Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation

Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation

herausgegeben von Volker Leppin (Tübingen)

in Verbindung mit
Amy Nelson Burnett (Lincoln, NE), Berndt Hamm (Erlangen)
Johannes Helmrath (Berlin), Matthias Pohlig (Münster)
Eva Schlotheuber (Düsseldorf)

66
The Reformation as Christianization

Essays on Scott Hendrix’s Christianization Thesis

Edited by
Anna Marie Johnson and John A. Maxfield

Mohr Siebeck
Anna Marie Johnson, born 1973; 1996 BA St. Olaf College; 2001 M.Div. Princeton Theological Seminary; 2008 PhD Princeton Theological Seminary; 2008–09 Adjunct Professor at Loyola University Chicago; since 2010 Visiting Assistant Professor of Reformation History at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary.

John A. Maxfield, born 1963; 1985 BA Gettysburg College; 1989 M.Div. Concordia Theological Seminary; 1990 MA (History) Indiana University; 2004 PhD (History) Princeton Theological Seminary; since 2009 Assistant Professor of Religious Studies, Concordia University College of Alberta.
Acknowledgements

The idea for this book began as a twofold undertaking: to honor Scott Hendrix on the occasion of his seventieth birthday and to give a forum for discussion of his views on the coherence and significance of the Reformation that found their fullest expression in his 2004 book, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization*. We are grateful to the nineteen scholars who agreed to lend their efforts and expertise to this conversation. Each one of them was enthusiastic, thoughtful, supportive and prompt, all of which was greatly appreciated. Several scholars helped us formulate the precise aim of the book and begin the process of making it a reality. We are especially grateful to Paul Rorem, Bob Kolb, and Ron Rittgers for their guidance and collegiality. Bob Kolb took collegial cooperation to the utmost by also helping us select and invite contributors, and finally by translating one of the essays included here.

We are also grateful to both of our institutions for their support of this project. Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary offered not only the time for this work, but also funding for editorial assistance in proofing the final drafts of the chapters. Thanks to the administration and trustees for providing those resources and to R. Daniel Smith for his meticulous work in the editing process. Concordia University College of Alberta provided a collegial atmosphere of creative scholars and students for a new assistant professor, and an outstanding library and staff.

Berndt Hamm and Henning Ziebritzki at Mohr Siebeck were ideal collaborators over the development of this volume. They provided the scholarly freedom to form the book as we saw fit, and they were unfailingly patient and conscientious as the project moved through its various phases.

Finally we thank our Doktorvater, Scott Hendrix, for his collegial encouragement over the years. We hope he enjoys this volume as much as we have enjoyed learning from him.

Anna Marie Johnson
Evanston, Illinois

John A. Maxfield
Edmonton, Alberta
October 2011
Contents

Acknowledgements ............................................. V
Abbreviations .................................................. IX
Introduction ..................................................... 1

Christendom and Christianization in the Middle Ages
and the Reformation

Robert Bireley, S. J.
The “Reformation” as a Response to the Changing World
of the Sixteenth Century: Reflections on Scott Hendrix’s
Recultivating the Vineyard .................................... 11

Gerald Christianson
From Conciliar to Curial Reform in the Late Middle Ages .... 33

Carter Lindberg
“Christianization” and Luther on the Early Profit Economy .... 49

Timothy J. Wengert
Philip Melanchthon on “Christianity” .......................... 79

James Stayer
Three Phases of “Christianization” (?) among Reformation Radicals . 101

Martin Luther’s Agenda

James M. Estes
Clergymen, Princes, and Luther’s Agenda ........................ 125

John A. Maxfield
Martin Luther and Idolatry ..................................... 141
Risto Saarinen
Luther and Beneficia ................................................. 169

Russell Kleckley
Recultivating Natural Philosophy: Luther, the Magi, and the
“Fools of Natural Knowledge” ..................................... 189

Rechristianizing Women, Men, and the Family

Elsie Anne McKee
Martin Luther through the Eyes of Katharina Schütz Zell .......... 213

Merry Wiesner-Hanks
Jacob’s Branches and Laban’s Flocks: Christianizing the
Maternal Imagination .................................................. 231

Susan C. Karant-Nunn
The Tenderness of Daughters, the Waywardness of Sons:
Martin Luther as a Father ............................................. 245

Austra Reinis
Christianizing Church, State, and Household: The Sermons of
Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603) on the Household Table of Duties . . 257

Reforming Religious Practice

Berndt Hamm
Reform, Reformation, Confession: The Development of New Forms
of Religious Meaning from the Manifold Tensions of the Middle Ages 285

Robert Kolb
Recultivation of the Vineyard in Sixteenth-Century Lutheran Exegesis
and Preaching ........................................................... 305

Ronald K. Rittgers
Christianization Through Consolation: Urbanus Rhegius’s
Soul-Medicine for the Healthy and the Sick in These
Dangerous Times (1529) .................................................. 321
# Theological Controversies and Christianization

*Volker Leppin*

Polarities in Conflict: The Late Medieval Roots of the Disputes between the Reformers and their Opponents ................................. 349

*Amy Nelson Burnett*

“According to the Oldest Authorities”: The Use of the Church Fathers in the Early Eucharistic Controversy ........................................... 373

*Irene Dinger*

Pruning the Vines, Plowing Up the Vineyard: The Sixteenth-Century Culture of Controversy between Disputation and Polemic .......... 397

Bibliography of the Writings of Scott H. Hendrix ........................................ 409

Contributors ........................................................................................................ 419

Index ...................................................................................................................... 423
Abbreviations


Lutheran Confessions


AC Augsburg Confession (1530)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ap.</td>
<td>Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>Formula of Concord (1577)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Large Catechism (1529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Small Catechism (1529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord (1577)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope (1537)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

Anna Marie Johnson and John A. Maxfield

Scott H. Hendrix’s *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* presented a provocative thesis. Arguing against a decades-long trend that emphasized diversity and particularity among sixteenth-century reform movements, Hendrix instead highlighted the coherence he saw at the center of the various movements. Where Reformation historians had focused on theological differences and the formation of distinct confessional groups, Hendrix instead focused on a common desire and goal to re-Christianize Europe. Lutheran, Reformed, Radical, and Catholic reformers all thought that the Christianity of their time was an inadequate form of Christian faith and life, and they sought to cultivate a more authentic Christianity in their communities and churches. The goal all reformers shared, according to Hendrix, can be summarized by the term Christianization.

