luther in an angry tone declared that, "anyone who killed a peasant did God a service." Moreover, Luther had concluded that the peasants were doing the devil's work and particularly the work of that "arch devil" Thomas Muntzer, he felt that it was his responsibility to show the peasants their error and to advise the rulers how to proceed.

4. Menno Simons

There is no greater name among Anabaptists of the sixteenth century than that of Menno Simons. His influence was such that the history of the Anabaptist movement could well be divided into three periods, before Menno, with Menno, and after Menno. His accession to Anabaptist ranks signaled the beginning of a new era in the history of Dutch Anabaptism.³⁵⁹ Menno Simons was born in 1496 in the village of Witmarsum in the province of Friesland. He was a son of a dairy farmer named Simon (hence Simons). Before entering the Roman priesthood, he studied in a Premonstratensian monastery, possibly at Bolsward. The order was known for its excellent libraries and its emphasis on education. There he learnt Latin, Greek and became acquainted with the writings of the Church Fathers like Tertullian, Cyprian, and Eusebius. Though he was not systematically trained in the Bible, he might have learnt about it through the monastic liturgy. In March 1524, he received his ordination to priesthood, when he was twenty eight years old. His first assigned was at the parish of Pingjum near Witmarsum, where he served as vicar for seven years and was second in rank of three priests.

Apprehension about Traditional Doctrines: In 1525, he began to doubt the doctrine of transubstantiation. He wrote,

"It occurred to me, as often as I handled the bread and wine in the Mass, that they were not the flesh and blood of the Lord. I thought that the devil was suggesting this, that he might separate me from my faith. I

confessed it often, sighed and prayed; yet I could not come clear of the ideas.”

He credited to Luther for his confidence to depart from the traditional teachings on the Eucharist and to return to the testimony of Scripture though he did not accept Luther's view of the Eucharist.³⁶⁰ From then on, he began to make a serious study of the Scriptures and was considered an evangelical preacher. In Pingjum, there was a very small group of Anabaptists, who rejected infant baptism. In 1531, he heard that one of them Sicke Snijder was publicly beheaded for his heretical beliefs. From then on he began to question his own faith, wondering why a man would be willing to die for such a concept. To reflect on the point, Simons began to study the Scriptures, a book that he had never studied even in his training for Catholic ordination.³⁶¹ In his *Reply to Gellius Faber*, he wrote,

Afterwards it happened, before I had ever heard of the existence of the brethren, that a God-fearing, pious hero named Sicke Snijder was beheaded at Leeuwarden for being rebaptized. It sounded very strange to me to hear of a second baptism. I examined the Scriptures diligently and pondered them earnestly, but could find no report of infant baptism.

He discussed the problem of infant baptism with his pastor, his immediate superior in the church at Pingjum, which led him to admit that there was no basis for infant baptism in Scripture. His reading of church fathers taught that “children were by baptism cleansed from their original sin” for which he did not find any scriptural basis. He hoped to find some scriptural basis for infant baptism read the writings of Luther, Bucer, Zwingli and Bullinger. He realized that, Luther stubbornly believed that ‘in some sense infants do have faith by the power of the Word’, Bucer held that it was a pledge of Christian nurture, Zwingli and Bullinger believed that it was the New Covenantal equivalent to circumcision.³⁶² Once again his efforts to uncover a satisfactory reason for the practice of infant baptism were disappointing. He registered his disappointment with these words, “When I noticed from all these that writers varied so greatly among themselves, each following his own wisdom, then I realized that we were deceived in regard to infant baptism.”

Priest at Witmarsum: In such a state of mind Menno was transferred from Pingjum to Witmarsum, his native village. In spite of his conviction on the question of infant baptism, he took several years before he was moved to action. He did not associate himself with the small groups of Melchiorites in the vicinity, but on the contrary accepted Roman ecclesiastical promotion to the post of pastor in his home church at Witmarsum, “led thither,” he said “by covetousness and the desire to

obtain a great name.”³⁶³ At Witmarsum, he wrote, “I spoke much concerning the Word of the Lord, without spirituality or love, as all hypocrites do, and by this means I made disciples of my own kind, vain boasters and frivolous babblers, who, alas, like myself did not take these matters too seriously.” Although he was outwardly moral and was admired, he was dissatisfied with his spiritual state. His conscience was continually troubled by the contradiction between his conviction and his conformity to the old order. Nevertheless, he remained within the Catholic Church.³⁶⁴

