



EDITED BY

ULINKA
RUBLACK

≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**THE PROTESTANT
REFORMATIONS**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATIONS

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

THE

PROTESTANT

REFORMATIONS

Edited by
ULINKA RUBLACK

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, ox2 6DB,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2017

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2017

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016944842

ISBN 978-0-19-964692-0

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xiii

1. Introduction	1
ULINKA RUBLACK	

PART I THE NEW THEOLOGY

2. Explaining Evil and Grace	23
CHRISTOPHER OCKER	
3. The Nature of Spiritual Experience	47
ALEC RYRIE	
4. Reforming Time	64
ROBIN B. BARNES	
5. Political Obedience	83
GLENN BURGESS	

PART II GEOGRAPHIES AND VARIETIES OF THE REFORMATIONS

6. Geographies of the Protestant Reformation	105
GRAEME MURDOCK	
7. The Bohemian Reformations	124
HOWARD LOUTHAN	
8. Luther and Lutheranism	146
THOMAS KAUFMANN	

9. The Swiss Reformations: Movements, Settlements,
and Reimagination, 1520–1720 167
RANDOLPH C. HEAD
10. The Radicals 190
C. SCOTT DIXON
11. Calvin and Reformed Protestantism 214
MACK P. HOLT
12. The English, Scottish, and Irish Reformations 233
FELICITY HEAL
13. Protestantism in the Age of Catholic Renewal 253
PHILIP M. SOERGEL
14. Protestantism and Non-Christian Religions 274
ANDREW COLIN GOW AND JEREMY FRADKIN
15. Outsiders, Dissenters, and Competing Visions of Reform 301
HOWARD HOTSON
16. Pietism 329
ULRIKE GLEIXNER
17. Protestantism Outside Europe 350
MARK HÄBERLEIN

PART III COMMUNICATING THE REFORMATIONS

18. Print Workshops and Markets 373
ANDREW PETTEGREE
19. The Word 390
HELMUT PUFF
20. The Reformation of Liturgy 409
SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN
21. An “Epistolary Reformation”: The Role and Significance of Letters in
the First Century of the Protestant Reformation 431
MARK GREENGRASS

PART IV SITES, INSTITUTIONS, AND SOCIETY

22. University Scholars of the Reformation 459
MICHAEL HEYD
23. Education in the Reformation 483
CHARLOTTE METHUEN
24. Legal Courts 504
JOEL F. HARRINGTON
25. Rural Society 525
BEAT KÜMIN
26. Civic Religions 546
GUIDO MARNEF
27. European Nobilities and the Reformation 565
RONALD G. ASCH

PART V IDENTITIES AND CULTURAL MEANINGS OF THE REFORMATIONS

28. Explaining Change 585
CRAIG KOSLOFSKY
29. Visual and Material Culture 601
BRIDGET HEAL
30. Music 621
CHRISTOPHER BOYD BROWN
31. The Body in the Reformations 643
HERMAN ROODENBURG
32. Sexual Difference 667
KATHLEEN M. CROWTHER
33. The Natural and Supernatural 688
UTE LOTZ-HEUMANN
34. Commerce and Consumption 708
CHRISTINE R. JOHNSON

35. Natural Philosophy 726
ALISHA RANKIN

PART VI ASSESSING THE REFORMATIONS

36. Comparisons and Consequences in Global Perspective, 1500–1750 747
MERRY WIESNER-HANKS
37. History and Memory 765
BRUCE GORDON

- Index* 787

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks go, above all, to the authors whose learning and commitment to present the most comprehensive interpretative *Handbook of the Protestant Reformations* yet have made this collaborative enterprise possible—in time for the commemorations in 2017. It is a pleasure to thank Christopher Wheeler, who invited me many years ago to edit this handbook, as well as Stephanie Ireland and especially Cathryn Steele from Oxford University Press who provided absolutely outstanding support. I also wish to thank William Richards at Oxford for all his help, as well as the team at Newgen. I am particularly grateful for the very generous and substantial assistance Asaph Ben-Tov offered to prepare the late Michael Heyd's contribution for publication, and for Theodor Dunkelgrün's advice and readiness to translate one entire contribution. Merry Wiesner-Hanks and Hamish Scott kindly shared some of their editorial experience. Francisco Bethencourt shared my excitement about new intellectual possibilities and, as always, made life happy.

Cambridge, April 2016

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.1	Lucas Cranach the Younger, <i>Martin Luther</i> , woodcut, 14.4 × 14 cm, ca. 1550. National Gallery of Art, Washington.	2
1.2	Johann Valentin Haidt, <i>The Protten Family</i> , ca. 1751. Cover Archives, Herrnhut.	6
1.3	John Hall, 1775, after Benjamin West, <i>William Penn's Treaty with the Indians</i> , engraving, 42.55 × 58.74 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.	15
2.1	Adam and Eve depicted in Hartmann Schedel, <i>Liber chronicarum</i> (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), f. 7r. St. John's College, Cambridge.	24
2.2	Pighius's <i>Controversiarum praecipuarum in comitiis Ratisponensibus tractarum</i> sign. F6(v). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.	36
7.1	Oskar Kokoschka, <i>Portrait of T. G. Masaryk</i> , 1935–1936, oil on canvas, H: 38 3/8 in × W: 51 1/2 in (97.47 × 130.81 cm). Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.	125
19.1	Interior of St. Peter and Paul, Weimar. Foto Constantin Beyer, Weimar.	391
19.2	Johann Eck, <i>Bibel ~ Alt vnd new Testament</i> (Ingolstadt: Weissenhorn, 1550). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.	398
25.1	<i>Karsthans</i> dialogue, first published at Strasbourg in 1521.	530
25.2	Parish church of St. Michael in the imperial village of Gochsheim near Schweinfurt (present-day Bavaria).	535
29.1	Lucas Cranach the Elder, Wittenberg Altarpiece, front view, 1547, oil on panels, Stadtkirche, Wittenberg.	608
31.1	Rembrandt, <i>The Mennonite Preacher Anslo and his Wife</i> , 1641, oil on canvas, 173.7 × 207.6 cm. Foto Jörg P. Anders.	644
31.2	The <i>oculus imaginationis</i> (mind's eye). From Robert Fludd, <i>Utriusque cosmi maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica atque technica historia</i> (Oppenheim: De Bry, 1619).	646
31.3	Anatomical cut of the head. From Gregor Reisch, <i>Margarita Philosophica</i> (Freiburg: Johannes Schott, 1503).	647
31.4	Albrecht Dürer, <i>St. Jerome</i> , 1521, oil on panel, 60 × 48 cm.	648

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 31.5 | Hendrick ter Brugghen, <i>Weeping Heraclitus</i> (or <i>St. Jerome</i>), ca. 1621, oil on canvas, 125.5 × 102 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. | 649 |
| 31.6 | Pietro Paolini, <i>Portrait of a Man Holding the Frontispiece to Dürer's "Small Passion,"</i> ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 126.4 × 103.5 cm. Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester. | 650 |

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Ronald G. Asch is a graduate of Tübingen University and obtained the degree of Dr. phil. habil. in Münster in 1992. Having earlier taught for six years in Osnabrück he has held the Chair of Early Modern History at the University of Freiburg since 2003. He has published on both British history and the history of the European nobilities in the early modern period. His latest book is *Sacral Kingship between Disenchantment and Re-enchantment: The French and English Monarchies c. 1587–1688* (Berghahn, 2014). He is about to publish a short study of notions of heroism in France and England ca. 1580–1780: *Herbst des Helden: Modelle des Heroischen und heroische Lebensentwürfe in England und Frankreich von den Religionskriegen bis zum Zeitalter der Aufklärung*.

Robin B. Barnes is Professor Emeritus of History at Davidson College in North Carolina. He specializes in the cultural history of the German lands in the Reformation era. His publications include *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford University Press, 1988) and numerous articles on early modern prophetic and apocalyptic thought. He is coeditor (with Elizabeth Plummer) of *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany* (Ashgate, 2009). His most recent book is *Astrology and Reformation* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Christopher Boyd Brown is Associate Professor of Church History at Boston University School of Theology and Graduate Division of Religious Studies. He is General Editor of the American Edition of Luther's *Works*, volumes 56–75 and author of *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Harvard University Press, 2005). His current project is an English edition of Johann Mathesius's *Life of Luther*, forthcoming as Luther's *Works* vol. 75.

Glenn Burgess is Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Academic Affairs), and Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Hull. He is the author of *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (Macmillan, 1992), *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (Yale University Press, 1996), and *British Political Thought 1500–1660* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and the editor or coeditor of many books, including (with Howell A. Lloyd and Simon Hodson), *European Political Thought 1450–1700* (Yale University Press, 2007). Professor Burgess is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Kathleen M. Crowther is an Associate Professor in the Department of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine at the University of Oklahoma. Her first book, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) won the Gerald Strauss Prize of the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference for best new book

in Reformation studies. She is currently working on a book about Sacrobosco's *Sphere* in medieval and early modern Europe.

C. Scott Dixon is Senior Lecturer at the School of History and Anthropology at the Queen's University of Belfast. He has written widely on the European Reformation and religious culture in the early modern period. His recent books include *Protestants: A History from Wittenberg to Pennsylvania, 1517–1740* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), *Contesting the Reformation* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), and *The Church in the Early Modern Age* (I. B. Tauris, 2016).

Jeremy Fradkin is a Ph.D. Candidate in History at The Johns Hopkins University. His dissertation will examine the relationship between religious toleration, anti-Catholicism, and imperialism in the English Revolution (1642–1660).

Ulrike Gleixner is Head of the Research Department at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel and Professor of Early Modern History at the Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Frauen und Geschlechterforschung (ZIFG), Technische Universität in Berlin. Her key publications include “*Das Mensch*” und “*der Kerl.*” *Die Konstruktion von Geschlecht in Unzuchtsverfahren der Frühen Neuzeit* (Campus, 1994) and *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005). She has coedited an exhibition catalogue and several volumes, recently *Religion Macht Politik. Hofgeistlichkeit im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Harrassowitz, 2014). She is currently working on a study of the Pietist mission to South India.

Bruce Gordon is the Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale Divinity School. He also teaches in the History Department at Yale. His publications include *John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Princeton University Press, 2016), *Calvin* (Yale University Press, 2009), and *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester University Press, 2002).

Andrew Colin Gow is Professor of History and Director of Religious Studies at the University of Alberta. He is the author of *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (E. J. Brill, 1995); coauthor with Lara Apps of *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester University Press, 2003); and coeditor with Robert Desjardins and François Pageau of *The Arras Witch Treatises (1460)* (Penn State University Press, 2016).

Mark Greengrass is Emeritus Professor at the University of Sheffield, UK, a Research Fellow at the Department of History, University of Warwick, and a membre associé of the Centre Roland Mousnier, Université de Paris-IV (Sorbonne). He has specialized on the Reformation in its French context, and is currently working on the large surviving correspondence of the lieutenant in Dauphiné, Bertrand Simiane de Gordes, during the wars of religion. He also codirected the British Academy John Foxe Project that published the variorum edition online of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. He is author, most recently, of *Christendom Destroyed (1517–1648)*, Volume V of the Penguin History of Europe (Penguin Books, 2014).

Mark Häberlein is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Bamberg in Germany. He has published extensively on Central European merchants and long-distance trade as well as on transatlantic migration and the religious and social history of eighteenth-century North America. His publications include *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820* (Penn State University Press, 2009) and *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (University of Virginia Press, 2012).

Joel F. Harrington is Centennial Professor of History at Vanderbilt University (USA). His scholarship has focused on various religious, legal, and social aspects of early modern Germany. His books include *The Faithful Executioner: Life and Death, Honour and Shame in the Turbulent Sixteenth Century* (Bodley Head, 2013), *The Unwanted Child: The Fate of Foundlings, Orphans, and Juvenile Criminals in Early Modern Germany* (University of Chicago Press, 2009), and *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (Cambridge University Press, 1995). He is currently at work on a biography of the fourteenth-century theologian and mystic Meister Eckhart.

Randolph C. Head is Professor of History at the University of California Riverside. He specializes in the history of political and institutional cultures, focusing on Switzerland and early modern Europe. He is the author of two monographs and many articles, has edited two collections of articles, and recently coauthored a *Concise History of Switzerland*. Currently, he is completing a comparative study of archival inventories and organization in early modern Europe.

Bridget Heal is a Senior Lecturer at the University of St. Andrews and Director of the Reformation Studies Institute there. Her first monograph, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) used both archival and artistic sources to investigate the fate of Marian devotion during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Her ongoing interest in religious culture, in particular its visual manifestations, is reflected in her current project, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany*, which will be published by Oxford University Press in 2017.

Felicity Heal is an Emeritus Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. She is the author of numerous books and articles on the Reformation, the English gentry, and early modern society. Her book *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* was published in 2003 as part of The Oxford History of the Christian Church. Her most recent book is *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2014).

Michael Heyd (1943–2014) was a Professor of History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His fields of study included the history of science and its social and religious contexts, the history of universities, and the history of emotions. Among his studies are *Between Orthodoxy and Enlightenment* (Nijhoff, 1982) and *Be Sober and Reasonable* (E. J. Brill, 1995).

Mack P. Holt is Professor of History at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, United States, where he has taught since 1989. He has published a variety of books and articles on the Reformation, the French Wars of Religion, and on the history of wine. He is currently finishing a book titled *Branches of the Vine: Reformation and Culture in Burgundy, 1477–1630* (forthcoming), which addresses why vineyard workers in sixteenth-century Burgundy were so opposed to Protestantism. And he has begun a new project tentatively titled ‘Reading the Bible in Reformation France’, which attempts to adduce how lay readers read their Bibles newly translated into French by an examination of readers’ marks in several hundred surviving Bibles printed in the sixteenth century.

Howard Hotson is Professor of Early Modern Intellectual History at the University of Oxford, Fellow of St. Anne’s College, and Director of the Mellon-funded collaborative research project, *Cultures of Knowledge: Networking the Republic of Letters, 1550–1750*. His research is focused on the gradually expanding reform movements of the post-Reformation period, the intellectual geography of the Holy Roman Empire, international intellectual networks, and the development of digital technology to serve the study of these topics.

Christine R. Johnson is Associate Professor of History at Washington University in St. Louis. She is the author of *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (University of Virginia Press, 2008) and several articles on how practices of Renaissance knowledge shaped the evaluation of the newly-discovered lands and peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Her current research on “The German Nation of the Holy Roman Empire, 1440–1556” examines the intersections between national sentiment and imperial claims and their reconfiguration under the influence of Humanism, imperial political reform, and the splintering of religious identity in the Reformation.

Susan C. Karant-Nunn is Director of the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies at the University of Arizona. She is also Regents’ Professor of History. From 1998–2010 she was Managing Coeditor in North America of the *Archive for Reformation History*. She has published widely on aspects of early modern Germany. Her most recent monograph is *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2010). She is currently writing a book on Martin Luther’s body and personal life.

Thomas Kaufmann is Professor of Church History at the University of Göttingen and President of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte. His primary field of research is the history of the Reformation and the confessional era. He has published numerous monographs, most recently: *Geschichte der Reformation* (3rd ed., Suhrkamp, 2016; French translation 2014); *Luther* (Eerdmans, 2016; translated into Italian, Japanese, and Korean; English and Spanish translations in preparation); *Luthers Juden* (Reclam, 2015; English, French, and Italian translations in preparation); *Der Anfang der Reformation* (Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

Craig Koslofsky, author of *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) and *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700* (Macmillan Press/St. Martin's Press, 2000), is Professor of History and Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Beat Kümin is Professor of Early Modern European History at the University of Warwick, UK. His research interests focus on social centers (parish churches, public houses) in local communities, particularly in England and the Holy Roman Empire. Publications include *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise & Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400–1560* (Scolar, 1996), *The Communal Age in Western Europe c. 1100–1800: Towns, Villages and Parishes in Pre-Modern Society* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), and the edited collection *Landgemeinde und Kirche im Zeitalter der Konfessionen* (Chronos, 2004). He coordinates the online platform <<http://my-parish.org>>.

Ute Lotz-Heumann is Heiko A. Oberman Professor of Late Medieval and Reformation History in the Division for Late Medieval and Reformation Studies and the Department of History at the University of Arizona. She is the author of a monograph on religious and political conflict in early modern Ireland: *Die doppelte Konfessionalisierung in Irland: Konflikt und Koexistenz im 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Mohr Siebeck, 2000). She has coauthored and coedited six volumes in the history of the European Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Currently, she is working on two books about spas and healing waters in early modern Germany between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Howard Louthan is Director of the Center for Austrian Studies and Professor of History at the University of Minnesota. He is the author of several books on the religious history of early modern Central Europe including *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge University Press, 1997) and *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Guido Marnef is Professor of History at the University of Antwerp and a member of its Center for Urban History. His research focuses on Protestant and Catholic Reformation movements in the Low Countries, the Dutch Revolt, and cultural life in the cities of the Low Countries. He is the author of *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis 1550–1577* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). Currently, he is working on a book about the Calvinist Republic in Antwerp.

Charlotte Methuen is Senior Lecturer in Church History at the University of Glasgow. She has taught previously at the Universities of Oxford, Bochum, and Hamburg. Her main areas of research are the intellectual history of Reformation, and particularly interactions between theology, philosophy, and astronomy, and twentieth-century ecumenical relations. She has also worked on women and authority in the Early Church. She is the author of *Kepler's Tübingen: Stimulus to a Theological Mathematics* (Studies in

Reformation History; Ashgate, 1998), *Science and Theology in the Reformation: Studies in Theological Interpretation and Astronomical Observation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (T & T Clark, 2008), an undergraduate textbook, *Luther and Calvin: Religious Revolutionaries* (Lion, 2011), and numerous articles.

Graeme Murdock is Associate Professor of Modern History at Trinity College Dublin. His work has focused on the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania, on Calvinism in international contexts, and on pluralism and religious violence in early modern France. His publications include *Calvinism on the Frontier: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church of Hungary and Transylvania, c. 1600–1660* (Oxford University Press, 2000), *Beyond Calvin: The Intellectual, Political and Cultural World of Europe's Reformed Churches, c. 1540–1620* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), and Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts, and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

Christopher Ocker is Professor of History at the San Francisco Theological Seminary and the Graduate Theological Union at Berkeley. He has written *Church Robbers and Reformers in Germany* (E. J. Brill, 2006), *Biblical Poetics before Humanism and Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), *Johannes Klenkok: A Friar's Life, c. 1310–1378* (American Philosophical Society, 1993), and many essays and reviews on religion and theology in the Middle Ages and the Reformation. He coedited the two volumes of *Politics and Reformations: Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.* (E. J. Brill, 2007), and he is coeditor of the *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception*. He is currently working on a study of the controversy over Luther in the sixteenth century.

Andrew Pettegree is Professor of Modern History at the University of St. Andrews, and Director of the Universal Short Title Catalogue. He is the author of a number of books on the Reformation and, more recently, the history of communication, including *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), *The Book in the Renaissance* (Yale University Press, 2010), and *The Invention of News* (Yale University Press, 2014). His latest book, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing and the Making of the Reformation*, was published in October 2015 with Penguin USA. He is now engaged on a study of advertising in seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers.

Helmut Puff is Professor in the Departments of History, Germanic Languages and Literatures, and Women's Studies at University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Among his book publications are *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600* (University of Chicago Press, 2003) and *Miniature Monuments: Modeling German History* (De Gruyter, 2014).

Alisha Rankin is Associate Professor of History at Tufts University. She is the author of *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen as Healers in Early Modern Germany* (University of Chicago Press, 2013), which won the 2014 Gerald Strauss Prize for Reformation History. She is also coeditor of *Secrets and Knowledge in Medicine and Science, 1500–1800*

(Ashgate, 2011), and the author of numerous articles. Her current work examines poison antidotes and panaceas in early modern Europe.

Herman Roodenburg is Emeritus Professor of Historical Anthropology at the Free University of Amsterdam and a former researcher at the Meertens Institute, also in Amsterdam. A cultural historian, he likes to cooperate with cultural anthropologists and art historians. Among his English publications are *The Eloquence of the Body* (Waanders, 2004), *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), and *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance* (Bloomsbury, 2014). His book *The Crying Dutchman: A History of the Early Modern Dutch and their Religious Emotions* will be published in 2017.

Ulinka Rublack is Professor of Early Modern European History at the University of Cambridge. Her publications include *The Astronomer & the Witch: Johannes Kepler's Fight for His Mother* (Oxford University Press, 2015), *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2010), and *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2005, 2nd ed. 2017).

Alec Ryrie is Professor of the History of Christianity at Durham University and coeditor of the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. His books include *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2013), winner of the Society for Renaissance Studies Book Prize and the Richard L. Greaves Prize, *The Age of Reformation* (Pearson Longman, 2009), *The Sorcerer's Tale* (Oxford University Press, 2008), *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester University Press, 2006), and *The Gospel and Henry VIII* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). His *Protestants: The Faith that Made the Modern World* will be published in 2017.