A unified goal, however, does not imply unified convictions or outcomes. Hendrix notes that “the diversification of Christianity was already under way prior to the Reformation,” and he accounts for the division of Reformation movements into confessional churches as he describes the agendas of various reformers and movements in the chapters of the book. But his thesis is that the era is not defined primarily by the diversity, disagreements, and even the religious divisions that resulted from the various reform movements of the sixteenth century, but rather by the intensity of efforts to realize the common goal of Christianization and the outcomes that resulted, even if unintentionally, from that goal. Protestant reformers (including Radical reformers) viewed the religious culture they inherited as riddled with idolatry, while Catholic reformers sought the more limited goal of reforming the existing, divinely instituted structures and institutions of the Roman church. Yet all participated in the “restructuring of Christianity and the redrawing of the religious and political map of Europe” that defines the Reformation as a distinct historical epoch with significant cultural impact in the history of Western civilization. In Hendrix’s

---

2 Ibid., 160.
3 Ibid., xviii.
view, this restructuring of Christianity conformed to the goal of Christianization even though none of the reformers intended the outcome of a divided, confessional Christianity. Significant to the Christianization thesis and to Hendrix’s view of the Reformation, then, is that the process of confessionalization that emerged as its outcome was not the co-opting of religious institutions and values by secularizing, absolutist states but rather “was the continuation of efforts to Christianize European cities and territories.”

Thus Hendrix views the Reformation as a distinct epoch that continues well into the seventeenth century.

Hendrix’s thesis challenges the way we imagine the Reformation. If there is a fundamental coherence to the Reformation, then narratives of reform must be reversed. Instead of beginning with difference, what happens if we begin with commonality? This experiment can be applied to everything from theologians to artisans. Hendrix’s own application focused on the goals of the reformers, arguing that they began with the common goal of Christianization and diverged in the specific agendas they employed to reach that goal. So, for example, Karlstadt’s radicalism was closer to Luther than is often told, for Luther also viewed the Christendom of his day as infested with idolatry that needed to be rooted out, though in a different way than Karlstadt was proposing. Luther was also more similar to the urban reformers than is often acknowledged, for he, too, was concerned not solely with justification by faith but also with the reform and improvement of Christian life and society. Various radical movements shared these assessments of and goals for Christianity in their day, even though their agendas called for a sharper break from past (and present) communities, and eventually to a “Christianization outside Christendom.”

Catholic reform, well underway since the early fifteenth century, became Catholic Reformation as new orders and missionary enterprises, and especially the Council of Trent, brought about a restructuring of the papal church that made early modern Roman Catholicism a particular, confessional church instead of the universal church in the West. Taking up the provocative thesis of Gerald Strauss that the Reformation tried but failed “to make people – all people – think, feel, and act as Christians,” Hendrix concluded that this was indeed the goal of Protestant and Catholic reform movements, and that they were more successful in achieving this goal than has often been granted, even though disappointments abounded.

Nevertheless, lingering disappointments were tempered by the expectation of a great harvest to come that they would not see but that would finally fulfill their vision. … By hoping for the transformation of hearts and minds, the reformers of early modern Europe were also hoping for a transformation of history, and if that transformation could

---

4 Ibid., 157.
not be accomplished in the present, then it would be completed, they believed, in an age yet to come.⁶

This “Christianization thesis,” as we are calling it, invites historians to talk to one another about the larger questions of Reformation history. The essays in this volume are a response to the interpretive challenge raised by Recultivating the Vineyard. They are intended to test Hendrix’s thesis by applying the research and perspectives of nineteen Reformation scholars to critique, modify, or expand its framework. It is a Festschrift of sorts, timed to coincide with Hendrix’s seventieth birthday, but it is intended to be a genuine debate in which the merits and deficits of the thesis are parsed and its usefulness tested. In other words, it is intended to honor the careful and incisive scholarship that Scott Hendrix has contributed to Reformation history by fostering a careful and incisive discussion of his scholarship among his colleagues.

Hendrix began his scholarly career as a student of Heiko Oberman’s in Tübingen, Germany. There he labored in the Institut für Spätmittelalter und Reformation and joined several other young scholars in the study of Luther’s first lectures on the Psalter. Hendrix’s dissertation was completed in 1971 and published in 1974 as “Ecclesia in via”: Ecclesiological Developments in the Medieval Psalms Exegesis and the Dictata super psalterium (1513–1515) of Martin Luther. In this work, Hendrix used Luther’s early Psalms lectures to argue that his divergences from late medieval views on ecclesiology can be traced to his early theology. Luther’s later protest, then, was an outgrowth of his ecclesiology, and his new view of the church in the reform treatises of 1520 was more than a reaction to his conflict with the church hierarchy. Hendrix’s further research continued to focus on Luther and the circumstances that set the course for Luther’s movement. Early articles by Hendrix examined various aspects of late medieval ecclesiology, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century reform movements, and Luther’s early conflicts with the Catholic hierarchy. Some of these works were published in 1996, alongside later essays, in the book Tradition and Authority in the Reformation.

Hendrix’s second monograph, Luther and the Papacy: Stages in a Reformation Conflict, was published in 1981. In that work, he traced seven stages of Luther’s growing opposition to the papacy, illustrating and explicating the causes of the conflict at each stage. Luther and the Papacy helped fill in the historical record on one of the most-researched aspects of Luther’s life, showing how a combination of Luther’s convictions, failed negotiations, and historical circumstance ultimately led to mutual antipathy. Even more significantly, Luther and the Papacy probed the important question of the reasons for Luther’s protest. Was Luther primarily a theologian who objected to the doctrine of the late medieval church? An overly-anxious monk in desperate need of a more grace-centered theology? A rebellious soul still reeling from the strict discipline of his father? Hendrix

⁶ Hendrix, Recultivating the Vineyard, 174.
presented a portrait of a reformer who was indeed theologically astute, religiously scrupulous, and personally acerbic, yet he located Luther’s concerns about the papacy primarily in his sense of pastoral responsibility. Luther’s protest against the papacy was fueled by his conviction that the pope, though claiming to be the shepherd of the faithful, was in fact leading the faithful astray. The longer the conflict continued, the more convinced Luther became that the papacy had knowingly abdicated its duty to the faithful; his protest became an open challenge and, finally, obstinacy.

Although his publishing projects were focused on Luther, Hendrix maintained an active interest in other aspects of Reformation history all the while. Those interests were given the chance to develop further when he stopped teaching for several years in order to train and practice as a marriage and family therapist. In addition to fostering an interest in marriage and family in the Reformation, this hiatus also gave him the time to develop burgeoning interests, such as the Augsburg reformer Urbanus Rhegius, the use of the church fathers in Reformation debates, and the history of the Lutheran Confessions. Being trained and engaged professionally in therapeutic practices also pushed Hendrix to consider new paradigms and to contemplate the motivations of the reformers. All of these inclinations can be seen in Recultivating the Vineyard, which considers the broad range of sixteenth-century reform movements, places them in a new paradigm, and holds the question of motives at the center.