While he was at Witmarsum, some unknown Anabaptists came to Witmarsum, and were preaching and practicing adult baptism. Sometime later emissaries of Munster came and Menno confronted them but he also discerned that they possessed zeal without knowledge. His inner struggle with himself was increasing day by day as he realized that the Anabaptist fanatics’ devotion to the truth. He felt ashamed about his own love for security, position, and luxury. He felt an underlying sympathy for their views of the Scriptures, the church, and Christian discipleship which increased his suffering. Even though he considered them misled, but only in certain matters. Added to that, some three hundred Anabaptists, who were on their way to Munster were besieged on April 7, 1535 in the Old Cloister at Bolsward, who had sought refuge there from persecution. Among the dead was Menno’s own brother, Peter Simons. That event more than any other intensified the inner conflict of his soul, which had been raging for at least four years. But he continued to preach at Witmarsum for another nine months carrying out his evangelical reform.

Break from the Roman Church: On 20 January 1536, Menno laid down his priestly office and joined the Anabaptists cause. He made the break with Rome at the moment when the Anabaptists were hated the most by the authorities. The fact that he had no fellowship with the Anabaptists around him before the Munsterite debacle, and that from the outset he opposed the ideas being spread by the Munsterite missionaries, give credibility to his frequent assertion that his new faith came to him through much deliberation, reading and pondering of the Scriptures. For Menno, Roman ordination to the priesthood was no longer valid, and he insisted upon a new calling and valid ordination according to the true divine institution. Menno was not only an anabaptist but also a reordinationist. His second ordination took place early in 1537 and was most probably solemnized by Obbe Philips. He was constantly dogged by the authorities, thus he led a wanderer’s existence, visiting the scattered brethren, preaching, baptizing, catechizing, and endeavoring to build up the churches wherever he went. Although he married in 1536 or 1537, he had no fixed abode.

At the same time, he also busied himself with the writing of numerous tracts, including *The Spiritual Resurrection* in 1536, *Meditation on the Twenty fifth Psalm* in 1537, *Christian Baptism* in 1539, and *Foundation of Christian Doctrine* in 1540, which was his most significant work. It was revised in 1558, and reprinted many times thereafter. It was aimed at reformation of faith and church practice based on Scripture. The chief doctrines of the *foundation* were, true faith causes man to walk in the ways of Christ, baptism does not confer grace but it is a divine ordinance which marks the spiritual rebirth of a Christian, the Lord's Supper is merely a memorial of the death of Christ and reflects the believer's faith, the Church has the right to excommunicate sinners, Service in military and giving of oaths are contrary to the Scripture but Christians must obey the government in all things not forbidden in the Scripture.³⁶⁵

But the cross of persecution was an inescapable reality for Menno. In 1541, the counselors of Leeuwarden made plans to seize Menno. His popularity was so great that the authorities believed that if they had to eradicate Anabaptists, then without eradicating Menno it was not possible. Placards were spread throughout the Province of Friesland. It was also announced that those Anabaptists would be set free if they can deliver Menno Simons to them. Charles V, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire published an edict against Menno and placed a price of one hundred guilders on his head but no Judas Iscariot was forth coming. But Menno continued to work in and around Amsterdam with some success. In late 1543, he went to North Germany where he spent the remainder of his life.

After moving to north Germany, Menno's attention for several years was given to internal problems of Anabaptism in the area. There he emerged as the chief exponent of the movement. Almost from the outset of his work as an Anabaptist, he was recognized as a foremost leader. Having distinguished himself as an enemy of the Munsterites before leaving the Church of Rome, he could not go unnoticed by either his enemies or his friends. His position of leadership became more firmly established with the apostasy of Obbe Philips in 1540. It was further enhanced by the publication of his most popular work, *Foundation of Christian Doctrine*, which came from the press in the same year. It was widely distributed in the northern coastal regions of Holland and Germany, in whose dialect it first appeared. Subsequently, it was published in revised form in 1554, in Dutch in 1558, in German in 1575, and in many English editions.

