
INTRODUCTION TO THE REFORMATION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When the then PICC training was initially discussed with **Bishop Lucea** in **2002**, I enquired from him to what extent the ordinands of the PICC should be made familiar with the European and English Reformations. The PICC is in many respects very similar to the Roman Catholic Church, and I was really expecting an answer that simply asked for a cursory survey at most. His reply was interesting. He said that trainee clergy in our part of the Church should understand both their Roman Catholic and their Anglican heritage fully, and that over and above this the most important thing was that all PICC clergy regard themselves as clergy of the Christian Faith, the Faith of Jesus Christ howsoever that may now be represented by the PICC in the early Twenty First Century.

Time had gone by since that conversation, and it was not until late in **2009** that I had been able to put my hand to this aspect of the brief that I received in **2002** to provide training material by which to form clergy of the PICC vis-a-vis the Reformation. The PICC B.A./B.Th./B.D. Course 'Reformation I: Themes and Personalities in the Reformation,' and its successor 'Reformation II: The Elizabethan Settlement and the Church of England' are Level 5 courses and have proved their worth. However, in early **2012** I felt that something else was also needed that gave an overview of the whole Reformation in eight classroom hours: German, Swiss, Dutch, English, Counter-Reformation and all; and did so at Level 4, and with a pastoral 'spin'. Hence this course that is now before you. With that in mind the author once more attended University of Oxford lectures, this time for Hilary Term 2013 with the title *Introduction to the Reformation*. These were given by the **Revd. Dr. Jonathan Arnold**, Senior Research Fellow in the University of Oxford Faculty of Theology. After a first lecture it was obvious that here was something very useful and very thorough. Hence, I have produced a series of *Introduction to the European Reformation* series of lectures here for the ICPICCJC.

Benjamin Warfield put it like this, '**In the Reformation Saint Augustine's Doctrine of Grace triumphed over Saint Augustine's Doctrine of the Church.**' Well, be that as it may or not, that is just the beginning. We pray that as you study this material you will be able to appreciate the formative elements of the Reformation and its heritage to us as a Church. The **Reverend Jonathan Arnold M.A. (Oxon), Ph.D. (King's College, University of London)** graduated from Saint Peter's College Oxford with a B.A. in Theology in **1996**. He trained for two years for the ordained ministry of the Church of England at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford from **2003**, was deaconed in **2005**, and priested in **2006**. He obtained his Doctor of Philosophy Degree from Kings' College, University of London in **2004**. The unit scripts are my own, and I am responsible for any errors within them.

Once more the prayers of the Bishops of the ICPICCJC are with you as you undertake your study of this important topic. We pray that the Lord will bless you in your formation, and that you will find this a useful and stimulating course. Obviously we cannot cover everything here, but although selective we have tried to be thorough.

THE RIGHT REVD. DR. ANDREW J.G. SHERGOLD B.A. (Theology) (Hull University) (1979); B.A. (Ancient Near Languages) (London University SOAS) (1989); M.TH. (Biblical Old Testament Studies) (1982); D.D. (S. Francis Old Roman Catholic Seminary, U.S.A.) (2019); PGCE (University of the West of England) (1993). ICPICCJC Bishop in the United Kingdom, and Archbishop in Europe and Madagascar

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COURSE PRE-REQUISITES.

This is a degree level course (Level 4). There are no particular pre-requisites. However, a good grasp of technical academic English is essential. We will endeavour to keep sentences short and clear. The bibliography appended to the course is based on that of Dr Jonathan Arnold of the University of Oxford, and his listings have been used with his permission. However, I have rearranged them into order of publication and added a few. The student notes sections are based on Doctor Arnold's hand-outs, and my observations. However, the 'lecture script' is entirely my own. This course is the first of four given to the Reformation. The other three are 'Themes and Personalities in the Reformation;' 'John Calvin: His life, Theology, and Heritage;' and 'The Elizabethan Settlement and the Church of England'. Two of the four are now available (2014).

My thanks to my wonderful wife Carina whose constant love, support, and companionship remind me that there is more to Christian discipleship than writing, teaching, and living out Biblical Theology.

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UNIT 1 *Student Notes*

The Church on the Eve of the Reformation

Devotion

The Mass – the sacramental centrepiece of late mediaeval piety

The clergy – their status, role, and efficacy

Purgatory – the concern for one's soul after death, where it goes, and what to do

(Purgatory: Time spent after death completing satisfaction of sins before entering heaven)

Indulgencies – an industry that sold you time off in purgatory

Lay Piety – the rise in interest in Scripture, Guilds, Fraternities

Schism – not 1053 between East and West by papal schism, but Avignon papal authority, whether it was flawed or not.