Scott Hendrix spent most of his teaching career in the context of theological education and pastoral formation at Lutheran seminaries, and he ended it at Princeton Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian seminary with an ecumenical faculty and student body. His scholarship, however, has also engaged the much broader field of international Reformation studies, including those of political, social, and cultural history. The nineteen essayists who have contributed the chapters of this volume reflect that broad circle of international Reformation scholars.

Roman Catholic scholar Robert Bireley opens the volume by incorporating the Christianization thesis into his view of the Catholic Reformation as a response to the manifold and significant changes of the sixteenth-century world. Gerald Christianson then applies the vineyard theme to the fifteenth century, especially to conciliar efforts at recultivation and reform. Carter Lindberg offers a critique of the Christianization thesis, using Luther’s views on usury and early modern capitalism as a case study in the reformer’s limited application of Christian teaching to societal reform. Timothy J. Wengert takes up the understanding of Christendom and various terms for “Christianity” in the thought and writings of Luther’s colleague Philip Melanchthon. James M. Stayer critiques the Christianization thesis by challenging scholars to abandon viewing Luther as normative for biblical studies and to recognize “the religious insufficiencies of any conception of ‘Christianization.’” After an overview of the goals
and agendas of various radical reformers, Stayer concludes that “intensification of religious commitment” better characterizes the goals of sixteenth-century reformers than does “Christianization.”

In a section devoted to Martin Luther’s agenda, James M. Estes opens with a careful analysis of the reformer’s *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520), in addition to other works and events, to amend Hendrix’s view in *Recultivating the Vineyard* that “Luther attributed to the laity ‘as much right and obligation to reform Christendom’ as the clergy.”

John A. Maxfield endorses Hendrix’s view of Luther as waging his own “war against the idols” and further develops that thesis. He argues that the bitter divisions between Luther and other reformers are best explained by different views of idolatry and their resulting contrary convictions regarding how idolatry should be weeded out of Christendom. Risto Saarinen takes up the theme of “gifts” in Luther’s theology and presents a case for viewing the Christianization of social culture as a major part of Luther’s agenda. Russell Kleckley picks up the “replanting” image in Hendrix’s view of Luther and applies it to the reformer’s theological interest in promoting natural philosophy in the University of Wittenberg’s curriculum.

Hendrix’s interests in gender and the family in Reformation studies played a relatively minor role in *Recultivating the Vineyard*, but several scholars identify connections between this theme and Christianization. In a section of essays devoted to women, men, and the family, Hendrix’s former colleague at Princeton, Elsie Anne McKee, explores the Strasbourg reformer Katharina Schütz Zell’s view of and relationship with Martin Luther. McKee carefully analyzes how Schütz Zell’s gender played a role in her relationships with various reformers and how Luther viewed this remarkable woman. Merry Wiesner-Hanks takes up Luther’s exposition of Genesis to reflect on the reformer’s appeals for gentle (and thus *Christian*) treatment of pregnant women in an age that often accorded the maternal imagination great power, especially when something went wrong. Susan C. Karant-Nunn explores Martin Luther’s relationship as a father with his own children. Through analysis of sermons on the Household Table of Duties by the Lutheran court preacher Aegidius Hunnius, Austra Reinis takes up the Christianization thesis in relation to the later sixteenth century as a time of confessionalization.

In the section devoted to Christian religious practice and piety, Berndt Hamm’s chapter shows how Christianization entailed the selective reception of diverse late medieval traditions. Hamm argues that the efforts to standardize late medieval piety and theology actually led the Reformation to splinter into various confessions because the new norms were too rigid. Robert Kolb traces the use of the image and metaphor of reformers cultivating the vineyard through

---

7 See pp. 104 and 122 below.
8 See pp. 125–26 below.
sixteenth-century Lutheran exegesis and preaching. Ronald K. Rittgers takes up the Christianization thesis in an analysis of the consolation literature by the Evangelical reformer Urbanus Rhegius, describing Rhegius as “a missionary who sought to make Christendom more authentically Christian through the development and promotion of an evangelical ministry of consolation.”9

The final section of the book looks at the theological controversies that were so prominent in the sixteenth century, which have led at least one historian to the conclusion that “the most important feature of the story of sixteenth-century Christianity was that a fundamental and fateful division occurred.”10 By focusing on the missionary goals of the reformers, Hendrix characterized the theological controversies and institutional divisions of the Reformation with the positive metaphor of recultivation, an integral part of the restructuring of Christianity that, for Hendrix, defines the Reformation as an epoch in church history. Three essays in this book explore some of these controversies. Volker Leppin points to the interplay of late medieval polarities in various Reformation movements to explain the diversity that resulted from the Reformation. For Leppin, the Reformation heightened existing polarities and made them into distinct movements, while opposition from Rome created unity among these diverse movements. Amy Nelson Burnett analyzes the uses of the church fathers in the early controversy on the Lord’s Supper between Luther (and his followers) and the Swiss and South Germans. She concludes that it was not just differing social contexts that led to the lasting divisions between the communities that eventually came to be known as Lutheran and Reformed, but also significant disagreements over biblical interpretation and the teaching of the early church fathers. In the final essay, Irene Dingel explores the “culture of controversy” that took a particular shape in the wake of the controversy over the Interim beginning in 1548. She concludes that such a culture was a natural and inevitable outcome of the recultivation of Christendom taken on by the reformers of the sixteenth century.

The authors in this volume present a variety of perspectives on the Christianization thesis, both in the angles they use to approach the thesis and in their assessments of its usefulness. Some have found Christianization to be a helpful concept for framing their own research findings and for re-evaluating prior research. Some have judged Christianization to be an apt description of some aspects of the Reformation, but less apt for other aspects. And some authors have maintained that the concept of Christianization does not lend itself to an accurate depiction of the manifold viewpoints and events in sixteenth-century

——

9 See p. 322 below.
10 Hans J. Hillerbrand, The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), x. Hillerbrand repeatedly uses the destructive term “conflagration” to describe the events ignited by Luther and engulfing European Christianity and society in the sixteenth century.
church and society. The purpose of this volume is not to reach a consensus, but instead to foster a discussion about the interpretation and significance of the Reformation. It is, as Hendrix described it in the opening lines of *Recultivating the Vineyard*, an attempt to see the forest and not just the trees. *Recultivating the Vineyard* challenged the discussion of the Reformation to move beyond the safe confines of microhistory, and the contributors here have taken up that challenge.
Christendom and Christianization in the Middle Ages and the Reformation
Scott Hendrix has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the Reformation era with his *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization*. It represents a welcome attempt to see the forest as well as the trees, as the author puts it, when we look at the religious changes of the sixteenth century. His volume develops further a line of interpretative scholarship that emphasizes the common elements of the religious traditions that competed with one another starting in the early sixteenth century. For these traditions taken together, including the Catholic, he uses the term “Reformation,” even though he prefers to use it to designate, more traditionally, the Protestant Reformation.