Philip M. Soergel is Professor and Chair of the Department of History at the University of Maryland, College Park. He has written a number of articles and book chapters, as well as four books, including *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (University of California Press, 1993) and *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

Merry Wiesner-Hanks is Distinguished Professor and Chair of the History Department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. She is the senior editor of the *Sixteenth Century Journal*, an editor of the *Journal of Global History*, and the author or editor of more than thirty books and nearly 100 articles that have appeared in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Chinese, Turkish, and Korean. These include *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789* (Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 2013), *Gender in History: Global Perspectives* (Blackwell, 2nd ed. 2010), and the nine-volume *Cambridge World History* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), for which she is both editor-in-chief and a volume editor.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

ULINKA RUBLACK

IN 1542, the Reformer Martin Luther reflected on a story about St. Francis of Assisi. It recounted how the monk had been so tempted by sexual thoughts that he had gone out into the snow to make several snowmen. He called them his wife and children, and told himself: “O Francis, look, you have a wife and child whom you must now support by your labours and efforts; then your carnal desire and lust will leave you.” Luther was repulsed. Francis seemed like a child who took fabrications for real. Just like children use dolls to furnish elaborate stories in which they imagine behaving as adults, so Francis seemed to play out a fantasy of how he would provide for a family instead of begging to sustain his life among allegedly celibate men. To Luther, who made much of his doctoral degree, paid university work, and busy domestic life in Wittenberg with his wife, children, students, and constant visitors, all this revealed that Francis of Assisi had been “uneducated and inexperienced.” He had filled the world with equally “childish,” “foolish” works to obscure the true Christian faith. “We now dare pass judgement upon such great saints,” Luther exclaimed: Francis should have recognized that he was human. This meant accepting that mankind lived in the shadow of Adam’s Fall from Paradise and in the “common sickness of the world.” The German Reformer hoped that a merciful God had saved fool Francis, for “then we, too,” he reassured followers, “should not despair” (Figure 1.1).¹

This story neatly encapsulates some defining elements of the Protestant Reformations. The Reformations produced confessional difference by depicting Catholicism as a force which misled people to follow an unchristian faith. The papacy was demonic. A spiritual path marked by poverty, good works, and chastity was no longer sanctified—its pretense of perfection was simply deemed impossible. Original sin powerfully disabled reason and amplified desires. Piety could therefore only express itself through desperate belief in God’s grace. Marriage and work provided a Christian way of life; the end of the world was imminent. This different approach as to how the divine could be honored and known constituted a momentous break not only with medieval traditions, but many world religions. As a result, the Protestant Reformations have long been regarded as one of the most profound forces of mental, social, and political change in the past.



FIGURE 1.1 Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Martin Luther*, woodcut, 14.4 × 14 cm, ca. 1550. Small portraits of this kind were designed to be pasted into bibles or on walls and were key to the commemorative cults spreading from Wittenberg.

By kind permission of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Protestantism emerged from the way in which many religious concerns and institutional church practices were subject to vibrant medieval discussions and contested intellectual traditions; it continued to pluralize Christianity and reshaped the world. Given the great spectrum of ideas in these movements, the modern connotations of the word “Protestant” as a collective noun to describe all those groups who broke away from the Roman Church in the sixteenth century of course would have horrified Reformers (see Holt, Chapter 11). Even so, we can identify some more broadly shared ideals and significant changes, which ranged from claims about the centrality of the Bible for faith to an endorsement that sacred texts should be substantially mediated in non-classical languages, for the benefit of the majority of people, who were illiterate and only knew their

own tongue. Martin Luther's translation of the New Testament in 1522 and the complete Wittenberg Bible in 1534 were landmark achievements. The idea of purgatory was abolished as a greedy invention.

In major Protestant faiths this went along with the reduction in the number of sacraments from seven to two (baptism and the Eucharist) and an insistence that the Eucharist must be offered to the laity in "both kinds" through bread and wine. Those confessing their sins were not required to enumerate individual sins; there was no concern about degrees of contrition and no penance was imposed. Preaching and communion gained a new centrality in church services, sometimes alongside vernacular singing by the congregation. Ordered families began to be regarded as microcosms of the perfect state and thus gained great political relevance. Convents, monasteries, and confraternities were abolished to make heterosexual family life and men's superior authority the norm.

The sheer size of the clergy was thus dramatically reduced. Clerical learning was controlled through university education in which the contents of learning substantially changed. As Protestantism argued that the papacy as an *institution* was heretical and corrupt, it briefly empowered laypeople as legitimate interpreters of the faith and then forged new church hierarchies. These continued to allow access only to men—but their social background began to matter less than their education, and scholarship systems for expanding schools and university allowed for some social mobility even from the lower-middle classes. High-ranking clergymen were no longer appointed by Rome, and were required to be theologians. Feast days were gradually reduced to Sundays and key holidays, while pilgrimages and processions were abolished. So were indulgences or the official sanctification of individuals. Clerical marriage became the norm. Church property was taken over by secular authorities and created new financial resources. In some areas, the power of church courts was reduced and helped to centralize secular power in the process of state formation. Last but not least, Reformations confronted Europeans with the fact that Christianity contained radically different truth claims—among Protestants, among Protestants and Catholics, and among all these faiths and Eastern Orthodox Christians. This meant that the history of and arguments embedded in truth claims were constantly reconstructed and questioned. Eventually this contributed to the emergence of intellectual positions which recognize religions as cultural systems of meaning and explore their ideas, tensions, and limitations.

Despite these momentous changes it makes no sense to think of Protestantism in itself as an invariably modern, individualizing, liberating force and moral achievement. Leopold von Ranke's (1795–1886) view in 1854 that "Protestantism, as evolved in Switzerland and Germany" did not suit "Southern nations, and less cultivated countries as such" remains testimony to the chauvinism which has often colored historical judgment of a movement which many writers continue to feel deeply emotional about and evaluate as a watershed for Western civilization. For Ranke, the Reformation had been the German nation's task to restore the purity of revelation.² Three decades later a Pennsylvanian pastor announced on the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth in 1883: "If there had been no Luther in Germany, there would have been no Washington in America."³

Current scholarship critically questions such Protestant myth-making and memory cultures and turns away from linear grand narratives in which the Reformation provides clear stepping stones toward progress, human freedom, democracy, toleration, market capitalism and cultural superiority in the West, and Catholicism figures as a reactionary force (see also Burgess, Chapter 5). It pays more attention to links between Protestants and Catholics, in Europe as much as in Anglo-Iberian colonizations.⁴ Critical grand narratives which argue that Protestantism contributed to a “failed Western modernity” are more rarely defended, although recently Brad Gregory has prominently asserted that secularization, consumerism, and hyper-pluralist relativism form the Reformation’s unintended and deeply deplorable legacies.⁵

Yet concepts of modernity which rely on the notion of secularization are to be approached with caution and qualifications.⁶ At the beginning of the twenty-first century it remains easy to complicate the notion that living in a “modern” age means inhabiting a “secular” world. Faith-based issues remain extremely important in American politics and diplomacy. India’s liberal democracy sees frequent religious riots. The dwindling church membership witnessed in some contemporary European societies meanwhile can be regarded as indicative of beliefs which are transforming into newly spiritualized ideas about personhood, healing, or death rather than testifying to outright religious decline. “Unchurched” populations can still regard their lives as connected to supernatural forces and form vibrant non-affiliated spiritual groups.⁷ What we really need to understand is how categories of the “religious” or “secular” have been constructed by whom, when, to what end, and which attitudes, definitions, and regulation such concepts affect⁸ (see also Lotz-Heumann, Chapter 33).

Historians therefore do well to approach Protestant beliefs since the Reformation in terms of their own time and as furnishing particular concepts of confessional difference, of the sacred, selfhood and the sensuous, the heterodox and orthodox, the rational and irrational, temporal and eternal, in Europe and beyond. These processes of definition, demarcation, and debate continue to unfold globally, as Protestantism is nothing locked in an early modern past or a Western story—its varieties enjoy tremendous popularity in Asia, Africa, the United States, and Latin America. Between 1965 and 2000, for instance, the number of Protestants in Africa rose phenomenally from twenty-one million to one hundred and ten million people. The “average Anglican nowadays is a 24 year old African woman,” reports the *Sunday Times*, while born-again Africans often want to convince the West to rescue its overly liberal Christians from its “supposed apostasy.”⁹ Tanzania is home country to the second largest Lutheran Church in the world. Two-thirds of Korean Christians identify as Protestants, and cultivate five main strands of theology and active missions.¹⁰

Europe’s early modern Protestantisms provide no homogenous point of “pure” origin and authenticity for these strands of global and transnational Christianity. Protestantisms have supported diverse alliances between state and church or parachurches. They have gone different paths in marking difference from or excluding specific groups, in mapping out internal hierarchies, interfaith relations, attitudes toward science and commerce, or moral discourses on issues such as social inequality

or ethnicized politics. They have sustained very different approaches to the question of how God comes alive to people individually or collectively and through what practices the supernatural can be known.¹¹

This means that a history of the Protestant Reformations is not about “one tradition” and legacy and not even without qualifications about a dominating tradition constructed through static core beliefs, but permanent processes of adaptation, development, consolidation, and the questioning of religious practices and ideas which we actively discover and interpret from our particular position in the present. It is possible to identify broader platforms of some more agreed mainstream ideas and practices. These can likewise be identified for the radical spectrum, characterized by its more literal approach to the Bible, or radical spiritualism, the distance to clericalism and the state, for instance (see Dixon, Chapter 10). Yet the authors in this handbook keep pointing to the fact that none of these traditions—ranging from Bohemian Utraquism to Pietists and spiritualists in America, or Lutheranism and Reformed churches, as well as ideas about political obedience—are as monolithic or coherent as they used to be portrayed. A historical project of this kind thus traces processes rather than fixed identities and points to rather more eclectic intellectual trajectories. Exactly whether and how past legacies—which include a broad spectrum of ideas and practices ranging from mysticism to millenarianism—link to contemporary Protestantisms, or how they are constructed in memory cultures are important historical questions to be asked as linear accounts of modernization and rationalization have ceased to be compelling. Each strand of the historical developments we can trace was replete with possibilities and limitations. Some strands became more dominant than others for a time, or lost and later regained significance. In North America, radicalism thus would turn into a force “the very heart” of Protestantism. In Germany, radical ideas influenced later seventeenth-century Pietism and eventually public religion more widely (see Dixon, Chapter 10). Future developments likewise can be described as uncertain and open to renewal.¹²

In gathering perspectives on layered temporal changes in different milieux through different actors, this handbook reflects how much the writing of religious history has diversified during the past decades. It has considerably widened in scope chronologically as well as geographically, and presents Luther as one of several influential Reformers, ranging from Hus and Zwingli, Melancthon, Müntzer, and Calvin to Comenius, William Penn, or Rebecca Protten, a former slave who became an extremely successful Moravian preacher in the Caribbean and beyond (Figure 1.2). In its scope, this handbook is the most ambitious attempt yet to capture early modern Protestantisms’ complex geographies, by incorporating its global dimensions and following the itineraries of this faith from Massachusetts Bay to Danish St. Thomas in the Caribbean, Formosa in what is now Taiwan, Africa or Arctic missions (see in particular Häberlein, Chapter 17; Wiesner-Hanks, Chapter 36). Those wishing to understand why this handbook includes no map should turn to Graeme Murdock’s discussion in Chapter 6, which includes a brilliant critique of previous attempts to cartographically represent neat and clear geographical boundaries for particular confessions even within Europe.



FIGURE 1.2 Johann Valentin Haidt, *The Protten Family*, ca. 1751.

Rebecca Protten (b. 1718) preached to enslaved Africans in the West Indies, married a Moravian preacher and moved with him to the Saxon community of Herrnhut, where this portrait was painted.

By kind permission of the Cover Archives, Herrnhut.

The handbook also includes a far wider spectrum of ideas and practices than is common. Many new accounts in Reformation history are methodologically grounded in the anthropology of religion, materiality, and emotions. They are also bound up with a new approach to the history of great Reformers. Just as we no longer write the history of science predominantly in terms of the achievements of isolated geniuses who created knowledge about nature drawing on singular mental gifts, so we can see the making of religious knowledge to a significant extent as products of human society. Religious knowledge is always constructed within particular networks and in relation to their place in social and intellectual structures, by people who make use of ideas, information, and techniques as much as imaginative forms of engagement which are available to them in that society. “Knowledge” here is to be understood in its broadest sense, as assemblage of ways and techniques of knowing what is taken to be the supernatural, the divine, or demonic, for instance.

This allows us to ask who was able to stabilize competing notions that such knowledge was “truthful” knowledge at particular points and why, who managed to legitimize themselves as “religious expert,” and how such claims to truthful religious knowledge

and expertise were contested. How was spiritual authority secured? Who was excluded by claims about what constituted “pure” evangelical teaching and what hierarchies existed in relation to those who were included? How were careers and systems of patronage reconfigured? A history of religious truth claims is thus bound up with questions of power, contestation, and group building, rather than individuality and free conscience in our modern sense: about which sites, media, and institutions shaped debates, for instance (see Pettegree, Chapter 18).

This approach leads next to the question of how beliefs about a truthful religion were informed by and gave shape to personal experiences. How, for example, did belief resolve into gestures, habits, and temperament, ingrained by practices of spiritual preparation such as learning and daily repetition?¹³ Acts embody and build up specific ideals about the way in which communities of believers locate themselves on earth in relation to the divine. The ways in which Protestants made religion “happen in their world” and relevant to truth claims about their religion therefore can be studied through concrete acts which involve their bodies, material culture, gendered identifications, spaces, and texts through which religion becomes present in imaginative forms.¹⁴ We can point to rules about what Protestants were expected to feel where and how, how these rules about restraint and intensification might have shaped actual emotions, and what status emotions were given to “know” the supernatural.¹⁵ Such perspectives particularly highlight the value of culturally historical approaches (see Roodenburg, Chapter 31; Koslofsky, Chapter 28). These allow us to better understand the *spectrum* of experiences and ideas involved in what it meant to live as Protestant during the early modern period and a transforming world.

This handbook covers the “long Reformation” period from ca. 1400 to ca. 1750. Several contributions emphasize the importance of the earlier Bohemian Reformations as well as long ingrained aspirations for a universal reformation in the Holy Roman Empire alongside the influence of inherited prophetic practices and assumptions which were now super-charged (see Louthan, Chapter 7; Hotson, Chapter 15; Barnes, Chapter 4). Yet the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provide a particular focus as central time for the initial developments of faiths which began to be called “Protestant.” Most contributions explore the Protestant Reformations in relation to the Catholic Renewal before and after Trent (Chapter 13 by Philip M. Soergel in addition focuses entirely on this subject). They repeatedly point to areas of convergence among Protestants and Catholics and continuities which have been obscured by narratives of radical confessional difference, and thus pluralize our understanding of Catholicism. A rich and current handbook historiography covers the astounding dynamics of Catholic change, the seriousness of many reforms, its global reach as much as disciplinary grip.¹⁶ This handbook in turn provides up-to-date surveys on a rich field of key themes to explore the complexities of early modern Protestantisms in innovative ways to serve as point of orientation for readers as well as inspiring new research.

As in the *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, published in 2014, chapters follow a thematic rather than chronological order.¹⁷ Some authors present broad overviews, while others embed case studies within their accounts to rethink concepts, such as rationality, “superstition,” or sensorial experience. Familiar building blocks of our

understanding of Protestantism are covered in authoritative chapters on Lutheranism, the Swiss Reformation, Anabaptism, or print, while other contributions foreground themes such as the body or commerce as part of a Protestant political economy, which have never previously featured in handbooks on the Reformation.

Six parts will hopefully make it easier to navigate the thirty-seven contributions by historians of theology, of political thought and ideas as well as societies and cultures which make up this hefty volume. Part I introduces some of the knowledge about religion which Protestants generated: intellectual developments expressed through learned theology and ideas about evil and grace; ideas about temporality in a movement which saw the Last Judgment as imminent; ideas about political obedience and resistance which were critical to the Reformations; and evidence for “the nature” of spiritual experience these theologies could engender. The aim of Part II is to work through geographies of Reform, in order to emphasize the plurality and vitality of the movement in interplay with the politics and societies in which it was embedded. Parts III, IV, and V demonstrate in what ways the formation of distinctive Lutheran and Calvinist cultures can be charted as a gradual and multifarious process through an emphasis on processes of communication (Part III), institutions (Part IV), and practices (Part V), which could nonetheless have very profound effects. There are close thematic connections between contributions in different parts, so that Chapters 2 and 3 in Part I, for instance, tightly interlink with questions about Protestant identities which feature in Part V, as do chapters on music, visual and material culture in Part III. Ideally, these will be read together. Part V closes with three contributions which respond to Max Weber’s formative ideas about Reformation changes and disenchantment, the Protestant work ethic, and scientific revolution, while Part VI turns to yet broader assessments to end the handbook. It covers innovation and reform in non-Western faiths during the early modern period, the consequences of the Reformation in a global perspective, and memory cultures in the past and present.

Collectively these contributions allow us to evaluate key developments in the period in fresh ways. The early modern period was characterized by renewed demographic growth, state building and new forms of popular politics, the beginnings of a “global age,” areas of significant economic expansion and diversified material cultures, new technologies, such as printing, the expansion of learning, and proliferation of new intellectual trends as well as new challenges to the status of women and distinct languages of self-awareness.¹⁸ The religious transformations interlinked with these huge and varied political, social, economic, and mental changes across the globe.

One of the most important developments in this age related to scientific practices. Here, the idea of *sola scriptura* can be said to have created a broader platform to help justify an empirical method of scientific inquiry. Philip Melanchthon’s influential curriculum in natural philosophy across Protestant Europe set out that laws in nature provided evidence of God’s existence. Human anatomy was practiced as a moral undertaking to reveal the greatness of God and with an emphasis on the close connection of body and soul. Such ideas about the value of empiricism were supported by many Catholics and built on pre-Reformation views of nature and making,

but, Rankin finds, they began to unite Protestants rather uniformly. Other elements nonetheless kept differentiating traditions, as interests in the spiritualist tradition of Paracelsianism, in alchemy and astrology could sit uneasily with orthodox ideas (see Rankin, Chapter 35).

An enduring as much as unresolved Protestant struggle was to reach conclusions about human nature in relation to ideas about nature and grace—a “tiny element of contingent, human input in the overall process of salvation could ignite furious debate” (see Ocker, Chapter 2). German Lutherans had involved themselves in particularly fierce conflicts since 1555; it is apparently not overstated to argue that “these internal debates soon preoccupied Lutheran theologians at times more than did battles against Rome, Geneva, Zurich, the sectarians, the Jews, and the Turks taken together.”¹⁹ The so-called Flacian controversy pondered whether sin had become substance of Man, while the later Antinomian controversy explored whether law should be given a positive role in conducting the moral life of the justified (see Kaufmann, Chapter 8).

Yet by the early seventeenth century, Bacon and his circle for instance thought it possible to recover some of the wisdom lost through the Fall. Comenius, too, thought a universal reformation of mankind as fallen creature possible and pointed to the considerable advances in knowledge through printing and voyages of exploration the world had recently seen. Comenius wished to teach all people everything (see Hotson, Chapter 15).

These ideas of “progress,” thus, were not about secular rationalism, but inspired by religious fervor, a wish to overcome Christian divisions and frequently linked to millennial thought. This diverse spectrum of orthodox and minority positions began to feature those with greater trust in human rationality, who moved away from Luther’s notion of reason as a whore. Nature appeared an open book which by ongoing discovery could manifest the existence, power, and glory of God (see Heyd, Chapter 22; Barnes, Chapter 4). A Lutheran astronomer like Johannes Kepler (b. 1571) thus had no doubt that he was an ideal reader of God’s universe. God, Kepler confidently wrote, had waited for him as “apt contemplator” of his building plans. Yet the imperial mathematician never gained a university position and for many years was excluded from taking communion with fellow Lutherans because he held some heterodox ideas.²⁰

Kepler was a scholarship boy from a lower-middle background and provides an excellent example of what a mainstream Protestant emphasis on education could *unintentionally* allow for. Schooling was deemed essential to produce a God-fearing population rather than stimulate independent thought. It was designed to shape moral citizenship, and this relied on the observance of moral laws which taught the obedience God wanted to see exercised. Moral obedience and virtue stood at the center of much Protestant education. Once more, a generalized idea that the Reformations ushered in more individual freedom cannot be rooted in history (see Methuen, Chapter 23). Institutions, and in particular universities, nonetheless created possibilities for Protestant men like Kepler to move beyond the simple imposition of conformity—though Kepler in turn, and unlike Comenius, never championed lay learning and often wrote in the most obscure Latin of the entire period.

An emphasis on possibilities to negotiate ideas and practices is also borne out by local historical research on other institutions and an approach which has questioned the idea that the Protestant churches together with the state rigorously implemented a whole program of social disciplining from top down (see Kümin, Chapter 25). Geneva's systematic practice of excommunications for those unwilling to conform, for instance, was achieved independently from the magistrate and very much in opposition to large parts of the old elites. The policy, moreover, was unique. Protestant legal courts generally were active in relation to sexual crimes and public morality, but groups within the populace shaped which interests were followed. Courts did not so much determine confessional identity in relation to laws but provided a "charged venue" for such ideas to be worked out (see Harrington, Chapter 24). Scholars thus no longer look at the laity as either passive or resistant, but as agents who shaped the Protestant world in a much fuller sense.

The Reformed tradition in general stood apart from Lutheranism and other versions of Protestantism through its commitment to remain as independent of the secular state as possible, as well as through its constant goal of increasing moral discipline to create a kingdom of Christ on earth (see Holt, Chapter 11). Variation once more prevails: in England, local congregational discipline was only very partially supported by elites and a "complex pattern of acceptance of, and resistance to, zealous Protestantism" evolved. The nobility across Europe could be highly selective in their religious practices and beliefs, confessionally ambiguous or indifferent. Only in Scotland did Reformers labor "successfully . . . to turn the people into a nation of Protestants, or even Puritans, characterized by social discipline and a passionate conviction" (see F. Heal, Chapter 12; Asch, Chapter 27).