It is not surprising, in view of Menno's rising influence among the north German and Dutch Anabaptists, to discover that the biblical Anabaptists came to be called Mennonites (Menists). In 1544 the term

occurred in a letter of John a Lasco, a Reformed Minister, to Countess Anna. He asked for a more lenient policy toward the Mennonite party, which he distinguished from other groups, such as the Batenburgers and Davidians. These were generally lumped indiscriminately together with the followers of Menno Simons. The Batenburgers, were the followers of one Jan van Batenburg, continued to advocate the disastrous doctrines of the Munsterites. However, this remnant of the Munster kingdom was a declining menace. Of far greater danger to the Mennonites was the movement of David Joris. At one time a Munsterite also, Joris was disowned in 1536 by the biblical Anabaptists. An extreme inspirationist, he claimed that the Scriptures were inadequate and, therefore, destined to be supplemented by his own inspired writings. A master of duplicity, he disappeared from history under the alias of John of Bruges in Basel, where he died an honored citizen.

Controversy Regarding the Nature of Christ: Menno was successful in leading the Mennonites through the treacherous shoals of the Batenburgers and Davidians with the help of his fellow elder, Dirk Philips. After that, he was forced to face the problem of doctrinal dissension from within the ranks of the Brethren. Upon that occasion the issue was the deity of Christ, and the champion of the new view was one ordained by Menno and Dirk in 1542, Adam Pastor. Pastor taught that Christ did not exist before the incarnation and was to be considered divine only in the sense that God dwelled in him. Two meetings were held by the elders of the Dutch and north German Anabaptists in 1547 to deal with the problem, the first in Emden and the second in Goch. At the first meeting hope was expressed that Pastor could be saved from his heresy, but by the time of the second meeting all hope was given up. The erring elder was banned.

Menno was never quite able to shake off the memory of that unpleasant experience. Like himself, Pastor had been a priest before he became an Anabaptist and in other respects he was apparently a true Anabaptist. He believed the Scriptures to be authoritative in matters of faith and practice. Rationalism led him to doubt the deity of Christ, while maintaining that Christ was the only mediator between God and man. However, Menno felt that the threat to the faith was so grave that he wrote a small book to counteract Pastor's influence, *Confession of the Triune God*. Menno, like all biblical Anabaptists, was thoroughly Trinitarian. Therefore, he considered an attack on the deity of Christ as an effort to crack the very foundation of the Christian faith.

Menno's own view of the incarnation, however, became a source of controversy among the Anabaptists. It was never accepted by the Swiss Brethren.³⁶ His view was similar to that of Melchior Hofmann but he did

certain modifications. It was regarding the nature of Christ. He emphasized that all of Adam's flesh are justly condemned, that Christ is not divided into two natures, but is one whole Christ. He stressed that the Word *became* flesh, but did not *take* flesh. He explained that "Jesus did not become flesh *of* Mary, but *in* Mary." He held that it was a new creation of the Holy Spirit within the body of Mary. According to him, Christ possessed 'celestial flesh' or heavenly flesh.³⁶⁶ Menno's position differed from the historic view in denying that Christ received his human body from Mary. The thrust of his argument was that God was the author of life and not man. Christ, therefore, received his life, both human and divine, from God. But Menno never denied the full humanity of Christ at the same time he did not attempt to divide the human and the divine in Christ. He recognized that the incarnation involved a certain degree of mystery which defied rational analysis. He wanted to obviate the possibility that Christ inherited a sinful nature without deifying the virgin Mary.³⁷

Further Controversies and Disputations: Even some of Menno's adversaries felt that his doctrine of the 'celestial flesh' of Christ was the most satisfactory explanation of a difficult concept. Musculus, a Zwinglian of great influence, was accused of adhering to this position by Micron. Micron was well acquainted with Menno's view of the incarnation, for he had debated with him on the subject in Wismar during the winter of 1554. The Wismar disputation was one of many theological discussions in which Menno constantly found himself engaged. Such meetings had to be held in the utmost secrecy under the ominous threat of great danger to the participants. In spite of these facts, Menno and his followers must have felt that the value of the meetings far outweighed the risk involved. Even though apparently few converts were made through this procedure, the discussions undoubtedly helped to clarify the position of the Brethren. They also spread Mennonite views through an evangelical underground. At times Menno is reported to have visited with priests and monks in their churches and monasteries for the purpose of winning them to his cause through theological dialogue.