So he builds on a scholarship that dates back at least to Jean Delumeau’s companion volumes *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* (1965) and *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (1977; French original, 1971), which he discusses, and John Bossy’s *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (1985), which he mentions briefly. For Delumeau the sixteenth century represented the first effective Christianization of rural Europe by Catholic and Protestant preaching; until then rural Europe remained to a significant degree pagan.

More directly Hendrix builds on the theory of confessionalization that has its roots in the work of Ernst Walter Zeeden. Zeeden provided a new conceptual framework into which to fit the religious changes of the sixteenth century. In a seminal article of 1958 Zeeden called for the comparative study of the growth of the principal Christian churches, or confessions, that emerged in the sixteenth century. He designated the common elements in the formation of confessions as “confessionalism” (*Konfessionsbildung*). This he defined as “the organizational and intellectual hardening” of the diverging Christian confessions after the collapse of Christian unity into more or less stable church structures with their own doctrines, church orders, and religious and moral styles. It also included their active intervention in the world of the sixteenth century and
their relationship to non-ecclesiastical entities, especially the state.\textsuperscript{1} Noteworthy here is that confessionalism can also be applied to churches or religious groups that were not affiliated with the state, that is, not state churches, such as communities of the Radical Christian tradition or the Jews. Wolfgang Reinhard subsequently listed seven procedures common to the development of a confession: the elaboration of clear theological positions or “confessions” of faith; their promulgation and implementation through institutional forms, such as papal nuntiatures, synods, visitations; their internalization through preaching and education, especially schools and seminaries; the use of media of communication, especially the printing press, to propagandize, and the use of censorship to hinder the propaganda of others; disciplinary measures, such as the visitation of parishes and excommunication; control of the nature of and access to rites; and the development of a peculiar confessional language, as, for example, the use of particular saints’ names in the baptism of infants.\textsuperscript{2}

Reinhard then and Heinz Schilling later took confessionalism further and introduced the term “confessionalization” (Konfessionalisierung). This term added and emphasized the role of “social discipline,” a term assumed from the work of Gerhard Oestreich, in the emergence of the confession, and they associated the confessions with the growth of the early modern state. By enhancing the unity of subjects or citizens, instilling a sense of loyalty and obedience to authority, and making it easy for a ruler to make use of church resources, confessionalization aided the development of the state.\textsuperscript{3}

This theory fit particularly well the situation in the Holy Roman Empire with its many medium-sized and small states. Initially, it proposed a model that postulated action from the top down, that is, the imposition of norms and prescriptions by authority, either of church or state, or of the two together, on an obedient populace. But more and more it became evident that this model did not fit reality. Movement was not only from the top down but also from the bottom up, that is, in many cases authorities were not able to simply settle their will upon the people. Resistance arose from the bottom, so that confessionalization often became a matter of negotiation between authorities and subjects and so the theory experienced many modifications.\textsuperscript{4}


\textsuperscript{4} See, for example, the two volumes by Marc Forster, The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720 (Ithaca: Cornell University
What Hendrix has now done is to relate the concept of Christianization more directly to the theory of confessionalization. He intends, as he relates, more to describe than to explain. Drawing upon the terminology of John van Engen, Hendrix understands Christianization as the shaping of the culture of both high and low through Christian teachings and practices. The first Christianization of Europe began in the early medieval period and continued up to the end of the fifteenth century. In his first chapter, following the introductory one, Hendrix describes and assesses this medieval Christianization calling attention at the end to reform efforts of the late Middle Ages. The “second act” of Christianization, according to Hendrix who takes this term over from Constantine Fasolt, was the Reformation period. The next four chapters describe the way in which the four main Reformation traditions undertook to Christianize European society: the Lutheran, the urban (the Zwinglian, the Strasbourg, and the Calvinist), the Radical Christian, and the Catholic. The main thesis that Hendrix makes here is that all four traditions started out with the same goal, the Christianization of society. Its twofold goal was “to reform the rituals of late-medieval piety in conformity with sound doctrine,” and “to create more sincere and intentional believers by transforming people’s minds and hearts.” These are the elements that are common to all of them. In this sense we can speak of a “Refashioning of Christianity” as Hendrix does, modifying the title of my book The Refashioning of Catholicism.

What stands out in Hendrix’s understanding of Christianization is the emphasis on the elimination of what was considered idolatry, superstition, or false worship. The reformers were concerned about the practice of religion in the first place, not doctrine, according to Hendrix. They took offense at the abuses that they found in the veneration of Mary and the saints, indulgences, pilgrimages, and other similar practices. In some cases this led to iconoclastic outbursts as in Wittenberg, Zurich, and later in the Netherlands. Interestingly, Hendrix does not point to institutional as opposed to liturgical or devotional abuses, such as absenteeism, pluralism, the exaggeration of papal authority, and questionable financial practices as a source of the reformers’ concern. Generally, he relegates his discussion of the institutional and doctrinal features that underlay the differences between Protestant and Catholic practice to a secondary position. The reformers (including the Catholics) then diverged fundamentally over two gen-

---


7 Hendrix, Recultivating, 148.

8 Ibid., 123–24.
eral issues. The first was over what more specifically constituted an abuse. Here Hendrix places the different traditions on a scale according to the degree to which they wanted to spiritualize religion. The Zwinglian/Calvinist, and it would seem the Radical too, aimed at the greatest spiritualization of religion, and so the elimination of material elements from worship as well as any intermediaries between man and God. So there followed their rejection of all images, which they considered to lead to idolatry, and to their position on the spiritual presence of the Lord in the Eucharist. The Lutherans occupied a middle ground. They retained some images and veneration of biblical saints as well as elements of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. The Catholics also sought the reform of abuses of worship, as was evident in the reform decrees of the Council of Trent, but they aimed at the elimination of the superstitions connected with many of the material elements of worship, not the end of the practices themselves. So they retained the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the veneration of the saints, indulgences, and many other pious practices. Hendrix does not use the term, but one may say that the Catholic tradition remained thoroughly incarnational.