Conciliarism – the desire for the Church to be run by General Councils

1. PIETY

Liturgy, the Lord's Supper. The centre of late Mediaeval devotion e.g.: Chantries (cantariase, cantare Latin 'to sing'). Plus growth in lay piety – lay communities, gilds, confraternities, devotion to images and relics. Deep concern for salvation and the fate of souls after death; increase in educated laity in towns; demands for vernacular preaching; demands for Scriptural preaching; increased interest in **the word**.

Clergy: regular/religious monks and friars as well as secular non-monastic clergy. Clerical corruption: Simony (sale of offices); holding multiple livings (pluralism); and absenteeism from parishes/dioceses. Lay as well as clerical anti-clericalism, E.g.: Lollards and **John Colet** (1467-1519), Dean of Saint Paul's, London etc.

Purgatory: Time spent after death completing satisfaction for sins before entering heaven; salvation and the fate of souls after death (Definition at Council of Lyons 1274)

Indulgences: to secure remission of penance for sin, doctrine of purgatory formed the basis for a complex and profitable system of 'works' which included the endowment of masses for the dead, relics and the cult of the saints, and pilgrimages. See **Johann Tetzei** versus **Martin Luther**

Lay Piety: Guilds/brotherhoods/fraternities/confraternities channelled lay piety; e.g.: Guild of Jesus at S. Paul's Cathedral. Importance of intermediary objects/people/places in Mediaeval devotion. Devotional life flourishing on the eve of the Reformation, with regional variations. Increased lay education in the cities and a desire for Scripture in the vernacular.

Beginnings of Dissent, e.g.: Lollardy in England (condemned as heretics)

The Eucharist came to be central to the definition of Lollardy.

Wycliffe opposed the doctrine of trans-substantiation.

Penance: Confession is needful – but to Christ, not to a priest as the Lateran Council of 1215 had imposed.

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Idolatry: Offerings made to images would be better given to the poor; relics and miracles at shrines might be fake; images and pilgrimage were not attested in Scripture. Likewise **pilgrimage**.

Another emphasis was **writings in the vernacular**. **Wycliffe's** contemporaries believed that the centrepiece of his thought was the authority of Scripture: this earned him the by-name 'Doctor Evangelicus'.

Papal Authority

Allegiance and obedience to Rome. Canon law and common use of Latin maintained international organisation: Benedictine monasteries (plus Carthusians, Cistercians, Dominicans, etc.) No sense of nationalism (which would change under **Luther**).

In short: Pope as Supreme Authority versus Pope as Anti-Christ.

Conciliarism

Growth of belief in the power and authority of General Councils for decision making process e.g.: 13th/14th Century Franciscan friars (especially **William of Ockham** (c.1285-1347)).

Schism

Schism in the late Fourteenth Century brought more than one Pope – one in Rome, one in Avignon (France). Council of Konstanz (Constance) 1414 decreed (*Sacrosancta* 1417) that General Councils held supreme authority. The *Frequens* decree proposed Councils every decade. Council of Basel 1431-1439.

Crisis of the Fall of Constantinople 1453:

In 1460 Pope Pius II forbade appeal to the General Council. Papal power and authority re-emphasised.

2. THOUGHT

- **The Rise of the Universities**
- **Aristotelian Thought from the East**
- **Scholasticism: Realism (Aquinas) and Nominalism: Via Moderna**, e.g.:
- **The Devotio Moderna**
- **Humanism**
- **Erasmus**

Universities

From the 12th Century A.D. (Oxford) in response to Eastern Thought e.g.: **Aristotle**.

Scholasticism: (scholae – university schools) pre-eminent intellectual movement based upon rational logic.

Divisions

Realism versus Nomism

Realists **Thomas Aquinas** (1225-1274), **Duns Scotus** (1265-1308) based knowledge of the world and God on universals (e.g.: transubstantiation): a truth which is Divine in origin. Nominalism: denied the existence of universals c.1300-c.1500 A.D. e.g.: **William of Ockham**, **Robert Holcot** (d.1349), **Pierre D'Ailly** (1350-1420), **Gabriel Biel** (c.1420-1495) in Paris, Heidelberg, Erfurt,

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Cambridge, optimistic about Humanity due to a concept of reciprocal covenant between God and Humanity = **Via Moderna** – a positive value on ‘works’.

However, the **Schola Augustiniana Moderna** epitomised in **Thomas Bradwardine** (c.1290-1349), criticised Via Moderna, with a more Augustinian view of Human condition. ‘Works’ are worthless for Salvation. Taken up by **Gregory of Rimini** (d.1358) of the order of the hermits of Saint Augustine. Anti-Pelagian.