Not long after the disputation with Micron, Menno was again involved in a theological discussion at Wismar. However, upon this occasion the circumstances were vastly different from those of the preceding winter. This time the subject was the ban and its use among the Brethren, and the conferees were seven elders from the Mennonite churches of north Germany and Holland. Among the participants were Dirk Philips, Leenaert Bouwens, and Gillis of Aachen. Following the lead of Menno, the conference adopted nine resolutions reflecting a rather strict position in the use of the ban. Henceforth the ban was to be an increasingly pestiferous problem, recurring with annoying frequency until Menno's death.

Subsequently it was to lead to serious division among the Dutch Mennonites.

Evidently the disputations at Wismar had alerted the authorities to the growing strength and influence of the Mennonites. Before the summer of 1554 had come to a close, Menno was forced to move again. This time he established his residence near Hamburg at Oldesloe, only to move after a brief period to Wustenfelde, a village on the estate of Fresenburg. Since 1543 the baron of Fresenburg, Bartholomew von Ahlefeldt, had permitted Mennonites to live on his property and under his protection. As a youth he had been greatly affected by the Christian character of Anabaptist martyrs. He had witnessed their executions in Holland as an officer in the army. The baron possessed a reputation for harshness which stood the Mennonites in good stead, for few dared to cross him, even in pursuit of Mennonites.

Even though Menno's last years were spent in comparative safety, they were far from peaceful. His strict position on shunning an excommunicated church member soon became divisive. He found himself caught between two fires. Leenaert Bouwens and Dirk Philips took an extreme position. They demanded that shunning be practiced between married partners to the extent of denying the excommunicated member 'bed and board.' After oscillating between this position and a somewhat more moderate one, Menno finally came out on the side of the milder position. From the beginning the Swiss and south German Anabaptists were dissatisfied with the Dutch position on shunning. At a conference in Strasbourg in 1557, at which many countries were represented, Menno and his northern colleagues were urged to be less harsh on this issue. Instead of yielding, they excommunicated their opponents. In his opinion, the ban and shunning applied to every human relationship, even those between wives and husbands and between parents and children.³⁹ But his views were rejected by many Anabaptists. Writing less than three years before his death, Menno in his *Instruction of Excommunication* expressed two fears, first that he might be misunderstood; and second, that the ban might be improperly applied.⁴⁰

Last Years: The divisions and bitterness concerning his teaching on the ban continued to trouble Menno to the day of his death. In his sixty-sixth year he laid down his Bible and pen. After a brief illness he took a turn for the worse on the exact day of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his renunciation of Catholicism. He died the next day, January 31, 1561. Death came in his own home, and he was buried in his own garden. Humble and self-effacing to the end, Menno's greatest contribution to the Anabaptist movement was his character. As Bender suggests, this, coupled

with two other factors, his writings and his message, does much to explain Menno's greatness. However, there remains an intangible element without which an explanation of his influence is incomplete. This may best be termed the providence of God. Menno is considered the greatest of Anabaptist leaders, and it is appropriate that they should be known by his name as Mennonites.

Conclusion

One of the most heartrending aspects of the Reformation was the brutal persecution of the religious radicals. The amount of suffering they were subjected to was incalculable. The persecution was caused by their attitudes toward society, government, military service and the rejection of normal social obligations which posed to a threat to the established order and was met by a ruthless effort to exterminate them. But fortunately, the persecution never succeeded in entirely silencing the voices of the radicals, and they have lived on and made invaluable contributions to modern religion and society. The idea of a voluntary church, separate as far as possible from the state; the idea of a religion of the spirit, unhampered by form, creed, or ritual, and the idea of the application of rational thought to religious issues without these, we should be poorer indeed.

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In July 1207, John expelled (dismissed) the Canterbury Chapter to which the Pope reacted by placing an interdict on the kingdom which meant that no one could receive religious blessings. John retaliated by closing down the churches. He confiscated (on paper) all church possessions, but individual churches were able to negotiate terms for managing their own properties and keeping the produce of their estates. After his excommunication, John tightened these measures and he got plenty of income from the vacant sees and abbeys.
Following that in November 1209, the Pope Innocent excommunicated John and placed England under an interdict. In February 1213, he threatened stronger measures unless John submitted. The papal terms for submission were accepted in the presence of the papal legate Pandulph in May 1213 and in addition, John offered to surrender the Kingdom of England to God and the Saints Peter and Paul for a feudal service of 1,000 marks annually, 700 for England and 300 for Ireland. With the submission, written in a document, John gained the support of

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