Where the reformers then diverged still more fundamentally was over how to deal with the elimination of abuses. It was these divergences, then, over the nature of idolatrous abuses and especially the way to end them and to lead the people to a deeper understanding and more intelligent practice of the Christian life that gave birth, according to Hendrix, to the formation of the main Christian confessions or churches. This was never the intention of the reformers. They all envisioned the Christianization of society, and it is this common vision that unified all the major Reformation traditions, including the Catholic tradition. It is the merit of Recultivating the Vineyard to have highlighted this unifying element of the Reformation period and to show how it eventually yielded to confessionalization.

Certainly Christianization constituted a major element in what has come to be called Catholic Reform or Early Modern Catholicism. John O’Malley emphasized in The First Jesuits that the principal goal of the Jesuits was the Christianization (Christianitas) of people and of society in the sense of their advancement in the Christian life, and he was disinclined to use the term “reform” for this effort. According to O’Malley, reform should be taken in a more limited, technical sense of a return to the observance of the ecclesiastical canons, which applied to the clergy and which was enacted at the Council of Trent. But if we take the term “reform” in its more general sense of a conversion of heart on the

---

9 The Radicals do not fit cleanly on this scale; they might be located between the Calvinists and the Lutherans. For Hendrix they are characterized by the high level of expectations they held for all Christians and for their gradual movement toward separation.

part of individuals or of society, its meaning comes very close to Christianization. And as Hendrix points out, the term “reformation” was often used by Catholics as well as Protestants. Furthermore, reform connotes that matters were in a bad state. But in fact, as much recent research has shown, the church was not in such a bad state on the eve of the Protestant Reformation. Certainly, though there were abuses, matters were not continually sliding from bad to worse as was often portrayed in an older Protestant historiography. Ignatius Loyola did not see himself as a “reformer” but as a missionary.

Hendrix sees the start of the “second act” of Christianization with the sixteenth century. I would place it at the Council of Constance (1414–18) where there originated the call for “reform in faith and practice and in head and members” that echoed throughout much of the fifteenth century. The century saw a renewed emphasis on preaching, especially in the towns where the friars played a major role. One historian has written for northern France that “never before had there been so much preaching, never before had sacred orators enjoyed such popular success.” Standouts were the Dominicans Vincent Ferrer and Girolamo Savonarola, and the Franciscans Bernardine of Siena and John Capistrano. Cities vied to contract famous preachers for the sermons of Lent and Advent. After the invention of the printing press in the 1450s, religious books dominated the market. Bibles appeared in the vernacular languages except English, as did many helps for prayer such as missals, psalters, and books of hours. A classic was the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis. Confraternities dotted medieval Europe. These social and religious brotherhoods that were often associated with occupational groups grew in the course of the fifteenth century. Rouen with a population of roughly 40,000 counted 131 confraternities toward the end of the fifteenth century. In Italy after the start of the Italian wars, confraternities turned to dealing with those wounded or displaced. Observant branches of the Dominicans and Franciscans were formed with the intention of returning to a strict practice of the rule. Even the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 can be seen as an effort to promote the practice of the Christian life. The recent multi-volume French *Histoire du christianisme* entitles the volume for the period from 1450 to 1530 *De la Reforme à la Reformation*, so it


Index

Absenteeism, episcopal 13, 47
Abuse(s)
– ecclesiastical 13–15, 18, 40–41, 127, 146, 326, 330
– involving veneration of saints 23
– involving images 144, 151–52, 156n, 158, 168
– of Christian freedom 329n
– of justice 313
– of natural philosophy 202
– physical 243
Acceptation of Mainz (1439) 47
Adam (see also Fall, Adam’s) 99, 191, 193, 196, 253n, 280
Adamic nature, old Adam 314, 339
Ad fontes 80n, 82
Aggiornamento 32
Alber, Matthäus 108, 375
Albrecht (Albert) of Mainz 82
Albrecht of Prussia 98, 146n
Almsgiving 71, 74, 107, 184, 250
Althaus, Paul 102, 323n
Amsdorf, Nicholas von 96, 99, 160n, 218, 370
Anabaptist regime in Münster 105, 117–22
Anathema, papal 129
Angels 51, 147, 192, 308, 311, 321
Anthropology 57, 102
Antichrist 114, 117, 148, 406
Anti-trinitarians 103
Apocalyptic (see also Eschatological) 76–77, 105, 117n, 296
Apology of the Augsburg Confession 81, 90, 95n, 96
Aquila, Caspar 81
Aquinas, Thomas 19, 27, 153n, 184, 189, 260n
Aristaeus 199–200
Aristotle 19, 28–29, 68, 85, 189, 193–95, 197–98, 200, 204, 236, 259
– Physics 189, 199
Asceticism 24, 61, 76
Astrologers 192, 207, 209
Astrology 192, 203, 207
Augsburg Confession 51, 81–82, 95, 118, 262, 267, 321, 326–28
Augsburg Interim (see Interim, Augsburg)
August, Elector (of Saxony) 92–93, 97
Augustine, Saint 33, 45, 80, 100, 145n, 147, 287, 293, 330, 375–95
Augustinian Order 31, 61, 155, 287
Augustinianism 19, 38, 45, 293, 297
Avarice 39, 44, 65, 68
Avila, Juan de 21
Ban
– evangelical 67n
– imperial 129
– papal 351
Baptism 12, 29, 40, 50, 77, 89, 94, 96, 98, 118, 143, 158, 161, 163, 176, 226, 229, 253, 258, 296, 298, 318, 327, 337, 342
Barth, Karl 102, 104
Baumgartner, Jerome 93
BELLARMINE, Robert 28
Benedictine Order 31, 155
Benefice 41, 47
Bernardine of Siena 15
Biel, Gabriel 61n, 170, 176, 287, 329
Bigamy 29, 136n, 243
Billican, Theobald 108, 382–83, 386–88
Blickle, Peter 105–6, 109–10, 131n, 163n
Bonae literae 80n
Boniface VIII, Pope 28, 291
Borromeo, Charles 18
Bossy, John 11, 18, 53
Brenz, Johannes 108, 139n, 215, 227, 310, 382–85, 388, 391
Brotherhoods (see Confraternities)
Budè, Guillaume 81
Bugenhagen, Johannes 50, 74n, 88, 96, 136–38, 227, 305–6, 310, 329, 407
Bull, papal (see Papal bull)
Bullinger, Heinrich 166n, 221