The Devotio Moderna

Devotional movement for clergy and laity: asceticism, piety, and communal life characterised it. C.f.: Low Country Augustinians at Windesheim Hospital (Holland). See *Imitation of Christ* by **Thomas a Kempis** (c.1380-1471). Challenge to superiority of clerical spirituality.

Humanism (Christian)

Renaissance term: *Humanista* was a teacher of liberal arts subjects (*Humanae Littorae*), but ‘Humanism’ is a 19th Century term to describe the trend of thought originating in 14th Century Padua in Italy – a return to the language, rhetoric, and expression of the classical world: the *studia humanitatis*.

Francesco Petrarca (‘**Petrarch**’, 1304-1374): a break with the Mediaeval past – rebirth (*rinascita*) in the works of **Dante Alighieri** (1265-1321): French form: *Renaissance*. Taken up by Republicans as a means of re-generating Italian cities,, such as Salutati and Bruni in Florence.

Dissemination of Humanism by travel of scholars to and from Italy. Paper manufacture, rise of printing and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks, dispersing works from Byzantine Monastic Libraries to the West; e.g.: **Homer** and **M. Tullius Cicero** (106-143 B.C.). This gave rise to questions of authenticity, e.g.: accuracy of the Latin Vulgate and Greek Septuagint Bibles, whilst the ‘Donation of Constantine’ was revealed as an Eighth Century forgery in work by **Lorenzo Vallo** (1440). Now scholars began to read the Gospels and Pauline Epistles in the original Greek. **Rudolf Agricola** (1442/3-1485) brought Italian Humanism to Northern Europe. In Germany **Johannes Reuchlin** (1455-1522) a German Humanist introduced the study of Hebrew into German universities; his great uncle **Philip Melanchthon** (1496-1560) was a lifelong friend of **Martin Luther** and systematised **Luther**’s thought.

Desiderius Erasmus (c.1469-1536): Prince of Humanists

An illegitimate son of a priest at Rotterdam, he was educated at Augustinian house of Steyn, then secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai. c.1492 he began his wanderings around Europe. He made several visits to England (friend of **John Colet**, and **Thomas More** English Humanists). c.1501 he began learning Greek and by 1516 had published the Greek New Testament (1516), which changed Biblical Interpretation. He was highly influential upon **Luther** (in the period 1517-1519), but battled against **Luther** 1524 on the issue of freewill. He remained a faithful Catholic but criticized the Church and Monastic life.

Reformation from above or below?

Dissatisfaction with:

Corruption; Papal Authority; Clergy and Religious; Indulgences; Wealth; Education.

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On the influence of:

Humanism; Ancient Texts; New Exegesis; Challenge to the Pope and his authority; Martin Luther.

From Above: the ideas of **Martin Luther** (1483-1546) and other reformers imposed on the Church?

From Below: The Word: Bible; Preaching; Devotion; dis-satisfaction with Indulgences and Clerical corruption; the rise of the Universities and lay interest in Scripture, Humanism, text, language, and Philology?

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UNIT 1: THE CHURCH ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

A. THE STATE OF THE CHURCH ON THE EVE OF THE CRISIS

1A. Course Introduction

1. The thrust of the course

Welcome to our course *Introduction to the Reformation*. The eight teaching hours that you are about to undertake are designed to give you a working introduction to the Sixteenth Century European and English Reformations. To each of these we will give four teaching hours. Our first four units will be given to the European Reformation: unit 1: Western Christian Thought and Devotion on the Eve of the Reformation; unit 2: Martin Luther: the critique and its consequences of the Late Mediaeval Church; unit 3: Zwingli; Zurich; Magisterial Reform and Radical Impatience; and unit 4: John Calvin and the making of the Western Reformed Tradition. Our subsequent four units will be devoted to the English Reformation: unit 5: Henry VIII's Break with Rome: some interpretations; unit 6: English Reformation and Counter-Reformation: Edward VI and Mary I; unit 7: The Elizabethan Settlement: The Church Established? and unit 8: The making of Anglicanism: The English Church in the Seventeenth Century. Each unit will consider the historical events associated with its topic whilst also examining their Theological dimensions, particularly those that help to explain the shape of worship and ministry in Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches both then and today.