Gendered understandings of morality in mainstream Protestantism were nonetheless implemented across Protestant Europe in ways which were strongly biased against women's equality. They continued traditional understandings of bodily and mental differences as well as the sense that unbridled female sexuality was particularly dangerous and disruptive (see Crowther, Chapter 32). Divorce was hardly ever granted. Family life continued to represent an important ideal and was communicated in detail in the correspondence of many Reformers to cement emotional bonds (see Greengrass, Chapter 21). Pre-marital sex in turn was more widely prosecuted and from Sweden to Protestant Switzerland the burden fell disproportionately on women, especially as having illegitimate children was more strongly criminalized. In Switzerland, the regulation of family life, pre-marital sex, adultery, and marital harmony, in fact turned into the key concern as the Reformation became fully institutionalized (see Head, Chapter 9). Witches were demonized.

Gendered ideals and sexual behavior, in short, were crucial for normative regimes which defined the "pure" and "impure," mapped them onto confessional differences and easily led to a heightened sense of disorder. "Radical" groups often pioneered new arrangements for the choice of marriage partners, but in marriages themselves the dominant concern remained to keep women submissive (see Crowther, Chapter 32). The privileging of marriage went hand in hand with ethnicized policies in the Dutch East Indies: the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) (United East Indies

Company) ordered that all Christians living together had to marry and forbade fathers of mixed-race children to return to Europe (see Wiesner-Hanks, Chapter 36).

At the same time, it is worth highlighting that historians of English religion point out that gender difference was not necessarily made to matter in many of their sources (see Ryrie, Chapter 3). The rise in travel literature as well as the popularity of alchemy provided competing discourses to the staple of gender ideals in sermons. Alchemy proposed that bodies could be both masculine and feminine, while global encounters provided accounts of other modes of living, which could complicate views of what should count as “natural” sexual difference (see Crowther, Chapter 32). Dutch missionaries could respect rituals of sexual maturity and indigenous practices of gendered piety (see Wiesner-Hanks, Chapter 36).

If we look at ideas about gender equality in Protestantisms more broadly, we moreover see how some spaces for women’s greater authority and different ideas about sexual difference could be created. French noblewomen often took the lead in the “Protestant self-fashioning” of their family (see Asch, Chapter 27). In Lutheran Germany, the valuation of empiricism could make it possible for elite women after the sixteenth century to gain a public role through their experience in making and freely dispensing herbal medicines for the poor (see Rankin, Chapter 35). By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Pietist and Moravian gender stereotypes became more flexible, as women were particularly attracted to the movement and active in it. An interest in genealogies which elevated the elect status of family members included women. These developments even cut across class bound conceptions, as “illiterate maidservants became visionaries, middle-class women hosted Pietist meetings, and noblewomen offered protection to persecuted radical Pietists and engaged in religious writings” (see Gleixner, Chapter 16). Women were in the majority and active participants among the settler communities in Massachusetts Bay (see Häberlein, Chapter 17).

Greater social equality was not a prime concern of mainstream Protestantism. It did nonetheless greatly care about the regulated distribution of charity for the resident poor in Europe, even though it was no longer seen as an avenue to salvation. While some of the radical communities attempted to hold all goods in common, most Protestants regarded a person’s rank and wealth as divinely ordained (see Johnson, Chapter 34). Dutch and English imperial claims were bolstered by Protestant ideology, and slavery was regarded either as irrelevant to salvation or as part of God’s yet to be revealed plan. Quakers had begun to question slavery since 1680; in 1736 Benjamin Lay systematically campaigned against it and the 1758 Philadelphia Meeting excluded those who bought and sold slaves.²¹ In Ebenezer, the recently arrived community of Austrian Protestant migrants with their Pietist minister staunchly opposed allowing enslaved Africans into colonial Georgia. Their 1739 anti-slavery petition was “one of the first of its kind in Britain’s southern colonies” and provides another testimony to the vitality of religiously informed ideas in transatlantic worlds.²²

Pursuing commerce without greed continued to be broadly legitimized, while there existed a spectrum of ideas about what constituted extravagant, superfluous spending. Contrary to Max Weber’s idea that only ceaseless work and profit to be reinvested

mattered to those among the Reformed looking for signs of their predestined election, there is now substantial evidence to indicate the reverse. Much time continued to be spent on the “continuous effort to maintain a height of spiritual ardor” and receive flashes of grace rather than relentless work. Meanwhile commodities took on moral meanings in a community’s symbolic universe, and not least provided important signals for creditworthiness (see Ryrie, Chapter 3; Johnson, Chapter 34).

There is thus every reason for a continued inquiry into a history of Protestant trade in the age of joint-stock companies and expansion as well as a history of Protestant consumption. This must include a figure such as Benjamin Franklin, whose wife one day placed a china bowl with a spoon of silver on the breakfast table. Franklin recorded that it “had cost her the enormous Sum of three and twenty Shillings, for which she had no other Excuse or Apology to make, but that she thought *her* Husband deserv’d a Silver Spoon & China Bowl as well as any of his Neighbours.”²³ Even Franklin, whom Max Weber famously thought of as a model of Protestant frugality, thus quickly succumbed to costly, shiny, and delicate things: “This,” he noted, “was the first Appearance of plate & China in our House, which afterwards in a Course of Years as our Wealth encreas’d amounted gradually to several Hundred Pounds in Value.”²⁴ Protestants in the Dutch Republic as much as in America could thus record pleasure and excitement about things as well as shame, shock, and frustration. They loaded them with extra moral meaning, so that food, for instance, could mark the increasingly more complex modes of religious encounter among Europeans in global settings, as when the Bostonian Samuel Sewell recorded in 1697 that he met a Spanish governor for breakfast: “breakfast together on Venison and Chockolatte: I said Massachuset and Mexico met at his Honour’s Table.”²⁵

How can we define then the “nature” of Protestant spiritual experience? This can still seem very much of an “undiscovered country,” but contradictory feelings once more seem to be characteristic (see Ryrie, Chapter 3). How did many Protestants live with the sense of enduring sinfulness, which gradually aged and killed the body, with that sense of being both an enemy and child of God (see Ocker, Chapter 2)? Some contributors argue that these ideas resulted in heightened collective and personal anxiety which brought with it vacillation between hope and despair (see Barnes, Chapter 4). The assurance of faith was very much designed to remain a constant struggle, so that suffering, despair, and unbelief could be seen as signs of God’s favor. Taken to extremes, spiritual life could even mean a type of “warfare with God, in which God feints disapproval while at the same time challenging and arming believers to overcome him” (see Ryrie, Chapter 3). The fact that the souls of the dead were beyond intercession raised further fears. God could no longer seem touchable, but distant, while the laity was encouraged to focus on their own state of permanent corruption, which in itself prolonged Christ’s perpetual passion (see Roodenburg, Chapter 31).

Added to this was the prominent notion that the end of times was near. Did this produce Protestants as more aggressively curious, restless, anxious, and in this sense “modern” species? (see Barnes, Chapter 4). German Pietists certainly seem to have characteristically shifted between “euphoria and melancholy” in the lyrics they found to express themselves. They tended to provide written testimonies of their penitential

struggles and conversion, which could show the effects of God in an individual's life and dwell on systematic internal self-examination. Diaries became key tools to record disciplines and spiritual renewal in this culture of individuation (see Gleixner, Chapter 16).

On the other hand it needs to be stressed that many lived forms of early modern Protestantism were community orientated and, in contrast to Catholicism, sin was not regarded as an individual failure to conform to God—it implied collective culpability (see Karant-Nunn, Chapter 20). This explains why in Scotland, as in America, there were communal fast days and prayers (see Lotz-Heumann, Chapter 33). For most Protestants listening to sermons and encountering the Bible through reading and transcribing remained crucial. The practices held out consolation and comfort as something that could be expected, and further techniques of assurance were supplied by liturgy practices through lifelong repetition, not least praying the Creed. Burial services in England and Scotland routinely held out the promise that the departed were “in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life” (see F. Heal, Chapter 12).

Music became a key element with which to express feelings and communicate with God and help in times of distress in many forms of Protestantism that practiced congregational singing or encouraged daily singing at home or at work. Calvin invested music with nearly “magical, unbound power” and it generally appeared as embodied practice through which God acted on humans. The Reformations thus were musical movements and fostered distinctive soundscapes which could serve as confessional markers (Brown, Chapter 30; Gleixner, Chapter 16). In relation to art, Lutheranism marked out confessional differences from Calvinism through its use of sensual imagery in the form of a Lutheran “baroque” of its own. A new genre of “confessional images” (*Bekenntnisbilder*) fostered a sense of unity, while pre-Reformation art could still be valued aesthetically and as memorial. Johann Arndt and his followers meanwhile believed that images and emblems could be imprinted in the soul and were certainly not subordinate to God's Word (see B. Heal, Chapter 29).

The same assumption expressed itself in England, where Foxe's best-selling *Book of Martyrs* enduringly used emotive woodcuts of steadfast preachers in flames. Services inspired new forms of “sacral looking,” which now focused on the pastor's face. His voice and its affective registers became distinctly important for a long period in many milieux. Vehement preaching was believed to shape the soul and move hearts toward faith. Weeping was quite acceptable. In England and Scotland this style was popular until it fell out of favor in the late seventeenth century, and emotions of this kind were redefined as private (see F. Heal, Chapter 12). It is quite clear, in short, that the notion that Protestants were emotionally more cool, distant, or rational during the early modern period is outdated across the Protestant spectrum. They cultivated specific sensual worlds which were invested with great meaning.

Yet sensual and spatial worlds could remain in considerable flux. Swiss bi-confessional communities which used the same church tended to negotiate at length and sometimes even for years about the use of sacred objects, such as baptismal fonts, and needed to be ready to compromise (see Head, Chapter 9). As Benjamin Kaplan has recently underlined, there was thus no steady progress toward religious toleration or what is often

termed “secularization” in Europe. The late eighteenth century still saw intense religious persecution, enlightened arguments could serve to endorse old Protestant prejudices against Catholics, and most enlightened thinkers looked for “more reasonable forms” of religious belief and practice rather than rejecting organized religion²⁶ (see also Gow/Fradkin, Chapter 14; Burgess, Chapter 5). One of the issues at stake was whether landscapes could still be seen as instruments of divine education and warning. Danish clergy were still happy to deliver spring sermons at healing wells during the eighteenth century. German Lutheran pastors by then agreed that the efficacy of waters was due to natural causes, but during earlier periods defended the notion that their healing power came directly from God and would be extended to all those approaching “holy wells” with a pious attitude (see Lotz-Heumann, Chapter 33). Religious symbols and spaces could thus be enchanted, de- as well as re-sacralized.

Such processes of renewal and reform occurred in many world religions, not simply in the West. And, as we have seen, Protestantism increasingly asserted itself as a world religion. Before 1750, Protestantism slowly expanded outside Europe, and not only in North America, where its impact was greatest. Protestants could be found in many places ranging from parts of Asia, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean. These small pockets of presence or even impact expanded only in the nineteenth century. The much more recent “booming congregations” in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, especially of Pentecostals and fundamentalists, will now shape much of the future of global Protestantism (see Wiesner-Hanks, Chapter 36). In faith communities around the world, selective adaptations of Protestant traditions and traditionalizing rituals will continue to amalgamate with new political, social, and emotional concerns in the enduring human endeavor to make a Christian God come alive.

In sum, then, this handbook examines the progress and directions of current scholarly research on the Reformation. It pays attention to the contested questions for 2017 and its aftermath: “Which Luther to remember?”; and how will different choices be made to remember, silence, or forget? Bruce Gordon explores this memory culture in detail. Gordon and Thomas Kaufmann both set out divergent assessments of Luther’s historical significance, and Kaufmann makes the strongest possible case for the “provocative” argument that without Luther there would have been no European or global Reformations. Howard Hotson, by contrast, sees Luther as a Reformer who “harnessed” much of the pre-existing energy and “channeled it into his narrower reformation while obstructing all efforts to pursue broader reforms” (see Gordon, Chapter 37; Kaufmann, Chapter 8; Hotson, Chapter 15). In the future, scholarly interpretations will continue to broaden globally and new comparative perspectives seem on the horizon. Extensive editions of Luther’s works have appeared in Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong, where Luther research for some time now has “involved an exchange between East and West, rather than an education by the West.”²⁷

This handbook also provides a much wider and novel framework for discussions which move beyond Martin Luther and Lutheranism to address questions about continuities and change in relation to much larger chronologies and geographies. It will be crucial for the next decades of scholarship to investigate religious change as multi-centric

and interconnected across Western and non-Western worlds of Protestantisms in the early modern period.

Current handbook literature on the Reformations is oddly skewed: it omits global Protestantism, and focuses entirely on the global Catholic experience. In these handbooks on the Christian world in the early modern period or the Reformation, Protestantism thus is presented as a European story.²⁸ The influential confessionalization paradigm was entirely European-based, as it explored the dual processes of state formation and confession building as part of a Western trajectory toward modernity. The point of incorporating these neglected global dimensions is that it demonstrates the vitality of varied traditions, which confronted very different institutional milieux, could significantly challenge political and cultural ideas of mainstream European faiths, and in turn reshape European Protestantisms (Figure 1.3). In Pennsylvania, for example, Quakers, Mennonites, Huguenots, Lutherans, and Calvinists from five different European nations created a pluralistic “holy experiment.”²⁹ Conceptions of the state, gender, or the supernatural could be worked out in distinctive ways; emotions were made to matter differently.



FIGURE 1.3 John Hall, 1775, after Benjamin West, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, when he founded the province of Pennsylvania in North America, 1681*, engraving, 42.55 × 58.74 cm.

By kind permission of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

All these strands form part of a history of the “long Reformation” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries properly conceived. They are at the core of the story of *European* Reformations—even in the settlement of eighteenth-century British America, for instance, German migrants were more numerous than the English.³⁰ In St. Thomas, Danish settlers battled with German Moravians, mulattos, and black slaves who quoted the Bible to challenge slavery. New scholarship can draw on the considerable interest in “connected” histories and a de-centered perspective on narratives of change located in the West³¹ (see also Crowther, Chapter 32). Questions about the nature of religious encounters among people of different Christian faiths in relation to their European traditions as well as Protestant constructions of ethnicity to pursue the ultimate universal reformation overseas in future are likely to command greater attention.³² The considerable links between Protestant centers of missionary thought across Europe and the wider world around 1700, as Bostonian clergymen could network with German Pietists in India, and the effect of encounters in North America on later encounters in Africa and the Pacific are similarly important areas of study.³³ These new perspectives show the relevance and dynamism of a rich field of Reformation scholarship for our understanding not just of the European past, but a history of the world.

NOTES

1. Martin Luther, “Preface to Erasmus Aulber, The ‘Eulenspiegel’ and Koran of the Barefoot Monks,” in Christopher Boyd Brown (ed.), *Luther’s Works*, vol. 60, *Prefaces* (St Louis, MO: Concordia, 2011), 279.
2. Leopold von Ranke, *Über die Epochen der Neueren Geschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959), 102.
3. Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3; and his contribution in “German History,” *Forum Anniversaries* 32/1 (2014): 89; an excellent guide to interpretations of the Reformation is C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
4. Jorge Canizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).
5. In Gregory’s view the Reformation was prompted by a significant divide between Christian ideals and the realities of life for most people during the later Middle Ages. In response, Lutheranism sought to strengthen the Church’s message by focusing on the Bible. However, it soon became clear that the Bible allowed different interpretations of faith. This unintentionally led to infinite conflicts among Protestants as well as between Catholics and Protestants. In turn, liberal states eventually privatized religion. This left little space for public debates about common values and more time for shopping. “In combination with the exercise of power by hegemonic, liberal states,” Gregory sums up, “a symbiosis of capitalism and consumerism is today more than anything else the cultural glue that holds together the heterogeneity of Western hyper-pluralism”—a development that has reduced human possibility: Brad Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), 21, 23, 215.

6. This is powerfully brought out by Ruth Harris's work, see her *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2008); *The Man on Devil's Island: Alfred Dreyfus and the Affair that Divided France* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2011); but also in a publication such as Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (eds.), *Culture Wars: Secular–Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
7. Birgit Meyer, "An Author Meets her Critics: Around Birgit Meyer's 'Mediation and the Genesis of Presence: Toward a Material Approach to Religion,'" *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* 5 (2014): 205–254, here esp. 205–206. This also explains why the historiography of "confessionalization" which points to the "modern" features of both early modern Catholicism and Protestantism in alliance with state-making projects seems problematic: it assumes a modernity which itself needs to be questioned and analyzed as historical concept.
8. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), here esp. 17; Asad, "Thinking about Religion, Belief, and Politics," in Robert A. Orsi (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 36–57.
9. David Maxwell, "Post-Colonial Christianity in Africa," in Hugh McLeod (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 9: *World Christianities c.1914–c.2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 401, 403, 421.
10. Sebastian C. H. Kim and Kirsten Kimm, *A History of Korean Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
11. For a contemporary approach see Tanja Luhrmann, *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship with God* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2012).
12. Interestingly, this perspective can motivate historical scholarship, as one recent historian ends a book on the art of Reformation sermons with a utopia of sorts: "The established Churches gradually lose their institutional power; the voice of the preacher re-emerges as a charismatic source of authority; and the sermon culture described in this book awakens from its long sleep"; see Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 402.
13. This paraphrases Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's immensely useful approach to scientific objectivity, and thus the interaction with the natural, in *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 52.
14. For an introduction to such approaches see Henrietta L. Moore, *Still Life: Hopes, Desire and Satisfactions* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).
15. Pascal Eitler, Bettina Hitzer, and Monique Scheer, "Feeling and Faith—Religious Emotions in German History," *German History* 32/3 (2014): 343–352.
16. See, most recently, Peter Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (eds.), *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
17. John H. Arnold (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
18. See the recent summary by Hamish Scott in Scott (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350–1750*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3, available at <<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199597260.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199597260>>, accessed July 7, 2016.
19. Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur. Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 18.

20. See Ulinka Rublack, *The Astronomer & the Witch: Johannes Kepler's Fight for His Mother* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
21. Francisco Bethencourt, *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 235–237.
22. James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4.
23. J. A. L. Lemay and P. M. Zall (eds.), *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: A Genetic Text* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 76.
24. Ibid.
25. J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 219.
26. Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Cunegonde's Kidnapping: A Story of Religious Conflict in the Age of the Enlightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), esp. 13–16.
27. Pilgrim W. K. Lo, “Luther and Asia,” in Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel, and Lubomir Batka (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 613. The volume also includes contributions on Lutheranism in Africa and Latin America.
28. See, for instance, R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol 6: *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); or Marshall, *Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*.
29. Elliott, *Empires*, 213—a rare comparative history.
30. Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery*, 6.
31. Ibid., 12. Melton's book is a model of this approach.
32. The seventeenth-century clergyman John Beale, for one, wrote to the natural philosopher Robert Boyle that hard-breeding Protestant Scotsmen should bring reformed religion to America, resist the lure of luxury trade, and bring greatness to the Stuarts—for an exemplary article on the link between natural philosophy, global missionizing, and trade politics, see Gabriel Glickman, “Protestantism, Colonization, and the New England Company in Restoration Politics,” *The Historical Journal* 59/2 (2016): 365–392.
33. Philip D. Morgan, “Encounters between British and ‘Indigenous’ Peoples, ca.1500–ca.1800,” in Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern (eds.), *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 58; and on the contacts of clergymen across continents, Glickman, “Protestantism,” 389.

FURTHER READING

- Arnold, John (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Asad, Talal. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Bamji, Alexandra, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (eds.) *The Ashgate Companion to the Counter-Reformation*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Dixon, C. Scott. *Protestants: A History from Wittenberg to Pennsylvania 1517–1740*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

- Hsia, R. Po-Chia (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol.6: *Reform and Expansion 1500–1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Kaplan, Benjamin J. *Cunegonde's Kidnapping: A Story of Religious Conflict in the Age of the Enlightenment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Karant-Nunn, Susan. *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping Religious Emotion in Early Modern Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Kolb, Robert, Irene Dingel, and L'ubomir Batka (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Melton, James Van Horn. *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Pestana, Carla Gardina. *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- Rublack, Ulinka. *Reformation Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Ryrie, Alec. *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Sensbach, Jon F. *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

PART I

THE NEW THEOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

EXPLAINING EVIL AND GRACE

CHRISTOPHER OCKER

FOR thirty years, Adam, the first man, lived a carefree life with his wife Eve in a garden of pleasure—Paradise—when the Devil came disguised as a serpent to tempt them. They took fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil against God’s explicit command. Suddenly awakened to their nakedness, they covered themselves in shame. An archangel drove them out of the garden. From then on, women gave birth in great pain and lived subject to men. Adam was condemned, together with his descendants, to cultivate his food by hard labor for the rest of time (Figure 2.1).

Humanity enjoyed a mere thirty-year generation of uninterrupted, God-intended bliss. Their descendants were condemned to a degraded misery.¹ So goes the familiar story in the version of Hartmann Schedel (d. 1514), compiler of the lavishly illustrated *Liber chronicarum* (1493), near the beginning of his history of the world.