Cajetan, Cardinal (Tommaso de Vio) 65n, 80n
Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 23
Calvin, John 52n, 80n, 102, 141–43, 292, 395
Calvinists 13–14, 258, 261–62, 164, 264–65, 281, 298, 402 (see also Crypto-Calvinist controversy)
Canisius, Peter 22
Capistrano, John 15
Capitalism, early modern (also, profit economy) 4, 61–62, 64–66, 69–71, 74–75
Capito, Wolfgang 214, 220–21
Capuchin order 21, 31
Castello, Castellino da 22
Cassius, Nicholas 20
Casuistry, practice of 18, 20
Catechism (see also Luther, Large/Small Catechism) 21–22, 24–25, 53, 141, 258–59, 262, 277, 291, 314, 317n, 324
Catacombs 24
*Catholic Concordance, The* 35–38, 43–47
Cesarini, Cardinal Guiliano 33–36, 40–43, 47
Chiliasm (see Millennialism)
*Christenheit* 79, 88–100
Christian III, King (of Denmark) 92–93, 98

<p>| Christianitas | 14, 55, 79, 83, 87–88 |
| Christianismus | 79–87, 90, 95n, 99–100 |
| Christianization | – and confessionalization 11–13 |
| – and Erasmian reform | 373 |
| – Catholic | 16, 25–26, 30–31 |
| – of social culture | 169, 188 |
| <em>Christiformitas</em> | 44–46 |
| Church and state, relationship between | 27, 29–30, 134, 267 |
| Church orders | 11, 25n, 70, 73, 298 |
| Cicero | 25, 80, 170, 177–78, 184–86, 188 |
| Civil law | 68, 136, 257 |
| Clerical immorality | 40, 47 |
| Cochleaus, Johannes 214 |
| College of Cardinals | 47, 370 |
| Colloquy of Marburg (1529) | 164–66, 215, 218, 326, 331n, 375n, 392, 394 |
| Colloquy of Regensburg (1541) | 87–91 |
| Colloquy of Worms (1557) | 51 |
| Common chest (see also Social welfare) | 62–63, 70, 72–73 |
| Common law | 136 |
| Communal reform | 130–31 |
| Communion of saints | 70 |
| Conciliarism | 36, 38, 43, 46 |
| Concordat of Munich (1583) | 30 |
| Concubinage | 39, 41, 254, 328 |
| Confession, private | 18, 326–27, 334–36, 339, 356 |
| Confessionalism (Konfessionsbildung) | 11–12 |
| Confessionalization (Konfessionalisierung) | 2, 5, 11–14, 25, 28, 31, 54–55, 101, 285, 318 |
| Confirmation | 22, 95 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confraternities (Brotherhoods)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Confutatio | of the Augsburg Confession | 81, 87, 89n, 100 |

| Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith | 30 |

| Conscience | 18, 60, 76–77, 82, 95, 129, 135, 137–38, 148, 160–61, 164, 179, 222, 224n, 228, 231, 237, 265, 268, 272, 301, 317, 321n, 334 |

| Consistory | 44, 136–38 |

| Conversos | 28 |

| Copernicus, Nikolaus | 207–8 |

| Corpus Christi, Feast of | 23, 295, 356 |

| Corpus Christianum | 52n, 57 |

| Council, appeal to | 33, 35, 37–39, 91, 94, 97, 127–30, 132, 139n |

| Council of Basel | 33–40, 42, 44 |

| Council of Constance | 15, 35, 354 |

| Council of Ferrara-Florence | 42–43 |

| Council of Lateran V | 34, 65 |

| Council of Nicaea V | 128n |

| Council of Trent | 2, 14, 21–23, 28, 32, 296–97, 300 |

| Council of Vatican II | 33, 104 |

| Council of Vienne | 356 |

| Cranach, Lucas | – the Elder 49–50, 61n |

| – the Younger | 50–51, 404 |

| – Epitaph for Paul Eber (see also Eber, Paul) | 50–51, 306, 319, 349 |

| – Salzwedel Altar | 51 |

| Cruciger, Caspar, Sr. | 88, 96, 305 |

| Crypto-Calvinist controversy | 51 |

| Cura religionis | 132–33 |

| Davis, Natalie Zemon | 169 |

| De jure divino | 128, 366 |

| De jure humano | 128 |

| Delumeau, Jean | 11, 52–55, 101, 104 |


| Diet, imperial | – of Augsburg 297, 327 |

| – of Speyer | 129n, 370 |

| – of Worms | 129 |

| Digany | 136–37 |

| Divine law, peasants’ appeal to | 108–9 |

| Dominican Order | 15, 31, 43 |

| Eber, Paul | 95, 97, 305–6, 318, 404 |

| – Epitaph for | 50–51, 306, 319, 349 |

| Ecclesia catholica | 79, 87–89, 91, 99–100 |

| Ecclesiology | 3, 36, 38–39, 79, 93, 99 |

| Eck, John | 65n, 87, 325, 364–67, 387, 400, 402 |

| Economics, laws of | 49, 64, 65n, 69, 77 |

| Edict of Worms | 129 |

| Egranus, Johannes Sylvius | 112–13 |

| Eire, Carlos | 141–43, 167 |

| Elert, Werner | 102 |


| Engagement, clandestine (secret) vs. public | 137–38 |

| Erasmus of Rotterdam | 80, 84–87, 100, 113, 117, 141, 143, 184, 205–6, 254, 325, 373–74, 395 |

| Eschatological (see also Apocalyptic) | 76–77, 105, 117n, 296, 308–9, 311, 318, 331, 397, 406, 408 |

| Eucharist (see Lord’s Supper) | 193–96, 199, 202, 205–6 |

| Fallen condition of humanity and the world | 56, 168, 192, 210 |

| Fallen love | 55, 60, 102, 141n, 156 |

| Fall, Adam’s (into sin) | 100, 190–91, 193–96, 199, 202, 205–6 |

| Faustina | 81, 142, 371, 375, 390, 393 |

| Febvre, Lucien | 17–18 |

| Federal Ordinance | 106–10 |

| Ferdinand of Austria | 108 |

| Ferrer, Vincent | 15 |

| Fertility | 119, 231, 234n |

| Flacius, Matthias | 50n, 97, 305n, 314, 406 |

| Franciscan Order | 15, 31, 155, 287 |
Frankenhausen, Battle of 116
Franz von Waldeck, Bishop 117–18, 120–21
Frederick the Wise, Elector 89, 108, 115, 129n, 146n, 149
Free will, powers of 32, 85–86, 172, 316, 340n
Frequens 35
Fröschel, Sebastian 50n, 137, 305, 309
Fugger banking house 65n, 69, 326