2. The context of the course in the PICC scheme

This course is one of three courses in the IPICJC B.A./B.D./B.Th./B.Min series of courses that is given to the Reformation. Counterpart courses are PICC B.A./B.D./B.Th./B.Min *Themes and Personalities in the European Reformation* which examines in eight hours what we cover in the first four hours of this course, but with additional topics (e.g.: Iconoclasm, Gender and Family at the time of the Reformation) and *The Elizabethan Settlement and Establishment of Anglicanism* which looks at English Church History from **1558** to **1660**, i.e.: from the establishment of the Elizabethan Anglican Via Media to the Re-establishment of the Church of England after the Great Rebellion, examining in eight teaching hours what this course does in its final two. This course is particularly suitable for those people who are wanting to study the Reformation but are not looking to present their studies in a University of London B.D. examination. It is also geared, unlike its two counterparts, to focus on those aspects of the history and Theology of the Reformation that are particularly useful for the Christian Ministry. There are no tutorials associated with this course, it is simply a series of eight teaching hours the detail of which we pray you will find useful, stimulating, and practical.

2A Orientation to unit 1

1. Unit 1 Content

In unit 1 we will examine Christian Devotion on the Eve of the Reformation in the undivided Pre-Reformation Church of the Western Latin Rite. That Church was the historical Church of our contemporary Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches today, and its history is our common history. Please do not think that the Church before the Reformation was simply the Roman

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Catholic Church because it was not – it was the one undivided Church. Strictly speaking ‘Roman Catholic’ as a term only came into being with the Council of Trent in **1525** when the Roman Catholic hierarchy felt a necessity to distance themselves from the gathering momentum of the Reformation in Europe. In Unit 1 we will examine two topics: The Devotion of the Undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite on the eve of the Reformation; and Western intellectual thought on the eve of the Reformation. Both these topics are a necessary background for understanding the drama of the Reformation as it broke, and the thought of the characters (e.g.: Martin Luther, John Calvin) involved.

2. Why a Reformation?

So: As we begin: Some questions to bear in mind as you listen to the material of this lecture: Why was and are **Martin Luther** and **John Calvin** so important? We cannot understand the answer to this question until we understand the historical context and internal and Theological state of the Church before the Reformation. So: What was wrong with the Church in Europe before the Reformation? Why in most countries of Europe did it need an upheaval of the magnitude of the European Reformations in order to start to put these wrongs right? Why did the European undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite need to change? Was it strong? The Reformation was not ex-nihilo – what were the factors within it and the society in which it was situated that gave rise to it? What was the state of her Clergy, the Church’s devotional piety in Worship, and the Laity? Can we make any useful generalisations? Where was Christian faith, devotion and spirituality flourishing? Where wasn’t it? Why not? What was the intellectual foundation of the Christian Faith on the eve of the Reformation? To what sort of thinking and intellectual quest and tradition had it given rise in society? We will answer these questions and more I hope through the content of these teaching hours. What was the clergy satisfaction at the time?

B. CHRISTIAN PIETY ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

1B. Devotion

1. The Mass and the efficacy of the clergy

On the eve of the Reformation Christian Devotion was expressed in several forms. Centre to all was the service of the Mass attended by faithful people at least twice a year and many every Sunday and holyday. In it the faithful through the ministration of the priest partook of the flesh and precious blood of Christ through the transformed elements of bread and wine. This service was said or sometimes sung, usually to Gregorian chant, in Latin. The priest faced the Altar (liturgical East) with his back to the people. This sacrament connected the participant believers with God, and the priest accessed God in behalf of the people through it. More about this below.

2. Purgatory

It was widely believed that satisfaction for all sin in the sight of God must be completed before any Christian believer could be brought into heaven. Whilst God dealt with the sin of the world through Jesus Christ, it was possible to die in a state of un-repentant sin, or worse, deadly sin. Unrepentant or impenitent Christian souls at death would have to spend time in the fires of purgatory to be purged from their sin. Hence there was great concern for the souls of Christians departed, and measures were put in place by the Church to help with this situation. Purgatory

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then was time spent after death completing satisfaction for sins before entering heaven for salvation and enabled a heavenward fate of souls after death (Definition at Council of Lyons 1274).

3. Indulgences

Indulgencies were built around the Theology of purgatory. In brief: The Church on the eve of the Reformation practised indulgency: that is to say, you could give money for masses to be said for the full salvation of the soul of a deceased person in purgatory, or simply donate money to the Church to ‘buy time off purgatory’ for yourself or some other soul. This had become big business. Again, more below.

4. Lay Piety

Because of the Twelfth Century Spiritual Revival there had been a recent rise of interest in Christian Devotion amongst the Laity – that is all Christian people who were not ordained (i.e.: secular parish or other priests/clergy) or monks or nuns in choir (i.e.: in ‘religious orders’). Also there had been a very recent rise in interest in Scripture not least because printing was just being invented and it was now possible to own your own book(s) and Bible. Lay people also often formed Guilds or Fraternities. These (fraternities) enabled them to support one another financially in the face of life’s troubles, whilst guilds were formed by people who pooled their monies to support a chantry priest who would study, sometimes teach, but whose main purpose was to regularly say prayers and masses on behalf of named dead souls.