More than a century passed before European scholars in any number believed that Adam and Eve might be only two of many human progenitors, relativizing the impact of their sin; or that the story might be an ancient myth, eliminating the historical argument for why humans are depraved.² At the end of the Middle Ages, all through the Reformation, everyone was to be a child of this couple, designed as perfectly good, plagued by corruptible bodies, leaning instinctively toward evil from birth, destined to eternal punishment—unless Christ’s redeeming sacrifice were received as a gift of God’s grace. This was the storied moral binary of a majority religion.³

Of course, Luther uniquely disrupted traditional practices and beliefs.⁴ His followers applied and adapted his arguments for “justification by faith alone” to support several elements of a reform platform, breaking down barriers to the free flow of grace: the elimination of penance as a sacrament, a reconceptualized Eucharist, the reconstruction of the priesthood into a non-intercessory pastoral office, and a reorganization of clergy that eliminated popes and bishops as conduits of sacramental power. Catholic scholars certainly defended tradition, refining earlier scholastic arguments to describe “justification” as a process by which the gift of grace heals or embellishes

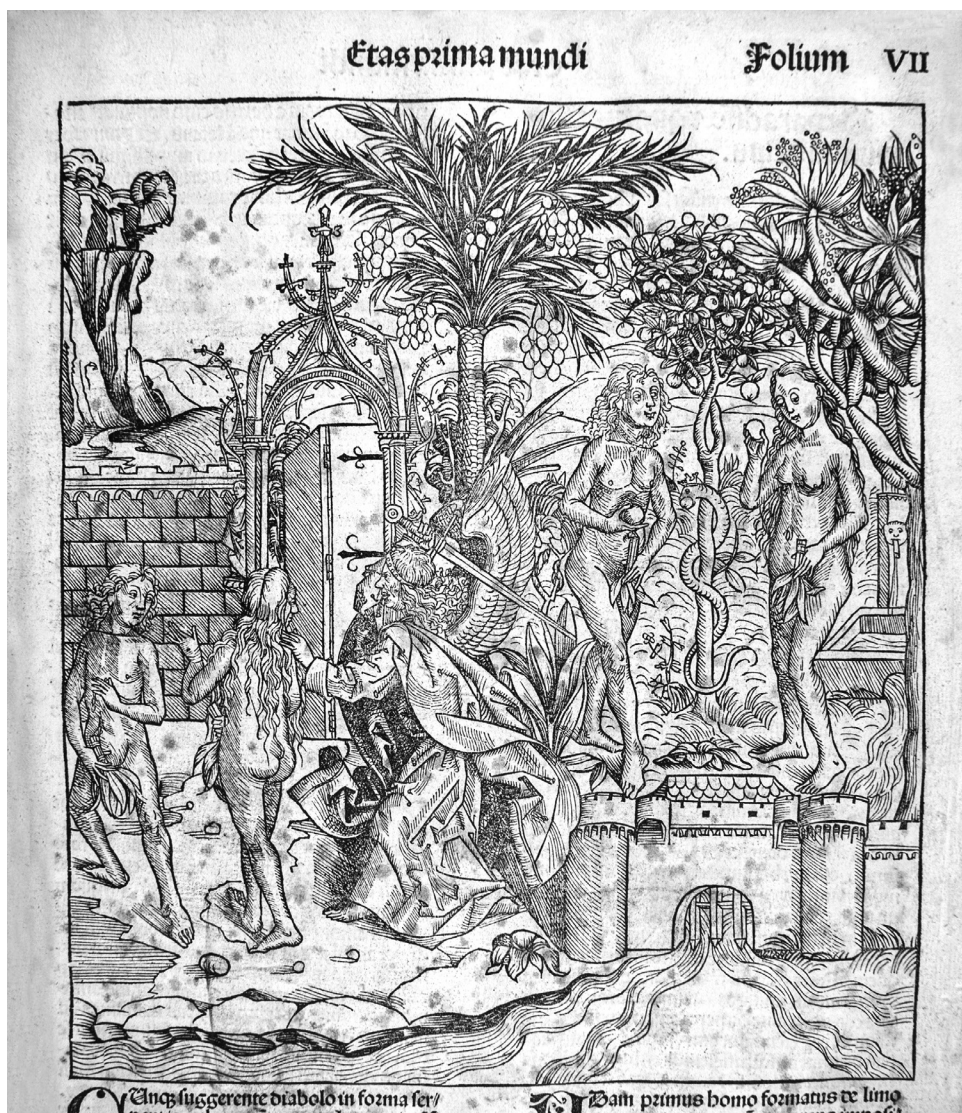


FIGURE 2.1 Adam and Eve, choose to eat fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in their plush garden (right), then are expelled from Paradise (left). Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), f. 7r.

By permission of the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge.

human moral powers, and they went beyond late medieval practices to renew the church spiritually, in part to undermine Protestant appeal. The depth and vigor of polemic between the “confessions” can hardly be exaggerated. Intellectuals, most of whom were clergy teaching in schools or working in the retinues of popes, prince-bishops, princes, bishops, and cities, drew on the combined arsenals of scholasticism and Humanism to formulate and refine their competing “confessional” positions.

They fought by pen and podium to separate cities, territories, and kingdoms into competing religious camps.

But Catholic and Protestant theologians also agreed about many things.⁵ They agreed that Adam and Eve were created physically and morally flawless, with painless bodies that would not grow old or die; that the progenitors should have propagated a flawless species; that they enjoyed exceptional knowledge and complete mastery over the natural world; that they lived non-violently in a perfectly balanced environment, an actual garden located somewhere on earth; and that they possessed strong, persistent willpower, allowing them to choose freely to continue in this moral condition of “original righteousness” forever. Catholic and Protestant theologians agreed that God’s command not to eat of the fruit of a particular tree was an arbitrary proof of obedience; that the original human parents were tempted by an actual snake; that this temptation was a textbook case of deception; and that after Adam and Eve sinned, their descendants inherited both the guilt and the penalty for committing it. Official opinion on both sides said original sin is transmitted through lineage, not by imitation, and human sinfulness could only be remedied by divine grace. They agreed that Jesus did not inherit original sin, by virtue of his mother Mary’s virginal conception. Both parties of theologians were willing to regard those who denied any of these agreements, such as the followers of Faustus Socinus (d. 1604), as religious criminals.

In addition to these converging opinions, Protestant and Catholic scholars discussed some of the same open questions within their separate camps. They debated whether the original transgression involved: contempt for God’s Word, doubt, distrust, pride, disobedience, murder (by causing their progeny’s death), theft, rivalry, concupiscence, Adam’s wrongful submission to his wife, Eve’s failure to be subordinate to her husband, and/or demonic deception. They considered whether Adam or Eve’s sin was the worst in human history, and they argued between at least four different theories of the creation of individual souls.⁶ Above all, they struggled among their own to agree on the exact relationship of divine agency and human will in moral action.

The process of Protestant–Catholic differentiation, so important on the whole, does not explain the entire effect of the religious controversy on an older moral system. It took time to reconfigure an established ethical culture, if that is what theologians were meaning to do.

A SCHOLASTIC BACKGROUND

Theological innovations of the sixteenth century stand on two distinctly Western–Christian notions about evil and goodness: that evil is an inherited trait (original sin) and that being good requires divine aid (a gift of grace).⁷ Implicit here is an inverse proportion of human moral disability to divine agency. The more disabled, the more constant and unilateral was God’s intervention with grace. The more autonomous the human power of volition, the more collaborative was God’s grace with nature.

EVIL

People bore the marks of an ancient crime in their living bodies. To explain the inherited disability, theologians, since the rise of universities in the late twelfth century, defined the trait of sin in negative terms, either as a “privation” of being, rather than a “substance,” or as a privation of rectitude.⁸ Either way, it was a morbid quality in the soul, and original sin aged and killed the body while amplifying physical desires. Desire, *concupiscentia*, and death bespoke the primeval origin of evil.

Adam and Eve’s transgression, like every subsequent human sin, violated an infinite God’s perfect dominion, argued Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), the early adapter of logic to theological uses in the west. The offense must be measured by the rights of the offended party, a perfectly just and infinite God. It was a transgression of infinite dimension.⁹ Transmitted to all Adam’s descendants (*in quo omnes peccaverunt*, Romans 5:12 Vulgate), it was why all people tend to be bad.¹⁰ The descendants were also guiltworthy, responsible for paying a debt they could never repay; nor could perfect justice stand if the debt were blindly forgiven. Only God as a human could satisfy a perfect and infinite God.

Medieval theologians argued that people were restored to a condition of righteousness by having Christ’s flawless life or innocent death accepted by God as satisfaction for sins, or sinners were restored by following Christ’s moral example. These two theories, of “satisfaction” (or “penal substitution”) and “moral influence,” developed by Anselm and Peter Abelard (d. 1142) respectively (and often contrasted by theologians in the nineteenth century and today), were elaborated in many ways by medieval and early modern scholars. Most began with theories of satisfaction (Abelard himself did not deny it).¹¹

European theologians also agreed that through the sacrament of baptism (a ritual application of grace), a human being, normally an infant, is freed from eternal punishment as a gift of divine grace, but concupiscence lingers as the persistent desire to do wrong.¹² In Paradise, Adam and Eve enjoyed moral perfection, an “original righteousness.” Evil began with the loss of this condition. Take righteousness away and bodily desires run wild. Aristotle’s psychology then helped medieval scholars describe physical desire as a constant potentiality, even in Paradise before sin, and they traced evil actions to judgments between information, calculations, and wants. Some, most famously the Franciscan John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), a master of theology at Oxford and Paris of extraordinary influence, insisted that Adam and Eve in the state of innocence received a gift of grace to help preserve their original righteousness.¹³

GRACE

Grace was simply the remedy for evil. A strong consensus regarded grace as a real thing, a substance, transmitted by sacraments and other pious practices to living, ensouled

bodies. Grace was “infused” at baptism and when the Eucharist is eaten, and given in other sacraments for special purposes, such as priesthood or marriage or death, or nurtured by means of pious deeds and practices. It transformed the self from transgressor to righteous or just: “what else are the justified but those who have been made righteous (*iusti facti*), namely, by him [God] who justifies the ungodly so that the ungodly becomes a righteous person?”¹⁴ According to Peter Lombard’s (d. 1160) topical collection of opinions, the *Four Books of Sentences*, which served as one of two principal base texts of lectures in medieval theology faculties (the other text was the Bible), an endowment of *caritas* effected the return from evil to righteousness. To Lombard, on the strength of passages in the writings of the apostle Paul, this gift of grace, given at baptism, was actually an inpouring of the Holy Spirit and a prerequisite to any active and effective exercise of faith.¹⁵ Such an “infused” faith “by which” (*fides qua*) a person believes was also meritorious, that is, it had tangible, positive moral value, in contrast with mere “belief that” (*fides quae*) the articles of faith are true. All other meritorious virtues stem from Spirit/love, divine affinity, injected right into the corrupt soul.

Three principal variations of Lombard’s concept of infused, enabling grace grew with scholasticism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Theologians variously stressed the role of free will and contrition (Bonaventure, d. 1274), contrition (John Duns Scotus, d. 1308), or the infusion of grace (Thomas Aquinas, d. 1274).¹⁶ The Dominican Aquinas emphasized the priority of the divine gift, but he insisted it was a *qualitas* in the soul that produces faith and a *habitus* of virtue. This virtue comes without any prior cause: it is simply an expression of divine will, or election, although a soul must be “disposed” to receive it. Aquinas, like Lombard and others, called the entire process (the initial gift of grace, the remission of sin, and the effects of the “operating grace” apparent in the faith, love, and penance of a Christian person) justification.¹⁷ The Franciscan Scotus agreed that grace is an infused habit given by God, but he stressed human moral capacity by insisting that a sinner can prepare for grace *ex puris naturalibus*, by natural power alone, while conceding that grace is routinely necessary to preserve goodness, even in the Garden of Eden, where a *donum superadditum* helped Adam and Eve remain righteous. In addition, Scotus argued that both the gift of grace and a person’s cooperation with it depended ultimately upon God’s free choice to accept the sinner as gracious. He even speculated that, *de potentia absoluta* (that is, as a matter of logical possibility but not in the actual world that God has ordained), mortal sin and grace could coexist and that sins could be forgiven without the infusion of grace; in fact, God *could* also refuse to reward deeds performed with the aid of *caritas* (this was based on his principle that a natural cause cannot limit or restrict how an infinite God acts).¹⁸ Grace comes from beyond natural order but works within the natural order. Scotus’s younger contemporary, the Franciscan Pierre Aureol (d. 1322), pressed the discussion of grace in a still more anthropocentric direction, when he argued that *caritas* infused in the soul pleases God *ex natura res* and *de necessitate*, such that a person with *caritas* necessarily merits eternal life, and that even *de potentia absoluta*, no one can merit eternal life without *caritas*.¹⁹ Grace, in this perspective, is subject to natural order.

Scotus's speculations about moral action *ex puris naturalibus* and Aureol's absolute natural order illustrate an early point in prolonged debate over nature and grace. To expose the powers and limitations of a grace-substance, scholars commonly discussed at least seven distinct sets of contrasting forms or modalities: "created and uncreated grace," "grace given gratis and grace that makes gracious," "operating grace and cooperating grace," etc., each set juxtaposing the agency of divine giver and human recipient by subtle degrees.²⁰ Arguments built with these terms were generously ridiculed by Luther and Erasmus. But there were few alternatives to fighting over the conditions and implications of the forms of grace in late medieval schools. Radical alternatives to this approach were few, such as the opinion of Uthred of Boldon, an Oxford master active in the late 1350s, who reconceived grace as a "relation," not a substance at all.²¹ William Ockham (d. 1347) experimented with the idea that God could override the ordinary mechanism of grace by sheer power, *de potentia absoluta*, accepting a sinner by pure act of will; but this, as Alistair McGrath has emphasized, was a hypothetical exercise.²² He was more famously thought to argue that gifts of grace were predicated on meritorious acts of will. Along with the contrasting forms of grace came the question of moral merit and worth: does the penitent's action have intrinsic moral value (*meritum de condigno*), or does it have partial value, as a limited, maybe minuscule pledge toward future moral growth (*meritum de congruo*)? In this as in all subjects, late medieval scholars were trained to argue creatively from their sources, and the best freely did.

AGENCY

Linked to the question of grace was a question of divine agency. The Dominican Aquinas and others, especially scholars in the Augustinian Order, such as the Parisian masters Thomas of Strasbourg (d. 1357) and Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358), and eventually Martin Luther (d. 1546), each in distinct ways argued that divine choice must precede any consideration of future merit or worthiness. God gives grace freely in an act of premeditated love, unconditioned by human dispositions or choices. In this way of thinking, God's beneficiaries were predestined to receive grace without any consideration of their worthiness or interest; whether or how remained an ongoing debate in Martin Luther's religious order, where opinion usually stood close to Aquinas.²³ A complex logic explored alternative emphases on divine and human moral agency. Some, especially Franciscans, argued the possibility of human beings initiating the gift of grace, either by appealing to God's freedom to accept such actions as meritorious (Scotus) or by appealing to God's foreknowledge of future moral dispositions and actions (as William Ockham was, perhaps wrongly, said to argue).²⁴

The varieties of grace, natural moral power, original sin, and divine agency formed a fourteenth-century storehouse of ideas from which scholars studying evil and grace drew for more than three hundred years. A shrewd Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (d. 1716), looking back over the Reformation, reduced this tangle to its quintessence: a debate

between just two positions on the relationship of divine agency to future contingent actions.²⁵ But theologians were bound to a tangle of religious concerns. How was the flow of grace set in motion? What exactly did grace change and how? What exactly were the divine and human actions that healed the morbid self?

There were three general sets of contested opinions before the Reformation. Dominican and Augustinian friars variously emphasized God as the initial cause of grace and virtue as the outcome of human cooperation with God's free gift. Franciscans and others emphasized human initiative and natural preparation for grace. And some theologians debated whether God is bound by the natural order to reward merit or does so as a free act of acceptance. Beneath it all was the challenge of describing the connections between nature and grace, human and divine action, a problem imposed by the limitlessness of traditional monotheistic concepts of God.

LUTHER

Luther modified two medieval ideas. First, he amplified and extended the effects of inherited evil. Beginning with his sermon on the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1514, three years before his conflict with the papacy began, he started to describe original sin and concupiscence as one and the same thing, returning to pre-scholastic usage.²⁶ Furthermore, he came to believe that not only the carnal desires associated with original sin but also personal guilt for Adam's deed remained in all people until death, whether they received the sacraments or not. Luther argued that original sin creates a *corruptio naturae* that disables reason, will, and emotion from doing good in a manner that can contribute to salvation, leaving all people incapable of *iustitia coram Deo*, "righteousness before God." In 1515, he reiterated the point in connection with his interpretation of St. Paul's Letter to the Romans. "Can a person be perfectly just? No. A person is at once a sinner and just (*simul peccator et iustus*), a sinner by actual deed, and just by a certain consideration and promise of God, that God could liberate (*liberet*) one from sin, until one is perfectly healed."²⁷ Perfect healing is always future to mortals—a healing "in hope" of a sinner "in fact" (*in re*). This conviction of lifelong unrighteousness and the alien source of goodness before God helped Luther develop his critique of indulgences and his rejection of a priest's divine authority to pronounce the forgiveness of sins—a priest's penitential power—in 1517 and 1518 for the first time with true clarity. The soul must always be desperate for the grace it receives by believing God's mere promise. Grace preserves, remains predicated upon, this lifelong, desperate need. In the words of Philip Melancthon's Augsburg Confession, "after Adam's Fall all human beings . . . in the mother's body and after, are entirely full of evil desire and addiction and can have, by nature, no true divine fruit, no true faith in God."²⁸

His second modification of medieval ideas follows from this. He made God's agency absolute in the remedy to sin. In *The Bondage of the Will*, Luther's famous 1525 rebuttal of Desiderius Erasmus's moral theology, he argued that evil constrained human nature

“necessarily” (but without compulsion, *non coacte*) to make sinful choices, unless one is under the direct influence of the Holy Spirit.²⁹ Only God’s choice could cause this spiritual gift. A divine “predestination and foreknowledge” determines not only who would be saved but the course of all events, Luther argued, expanding the idea of predestination beyond his predecessor’s in the Augustinian Order, Gregory of Rimini, author of one of the most theocentric theories of grace in the late Middle Ages. Luther adamantly rejected the more naturalistic speculations of medieval Franciscan theologians, but he also viewed Aquinas as a defender of autonomous moral power, perhaps relying on Gabriel Biel’s misleading presentation of the famous Dominican.³⁰

Reflecting back on the beginning of the religious controversy near the end of his life, Luther pointed to the importance of a particular concept, which he called “passive justice” (*iustitia passiva*). He claimed that righteousness, in St. Paul’s usage, refers not to an active but to a passive moral quality of human personality.³¹ A believer is *iustus* by faith alone; or in the Pauline phrase, *iustus ex fide vivit*, “the just shall live by faith” (Romans 1:17). The Pauline concept of righteousness refers not to a quality but to a relation, a state of “being in” or “existing toward”—not an internal possession.³² It is “imputed” to, never cultivated within, the just man or woman. And the person accepted as “just” by God remains evil, “a Christian person is at once just and a sinner (*simul iustus et peccator*), holy, profane, an enemy and a child of God,” as Luther famously said in 1531.³³

Luther first began to use the concept of *iustitia passiva*, although not the phrase, in the long series of lectures he gave at Wittenberg on the Psalms, from 1513 to 1516, three years before the religious controversy began. It appeared there alongside his revision of original sin and other reworked concepts—faith, imputation, promise, gospel, law, merit, grace, and human freedom.³⁴ He also adapted a medieval mystical theme of passive resignation to God (*Gelassenheit*) as he tried to find confidence in his pursuit of perfection.³⁵ In 1517, the concept of passive justification encouraged Luther’s rejection of indulgences, and it framed his criticisms of tradition during the quickly escalating controversy with other theologians and the papacy in 1518 and 1519. When Luther turned against “non-evangelical” monasticism in 1521, the concept of justification helped him see his own changing position as a stage in the conversion he began as a monk.³⁶ The new concept of justification removed an ethics of virtue from the realm of spiritual formation: being good could in no way help free a person from divine punishment or give the penitent confidence in God’s grace. One could only believe that God’s promises to forgive, accept, and receive the follower of Christ are true. Assurance came purely from faith, itself a gift given by God and produced by the action of the Holy Spirit.

Luther created a new binary, a new theoretical extreme. Permanent moral injury and guilt were coupled with grace as a unilateral gift. Grace was separated from any reciprocal exchange between heaven and earth.

This was a bold innovation, or rediscovery, as Luther’s followers would say. If passive justice was the axiom of a Protestant ideology of reform, it emptied monasteries,

destroyed shrines, reduced and repositioned the means and media of divine power, recalibrated the measure of holiness, reconfigured emotions, and more. For or against, each side of the controversy over Luther had much to study and defend.

“FORENSIC” JUSTIFICATION

The indictment against mortal human nature was repeated and paraphrased frequently in Protestant confessional documents, all equally dire. The vast majority of Protestants, including most Anabaptists and even esoteric writers like Jakob Boehme, followed Luther's identification of original sin with concupiscence, and they agreed that this sinfulness continued throughout mortal life. Enduring sinfulness became a distinctive element of all Protestant theology. The solution to evil had to come from outside. In a sharp restatement of Luther's concept of *iustitia passiva*, Protestant theologians often described justification as “forensic,” “‘to justify’ signifies here [in St. Paul's usage] not making a just person out of a wicked person but pronouncing a person just in the usage of the court (*in usu forensi*).”³⁷ Philip Melanchthon (d. 1560) originated the idea. Most Protestants accepted it. Although the two biblical sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, remained tangible “means of grace,” in John Calvin's (d. 1564) famous phrase, their power depended on the promise communicated or on the atonement symbolically represented by them *and* the faith of the person receiving them, not on an intrinsic power in the physical sacrament created by a priest performing the rite. The media transmitting grace and the action of receiving it were distinct from the judicial declaration of forgiveness, justification—distinct from grace. In this manner, the new theologian demoted the priest and his rites. God, it seemed, was distinguished from the world by a generous, transcendent splendor.