Gandhi, Mahatma 111, 122
General Reform of the Church, A (Nicholas of Cusa) 35, 44–45, 57
George of Saxony, Duke 116
Gogarten, Friedrich 102
Gnesio-Lutherans 50n, 51, 314
Gregory the Great, Pope 365
Gregory XIII, Pope 28, 30
Gutenberg, Johannes 7

Hedio, Caspar 214
Heraclius, Emperor 151, 157
Heresy 29, 37, 40, 42, 238, 263, 281, 352, 367, 376, 378, 382, 387–88
Hierarchy
– Clerical (see also Magisterium, papal) 3, 38, 45, 127, 131, 146, 290, 294, 296, 356, 369–70
– Social 261, 263, 280–81
Hirsch, Emanuel 102
Hoffman, Melchior 105, 117, 121
Holl, Karl 102, 360
Holocaust, the Nazi 104
Holy cross, the 150–57
Holy Roman Emperor (see Emperor, Holy Roman)
Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation 12, 43, 93, 118, 121, 130, 136, 354
Household
– in general 42, 120, 179, 216, 231, 246, 248, 251, 254, 290
– Table of duties 5, 257–81
Hubmaier, Balhazar 106, 109
Humanism 17, 19, 21, 32, 84–85, 112, 297, 301, 325
– Meaning of 80n

Index

Humanists 25, 32, 42, 56, 72, 80, 87, 112, 143, 170–71, 205, 292, 325, 328, 373, 382, 393
Huss, John 59, 354, 366
Hussites 36–37, 43, 387n
Hut, Hans 105, 115
Iconoclasm 13, 143–44, 147–49, 153n, 154, 158, 161, 163–64, 167
Idolatry 1–2, 5, 13–14, 22, 66n, 68–70, 141–68, 232, 239, 295, 308
Image of God 191, 271, 276
Images
– Religious use of 288–91, 295
Individualism 17–20
Indulgence controversy 62, 127, 146, 326, 361, 363–64, 366, 400
Inquisition 15, 28–29
Intercession (invocation) of the saints 23, 323, 339n
Interim, Augsburg (1548) 6, 91, 95, 217, 220, 404–8
Jansenists 20
Jerome, Saint 80, 103, 154–55, 214, 234, 376–77, 385, 389n, 394
Jesuit Constitutions 19
Jews 12, 16, 28, 40, 88, 104, 189, 309, 314, 321, 331n, 351n
John Frederick, Duke 67, 90n, 91–92, 94, 97, 114, 131n, 370
John of Torquemada 43, 350, 353
John the Steadfast, Duke 90n, 115, 129n, 131
Jonas, Justus 88–90, 94, 96–97, 251, 305, 307
Joris, David 121
Josephus, Flavius 196
Judaism (see also Jews) 84, 102, 104, 113, 122, 196
Index

Judgment Day 63, 135, 138, 308, 342
Jurists, Luther’s dispute with 136–38

Keller, Michael 108
King, Jr., Martin Luther 111, 122
Knipperdollinck, Berndt 118–20
Kristeller, Paul Oskar 80n