5. Papal Authority

The leader of the Undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite was the Bishop of Rome, known otherwise as the Pope. His authority was absolute, and he controlled Church appointments (e.g.: as Diocesan bishops) in nearly every European country. His word as **Jesus Christ**’s particular representative on earth in succession to the Apostle and disciple of Jesus Peter, the first Bishop of Rome, on matters of morals, Christina practice, and to an extent interpretation of Scripture, was considered absolute. Alas, there had been a papal schism in the Fourteenth Century (i.e.: the 1300s): Was it the Pope at Rome or the Pope at Avignon who was the true Pope? Was papal authority now permanently flawed because of this schism? How could it ever have happened in the Church of God? Fortunately this problem had now been solved and in our period there was but one Pope, at Rome. Further; In **1053 A.D.** the Eastern (now Orthodox) Greek speaking part of the Church had made a formal separation from its Latin speaking Western counterpart over issues of doctrine (especially the filioque clause in the creed) and authority (was the Bishop of Rome simply the Patriarch of the West or was he the Supreme pontiff of the Church on earth?) Hence we refer to the Pre-Reformation Church in Europe as the undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite.

6. Conciliarism

Unfortunately for recent popes there had been a rising desire amongst the clergy for the Church to be run not by the Pope or his Roman curia, but by General Councils of the Church to which delegates could be elected, and not Synods which were largely in the hands of the bishops as to their outcome. This conciliarism was to be a significant factor in the dynamic of the Reformation. Let me now look at each of these elements in more detail.

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2B The practice of Western European Christian piety on the Reformation's eve

1. Liturgy

(a) In detail

Central to the Church's Liturgy was the Lord's Supper, otherwise known as the Mass on account of the priest's last words to the congregation before they departed 'Missa est'. The Mass was regarded as the highest form of prayer and the place where you made (and sometimes also paid for) your specific requests to God. Taking Mass should normally be accompanied by an act of personal confession of sin to God in front of a priest who may offer a confessing penitent a penance. There was also a culture at this time of saying masses for the souls of the wealthy dead in chapels, often small buildings set apart within a larger church building, known as chantries. In the **early 1500s** Saint Paul's Cathedral had within it fifty such chapels with a mass being said in Latin every day in each! Almost all European Christian groups believed in purgatory except for the Lollards. Belief and piety of that time made a close connection between a person's actions now and their eternal outcome. At the Fourth Lateran Council of **1215** (i.e.: it was held in Rome's Cathedral) it was laid down for all Christians that regular partaking of mass and confession of sin with priestly absolution was necessary both for a person's Salvation and their assurances of it. Penance, undertaking pilgrimages, and regular prayer also featured in the Council's legislation, and were required from all. This of course be all be too much, and so the Church sold indulgencies. These were understood as a purchase of merit because it had been granted to the Pope as successor of Peter the first bishop of Rome by Jesus Christ when he said to Peter, '**You are Peter and on this rock will I build my Church ... and I have given to you the keys of death and Hades,**' and to him and all the disciple/apostles, '**whosoever sins you remit are remitted, and whosoever's sins you retained are retained.**' The idea was that your purchase of indulgencies would be accounted for in place of your sinful actions. Such purchase could also be used to gain time off purgatory. They functioned almost like a spiritual version of a modern direct debit form! Prior to the Reformation, the eventual printers of the Gottenberg Bible initially set up their press and made their money by printing indulgency certificates. Incidentally: the formal definition of an 'indulgency' is that it is an ecclesiastical document or certificate for remission of time that would otherwise have to be spent in purgatory. This culture brought about a strong community united by faith and giving. Salvation was a very real matter in the public thought of those Late Mediaeval times.

(b) In summary

The mass was the centre of late Mediaeval devotion e.g.: Chantries (from cantariase, cantare Latin 'to sing') were commonplace. There was a growth in lay piety – lay communities, gilds, confraternities, and a devotion to images and relics. The general populous had a deep concern for salvation and the fate of souls after death. There was an increase in educated laity in towns; demand for vernacular preaching (i.e.: preaching in the language of the people rather than Latin); with printing came an increasing demand for Scriptural preaching and an increased interest in the Bible as word of God.

2. Dissent

Long before the late Mediaeval period, dissent from the undivided Church had arisen. An obvious example were the Twelfth Century charismatic Cathcars, and the Thirteenth Century Waldensians in the South East of France and the Italian Alps. (For more details of these c.f.: ICPICCJC B.A./B.D./B.Min course *Revival in the Historical Development of Christianity* and Unit 3). Until

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the Sixteenth Century Reformation any dissent from the Undivided Church was simply regarded as heresy and punishable by state or Church courts appropriately. Lollards were common in the late Mediaeval period. They did not like priests and the wealth, status, and outward organisation and spiritual authority claims of the Church. We will hear more about them in a moment. But first a further word about clergy, indulgences and relics, and the cults of saints and pilgrimages etc..