Yet, tensions between nature and grace persisted among Protestants. A range of controversies suggest how the strain between embodied holiness on earth and alien righteousness from heaven diversified and grew over the course of the sixteenth century, for example, in conflicts about: the extent and mechanisms of publicly enforced religious discipline in south German and Swiss cities; the status of moral law in Christian life; the concept of participation in Christ's righteousness (after the *imputation* of righteousness); liturgical and theological compromises imposed by the Imperial Diet after Protestants lost the War of Schmalkalden; the mystical theology of the Queen of Navarre Marguerite d'Angoulême; Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants in the early Dutch Republic; and the Academy of Saumur during the Jesuit-centered, Catholic renewal cultivated by Cardinal Richelieu in France.³⁸ By the end of the sixteenth century, Protestant theologians were keenly sensitive to the gradations of moral power. To the most theocentrically anxious theologians, the “Reformed Orthodox” but also “Gnesio-Lutherans,” a tiny element of contingent, human input in the overall process of salvation could ignite furious debate.

POWERS OF SELF

More intriguing still, to the medievalist at least, Protestants of all stripes found ways to describe a person's moral apparatus positively, as a natural component of the living, ensouled body. Martin Luther insisted that a believer, and the gift of faith, exist "in Christ," citing another common Pauline phrase, in which condition a believer wants to do good as an overflowing expression of gratitude. He divorced this from the language of virtue. Melanchthon carried over Luther's distinction between justification and the transformation of the soul, but he was perfectly at ease with virtue, and like scholastic theologians since Peter Lombard, he admitted that supernatural virtues follow grace.³⁹ To him, the body's natural affections, its natural *concupiscentia*, were morally neutral, their dishevelment (ἀταξία *omnium affectionum*) renders natural concupiscence bad.⁴⁰ He emphasized the freedom of the will under divine influence to decide between right and wrong, and he, like John Calvin, granted moral law a positive function in spiritual life: "the law is to be promoted to the reborn, that it may teach certain works in which God wants us to exercise obedience." Both he and Calvin used Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* in ways comparable to late medieval commentators.⁴¹ In fact, among Protestant scholars of all kinds, as among their Catholic peers, there emerged over the course of the sixteenth century some dozen Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic ways to conceptualize moral weakness and its remedies.⁴² The effects of grace, in other words, were still being analyzed in their natural human domain.

William Tyndale (d. 1536) fully embraced the Lutheran concept of imputed passive justice, but he never saw the imputation of righteousness and moral renewal as opposites;⁴³ nor did later Puritans or, presumably, their influences (Calvin, the Zurich reformer Heinrich Bullinger, and Reformed Orthodox theologians on the Continent). Puritans were keen on the idea of the imputation of an alien, external righteousness, "a mental boundary that divided true reformed Protestants from works-righteous papists."⁴⁴ But their stress on biblical covenants as the model of divine-human interaction placed moral obedience and virtue at the center of religiosity. They were ready to pounce on anyone setting grace against moral law.⁴⁵

LEXICAL BORROWING

Protestants could allude to the proximity of their vocabulary to a medieval Catholic lexicon. Justification by faith, according to the Augsburg Confession, blossomed as justification by faith formed by love, a clear allusion to the Pauline phrase central in Peter Lombard's discussion of "infused grace," as long as love is understood as a "relative noun," not a substance or endowment poured into the soul.⁴⁶ The religious

use of the term *iustus* in the Bible could refer to both passive justice “imputed” at baptism and “inherent” justice after, according to Protestant and Catholic theologians in their famous agreement on “double justification” at the Diet of Regensburg (1541).⁴⁷ Political circumstances encouraged theologians to collate opinions they would rather have juxtaposed. Johannes Brenz (d. 1570), Lutheran theologian in the retinue of the Protestant Duke of Württemberg, criticized the re-Catholicizing Augsburg Interim’s (1548) notions of faith, grace, and merit.⁴⁸ He also said the justified should exercise the supernatural virtues of faith, hope, and love and do good works by the favor and grace of God, alluding to a doctrine common among Catholic theologians since Peter Lombard. Martin Chemnitz (d. 1586), one of the two most influential Lutheran theologians of the later sixteenth century, described a person’s communion with God as a kind of participation in the union of divine and human in Christ, alongside the imputation of Christ’s alien righteousness, and he used medieval scholastic language to describe a sequence of experiences of grace in the soul: the purely divine disposition toward human beings (*gratia praeveniens*), a divine action preparing a person to believe (*gratia praeeparans*), and a divine influence over human dispositions and behavior (*gratia operans*).⁴⁹

In the Elizabethan church, the enemy of the Puritan’s doctrine of predestination looked popish (Peter Baro, d. 1599).⁵⁰ Yet the Puritan emphasized the methodical pursuit of virtue after grace, matching the rigor of Jesuit casuistry in an evangelical mode (William Perkins, d. 1602) or adapting the medieval distinctions of “grace freely given” (*gratia gratis data*) and “grace making acceptable” (*gratia gratis faciens*) (William Whitaker, d. 1595).⁵¹ “We do not disallow the philosophy of your schoolmen,” said Whitaker to the Catholic reader. Then he repeated the distinction between a first justice imputed to the sinner and a second justice of infused virtues, alluding to the concept of double justification agreed at Regensburg. Broad church Calvinists like Richard Hooker (d. 1600), dismissive of Calvin and Perkin’s predestinarianism, were comfortable with Aquinas and Aristotle—all this in a vibrantly anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish Habsburg environment where doctrines continued to serve “myriad political narratives” for years to come.⁵² One can discern, among Luther’s followers, the adaptations of a medieval ethics of virtue.

In these controversies, the Protestant repertoire of interlinked arguments illustrating and explaining evil and grace grew, energized not only by Luther’s discovery of passive righteousness but by Catholic accusations of antinomianism. By century’s end the new Protestant repertoire included sequences of arguments about the powers and relationships of intellect and will, divine decrees, the relation of God’s knowledge and will, the connections of divine action to God’s being, and the biblical diction, in Hebrew, Greek, and “Chaldean” (Aramaic), that supported a theologian’s standpoints. They argued about nature and grace like never before. When the Reformation was said and done, Protestant theologians expanded the theological vocabulary of human nature and divine grace. They extended a debate that had begun with the rise of universities three hundred years before Luther was born!

CATHOLICS

Cardinal Wolsey read the papal condemnation of Luther, *Exsurge Domine*, and burned several of the heretic's books in St. Paul's churchyard, London, on May 12, 1521. The Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher (d. 1535), then preached a sermon. He said, the "one grete grounde of Martyn Luther" is that "faythe alone withouten workes doth Iustifye a synner. Vpon y^e whiche ground he byldeth many other erroneous artycles."⁵³ *Exsurge Domine* alluded to Luther's doctrines of original sin and justification, but the condemnation centered on his criticisms of penance. Scholars pointed to Luther's critique of active righteousness as the lynchpin of criticisms Luther meant it to be. The accusers included reform-minded scholastics, friends of Humanists, Humanists, quasi-Humanist scholastics, and of course high churchmen.⁵⁴ So it would be in Catholic theology up to the twentieth century. No clearer dichotomy can be imagined: orthodox versus heretic, Catholic versus Lutheran, at the matter of evil and grace.

Yet between the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 and the end of the first period of the Council of Trent (1547), while the religious controversy seemed to linger in an unsettled transition state, prominent Catholic intellectuals took positions approximating Luther's own. Theirs has often been called a mediating, Erasmian stance, and Erasmus certainly represented it. He, too, discovered "a true and new grace, that is the free gift of the truly justifying faith of the gospel" in Paul's Letter to the Romans.⁵⁵ Although he rejected Luther's concept of the bondage of human choice to evil, Erasmus also worried over monks and theologians "who attribute too much to man's merits." Moreover, from 1527 to the end of his life in 1536, through the later editions of his *Paraphrases* and *Annotations*, he increasingly emphasized the role of faith and the uselessness of good works in justification, approximating Luther's interpretation of key New Testament terms and phrases, to support authentic goodness and the trim, Christ-centered spirituality Erasmus promoted from his earliest writings.⁵⁶ In spite of Erasmus's "charming and very agreeable intellect," one could wonder—people did wonder—that "either Erasmus Lutherizes or Luther Erasmizes" (*aut Erasmus Lutherizat, aut Lutherus Erasmizat*), in the concerned and polemical report of the Jesuit Peter Canisius (d. 1597).

Italian *Humanists* began accusing Erasmus of instigating Luther's rebellion as early as the 1520s. Juan de Valdés (d. 1541) kept an Erasmian read of Paul alive in the sodality of *spirituali* around the Colonna heiress Giulia Gonzaga (d. 1566) and the influential clergy at the court of Pope Paul III (Gasparo Contarini, Jacobo Sadoletto, Reginald Pole, Pietro Bembo, Giovanni Morone).⁵⁷ Valdes also wrote a commentary on Romans to support Contarini's team negotiating with Protestants at the Diet of Regensburg in the year he died. It relied heavily on Erasmus.⁵⁸ But suspicion never abated. By the publication of Pope Paul IV's Index of Prohibited Books (1559) with Erasmus's name on it (in the all-books-prohibited category), a line had been drawn, even though a vigilantly orthodox theologian had trouble putting those biblical and patristic commentaries and editions aside.

DOUBLE JUSTICE

Before the line was drawn, Catholic scholars experimented. Johannes Gropper (d. 1559), a Cologne theologian, developed a concept of “double justice” in his *Enchiridion christianae institutionis* (1538), drawing on the fifteenth-century Augustinian, Jacobo Perez of Valencia and perhaps also the late Dominican Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (d. 1534).⁵⁹ It was the source of the “double justification” doctrine accepted by theologians of the old and new faith at the Diet of Regensburg, including old friends of Valdes: Gasparo Contarini (d. 1542), papal legate to the Diet; Giovanni Morone (d. 1580), papal diplomat and future organizer of the Council of Trent; Albert Pighius (d. 1542), Gropper’s more famous teacher at the University of Cologne; Julius Pflug (d. 1564), the former jurist of the old-faith defender Duke Georg of Saxony; not to mention the Protestants Martin Bucer (d. 1551), Philip Melancthon, and even, in a way, the uncompromising John Calvin, who wrote comfortably of a “double grace.”

Pope Paul III rejected the Regensburg Colloquy’s agreement on justification, but a Catholic mediating theology survived the condemnation. The issue was, could Catholic theology make place for passive justice, the axiom on which Protestant redefinitions of grace depended? Albert Pighius published two books in the year of his death. These suggest the parameters of Catholic experiment in the turbulent days preceding the Council of Trent (1545–1563). One book, *De libero arbitrio* (1542), attacked Calvin to defend the will’s natural moral sovereignty.⁶⁰ Another book, a report of the Regensburg Colloquy, defended a doctrine of double justice, which, at least to one of his Cologne colleagues, was influenced by John Calvin himself.

Pighius noted that the issue was *justitia* not within the Holy Trinity or in humans among themselves but in people before God (*in creaturis, hominibus coram Deo*, as an anonymous reader pointed out, Figure 2.2). Justice in humans before God may refer to God’s punishment of sin (*iustitia per contentionem*). But it may also refer to a justice that *corresponds* to a divine standard (*iustitia per correspondentiam*). This “justice by corresponding” is manifest either as “the absolute and most perfect correspondence to God’s rule” (*ad suam regulam . . . absolutam et perfectissimam*, in the marginalia), which since the fall of Adam and Eve only God incarnate achieved, or as a relative correspondence accommodated to human frailty (*ad suam regulam . . . quatenus nostrae infirmitati attemperata [iustitia] est*). At this point, Pighius made a large concession. He argued that justice so qualified involves imputed righteousness, “in him (Christ) we are justified before God, not in ourselves; not our righteousness but his, which is imputed to us with him when we are participating in him.”⁶¹ Gesturing toward the new faith, Pighius said that imputed righteousness comes by faith. But those with faith always intend to fulfill God’s commands. Faith merely begins conversion. And good works are meritorious by virtue of God’s acceptance, not because God is indebted to doers of good. It was a both/and formula, nature and grace, with passive justice worked in.

The Gropper-Pighius doctrine of double justice contributed to the evangelical Catholicism that almost brought the Elector Prince-Bishop of Cologne, Hermann

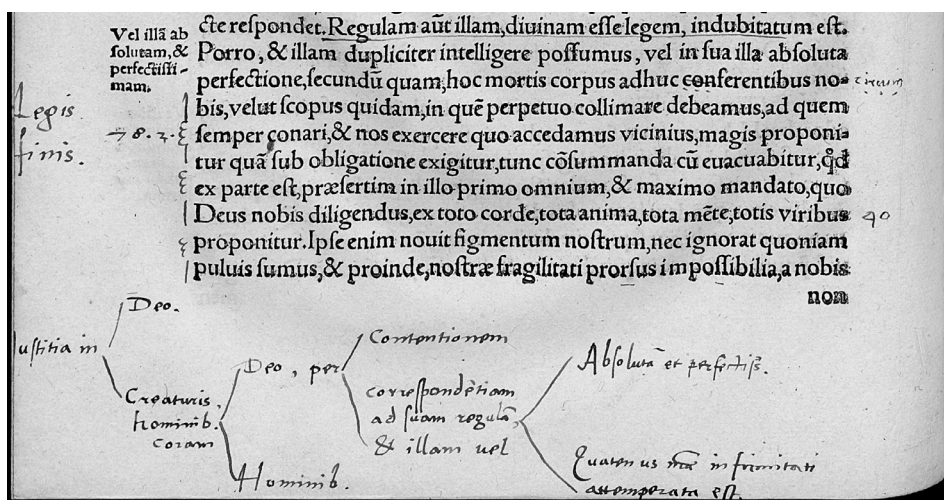


FIGURE 2.2 Anonymous notes in a contemporary hand outlining Pighius's *Controversiarum praecipuarum in comitiis Ratisponensibus tractarum* sign. F6(v).

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—PK/Abteilung Historische Drucke/Signatur: 4° Dg 3738: S16.

of Wied, into the Protestant party in 1545 and 1546.⁶² Less influential scholars also embraced it (the Catholic schoolmaster in Zwiefalten, Bernhard Ott) or reconciled a Lutheran form of justifying faith to the sacrament of penance (the Franciscan cathedral preacher of Mainz, Johannes Wild, d. 1554) or adapted justifying faith to the freedom of the will (the Catholic teacher in the Protestant *gymnasium illustre* at Dortmund, Jacob Schoepper, d. 1554) or adapted it to the gamut of traditional devotional practices (the former Lutheran Georg Witzel, d. 1573). Julius Pflug went on to play a central role in negotiations with Melancthon over the Augsburg Interim, accepting a basically Protestant concept of justification in exchange for concessions on Catholic rites and hierarchy. For a while, Catholic experiments with justification were trickling down and spread.

LEXICAL CLEANSING

Other Catholics were leery. Were not Protestants anxious to claim that Contarini accepted Protestant doctrine?⁶³ One of the Italian *spirituali*, Bernardino Ochino (d. 1564), claimed it was the cardinal's private report of the Regensburg colloquy that encouraged him to flee Italy for Geneva, and another, Pietro Martiri Vermigli (d. 1562), was said to have run to Zurich and Strasbourg after hearing Contarini tell his story.⁶⁴ Both became prominent among continental reformers supporting Cranmer during the reign of Edward VI. Double justice seemed to strengthen the Protestants.

The threat of Catholic loss helped erect a wall at justifying faith in the 1540s. The Council of Trent ultimately strengthened the wall, but only after Catholic theological experiments

were aired and debated. Early in its business, after composing and publishing canons and a decree on the standard doctrine of original sin, in June 1546, theological delegates drafted a decree on justification. Further debate produced three more revisions of the draft over the next seven months, until the council's general congregation published the fourth and final draft as its decree on January 13, 1547.⁶⁵

It looked like a fitting complement to the Holy Roman Emperor's rapid success in the war against the League of Schmalkalden in Germany in exactly these months. The debates at Trent put Catholic versions of *iustitia passiva* on full display. It was defended especially by members of the Augustinian Order, as an element of "double justice." The display rankled. Dionysius Zannettino (d. 1566), a bishop in Crete and a member of the Franciscan Observance, was horrified to hear Augustinian friars echoing Luther in the sanctuary of Trent's Santa Maria Maggiore: "Si vede manifestamente quella religion esser tuta infecta!"⁶⁶ On the other hand, Reginald Pole (d. 1558), at this point one of the council's three presidents, and Girolamo Seripando (d. 1563), general vicar of the Augustinian Order and now the principal defender of the idea of double justice, warned their peers how zeal against Luther could go too far, driving Catholics into error.⁶⁷

Catholics were experimenting with passive justification *per solam fidem* (Giulio Contarini, d. 1575, nephew of Gasparo Contarini), justification as divine acceptance with congruent merit in the preparation for grace (the Franciscan Andrés de Vega, d. 1549, the most important Scotist at the council), and double justice as a two-step righteousness: (1) unrighteous to righteous; then (2) righteous to more righteous (the Franciscan Anton of Pinarolo).⁶⁸ Seripando worked *duplex iustitia* into the second draft of the council's decree. Enemies carefully sifted it out.

By the fourth draft of the decree, *iustitia passiva* was gone. Debate moved to the late medieval problem of prevenient grace and human predisposition (Thomists stressing grace, Scotists stressing human choices), under cover of "the certainty of faith." Self-consciously excluded was Luther's conviction that faith is itself the assurance of salvation. Dominicans at Trent denied certainty of grace in this life, while Franciscans asserted actual righteousness as assurance. The council's prelates were neutral, determining that certainty might be possible only to those in a state of grace.⁶⁹ Grace, it was agreed, must be a transformative power in the soul. But the council left the exact relationship of human power and divine grace unresolved.

Soon the inquisition set to work showcasing the heresy of passive justice in Italy and Spain. Their most famous victim was the Dominican Archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé Carranza, a veteran of the council and professor of theology in Valladolid. When the tribunal threatened him with the penalty of death, he was dismayed.

I will die for having said that [God's] Son, Jesus Christ Our Lord, has justified his chosen ones with His Passion and Death; and that it was Jesus Christ alone who made peace between us and God; and that our works have no role in such a supreme work as this.

He added that while "our works are necessary, they are not the cause of our salvation."⁷⁰ Was this Lutheran? In the proceedings, a friend protested that Carranza

agreed with Luther only where Luther agreed with tradition. No matter. Carranza was removed from his see and died in the obscurity of an Italian convent. Others were less fortunate.⁷¹

The council had effectively neutralized passive justice. But Catholic debate over the relationship of human power and divine grace continued long after Trent, well over a century, under an increasingly complex vocabulary of terms and concepts. Conflict was provoked by assertions of the autonomy of nature's moral order in Paradise (the Louvain professor Michael Baius, d. 1589), by a definition of God's *concursus generalis* that distinguished between the "merely sufficient" and "efficacious" modes of divine will and proved their necessity in predestinarian fashion (the Spanish Dominican Domingo Bañez, d. 1604), by the formulation of human will as an extrinsic cause acting on God (the Portuguese Jesuit Luis de Molina, d. 1600), and by a reassertion of Augustine's anti-Pelagian doctrine of grace as the predestined cause of holiness in and after Paradise (the Flemish theologian, Cornelius Jansen, d. 1638, with the Cistercian nuns of Port-Royal des Champs in Paris and Jean Duvergier, abbot of Saint-Cyran in central France).⁷² These debates were answered by strings of papal commissions, censures, and decrees—and very many books. All this, too, sharpened and intensified the problem of human nature and divine-action grace. The Catholic repertoire of interlaced arguments illustrating and explaining evil and grace had grown.

This is where the religious controversy left evil and grace in Catholic theology. Erasmus, Valdes, Gropper, Pighius, and Contarini brought the concept of passive righteousness into the Catholic vocabulary, and the Council of Trent pushed it out. The council confirmed the conviction that justice must be a human moral condition produced by grace. The council's aftermath intensified internal Catholic debate over the relation of divine agency and natural power. A new, modified theological vocabulary evolved, but a medieval problematic survived.

CONCLUSION

So it was that Martin Luther catalyzed both Protestant and Catholic theologians when he attacked indulgences and dramatically redefined righteousness, goodness seen in the pure light of God. Theologians in the religious controversy did not hide their ideological purposes. To party theologians, grace was about the concrete relations of God to human nature in everyday life under one or another form of religious discipline. Ideally, the entire clerical enterprise, of whichever church, was professionally committed to a set of concrete mediations of grace. All their erudition was meant to tear down or build up religious hierarchies and devotional practices.

But if the significance of Luther is bound to the reception of his theology, one notices how Luther's great innovation, the doctrine that a mortal human being can only be passively just before God, did not escape turbulent, persistent debates about nature and grace. This counts for something, too. Their study of evil and grace was not just about

Protestants dismantling, Catholics defending, an established religious culture. It was about trying to give it new life.