Landeskirche (see Territorial church)
Lang, Johannes 113, 189, 199–200
Last Day (see Judgment Day)
Law
  – Natural 172
  – of Moses 54, 161, 163
Legalism 144, 150
Leiden, Jan van 105, 118–22
Leo X, Pope 28, 51, 306
Lessius, Leonard 20
Lichtenberger, Johannes 192, 199n
Lombard, Peter 27, 376, 378, 382, 390, 399
Lord’s Supper (also Eucharist) 14, 82, 89n, 91, 143, 158, 160–61, 163, 165n, 175, 201, 206, 258, 298–99, 326–27, 333, 337, 356, 373–95
Lotzer, Sebastian 106–7, 109
Loyola, Ignatius 15, 18–19, 25, 28
Luther, Martin
  – and the Peasants’ War 111–12
  – theology
    – – Simul iustus et peccator 57
    – – Three estates (hierarchies, orders) (see also Civil authority, Household, Spiritual authority) 60, 258–260, 263–64, 279
    – – Polemic against works-righteousness 61, 142, 163, 168
    – – View of sacrifice as thanksgiving 176
    – – writings
      – – Appeal to the Christian Nobility (1520) 5, 30, 63, 125–29, 226
      – – Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1520) 194, 200n, 226
      – – Dictata super Psalterium (1513–15) 171–74, 177, 179, 181
      – – Galatians commentary 82
      – – Invocavit sermons (1522) 55n, 59, 149–50, 159, 160n, 369
      – – Large Catechism 63, 67, 164, 180–81, 186, 201, 226
      – – Lectures on Genesis (1535–45) 71n, 75n, 182, 191, 202–5, 231–34, 243–45, 253
      – – Ninety-five Theses (1517) 6, 126, 360–61, 365–66, 400
      – – On Temporal Authority 56–58, 63, 129, 267
      – – Small Catechism 258, 264
Machiavelli, Niccolo 17, 19
Magi 189–90, 192–93, 196, 201–4, 209
Magic 193, 201, 233–34
Magisterial reform (see also Visitation, ecclesiastical) 299, 370
Magisterium, papal 146, 148, 163, 168, 299
Magistrate 25, 81, 100, 129, 132, 226, 268, 298
Major, Georg 88, 95–96, 305, 407
Marburg Articles 94n, 228
Marburg Colloquy (see Colloquy of Marburg)
Marcion 112
Marcionites 103
Martin V, Pope 35
Mary, veneration of 13, 23, 232, 242n, 290, 293–95
Marx, Karl 66n
Marxism, Marxists 111
Matthijs, Jan 105, 117–18
Maurice, Duke 135
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mazzolini, Sylvester (Prierias) 65n, 364–66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– and the Peasants’ War 108, 111–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– his <em>Loci communes</em> 82–85, 88–90, 94, 169, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– on “Christianity” 79–100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanchthonians (see Philipists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendicant orders 21, 72n, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millennialism 105, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral philosophy 20, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses (see also Law of Moses) 147–48, 196–98, 200, 204, 219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morisco, Friedrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah (biblical prophet) 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoplatonism 38, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas of Cusa 33–39, 42–47, 351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalism (see also via moderna) 61n, 65n, 203n, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothbischof 132n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberman, Heiko 3, 76, 195, 203n, 208, 209n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occamism (see via moderna, Nominalism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oecolampadius, John 164–65, 201, 215, 329, 377–95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Testament 50, 103–4, 112–14, 116–17, 122, 197n, 224, 306, 308, 310, 315, 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Malley, John 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origen 86, 376, 378, 385, 389, 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osiander, Andreas 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman Turks (see Turks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padrão do, Portuguese 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphleteers 109, 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papalism 43, 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papal bull 44–47, 148, 291, 305–6, 325–26, 352, 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papal colleges 25–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papal States 40, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor aeternus 45, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastorato, Spanish 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peasants’ War of 1525 105–11, 115, 131n, 269, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelagius, Pelagian 100, 287, 293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perkins, William 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrarch 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pfeiffer, Heinrich 115–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip of Hesse, Landgrave 81, 91, 97–98, 100, 116, 243, 260, 262, 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philipists (Melanchthonians) 51, 306n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philo of Alexandria 9, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgrimage 13, 16, 23–24, 44, 141, 152, 156, 288, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pius II, Pope (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) 44–45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plato 197–98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics (see also Civil authorities) 19, 60, 110, 179, 257, 355, 358, 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy (in the Anabaptist kingdom of Münter) 119–20, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population, growth of 15–17, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) 47, 351, 354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prague Epistle (Prague Manifesto) 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priapus 147–48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prierias, Sylvester (see Mazzolini, Sylvester)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priesthood (see also Clergy) 26, 38, 45, 254, 290, 325, 327–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priesthood of all believers, doctrine of the 125–26, 128, 130–31, 149, 260, 293–94, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princely Reformation 130, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protheus 199–200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo-Dionysius 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public ministry (see Clergy, Priesthood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purgatory 23, 102–3, 288, 292, 295, 342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quietism, ethical/political 60, 62, 178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rabus, Ludwig 215, 217–28
Recatholicization 29
Reformation Witttebergensis 88, 91, 95–96
Regeneration 102
Reinhard, Wolfgang 12
Relics 24, 47, 151–52, 154–58, 288, 295
Reuchlin, Johannes 80n, 170, 173, 181
Rhegius, Urbanus 4, 6, 218, 227, 321–45, 382–85
Rites Controversies 16
Roman law 136–37
Rothmann, Bernhard 117–22
Sacrament of the altar (see Lord’s Supper)
Sacrifice of the Mass 82–83, 164, 169, 175–76, 295
– Protestant rejection of 378–79, 389, 391
Sachs, Hans 51, 402n
Saints, veneration (invocation/cult) of 13–14, 23–24, 141, 151, 155, 288, 293–95, 323, 339
Sales, Francis de 19–20
Salle, John Baptist de la 26
Satan (see Devil)
Savonarola, Girolamo 15
Schappeler, Christoph 106–7, 109–11, 117, 122
Schmid, Ulrich 108–9
Scholastic theologians (Sophists) 87, 95n, 110, 170–171
Scholasticism 85, 189, 293, 325, 355, 401
Schön, Erhard 51
Schütz Zell, Katharina 5, 213–30
Schwenckfeld, Caspar 201, 214–17, 219–27, 229
Schwenckfelders 222–23
Second Vatican Council (see Council of Vatican II)
Secular authority (see Civil authorities)
Seneca 170
– De beneficis (On Favors) 184–88
Serfdom 107, 110
Sigismund, Emperor 36–37, 39
Sigismund of Tyrol, Duke 44
Simons, Menno 121
Simony 39–41, 45n
Smalcald
– Evangelical meeting at 97, 328
– Articles 326, 328
Smalcaldic League 118
Smalcald War 90n, 92
Social ethics 50, 60–62, 77–78
Social welfare (see also Common chest) 49, 62–63, 65, 70–74, 77
Sola fide 32, 83, 94, 99, 127, 177
Sola scriptura 32, 293–94, 296, 365
Spalatin, Georg 94, 146n, 189–90, 305
Spengler, Lazarus 109, 298–99
Spiritual authority (see Clergy)
Spiritual Exercises 18–19
Spiritualism, Spiritualist 112, 114, 160, 162, 292, 296, 309, 327
Spirituality 19, 31, 44
Spiritualization of religion 14
State (see also Civil authority) 12, 53, 107
– Absolutist state 2
– Church and state (see Church and state, relationship between)
– Confessional state 298–99
– Growth of the state 17, 27
– Recatholicization of the state 29
– State and household 179, 270–81
– State-regulated economy 64n, 71
Staupitz, Johannes 227–28, 287, 293, 360
Sturm, Jean 25
Suarez, Francisco 27–28
Superstition 13–14, 31, 43, 165
Swabian League 106–10
Swiss Confederation 108
Tanakh (see Old Testament)
Tauler, Johannes 112–13, 356–57, 360
Temporal authority (see Civil authorities; Luther, On Temporal Authority)
Territorial church (Landeskirche) 90n, 129, 132
Index

Thomas à Kempis 15, 19
Thomism 19, 153n
Turks 40, 42, 45–46, 66, 92n, 167, 310–11
Twelve Articles of Memmingen (Swabia) 105–8, 110–11, 115
Two kingdoms, doctrine of 57–58, 60, 62, 78, 110, 129–30, 134–35
Tyrant 66, 92n, 110, 311–12, 315
Tyranny 84, 110, 136, 146–48, 168, 277

University education 27
University
– of Paris 19, 85
– of Wittenberg 5, 112–13, 149, 208, 244, 401n
– – curricular reform at 189–91
Urban VIII, Pope 23
Urban reform 357–58
Urbanization 16
Ursulines 26–27, 31
Usury 4, 20, 58, 62, 64–65, 68–72, 74–76, 351n
Utraquism 36
Vatican Council (see Council of Vatican II)
Via moderna (Ockhamism) (see also Nominalism) 61n, 65n, 287, 351n, 355
Vigilantius 154–55

Virgil 34, 199
Visitiation, ecclesiastical 12, 29, 39, 42–43, 45, 81n, 131–32, 139n, 249n, 369–70
Vitoria, Francisco 19, 27
Vives, Juan Luis 72
Vocation, lay 16, 19–20, 60, 298
Vocation, religious 155
Vocation, doctrine of 244, 276, 278–79
Vogelsang, Erich 102

Wilsnack, shrine and relics at 43–44, 47
Wittenberg Concord 93n, 166n, 218, 395
Wycliffe, John 59

Zeeden, Ernst Walter 11–12
Zell, Katharina Schütz (see Schütz Zell, Katharina)
Zell, Matthäus (Matthew) 108, 213–21, 224, 227
Zurich Disputation 367–68
Zwilling, Gabriel 49
Zwinglian 13–14, 89, 206, 228–29, 298–99, 326