3. Clergy

The Church spiritual ‘powerhouses’ were supposed to the Abbeys (presided over by an Abbot or Abbess), priories (smaller and presided over by a prior or prioress often as an outhouse of an Abbey) and other monasteries and convents which were the homes of monks (monasteries) and nuns (convent). These had a common life together around a ‘rule’ (e.g.: that of **Saint Benedict** is the rule of the Benedictines) and were given to the regular worship of God in Divine service through the seven or so daily liturgical offices often sung to Gregorian plainchant, work with their hands, and were overseen by an Abbot or the like. They promised three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Friars were also in holy orders but frequently travelled out of their mother house for the purposes of ministry and mission, and so said their daily offices wherever they were. The various different orders are distinguished by the colouring of their ecclesiastical dress known as a ‘habit’: e.g.: the Franciscan friars tend to wear brown with a white belt, Benedictine monks wear black, Cistercian monks wear white etc.. Clergy in parishes were known as ‘seculars’. Over a quarter of the land in England was owned by religious houses. Many Cathedrals and larger parish churches also had a monastic or conventual community attached to them. Parishes began as a Latin idea where a priest or group of priests settled in a community and built, organised, and ministered to a group of people who centred their liturgical life around the priest and church building. On the eve of the Reformation, as now, parishes were organised into dioceses spiritually overseen by a bishop (known as a Diocesan) who was responsible for confirming laity and training, ordaining, and licensing new clergy; and administered in the English Church not by a Vicar General (as in the Roman Catholic Church) but an Archdeacon, of whom there were two or more depending on the size of a diocese. Alas, on the eve of the reformation there was much clergy corruption. **Simony** (the sale of offices i.e.: parish or diocesan livings and their endowment incomes for the support of the clergy); **pluralism** (the practice of holding multiple livings e.g.: Cardinal Wolsey was Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Winchester); and hence **absenteeism** from parishes/dioceses where much ministry was instead left in the hands of poorly educated and under paid and resourced curates. Needless to say there was a lot of anti-clericalism amongst both laity and clergy e.g.: amongst the Lollards and **John Colet** (1467-1519), Dean of Saint Paul’s, London etc..

4. Indulgences

To secure remission of penance for sin, the doctrine of purgatory formed the basis for a complex and profitable system of ‘works’ which included the endowment of masses for the dead, relics and the cult of the saints, and pilgrimages. See **Johann Tetzei** versus **Martin Luther** in Unit 2 of this course. Incidentally, ‘relics’ are misunderstood. They do not necessarily have to be a real relic from the body of a dead person. But they do at least need to be something that has touched something else that was in contact with the deceased or his or her remains, and to have been officially ‘made’ by a bishop for specific reason of devotion e.g.: in a Church to their patron saint. Many healings were reputed to have happened in Mediaeval times when sick visited tombs of saints. It did not help the Church’s own cause when Indulgencies and pilgrimages for spiritual and possibly physical health became a profitable and burgeoning industry. Buying time off

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purgatory was neither in Scripture nor tangibly real, but people did it and it brought in (vast) revenue for many a diocese or parish priest.

5. Lay Piety

(a) The rise of English Lay Piety

Lay Piety also burgeoned in the late mediaeval period. Lay people respected, revered, and visited relics and the places where they were housed. Through Guilds many poorer people pooled their money so as to find help in sickness or when times were hard. This extended to lay education in towns and even villages. With the advent of the printing press from the early 1500s came an immediate demand for learning. People began to clamour for preaching in the vernacular, i.e.: English not Latin. This was partly related to demographic changes. There was a growth in the population of the towns, hence in the trading routes, and hence in education. Books could be owned. People could now be educated and taught. Hence, education started to be offered by institutes and guilds independently of the Church. With the introduction of printing, clergy and lay people alike could print and produce leaflets by the hundred or thousand. Guilds/brotherhoods /fraternities and confraternities all channelled lay piety. A well-known example from that time was the Guild of Jesus at Saint Paul's Cathedral in London. But intermediary objects, people, and places were also important in Mediaeval devotion. Statues and stained glass windows provided visual stimulation and education. Invoking the faithful departed in Paradise to add their prayers to ours was common. Such devotional life flourished on the eve of the Reformation, with regional variations. So: There was increased lay education becoming available in the cities, but also significantly, a great desire for Scripture in the vernacular, and a desire to understand what it meant for living everyday life.