NOTES

1. Hartmann Schedel, "*Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), f. 7r," Genesis 3:16–19.
2. First suggested by Paracelsus (d. 1541) human polygenesis appeared in Giordano Bruno's (d. 1600) theory of multiple worlds but was first worked out thoroughly in the Dutch collegiant Isaac La Peyrère's (d. 1676) comprehensive *Prae-Adamitae* (1655). Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 49–64. Richard Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596–1676)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 115–145.
3. Jews (and Muslims) rejected the Christian idea of inherited guilt and stressed the collective dangers of sin for the community's well being. David Berger, *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizṣaḥon Vetus* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 219 (and Hebrew section, 154); Joseph Caro and Moses Isserles, *Code of Hebrew Law Shulḥan 'aruk yoreh de'ah*, trans. Chaim N. Denburg, 2 vols. (Montreal, QC: The Jurisprudence Press, 1954), 1:14; Byron L. Sherwin, *Mystical Theology and Social Dissent: The Life and Works of Judah Loew of Prague* (London and Toronto, ON: Associated University Press, 1982), 142–160.
4. Berndt Hamm, "Typen spätmittelalterlicher Gnadenmedialität," in Berndt Hamm, Volker Leppin, and Gury Schneider-Ludorff (eds.), *Media Salutis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 43–83, here 43.
5. Heinrich Köster, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde. Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (II/3c of *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*) (Freiburg: Herder, 1982), 63–76, for this and the following.
6. The four positions are that: (1) Scripture is inconclusive (e.g. the Lutheran Martin Chemnitz); (2) the soul emanates from the soul of the producer (e.g. the Lutheran Joachim Hildebrand); (3) the soul is "traded" from the soul of the producer (most Lutheran theologians); and (4) the soul is produced by God at the point of conception (most Reformed and almost all Catholic theologians). In an eccentric version of the last view, Cardinal Enrico Noris (d. 1704) and a few others argued instead that all souls were created at the beginning of the world with Adam's soul and were present in him when he sinned. Köster, *Urstand . . . von der Reformation*, 93–94 with note 122.
7. Byzantine theologians rejected the idea of inherited sinfulness and guilt, while treating salvation as a process of participation of human beings in the being of God, a process of deification. John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York: Fordham, 1974), 143–146, 163–164.
8. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* xii.2; xiii.2–4, and many medieval theologians. Köster, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde in der Scholastik* (Freiburg: Herder 1979), 146 with n. 1; for evil as not a substance; John Duns Scotus, *Quaestiones in II. Sententiarum*, d. 37, q. 1, *Ioannis Duns Scoti opera omnia*, 27 vols. (Paris: Ludovicus Vivés, 1891), 13:356–357; in general, Karlfried Froehlich, "Justification Language in the Middle Ages," in H. George Anderson, T. Austin Murphy, and Joseph A. Burgess (eds.), *Justification by Faith* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1985), 143–161, and Froehlich, "Justification Language and Grace: The Charge of Pelagianism in the Middle Ages," in Elsie Anne McKee and Brian Armstrong (eds.), *Probing the Reformed*

- Tradition: Historical Studies in Honor of Edward A. Dowey, Jr.* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1989), 21–47.
9. Anselm, *Cur Deus homo, Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, edited by Brian Davies and G. R. Evans (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 260–356.
 10. Thomas Aquinas, *ST IaIIa* 85, 3 ad 2. Cf. Peter Lombard, who defined evil simply as a privation or corruption of the good (*II Sent.* D. 35, 3–4).
 11. Thomas Williams, “Sin, Grace, and Redemption in Abelard,” in Jeffrey Brower and Kevin Guilfooy (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 258–278.
 12. Gabriel Biel (d. 1495) summarized opinions. Gabriel Biel, *II Sent.* D. 30 q. 2 a. 1, Gabrielis Biel, *Collectorium circa quattuor libros Sententiarum*, edited by Wilfrid Werbeck and Udo Hofmann, 4 vols. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1984), 2:562–568. Froehlich, “Justification Language in the Middle Ages,” 145–146.
 13. Scotus, *II Sent.*, D. 23, c. 4; Scotus, *Opera Omnia* (Lyon: Laurentio Durand, 1639), 6/2:851.
 14. Augustine, *De spiritu et litera*, xxvi.45, edited by C. F. Urba and J. Zycha (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 1913), 60:199; Froehlich, “Justification Language in the Middle Ages,” 157.
 15. Otto Hermann Pesch, “Gnade und Rechtfertigung am Vorabend der Reformation und bei Martin Luther,” paper presented to the Ökumenisches Forum, University of Heidelberg, July 20, 2007. <<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/fakultaeten/theologie/oek/forum/13.1.pdf>> (accessed January 6, 2015); Froehlich, “Justification Language in the Middle Ages,” 143–161. Galatians 5:22; 1 Corinthians 13:13.
 16. Froehlich, “Justification Language in the Middle Ages,” 158.
 17. Pesch, “Gnade,” 6; Froehlich, “Justification Language in the Middle Ages,” 143, 158.
 18. Joseph Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Trienter Rechtfertigungsdekretes* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1909), 22–25; Werner Dettloff, “Die Akzeptationslehre des Johannes Duns Scotus,” in Camille Bérubé (ed.), *Regnum Hominis et Regnum Dei*, 2 vols. (Rome: Societas Internationalis Scotistica, 1978), 1:195–211; Dettloff, *Die Entwicklung der Akzeptations- und Verdienstlehre von Duns Scotus bis Luther* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1963).
 19. Dettloff, “Akzeptationslehre,” 198–199.
 20. The seven contrasting groups: *gratia creata* — *gratia increata*, *gratia gratis dans* — *gratia gratis data*, *gratia gratis data* — *gratia gratum faciens*, *gratia operans* — *gratia cooperans*, *gratia praeveniens* — *gratia concomitans* — *gratia subsequens*, *gratia prima* — *gratia secunda*, *gratia sanans* — *gratia elevans*. Adapted from Adolar Zumkeller, *Erbsünde, Gnade, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst nach der Lehre der Erfurter Augustinertheologen des Spätmittelalters* (Würzburg: Augustinus Verlag, 1984), 617.
 21. David Knowles, “The Censured Opinions of Uthred of Boldon,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 37 (1951): 405–342, here 328–329, 332–334; Christopher Ocker, *Johannes Klenkok: A Friar’s Life, c. 1310–1374* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1993), 36–41.
 22. Alistair McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 3rd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 152–155.
 23. Zumkeller, *Erbsünde*, 1–18 and *passim*.
 24. James Halverson, *Peter Aureol on Predestination: A Challenge to Late Medieval Thought* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), 111–173, here 117.
 25. G. W. Leibniz, *Theodicy: Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man and the Origin of Evil*, trans. E. M. Huggard (Peru, IL: Open Court, 1985), 61–62, 144–146; Calvin Normore, “Future Contingents,” in Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg

- (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 358–381.
26. WA 1:107. José Martín Palma, *Gnadenlehre von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Freiburg: Herder, 1980), 11.
 27. For this and the following, Martin Luther, *Römervorlesung 1515/1516*, WA 56:272.
 28. Augsburg Confession, ii, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 53; *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften*, vol. 1, parts 1–3, edited by Eberhard Busch et al. (Neukirchen: Neukirchenerverlag, 2002–2007), 1/2:154–155. For the following, *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften*, vol. 1, parts 1–3, edited by Busch et al. (Neukirchen: Neukirchenerverlag, 2002–2007), 1/1:578, 1/2:45–46, 1/2:58–59, 1/2:87, 1/2:106–107, 1/2:226, 1/3:93–94, 1/3:238, 1/3:305, 1/3:348. Original sin was rarely challenged, e.g. by Palatine Anabaptists in conventions at Worms and Strasbourg, 1556 and 1557. George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 675, 733, 1218.
 29. Luther, *De servo arbitrio*, WA 18:618, 634–635; Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, edited by E. Gordon Rupp and Philip S. Watson (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1969), 121–122, 139–144. For Luther and Rimini, Manfred Schulze, “Luther and the Church Fathers,” in Irena Backus (ed.), *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 2:573–626, here 581.
 30. Pesch, *Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei Martin Luther und Thomas von Aquin: Versuch eines systematisch-theologischen Dialogs* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald, 1967); Denis Janz, *Luther and Late Medieval Thomism: A Study in Theological Anthropology* (Waterloo, IA: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983). Biel, *Collectorium circa quattuor libros Sententiarum*, 2:562–568.
 31. Dietrich Korsch, “Glaube und Rechtfertigung,” in Albrecht Beutel (ed.), *Luther Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 372–381, here 375. In the 1545 preface, WA 54:185, 57. The phrase *iustitia passiva* also appears in Luther’s Annotations on Paul’s Letter to the Galatians (1531), WA 40/1:48.
 32. Palma, *Gnadenlehre*, 17 n. 36 with numerous references.
 33. *Annotationes Martini Lutheri in Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas* (also known as the *Second Galatians Commentary*), chap. 3, WA 40/1:368.
 34. Luther, *Adnotationes Quincuplici Fabri Stapulensis Psalterio manu adscriptae* (1513), WA 3:174, 282, 438–439, 488.
 35. Volker Leppin, “Transformationen spätmittelalterlicher Mystik bei Luther,” in Hamm and Leppin (eds.), *Gottes Nähe unmittelbar erfahren. Mystik im Mittelalter und bei Martin Luther* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 165–186.
 36. Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, “‘iam sum monachus et non monachus.’ Martin Luthers doppelter Abschied vom Mönchthum,” in Korsch and Leppin (eds.), *Martin Luther—Biographie und Theologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 119–139.
 37. Philip Melancthon, *Confessio Augustana apologia altera*, CR 27:491. For the following, Olli-Pekka Vainio, *Justification and Participation in Christ: The Development of the Lutheran Doctrine of Justification from Luther to the Formula of Concord (1580)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008), 10 with n. 31; McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 238–240. Michael S. Horton, “Calvin’s Theology of Union with Christ and the Double Grace: Modern Reception and Contemporary Possibilities,” in J. Todd Billings and John Hesselinck (eds.), *Calvin’s Theology and Its Reception: Disputes, Developments, and New Possibilities* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 71–96; J. Todd Billings,

- "Union with Christ and the Double Grace," in *Calvin's Theology and Its Reception*, 49–70.
38. For debates over discipline, Ocker, "Calvin in Germany," in Ocker et al. (eds.), *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations—Essays in Honor of Thomas A. Brady, Jr.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 323 with n. 44; Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Social History of Communion," *Past & Present* 211 (2011): 77–119. For moral law in the "Antinomian controversy," Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen, "Im Zeitalter der lutherischen Bekenntnisbildung und Orthodoxie," in A. Beitel (ed.), *Luther Handbuch*, 462–472, here 462; Christian Peters, "Luther und seine protestantische Gegner," *Luther Handbuch*, 121–134, here 132–133. For Andreas Osiander and participation in Christ's righteousness, Zur Mühlen, "Im Zeitalter," 462–463; Ronald Rittgers, *The Reformation of the Keys* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). Vainio, *Justification*, *passim*. For the "adiaphorist controversy" and theological compromises, Ocker, "The German Reformation and Medieval Thought and Culture," *History Compass* 10 (2012): 13–46, here 14–18; Luka Illic, *Theologian of Sin and Grace: The Process of Radicalization in the Theology of Matthias Flacius Illyricus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 203–211. For Marguerite's mystical theology and the "libertines," Mirjan van Veen's introduction to *Contre la secte* and *Contre un certain Cordelier. Ioannis Calvini Scripta Didactica et Polemica*, 4 vols. to date (Geneva: Droz, 1992–2009), 1:9–23, and Jonathan A. Reid, *King's Sister—Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549) and Her Evangelical Network*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009), 1: 553–563. For Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, James D. Tracy, *Europe's Reformations, 1450–1650: Doctrine, Politics, and Community* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 157–158; Richard Muller, *God, Creation, and Providence in the Thought of Jacob Arminius: Sources and Directions of Scholastic Protestantism in the Era of Early Orthodoxy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1991), 143–207, 154. For Saumur, François Laplanche, *Orthodoxie et prédication: L'œuvre d'Amyraut et la querelle de la grâce universelle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 253–262.
 39. Nicole Kuropka, *Philipp Melancthon, Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft. Ein Gelehrter der Kirche (1526–1532)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 180–181.
 40. *Loci communes* 1559, iii, "De peccato originis," CR 21:673.
 41. "Lex renatis ideo proponenda est, ut doceat certa opera, in quibus Deus vult nos exercere obedientiam," *Loci communes* 1559, De usu legis, CR 21:715. Palma, *Gnade*, 24–25. Risto Saarinen, *Weakness of Will in Renaissance and Reformation Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 164–209.
 42. Saarinen, *Weakness*, 210–219.
 43. Brian Cummings, "Justifying God in Tyndale's English," *Reformation* 2 (1997): 143–171.
 44. David R. Como, *Blown by the Spirit: Puritanism and the Emergence of an Antinomian Underground in Pre-Civil-War England* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 189. For Antinomianism as a form of anti-Puritanism, Peter Lake, "Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice," in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (eds.), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 94. For the relation of Puritans to Calvin (and modern debates about it), Richard Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2–21, 63–102. Also, Richard A. Muller, "Covenant and Conscience in English Reformed Theology: Three Variations on a 17th Century Theme," *Westminster Theological Journal* 42 (1980): 308–334. Muller, *After Calvin*, 175–189. Andrew A. Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity*

- in *Covenantal Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), chap. 4, reviewing scholarship.
45. Randall J. Pederson, *Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603–1689* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2014), 75–82.
 46. Palma, *Gnade*, 26. Melanchthon, *Loci praecipui theologiae* (1559), “de vocabulo fidei,” CR 21:750.
 47. Ocker, *Church Robbers and Reformers in Germany, 1525–1547* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 244; Ocker, “Calvin in Germany,” 313–344; Ralph-Peter Fuchs, *Confession und Gespräch. Typologie und Funktion der Religionsgespräche in der Reformationszeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), 429–456. Historical theologians sometimes quibble with the claim that Melanchthon, Bucer, and Calvin admitted a concept of double justification. Anthony Lane, *Justification in Protestant–Catholic Dialogue* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2002), 58; Brian Lugioyo, *Martin Bucer’s Doctrine of Justification: Reformation Theology and Early Modern Irenicism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 43–53.
 48. Martin Brecht, “Abgrenzung oder Verständigung. Was wollten die Protestanten in Trient?” *Blätter für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1970): 148–175, here 157–158, 170.
 49. Vainio, *Justification*, 133, 144, 152–157.
 50. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (New York: Cambridge, 1982), 222, 227–242.
 51. William B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of Protestant England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 107–108 and *passim*; Muller, “Covenant and Conscience,” 309. For the following, Bryan D. Spinks, *Two Faces of Elizabethan Anglican Theology: Sacraments and Salvation in the Thought of William Perkins and Richard Hooker* (Lanham, MD and London: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 159–162.
 52. For the quotation, Lake, “Anti-Puritanism,” 80–97, here 87, 89; Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, 97–99; Lake, “Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice,” in Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (New York: Longman, 1989), 55–76; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 31–32.
 53. Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 187–189. Cummings, “Justifying God,” 152–157.
 54. David V. N. Bagchi, *Luther’s Earliest Opponents: Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1991), 159–163. For the following, Avery Dulles, “Justification in Contemporary Catholic Theology,” in H. George Anderson, T. Austin Murphy, and Joseph A. Burgess (eds.), *Justification by Faith: Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1985), 256–277. Susan K. Wook, “Catholic Reception of the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification,” in David E. Aune (ed.), *Rereading Paul Together: Protestant and Catholic Perspectives on Justification* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2006), 43–59.
 55. Greta Grace Kroeker, *Erasmus in the Footsteps of Paul* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 24, her translation; 26 for the next quote. In what follows, Daniel A. Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan de Valdés* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 52–53 for Italian Humanists against Erasmus. Erasmus is said to Lutherize, but Erasmus is hard to avoid: the opinion of Peter Canisius. Hilmar Pabel, “Praise and Blame: Peter Canisius’s Ambivalent Assessment of Erasmus,” in *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2013), 129–159, here 142, 144, 147.

56. Kroeker, *Erasmus, passim*.
57. For this and the following, Crews, *Twilight*, 91–112 and *passim*; Camilla Russell, *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 91–126; Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 191–192, 98–99, 102–103, 143–151; Maria Celia Roper Serrano, “Los Comentarios de Juan de Valdés a las Cartas Paulinas a los Romanos y a los Corintios 1” (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de León, 2013), 557–558 (<<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/tesis?codigo=40009>>, accessed February 18, 2015).
58. But of the relation of text to printed text Maria Celia Roper Serrano cautions, “los ejemplares de la edición no nos muestran un texto descuidado, como el que hubieran podido publicar con escasos fondos unos discípulos nostálgicos.” Roper Serrano, “Los Comentarios de Juan de Valdés,” 85.
59. Suggested by Girolamo Seripando. *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerres Gesellschafft, 13 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1901–2001), 12:664–671 (hereafter abbreviated as CT). For this and the following, Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 172; Reinhard Braunisch, *Die Theologie der Rechtfertigung im “Enchiridion” (1538) des Johannes Gropper* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1974), 360–438, 431; Adam Patrick Robinson, *The Career of Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509–1580): Between Council and Inquisition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 37–192; Stephan Walther, “Vier Theologen für Morone. Ein unbekanntes Gutachten im Prozess der römischen Inquisition gegen Kardinal Giovanni Morone (1555–1560),” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 106 (2011): 452–470; Ocker, *Robbers*, 253 and the literature noted in n. 24. John Calvin, *Institutes* (1539), x.1. CR 29:737; *Institutes* (1559), III.xi.1. CR 30:319.
60. It was made famous by Calvin’s mocking rebuttal. Calvin, *The Bondage and Liberation of the Will: A Defence of the Orthodox Doctrine of Human Choice against Pighius*, trans. G. I. Davies, ed. Anthony Lane (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996); Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 84, 169. Ruard Tapper, *Explicationis articulorum venerandae Facultatis Sacrae Theologiae Generalis Studij Louaniensis circa dogmata ecclesiastica ab annis triginta quatuor controuersa, vna cum responsione ad argumenta aduersariorum*, 2 vols. (Louvain: M. Verhaselt, 1555, 1557), 2:32, for the allegation that Pighius adapted Calvin.
61. “In illo ergo iustificamur coram Deo, non in nobis: non nostra, sed illius iustitia, quae nobis cum illo iam communicantibus imputatur.” Albert Pighius, *Controversiarum praecipuarum in comitiis Ratisponensibus tractarum* (Cologne: Melchior von Neuß, 1545), sign. F6(v)–G4(r). Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 170–175, working from the 1542 edition.
62. Ocker, *Robbers*, 246. J. V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer, Études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 1: 161–177, 187–199. For the following, Ocker, “Between the Old Faith and the New: Spiritual Loss in Reformation Germany,” in Lynn Tatlock (ed.), *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 232–258, here 253–254.
63. Such an incident involving Melancthon was reported by Marcello Cervino, President of the Council of Trent, in his private notebook. Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, Appendix p. 7, no. 10. Bucer claimed that Contarini accepted Protestant positions. Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 197, Appendix p. 7, no. 10.
64. Ochino, by his own testimony. Bernardino Ochino, *Prediche di Bernardino Ochino da Siena I* (Geneva: no publisher, circa 1550), x, sign. f3(v)–f4(r). Josias Simmler, *Oratio de vita et obitu clarissimi viri et praestantissimi theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermilii, divinarum literarum professoris in schola Tigurina* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer the Younger, 1563), f. 9r. Cf. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini*, 257–303.

65. In general, Hefner, *Die Enteshungsgeschichte*, 84–155, which remains a thorough and insightful account; Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2 vols., trans. Ernest Graf (St. Louis: Herder, 1961), 2: 166–196, 239–316; McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 324–338. Ocker, “The German Reformation,” 14–18 and the literature noted there. For the war, Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1995), 294–317.
66. Dionysius Zannettino to Alexander Farnese, 25 June 1546. CT 10:539. Eduard Stakemeier, *Der Kampf um Augustin. Augustinus und die Augustiner auf dem Tridentinum* (Paderborn: Bonifacius Druckerei, 1937), 59 (where the reference is incorrectly noted as CT 10:359).
67. Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 84. *Herculis Severoli commentarius*, Oct. 8, 1546, CT 1:105.
68. For Giulio Contarini, *Acta* 10 Jul. 1546, CT 4:322 no. 127; 4:325–327 no. 129; *Herculis Severoli commentarius*, 10. Jul. 1546, CT 1:88; Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 149–150. For Seripando, Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 110–113; CT 12:703–715. For experiments, Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 91, Appendix 24–25 no. 58. For de Vega, McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 320–322; Henricus Recla, *Andreae Vega, OFM: Doctrina de iustificatione et Concilium Tridentinum* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966), 37–66. For Pinarolo, Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 86–87.
69. For this and the following, McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 334–338. Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, 155.
70. *The Spanish Inquisition: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. and trans. Lu Ann Homza (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2007), 197. Ulrich Horst, “Bartolomé Carranza (1503–1576),” in Erwin Iserloh, Heribert Smolinsky, and Peter Walter (eds.), *Katholische Theologen der Reformationszeit*, 6 vols. (Münster: Aschendorf, 1984–2004), 6: 69–86. For the friend mentioned next, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza: documentos historicos*, ed. Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962), 2: 153–156.
71. E.g. Servites in Bologna between 1547 and 1549, the Valdesian Pietro Carneseccchi in 1567, and Reginald Pole’s friend Carlos de Seso and Agustín Cazalla at Valladolid in 1559. Hefner, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte*, Appendix 101 no. 197. Russell, *Giulia Gonzaga*, 172–208; James S. Amelang, “Italy and Spain: Culture and Religion,” in Thomas J. Dandeleet and John A. Marino (eds.), *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500–1700* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 434–456, here 440.
72. M. W. F. Stone, “Michael Baius (1513–89) and the Debate on ‘Pure Nature’: Grace and Moral Agency in Sixteenth-Century Scholasticism,” in Jill Kraye and Risto Saarinen (eds.), *Moral Philosophy on the Threshold of Modernity* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 51–90; Alfred Vanneste, “Nature et grâce dans la théologie de Baius,” *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432–1797. Bijdragen tot haar geschiedenis*, ed. Edmond J. M. van Eijl (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 327–350, here 332; Alfred J. Freddoso, s.v. “Molina, Luis de,” *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Craig (London: Routledge, 1998); Alfred J. Freddoso, s.v. “Molinism,” *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Craig. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 349–355.

FURTHER READING

Crews, Daniel A. *Twilight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan de Valdés*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

- Cummings, Brian. *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Hamm, Berndt. "Typen spätmittelalterlicher Gnadenmedialität." In *Media Salutis*, edited by Berndt Hamm, Volker Leppin, and Gury Schneider-Ludorff, pp. 43–88. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Klueting, Harm. *Luther und die Neuzeit*. Darmstadt: Primus, 2011.
- Kroeker, Greta Grace. *Erasmus in the Footsteps of Paul*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Leppin, Volker. *Martin Luther vom Mönch zum Feind des Papstes*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, 2013.
- McGrath, Alistair. *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*. 3rd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- McGrath, Alistair. *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- Muller, Richard A. *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition: On the Work of Christ and the Order of Salvation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2012.
- Ocker, Christopher. "The German Reformation and Medieval Thought and Culture," *History Compass* 10 (2012): 13–46.
- Rittgers, Ronald. *The Reformation of the Keys*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Russell, Camilla. *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.
- Vainio, Olli-Pekka. *Justification and Participation in Christ: The Development of the Lutheran Doctrine of Justification from Luther to the Formula of Concord (1580)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008.

CHAPTER 3

THE NATURE OF SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE

ALEC RYRIE

INTRODUCTION

THE theological history of the Reformation has focused on what doctrines the various theologians taught, how they arrived at them, and how they differed from one another, subjects which we now understand to an impressively high level. We have made less progress on the related subject of why so many sixteenth-century people, both learned and unlearned, cared so deeply about these doctrines. The question of how sixteenth- and seventeenth-century believers experienced and felt their religion is of course unanswerable, but it can seem like a Rosetta stone capable of unlocking almost everything we might need to understand about the period. If not that, it is at least an indispensable element of any analysis of the Reformation.

This is, in other words, a question not only for historical theology but also for a much newer discipline, the history of the emotions. Scholars of the Reformation have long had an interest in this subject, and we would now classify much of the work of cultural historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis under this heading.¹ However, the emerging discipline was formulated not by historians but by literary scholars, as so-called “new historicist” literary critics found they needed to find methods of handling inner experience in ways which were sensitive to how it can be shaped or even determined by historical context. This gave rise to programmatic works such as Jerome Kagan’s *What is Emotion? History, Measures and Meanings* (2007), and pathbreaking collections of essays such as Gail Kern Paster et al. (eds.) *Reading the Early Modern Passions* (2004). A parallel interest in the emotions from anthropologists of religion provided some theoretical underpinning.

Historians have been ready to follow where these disciplines have led, tackling the thorny issue of just what emotions, passions, affections, and feelings were understood to be in the period, and bringing these new methods to bear on key texts, such as the works of the medical philosopher Thomas Burton. Surprisingly, however, historians of religion

have not been at the front of the queue. Attempts to apply the formal history of the emotions to the Reformation remain in their infancy. The ground has been broken by Susan Karant-Nunn's *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (2010), which has used preaching to trace both the changes and the continuities between the emotional cultures of Protestantism and those of both pre- and post-Reformation Catholicism. My own *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (2013) has also tried to apply some of these methods to the inner experience of Protestant piety. We now also have a few studies of more specific subjects, such as the experience of fear or of mystical experience.² This chapter can do little more than sketch out some of the simplest contours of the terrain, in the hope that, in due course, more assiduous emotional mapmakers will find where the treasures are hidden.

BEING JUSTIFIED BY FAITH ALONE

The distinction between emotions and intellect, between “head” and “heart,” seems self-evident to modern eyes, but only emerged in its modern form during the seventeenth century. The *heart*, from late antiquity to the Renaissance and beyond, was the seat of the will and of the intellect as well as of the affections. In the Christian Humanist milieu out of which the Protestant Reformation emerged, the affections were not anti-rational or sub-rational, but an essential part of rationality. Rhetoric, the preeminent Humanist art form, is fundamentally a matter of engaging the passions in the service of a rational end. For all the Renaissance Humanists’ reverence for the ancient world, they universally reviled the Stoic belief that one ought to rise above the passions and attain indifference to them.³ Transcending the passions was not merely impossible, but, for the disciples of a Lord who had wept at his friend’s tomb and sweated blood in his own torment, repugnant. Protestantism grew up in a context in which the emotions were expected to be disciplined, cultivated, channeled, purified, and then pursued to a pitch of intensity.

Hence the unabashedly passionate nature of so much of Martin Luther’s writing. Although most other Reformers were more restrained, his style was not a mere personal quirk. It reflected the religious experience on which all his preaching was based. Before justification by faith alone was a fully formulated doctrine, it was an overwhelming encounter with God’s redeeming power. Luther and many other evangelicals after him felt that this encounter turned their lives upside down. This was why William Tyndale described justifying faith as “feeling faith”—and why Thomas More mocked him for it.⁴

Luther’s view that subjective experiential states were of decisive theological importance arose directly from his own experience. He discovered an inner conviction, which he took to be a gift from God, that he was predestined to be saved by the irrevocable gift of faith which God had graciously chosen to give him. This led him, from very early in his public career, to teach a stark doctrine of assurance. He only gradually softened his language as it became plain that not everyone shared this experience, and that his *assurance* was too easily mistaken by his opponents for *presumption*. Like his lifelong

struggles with another of his vital theological categories, *Anfechtung* or diabolically inspired despair, this is unmistakably a theology of experience rather than of disinterested reflection. Not that we attain justification through achieving a particular emotional state, but, rather, certain subjective states, such as assurance or *Anfechtung*, testify by their own nature—secretly, but plainly and unmistakably—that they are spiritual in origin, the work of God’s grace or of the Devil’s assaults.

This became a systematic part of Luther’s thinking in his famous distinction between theologies of the cross and of glory. For Luther, who was in love with paradox throughout his career, a “theology of glory” was a snare and a deception: a theology which glorifies the theologian, or which teaches the Christian to seek glory. But only the Devil offers glory; Christ offers penalties, death, and many tribulations. That is, one of the marks of authentic Christian discipleship is the experience of suffering. Generations of suffering Protestants found renewed reserves of strength in the conviction that their sufferings were a sign of God’s favor. Conversely, some Protestants who found themselves in safety, including Luther himself, were alarmed that this might be a terrible divine judgment on them.⁵ Suffering could not have merit in God’s eyes, as was possible in Catholicism, but a theology of the cross meant that it could instead be a means of following in Christ’s footsteps.

What made the Reformers’ doctrines powerful, in other words, was the emotional punch they could pack. In particular, justification by faith alone, once properly grasped, could be heady stuff indeed. It is worth reading early accounts of the doctrine, not for the formal logic of their argument, but for the vertiginous, almost weightless sense of liberation that hangs about them. Luther in 1520 described the Word of God as the source of “life, truth, light, peace, righteousness, salvation, joy, liberty, wisdom, power, grace, glory, and of every incalculable blessing.” The Christian who has learned “to recognize his helplessness and [who] is distressed about how he might satisfy the law” is “truly humbled and reduced to nothing in his own eyes.” As such, this believer’s soul abandons works-righteousness and instead clings to God’s promises, such that it

will be so closely united with them and altogether absorbed by them that it not only will share in all their power but will be saturated and intoxicated by them. If a touch of Christ healed, how much more will this most tender spiritual touch, this absorbing of the Word, communicate to the soul all things that belong to the Word.⁶

That is a description of eschatological hope, but it is also hard to see it as anything other than direct testimony of Luther’s own experience.

Not all Protestants shared these experiences, but they were widely enough shared to provide an emotional “script,” which ministers who laid out what conversion and the Christian life ought to be could recommend to their people, and which believers could attempt to follow. In order to turn one professor’s experience of grace into a church which could function for entire communities, Luther’s experience had to be institutionalized. This was not straightforward. The emotional register of much Lutheran preaching was apparently warm, its focus on finding consolation in and nurturing gratitude

for Christ's sufferings.⁷ Yet inevitably it became prescriptive. The bitter split in later sixteenth-century Lutheranism, between "Philippist" and "Gnesio-Lutheran" parties, was in one sense over precisely this issue. Gnesio-Lutherans fought their corner so hard because of their determination to preserve Luther's paradoxical, overwhelming experience of grace as normative, against the brackish, Calvinistic rationalism which they believed had seeped into Philip Melancthon's thinking. Hence, for example, the Gnesio-Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus's ill-considered claim in 1560 that humanity had at the Fall been entirely transformed, such that our souls no longer bear God's image but are sinful in their very essence. As a matter of theology this was rash, and his opponents made hay with it. That very rashness, however, betrays the emotional depth of the Gnesio-Lutheran commitment to original sin, and thus to the experience of utter dependence on a God whose grace alone could save.⁸ By contrast, the cool reasonableness of the Philippists, always readier to debate and to compromise than to lay down their lives for their faith, felt to Gnesio-Lutherans like a theology of glory.

EXPERIENCING PREDESTINATION

That battle for Lutheranism's soul was part of a deeper split in the Protestant world, between Lutheranism and the Reformed ("Calvinist") Protestantism to which Philippists were accused of leaning. This split is fundamental to the history of early Protestantism, but remains frustratingly difficult to define. There is a reliable doctrinal litmus test: Lutherans believed that Christ's body and blood are physically, corporeally, and objectively present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, whereas Reformed Protestants did not. That is an important disagreement, to which we shall return, but it is not in itself sufficient to explain the profundity and bitterness of the Lutheran-Reformed split. That split is best defined as a matter of mood and spirituality rather than of doctrine. Those differences are nowhere plainer than in the different experiences of justification by faith.

The Protestant doctrine of predestination argued that, since as human beings we are unable to save ourselves, it is purely God's choice whether or not to save us, a choice which we cannot influence and are powerless to resist. This doctrine, now so closely associated with Calvinism, was in fact advanced forcefully by Luther himself from the beginning of his public career, whereas Zwingli was cool toward it. In the generation that followed, those positions were reversed. Melancthon rounded the sharp edges of Luther's doctrine. Calvin, by contrast, developed a yet more rigorous variant, and it was thanks to him and his successors that predestination became a central part of Reformed Protestantism's experiential landscape.

Calvinist predestination was never unchallenged. There were Calvin's Genevan opponents Jerome Bolsec and Sebastian Castellio; Moyse Amyrault's attempt to square the circle with a doctrine of "hypothetical universalism," which badly split the French Reformed church in the mid-seventeenth century; the Dutch disciples of Jacob

Arminius, whose “Remonstrance” against predestination took the Netherlands to the brink of civil war in the 1610s; and the English Arminians, who helped to take all three British kingdoms over that brink in the 1640s. All of these anti-predestinarians’ arguments were, plainly, driven by a visceral moral revulsion at the doctrine, which they blamed for fostering anarchic libertinism, lethal spiritual pride and complacency, and crushing despair. Their quarrel was not with Calvin’s theological reasoning so much as with his intolerable conclusion.

Yet this is not a case of soggy Arminian wishful thinking versus clear-sighted Calvinist rationalism. Calvinist predestination stood against the revulsion of its enemies for so long because it too had a powerful emotional appeal. It helped to underline Calvinism’s almost rapturous emphasis on the absolute sovereignty of God, and it could serve to counterbalance the Reformed emphasis on sin and repentance, which might otherwise become overpowering.⁹ It also proved itself in practice in the face of persecution, when predestination can be liberating. You do not need to worry about standing firm in the faith when the torturer comes, since your salvation is in God’s hands, not your own. God’s grace is irresistible and predestined believers can never lose their salvation: you are beyond the Devil’s reach. During the Marian persecution in 1550s England, one recent convert to predestination enthused that the doctrine “so cheereth our hearts and quickeneth our spirits that no trouble or tyranny executed against us can dull or discomfort the same.”¹⁰ Even in outwardly peaceful times, predestination could be a doctrinal expression of a felt reality, that is, that your salvation is utterly, wonderfully out of your own sinful hands. And this could be true of nations as well as individuals. The Calvinists who proposed the so-called “Dutch Israel” thesis or who suggested that “God is English” were not merely venting chauvinism, but reflecting that God’s past mercy for and loving discipline of those nations showed that they had a special place in his covenanted purposes.¹¹

In one important strand of Calvinism, this exploration of predestination’s emotional power became central to the experience of being Protestant as a whole. This strand is often called “Puritanism” but is more accurately described as “experimental Calvinism.” It originated among pastoral theologians in England and Scotland; their works were then widely translated and then emulated, first by Dutch and then by German, French, Hungarian, and Swedish Calvinists in the seventeenth century; and their tradition was a decisive influence on the Pietism of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, *The practise of pietie* (1612), a devotional manual by the Welsh bishop Lewis Bayly (ca. 1575–1631), had by 1750 run through over eighty editions in English, at least sixty-eight in German and fifty-one in Dutch, and smaller numbers in other languages from Romanian to Welsh. This tradition discovered that Calvinist predestination made for immensely rich emotional soil in which to dig. *Rich* does not necessarily mean *comforting*.¹² Even the despairing, however, found predestination’s ability to act as a prism through which all religious experience could be analyzed and interpreted to be compelling. And for many believers—perhaps for most—despair was not the end of the story. Indeed, it was usually understood as a necessary prelude to conversion. “It is not possible to you to make much of heaven,” warned the barnstorming Scottish preacher

Robert Bruce (1554–1631), “except you have had some taste of hell.”¹³ Only when believers despair over their utter inability to save themselves can they receive grace. In this sense, it was *only* by embracing a wholesome despair that true assurance could be found.

That paradox was the gateway to an all-absorbing spirituality, whether we see it as a many-mansioned house for the believing soul or as a hall of mirrors. Fear of damnation was only part of the mix. The “conscience-literature” which predestinarian pastoral theologians churned out for their flocks was built on another central paradox. Concern for your salvation is a sign of the Holy Spirit working in you, whereas “security,” or nonchalant disregard for spiritual matters, is a sign of damnation. Therefore, the less “secure” you feel, the better your true spiritual condition. Although this paradox could not stop believers from sliding to either end of the seesaw, its logic relentlessly pulled them back to the fulcrum. You might take comfort from your own discomfort, but then be unsettled by your own inner peace. The constant effort required to maintain this balance was once linked by Max Weber to the emergence of the “spirit of capitalism,” on the grounds that such Calvinists lived a life of “systematic self-control” in which “hard, continuous bodily or mental labour” was the only route to even fleeting spiritual peace. However, Weber’s argument was based on his assumption that Calvinists focused only on the outward evidence of regenerate lives, rather than the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit. If that was true of anyone, it was certainly not true of Anglo-Scottish “experimental Calvinism.”¹⁴ The result, therefore, was less relentless worldly labor than continuous effort to maintain a height of spiritual ardor.

This could still be exhausting. For one English preacher, the Christian’s predicament was like being stuck at the bottom of a well, needing to “straine his voyce, as much as hee could” to call out to God.¹⁵ Yet the stakes were often lower than that alarming analogy suggests. Believers who watched themselves for sinfulness and signs of backsliding might do so because they feared they were not, after all, predestined to be saved. But the conscience-literature assured them that the very fact of their fear proved the fear to be groundless. More commonly, believers watched for sin because they were heart-struck with shame and sorrow when they grieved their God.¹⁶ Or again, while the conscience-literature taught that God speaks to believers through their emotions, it also taught they are not an infallible guide. You might, for example, not experience any kind of settled sense of assurance, but instead feel only momentary flashes of grace. That was enough. “Had you euer any assurance of saluation in all your life?” asked the best-selling English conscience-writer Robert Linaker in 1595. “Did you euer feelee the power of true Repentance in your soule?” If the answer to either question was yes, that was grounds enough for comfort.¹⁷ Whereas if the answers were no, that in itself might provide the necessary emotional jolt. One seventeenth-century Englishwoman testified that “through grief that I could not sorrow enough, I have fallen into a great measure of weeping,” and found comfort in the fact.¹⁸

Even if your heart remained stubbornly unmoved, that too could be a source of comfort. For experimental Calvinists met God in their feelings, but also knew he could transcend and indeed work against those feelings. The shrewdest and most influential theologian in this tradition, William Perkins (1558–1602), insisted in a posthumously

published work that emotion is merely a support which God sometimes gives to faith, not faith itself. "We must not live by feeling, but by faith." God can save his chosen people without giving them emotional guarantees of the fact, and to believe this and find assurance in it is indeed one of the highest forms of faith.¹⁹ This observation might seem to cut the ground out from under experimental Calvinism, but in fact reinforced it. For now it was possible to argue that, if you felt rejected by God, the truth might be the exact opposite. After all, axiomatically, the Devil leaves the damned sleeping in sweet security and only stirs up turmoil and horrors in those whom he fears he might lose. Or perhaps such feelings were God disciplining those whom he loves. According to the Scottish bishop and devotional writer William Cowper (1568-1619), God says, "If I close the doore of my chamber upon thee, it is not to hold thee out, but to learn thee to knock."²⁰ It is by apparently opposing us, and by withholding his gifts, that God trains us in faith and righteousness.

God, therefore, loves us by appearing to abandon us: and we return this love by rejecting his abandonment. The spiritual life could therefore consist of a kind of warfare with God, in which God feints disapproval while at the same time challenging and arming believers to overcome him. In prayer, Christians should refuse to take *no* for an answer—indeed should take *no* as an encouragement, an unspoken promise of grace if they redoubled their efforts and persisted to the end. They should argue with God, citing Bible verses like a prison-house lawyer in order to compel him finally to give them the gifts that they knew he always intended to. They should wrestle with God in prayer like the patriarch Jacob, refusing to release him from that violent embrace until he gives them the blessing they seek.²¹ *Wrestling* became a clichéd metaphor for prayer, but some sought to deploy further weapons against God. The English poet George Herbert, an orthodox although subtle predestinarian, defined prayer as an "Engine against th'Almightie."²² His contemporary Samuel Torshell, preaching at a fast day called to avert a plague epidemic, called his hearers

to fight with God's weapons, against God's judgements. Fasting days are days of pitched battle; God fights, and the Supplicants fight; prayers are the shafts, which are delivered flying to heaven.²³

We do not need to approve of the spiritual experiences which these sources describe to recognize their power.

We should not, however, be unduly distracted by these emotional fireworks. Distress and conflict attracted the most attention from pastors and generated the greatest paper trail from troubled believers, but even in this Anglo-Scottish tradition, settled, nourishing assurance was a lived reality as well as a tantalizing mirage. The English sources suggest that there was a gendered element to this: it is men's rather than women's life stories which tend to emphasize spectacular falls into sin and heroic wrestling with God. Perhaps because early modern society did not allow women's sins to be so easily shrugged off, it tends to be among women, such as the Northamptonshire gentlewoman and diarist Elizabeth Isham, that we find alternative narratives, of quiet

and gradual awakenings to faith rather than dramatic conversions.²⁴ Not exclusively so, however. Theologies of conversion which demanded set-piece battles with despair repeatedly ran up against believers whose experiences did not fit the pattern. Some English Baptists shook themselves free of the Calvinist prescription of despair. This split between a prescribed experience of salvation and a more freewheeling readiness to accept that God might lead different individuals by different routes persisted into the Pietist revival. Classic Lutheran Pietism of the kind institutionalized by August Hermann Francke's University of Halle taught a regular *ordo salutis*, in which the approved route to salvation passed through a series of set-piece spiritual struggles. The Moravians of the 1720s and 1730s, by contrast, disparaged this "self-induced sickness." Their experience taught them that simple, imaginative identification with Christ allowed them to bypass the Pietist prescriptions. The Moravian leader Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf commented wryly that "a Pietist cannot be converted in so cavalier a way as we can . . . We ride and the Pietists go on foot."²⁵ It should be added that the Pietists would also not have veered as cavalierly as did the Moravians into such weirdly baroque spiritual practices as crawling imaginatively into the spear wound in Christ's side.