(b) Lay and clerical dissatisfaction with the clergy

There was much lay unease and dissatisfaction with **simony**, and **pluralism**. It was considered unjust that some distant wealthy person to whom the parish tithes and incomes had been sold should benefit, and those who were giving should only have the services of a poorly paid and educated curate. Absenteeism was rife and resented. **Thomas Linacre**, who, incidentally, founded the Royal College of Physicians was a Canon of York, Prebendary of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, and priest of four parishes. The contemporary Dutch Cardinal to the early **1500s** was also bishop of four Dutch diocese whilst also being bishop of Strasburg. In twenty-eight years of being in such episcopal office he never preached a sermon.

6. The beginnings of Dissent, e.g.: Lollardy in England (condemned as heretics)

The Lollards had a point and had a case. The Lollards complained about the state of the Church and the hypocrisy of much clerical practice. In the early Sixteenth Century **John Wycliffe** of Oxford (died **1384**) opposed the Theology of transubstantiation in his university lectures. Dissatisfaction with the prevailing Theology and practice of the Eucharist came to be central to the definition of Lollardy. The Lollards believed that on-going confession of sin was essential to the spiritual health of every Christian, and enjoined by Scripture; but they taught confession of the individual directly to Christ in personal prayer, not confession to Christ in front of a priest. They objected to the teaching of the Lateran Council of **1215** that enjoined that confession to God and Christ before a priest was essential, and that forgiveness and absolution of sin could only be received from God if so pronounced by a priest. The Lollards also condemned idolatry: Offerings made to images would be better given to the poor; relics and miracles at shrines might be fake; and images and pilgrimage were not attested in Scripture. For the Lollards a Christian belief or

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practice had to be attested by Scripture to be valid. If it was not in Scripture it was not valid. They had little idea that the story of the church had progressed for two thousand years since then. Lollardy was an ideological social movement, and increasingly its participants voiced calls for reform.

7. Scripture and writings to be offered in the vernacular (i.e.: English)

Another emphasis, and not just of Lollardy but far more widely, was a call for **writings in the vernacular** rather than in Latin. **John Wycliffe's** contemporaries believed that the centrepiece of theirs and his thought as a Bible translator was the authority of Scripture: this earned him the by-name 'Doctor Evangelicus'.

8. Papal Authority

Bishop of Rome (i.e.: the Pope). Canon Law was enacted by the Pope and Roman curia and was to be heeded throughout the Undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite. Her common use of Latin maintained the Church as an international organisation. And she had done good service in this respect, often brokering a legal service between nations through the Church courts (e.g.: over shipwreck, treasure trove, and family problems with an international dimension). Furthermore the Benedictine monasteries (and their reformed or counter reformed offshoots in the Carthusians, Cistercians, and Dominicans, etc.) promoted international trade and exchange of learning. However, there was another side to this arrangement: the Church had no sense of nationalism (which would change under **Luther**) or of being the 'English' 'French' or 'Spanish' Church. In short: A person either regarded the Pope in Rome as Supreme Authority in matters spiritual and temporal, or they regarded the Pope as Anti-Christ in person. Among the latter were many Lollards.

9. Conciliarism

However: Another factor had reared its head for the papacy. There was a growth of belief in the power and authority of General Councils for decision making process in the Church. This view was particularly promoted by the **13th and 14th Century** Franciscan friars, especially **William of Ockham** (c.1285-1347), who passionately promoted it in preaching and writing. The call for a move to conciliar ecclesiastical decision making had been given particular pertinence by the Fourteenth Century Papal schism when for years there were rival popes in Rome and Avignon (the official papal country residence). Such people said that if the Church was not conciliar, had could an error such as this schism ever be agreeably corrected? More pertinently: How could a failure of insight by a supposedly (near-infallible) pope be sorted out if that pope was sole and supreme spiritual authority? Anyway the Schism that in the late Fourteenth Century brought more than one Pope – one in Rome, one in Avignon (France) and gave rise to a decree by the Council of Konstanz (Constance) in **1414** as (*Sacrosancta* **1417**) that General Councils held supreme authority. The simultaneously issued *Frequens* decree proposed that General Councils be held every decade. Hence the **Council of Basel** met from **1431-1439**. Be that as it may, the Pope was a constitutional monarch within the Roman Church who procured revenue internationally from cardinal to poor peasant alike. **Martin Luther** dubbed him 'an anti-Christ'. The conciliar movement argued rather that Supreme authority was with God through the representatives of the whole body of the Church gathered in Council. The Conciliarists defined their agenda again at the 5th Lateran Council that met at Pisa and perpetuated itself from **1512-1517**. The Pope had had

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enough. He quashed forever in the Roman Church any possibility of Conciliar Government at the end of that Council when all such general Councils were forbidden for the future.