THE STAGES OF LIFE

If our understanding of how the Protestant experience varied between the genders is slowly becoming richer, our sense of how it varied with age remains badly underdeveloped. The stereotypical experience of conversion, which was normally held to be normative for the remainder of life, was placed in adolescence or early adulthood.²⁶ Children's religious experience, in particular, is a badly under-researched field. One reason for this neglect is that Protestant theologians, ministers, and authors at the time also neglected it, generally assuming that children were sunk in sin. They also, however, reviled the "Anabaptist" doctrine that baptism could be restricted to those who made a mature profession of faith, and thus were committed to children's membership of the visible church. The question, given that they denied that baptism was of itself efficacious for salvation, was what such membership meant. Luther's boldly idiosyncratic argument was that, since faith is a gift from God rather than an act of the human will or intellect, God may give it to whomsoever he wishes regardless of age, and he cited the unborn John the Baptist leaping in his mother's womb at the sound of the Virgin Mary's voice to prove that true faith can even precede birth.²⁷ For Reformed Protestants, the answer turned instead on the doctrine of covenant: believers' children might not, yet, be believers themselves, but they were children of the covenant. The result was a peculiar bifurcation in attitudes toward children's sin and salvation. Some children—especially healthy ones, older ones, or "children" in the abstract rather than one's own son or daughter—were assumed to be hardened sinners, little packages of Augustinian depravity in need of sharp correction until such time as it might please

God to awaken them to their perilous condition. Other children—one's own children, the very young, the dangerously sick, and, above all, the very many who died in childhood—were assumed to be the simple recipients of God's mercy. Death itself was a sure sign of that mercy, as it meant a swift escape from the miseries of this world. Even England's experimental-Calvinist culture was apparently suspended when it came to sick and dying children. Impeccably orthodox Calvinist parents "invariably assumed" that their dead children were Heaven-bound, and found genuine consolation from the fact.²⁸

If adults' experiences of childhood religion were contradictory, children's experience itself is almost beyond recovery. What we have, at present at least, is disconnected anecdotes: vivid but often highly idiosyncratic incidents and narratives of childhood faith. During our period these tended to be treated by the adult world as exceptional precocity.²⁹ It is only with the child-led revivals which became common in the eighteenth century that this picture changes.³⁰ Stereotypically, conversion, like the drawn-out battles with despair which accompanied it, was a matter for young adults, on the cusp of life changes such as leaving home, marrying, or—for a few select boys—attending university. The religious patterns set in those years tended to persist for the rest of life, then as now. During the first half of the sixteenth century this meant that religious change was in some sense a generational conflict, so much so that the Reformation itself has been described as a youth movement.³¹ Even when this moment had passed, it is still worthwhile paying attention to generational change, as cohorts with radically different religious experiences succeeded one another.

Mortality patterns in this period ensured that old age was far less common than youth, although not exactly rare. Detailed testimonies of religious experience from the elderly are still all too rare, perhaps because many reporters felt the story was no longer dramatic enough to warrant regular updates. Some, perhaps many, ageing Protestants settled into a less agonized and perhaps more mature faith. The long quest for settled assurance could find its safe harbor in the quiet waters of old age. The "private exercises" which the English devotional writer Richard Willis published at the age of seventy-five are so full of settled joy that his most recent commentator imagines him "putting down his quill and leaving his prayer closet humming a psalm and beaming with beneficence."³²

However, the final confrontation with sickness and death, which could of course strike at any age, was another matter. Here, again, confessional moods appear to have pulled apart. The Lutheran deathbed was stereotypically attended by spiritual comfort and consolation, emphasizing, in the confessional era, the doctrine (which Calvinists denied) that Christ died for all, not merely for the elect. The Calvinist deathbed was, according to clerical rhetoric at least, a more rigorous and testing arena, in which the dying were expected to follow the penitential script to the end. Yet this too had its comforts, since the scripted battle with the Devil and with despair led to a scripted triumph, a testimony of salvation which could bring comfort to companions and mourners, and perhaps even to the dying themselves.³³

DOCTRINE AND EMOTION

The emotional scripts and experiences which clustered around the Protestant doctrines of salvation are an important clue to a wider priority. In reading the Reformation era's polemical and theological works, we need to focus on their emotional heft as well as their intellectual origins, logical consistency, or rhetorical effectiveness. This means distinguishing between stage arguments which may be logically central but which never truly persuaded anyone, and the arguments and assumptions which seem to have formed the emotional heart of the writer's own convictions. These arguments may be poorly articulated, and may be more visceral than logical. They are often distinguished by vivid language rather than by subtle reasoning. Yet they are vital if we are to understand why so many early modern people were convinced that certain points of doctrine were worth dying for and killing for.

Take, for example, the most divisive Reformation-era controversy, that over the Eucharist. We now understand the doctrines and the shades of difference between them tolerably well, but not the deeper question of why these differences mattered so very much to so many people.³⁴ Why did both Lutherans and Reformed Protestants find the Mass intolerable, rather than simply erroneous? And why did Lutherans find the Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist at least as offensive, whereas most Reformed writers were willing to be indulgent toward the Lutheran doctrines which they saw as erroneous? To look at these questions from the perspective of religious experience is to ask what work the different views did for believers in their spiritual lives. Take, for example, Lutheranism's so-called consubstantial doctrine, which argues that Christ's body and blood are physically present in the elements while those elements yet remained bread and wine (as opposed to transubstantiation, in which only the elements are fully transformed in their inner substance and only retain the outward appearance of bread and wine). Was the appeal of this that it was analogous to Christ's incarnation, in which he had become fully human while remaining fully divine? Or was that argument itself an *ex post facto* rationalization of a simple experience of Christ's presence in the sacrament and the assurance it brought?

The Reformed insistence that Christ is *not* physically present in the elements had a different appeal. The English polemicist Thomas Broke, amid a tedious procession of stock arguments for a firmly non-realist Eucharistic doctrine, let slip what he found unacceptable about both the Lutheran and the Catholic doctrines: they taught that "every man which receiveth the sacrament, receiveth also the natural body of Christ: be he never so wicked and unfaithful." That was not simply an error, but an intolerable profanation. Likewise, he and many other Reformed commentators rejected a physical presence, not because they found the Aristotelian logic of scholastic theology wanting, but because their gorge rose with an almost visceral revulsion at a doctrine which amounted to deicidal cannibalism, in which Christ gives believers "parcels, and gobbets of his natural, and bodily flesh to eat with their teeth."³⁵ Reginald Scot, who was as dismissive of Catholicism as he famously was of witchcraft, wrote that Catholics

are not ashamed to swear, that . . . they eat [Christ] up raw, and swallow down into their guts every member and parcel of him: and last of all, that they convey him into the place where they bestow the residue of all that which they haue devoured.³⁶

That is not an argument; it is a gag reflex. But it may betray where the roots of Eucharistic controversy lay more truly than any sophisticated theology.

This is not to say that every doctrinal controversy was a mere disguise for baser urges or for inarticulate religious experiences. Rather, it means we must treat the emotional and experiential dimension of theological controversy much as we have long treated the socioeconomic dimension. That means that we should not treat ideas crudely, as if they were window dressing for conflicts which were not in fact about what the participants thought they were about. Yet nor should we treat ideas naively, dismissing the way unspoken concerns can decisively shape conflicts. In particular, we consistently need to ask not only what the substance of a particular theological dispute was, but why that dispute mattered to the people involved. How the face value of a doctrinal issue might relate to its beating heart will vary from issue to issue, from time to time, from community to community, and, sometimes, from individual to individual. Yet if we are to make any sense of how the religious conflicts of the age unfolded, this is perhaps *the* fundamental question.

THE EXPERIENCE OF BELIEVING

If the perspective of spiritual experience is necessary for understanding the impact of Protestantism's most fundamental doctrine, justification by faith alone, it is necessary in a different way for understanding the working of its most fundamental theological method, the appeal to Scripture alone.

At the Diet of Worms, Luther took his stand not on one but on two linked authorities. His conscience, he insisted, was captive to the Word of God, and as such he dared not defy it. No other interpreter had the power to bind or to correct his conscience. It was this closed appeal to what he himself had seen in Scripture, regardless of whether anyone else had seen it, which led the Archbishop of Trier's secretary, in the Diet's initial response to Luther's statement, to declare that "you are completely mad."³⁷ In fact the truth was worse. Luther was making his own perception of reality an authority against which there was no appeal. The truth was, to him, self-evident, and no appeal to authority could override it. If the same truth was not self-evident to others, then that was their loss, but could hardly shake his own faith.

This became common ground for all Reformation traditions. However, the so-called "magisterial" reformers—the Lutheran and Reformed theologians who hoped to create universal churches—sharply distinguished their approach from that of the "radical" reformers, sometimes misleadingly labeled "Anabaptists." The magisterial reformers insisted that they sought authority in plain Scripture, which was open to all, whereas

the radicals stood instead on the shifting sands of spiritualism and prophecy, making claims that no one could test or challenge. Yet if we press the magisterial doctrine of “scripture alone,” the distinction blurs. Luther’s dictum that Christ is the Lord and King of Scripture not only allowed him to be dismissively cavalier about inconvenient biblical texts, from the epistle of James to the deuterocanonical Scriptures in their entirety, on the grounds that they did not preach Christ. It also provided him with an interpretative key to govern the interpretation of Scripture as a whole. This did not necessarily mean that his enemies were right to accuse him of twisting the text to suit his preconceived meaning. Rather, he was applying the well-established hermeneutical method of using Scripture as its own interpreter. He had learned his doctrines from Scripture, and having done so, used those doctrines to interpret the rest of Scripture. It was a respectable means of proceeding, but it was based on an almost revelatory insight. As Scott Hendrix has argued:

The authority of Scripture for Luther was not like a mathematical theorem which can be proven true for all by the use of self-evident axioms . . . Luther approached Scripture as we would approach a great work of art . . . Only as we struggle to understand the work of art, and bring to it the tools necessary to interpret it aright, and receive some of the same inspiration which the artist himself enjoyed in creating it, will the external claim of that work to be authoritative validate itself in our life.³⁸

“Scripture alone,” in this sense, is no less experiential a doctrine than “faith alone.”

Luther did not attempt to prove the authority of Scripture, but Calvin, being a systematician, could not evade the subject. The relevant passage in the *Institutes*, however, simply refuses to advance an argument. “We ought,” he insists when asserting the Bible’s authority, “to seek our conviction in a higher place than human reasons, judgements or conjectures, that is, in the secret testimony of the Spirit.” We will find this testimony “if we turn pure eyes and upright senses towards [Scripture, and] the majesty of God will immediately come to view.” That makes it sound inexorable, but he admits that it is not. “The Word will not find acceptance in men’s hearts before it is sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit.” Therefore, “Scripture is indeed self-authenticating. . . . We *feel* [‘sensusus’] that the undoubted power of his divine majesty lives and breathes there . . . a *feeling* [‘sensus’] that can be born only of heavenly revelation. I speak of nothing other than what each believer experiences within himself.”³⁹ And by extension, of what each unbeliever does not experience. Like a work of art, or an astronomical phenomenon, Scripture’s authority depends on empirical experience rather than logic and argument. You either feel it or you do not.

The achievement of magisterial Protestant theology was to take this experiential doctrine of Scripture and build on it complex, effective doctrinal structures that were able to be grounded in the text with no need for further authorities. Many Protestant radicals, from the early Anabaptists to the Quakers, were either unable to match that achievement or had no wish to. The radicals typically did not depend on direct, extra-biblical revelation, but cited the Spirit to justify their readings of Scripture, so putting those

interpretations beyond the reach of skeptical questioning. The early Anabaptist polemicist Hans Hergot called learned theologians “Scripture wizards,” who “have kidnapped the Holy Spirit and won’t release him.” The Anabaptist leader Hans Hut warned that Scripture can only be understood “through the goodness and mercy of the Holy Spirit.” “Many accept the Scriptures as if they were the essence of divine truth,” cautioned Hut’s disciple Jorg Haugk, “but they are only a witness to divine truth which must be experienced in the inner being.”⁴⁰ Over a century later, the nebulous English sect known as the Ranters supposedly distinguished between the “history” of Scripture—its dead letter—and the “mystery” of Scripture, its inner meaning which had been revealed to them.⁴¹ These views could become nakedly self-serving and were anathema to respectable Protestant theology. Yet that theology was itself ultimately grounded on a not dissimilar claim.

The point is not that magisterial Protestantism’s theological edifice was built on shaky foundations, but, on the contrary, that the experiential mode of encountering Scripture remained primary for most Protestants most of the time. The daily devotional lives of Protestant believers were soaked in the biblical text, whether memorized, transcribed, expounded, paraphrased, or simply read, aloud and silently, collectively and individually. Neither the ministers who prescribed such exercises, still less the laypeople who undertook them, saw their primary purpose as training the population up in theological controversy. Most churches actively discouraged adventurous laypeople from engaging in independent doctrinal reasoning based on their Bible reading. Quotidian Bible reading, part of the bedrock of Protestant spiritual experience, was devotional in nature and was closely aligned to the experiential encounter with the Spirit through the Word which Luther and Calvin’s doctrine of Scripture implied.

And yet the religious experience of lay Protestant Bible readers remains elusive. Bible reading may indeed have acted as a leveler, by allowing lay men and women of only modest education to encounter the sacred text. Men’s and women’s devotional experiences and practices obviously varied, with the use of spaces, roles within family piety, and practices such as pious weeping being strongly gendered. Yet it may be that Protestant piety tended to blur rather than to emphasize the sharp gender divisions present in early modern society. One important study of Englishwomen’s Bible reading and devotional writing suggests that “there is greater truth in the early modern commonplace that ‘souls have no sexes’ than is often recognized,” for “the rhetoric of the devotional voice tends to suppress gender.” And indeed, scholarly attempts to ascribe male or female authorship to anonymous devotional texts on stylistic grounds have a poor record of success.⁴²

But this is only one facet of a wider problem, namely the bias both of our sources and of our historiography toward debate and polemic, and away from the often non-discursive lived reality of devotional experience. We know a great deal now, for example, about the emotional culture which Reformation preachers were trying to inculcate; the study of the layperson’s experience of such sermons remains much less developed.⁴³ The devotional experience of Protestant worship is still mysterious. One recent study concluded, plausibly, that “prolonged exposure to Lutheran worship . . . played a key

role, both in the establishment of discipline, and in the education of the laity in matters of belief.”⁴⁴ Actually reconstructing the sensory experience of such worship and its somatic effects is another matter.⁴⁵ Music is an important part of the story, as both Reformed psalmody and Lutheran hymnody could mobilize and involve whole congregations in worship in new ways, and quietly train a population in a new culture of piety.⁴⁶ The religious experience of the laity outside church buildings is harder still. The material culture of everyday Protestant life remains a badly under-explored subject: as one powerful recent study of Protestant domestic interiors in England and Scotland suggests, even Reformed Protestantism was much less “iconophobic” than its polemicists might lead us to believe.⁴⁷ The natural world, too, had a powerful part to play in religious experience.⁴⁸

All of which is to say: The nature of Protestant spiritual experience remains, to a remarkable extent, an undiscovered country. It is at least now clear how fundamental a question this is to any understanding of the Reformation. Mapping out that question, and beginning to tease out some answers, is one of the principal scholarly challenges before us.

NOTES

1. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Fontana, 1991).
2. Andreas Bähr, *Furcht und Furchtlosigkeit: Göttliche Gewalt und Selbstkonstitution im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Tom Schwanda, *Soul Recreation: The Contemplative-Mystical Piety of Puritanism* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012).
3. Richard Strier, “Against the Rule of Reason,” in Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 23–28.
4. Thomas More, *The Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer*, ed. Louis A. Schuster et al. (*The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, vol. 8. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1973), II, 742.
5. David Bagchi, “Luther and the Problem of Martyrology,” in Diana Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Studies in Church History, vol. 30. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 209–220.
6. Martin Luther, “The Freedom of a Christian,” in *Three Treatises* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1970), 279, 283–284.
7. Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 96–98.
8. Robert Kolb, *Luther’s Heirs Define His Legacy: Studies on Lutheran Confessionalisation* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), I, 8–9.
9. Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*, 128–130.
10. Thomas S. Freeman, “Dissenters from a Dissenting Church: The Challenge of the Freewillers, 1550–1558,” in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 151–152.

11. Paul Regan, "Calvinism and the Dutch Israel Thesis," in Bruce Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, vol. II (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 91–106; John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes* (London: John Day, 1559), sig. P4v.
12. A case made most forcibly by John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
13. Robert Bruce, *Sermons Preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1591), sig. I3r–v.
14. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Routledge, 1992), 114–115, 158.
15. Nicholas Bownde, *Medicines for the Plague that is, Godly and Fruitfull Sermons vpon Part of the Twentieth Psalme* (London: A. Islip and F. Kingston for C. Burbie, 1604), 131, 133.
16. Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, ca.1590–1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
17. Robert Linaker, *A Comfortable Treatise, for the Reliefe of Such as are Afflicted in Conscience* (London: W. Stansby for John Parker, 1620), 25.
18. Vavasor Powell, *Spirituall Experiences, of sundry Beleevers* (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1653), 78.
19. William Perkins, *The First Part of the Cases of Conscience* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1604), 104–105. On Perkins, see now W. B. Patterson, *William Perkins and the Making of a Protestant England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
20. William Cowper, *A Most Comfortable and Christian Dialogue, betweene the Lord, and the Soule* (London: T. Snodham for John Budge, 1611), 32, 50.
21. Genesis 32:24–30.
22. George Herbert, *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), 51.
23. Samuel Torshell, *The Saints Humiliation* (London: John Dawson for Henry Overton, 1633), 1.
24. Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 434–436; Kate Narveson, "Resting Assured in Lay Piety: The Lay Experience," in Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
25. W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 136–137.
26. See the pioneering discussion in Alexandra Walsham, "The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, ca.1500–1700," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser. 21 (2011): 93–121.
27. Luther, *Luther's Works vol. 40: Church and Ministry II*, ed. Conrad Bergendoff (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1958), 242.
28. Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 153; Ryrie, "Facing Childhood Death in Puritan Spirituality," in Katie Barclay, Ciara Rawnsley, and Kimberley Reynolds (eds.), *Small Graves: Death, Emotion and Childhood in the Early Modern Period* (forthcoming).
29. Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 428–436; Ryrie, "Facing Childhood Death."
30. Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening*.
31. Susan Brigden, "Youth and the English Reformation." *Past & Present* 95 (1982): 37–67.
32. Narveson, "Resting Assured in Lay Piety," 189.
33. Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*, 195–214; Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 460–468.

34. Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
35. Thomas Broke, *Certeyn Meditations, and Thinges to be Had in Remembraunce* (London: W. Seres for J. Day, 1548), sigs. A3v, A5v.
36. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), 191.
37. Luther, *Luther's Works* vol. 32: *Career of the Reformer II*, ed. George W. Forell (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1958), 113.
38. Scott Hendrix, *Tradition and Authority in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), II, 147.
39. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1960), 78–81 (emphasis added); cf. Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis* (Geneva: Robert I. Estienne, 1559), 16.
40. Walter Klaassen, Frank Friesen, and Werner O. Packull (eds.), *Sources of South German/Austrian Anabaptism* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2001), 19, 24, 45.
41. A. L. Morton, *The World of the Ranters* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1970), 82.
42. Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Religious Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 132–133, 179–180, 194.
43. For the former, see Karant-Nunn, *Reformation of Feeling*; for the latter, Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
44. P. J. Broadhead, “Public Worship, Liturgy and the Introduction of the Lutheran Reformation in the Territorial Lands of Nuremberg,” *English Historical Review* 120/486 (2005): 302.
45. Some of these issues are addressed in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): see especially John Craig’s article, “Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547–1642.”
46. See, for example, Daniel Trocmé-Latter, *The Singing of the Strasbourg Protestants, 1523–1541* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and a classic article, W. Stanford Reid, “The Battle Hymns of the Lord: Calvinist Psalmody of the Sixteenth Century,” *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 2 (1971): 36–54.
47. Tara Hamling, *Decorating the “Godly” Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010).
48. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

FURTHER READING

- Broomhall, Susan (ed.) *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Corrigan, John (ed.) *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

- Coster, Will and Andrew Spicer (eds.) *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Dixon, Leif. *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590–1640*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Hamling, Tara. *Decorating the “Godly” Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Hunt, Arnold. *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Kagan, Jerome. *What is Emotion? History, Measures, and Meanings*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Karant-Nunn, Susan C. *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Narveson, Kate. *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Religious Self-Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012.
- Paster, Gail Kern, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds.) *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Ryrie, Alec. *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Ryrie, Alec and Tom Schwanda (eds.) *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Stachniewski, John. *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Walsham, Alexandra. “The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, ca.1500–1700,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser. 21 (2011): 93–121.
- Ward, W. R. *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

CHAPTER 4

REFORMING TIME

ROBIN B. BARNES

THE movements of religious reform that exploded in sixteenth-century northern Europe were intimately bound up with epoch-making shifts in perceptions of time and history. Protestant outlooks and teachings were shaped on a basic level by broader ongoing transformations in late medieval and early modern temporal sensibilities. Yet they also marked the explicit rejection of certain key inherited assumptions, and in several respects they dramatically accelerated or redirected prior trends. This essay will attempt to sketch out the significance of the major Protestant strains in connection with three general approaches to time: as mundane experience (hours, days, months, and years); as a theological concept (in relation to eternity); and as an historical and prophetic narrative (in apocalyptic visions concerning the past, present, and future of the world). Our treatment thus moves from more immediately perceived human forms of time to more abstract doctrinal, historical, and eschatological conceptions. Yet these dimensions cannot be cleanly separated; indeed at many points they were interconnected, as at least some recent scholarship has come to recognize.

The manifold branches of Protestantism by no means followed a single path in negotiating these realms, but on the whole they worked forcefully to measure and chart worldly duration, to define the boundaries between time and eternity, and to locate present circumstances within a universal narrative. The following pages will propose that one overall consequence of these impulses was heightened anxiety, both personal and collective. As the great twentieth-century early modernist William Bouwsma explained in a classic essay, human anxiety is essentially a function of attitudes toward time; it arises from uncertainty about the future.¹ Scholars have often identified increasing anxiety as a characteristic of modernity (not to mention postmodernity), an inevitable accompaniment to the dissolution of presumably comforting premodern or pre-critical fictions. From this perspective we might see sixteenth- and seventeenth-century changes as effecting at least a partial disenchantment of time. Yet as we will see, the outlooks that came to prevail in the Reformation era remained quite far from anything one could justifiably call “modern.”

Neither abstract categories such as “enchantment” or “disenchantment,” nor preconceptions about “medieval” and “modern” modes of experience, afford adequate tools for