10. Crisis of the Fall of Constantinople 1453

As a reaction to the fall of Constantinople to Islamic forces in **1453**, and to help present a united stand against Islamic religion and counter it, **Pope Pius II** in **1460** forbade appeal to the General Council(s) of the Church against a Pope and re-emphasised papal power and authority. **Pope Leo X** also for this reason concentrated on making **Rome** a vigorous international and cultural Christian centre. **Leo** spent indulgence money received by Rome and rebuilt **Saint Peter's Basilica**. **Leo** also saw to it that the pope's special role amongst Western rulers was re-enforced, and combined his spiritual role with that of a secular ruler wherever there was religious or political unrest. This was to have the effect of forever uniting religion and politics in what soon was to become at the Council of Trent in **1525** the Roman Catholic Church.

C. WESTERN THOUGHT ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

1C. The Rise of the Universities

1. Introduction

The chemistry of Western thought on the eve of the Reformation was moving away from the long-standing dominance of late Mediaeval scholasticism. University education was now arising and the thought of **Aristotle** and others from the pre-Christian Classical Greek Orient had recently been 'rediscovered' and was starting to pervade the Western mind. Further; Scholasticism was no longer a unified intellectual edifice ruled by the thought of **Saints Augustine** and **Thomas Aquinas**. It had polarised around **Aquinas's** 'Realism' and 'Nominalism'. Which espoused the 'Via Moderna'. This gave rise in turn to a Christian devotion that incorporated or rejected one or other of these philosophical ways of thinking. Humanism now emerged. This is not the Twentieth Century secular so-called 'Humanism' that denies the existence of God. It was rather bound up with the establishment in university education of what we now call the 'Humanities': i.e.: the newly re-discovered pre-Christian thought of the civilisation of Ancient Greece was being combined with a rising attention to literature, history, and the humanities and what they might tell us about humanity, our existence, and our lives. Into this scenario came the figure of **Erasmus** who made his particular contribution by working on the Greek Text of the Bible and then translating his 'Textus receptus' in the light of insight derived from the newly emerging discipline of the Classics. And so to a brief scrutiny of each of these elements in their turn.

2. Universities

Now: the Reformation was not just about politics and Theology. It had intellectual roots as well. All the Reformers' Theological ideas actually came from late Mediaeval Theology. This was now not simply pursued in the Church, but in the relatively recently established university system. **Boulogne** (France) was established in **1085**, **Paris Sorbonne** (France) in **1150**, **Oxford** (England) certainly by **1167**, and **Padua** in Italy in **1208**. These universities, working within the principles of Scholasticism, taught their students a combination of academic subjects that mainly included Law, Mathematics, Rhetoric and Logic, Medicine, Soul, and Literature as the main sub-

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disciplines. Different university institutions had different ways of teaching, and different syllabi. There was no one way of delivering education in those days, although lecture-sermon and discussion then as now were an important part. Incidentally a ‘scholae’ was a university school. (You can still see them in the Fourteenth Century Oxford Senate house building named above its various staircases.) So what was this ‘scholasticism’? It was the pre-eminent intellectual movement of the time – yes; but it was based on rational logic. It drew much of its insight from Ancient Greek (and in those days hence ‘Eastern’) thought. Oxford taught with reference to **Aristotle** from its Twelfth Century inception.

2C. Intellectual Divisions within Scholasticism

1. Introduction

At the risk of over simplifying, the Western intellectual scenario of those times could be summed up as **Saint Augustine** (Theology) versus **Saint Thomas Aquinas** (Theology and Philosophy mutually tempered), and was in three ‘parties’. (1) Those who thought on Aquinian lines were known as the ‘**Realists**’ who based knowledge of God and the world on universals (e.g.: transubstantiation, natural logic). (2) These were opposed by the ‘**Nominalists**’ who denied the existence of universals and, optimistic about Humanity because they believed the New Covenant was a reciprocal agreement between **God** and Humankind, put a positive value on ‘works’ and believed that truth was to be found by considering the particular in what has become known as the ‘**Via Moderna**’ approach. (3) This Via-Moderna group were in turn opposed by the **Schola Augustiniana Moderna** who of course also opposed the Realists and who held a more Augustinian view of the human condition. ‘Works’ according to this third party were worthless for Salvation, hence the **Augustiniana Moderna** were Anti-Pelagian. (4) We will look at a fourth group, the **Devotio Moderna** after looking at these first three.

2. Realism

Among the Realists were **Saint Thomas Aquinas** (1225-1274) a Dominican priest and Thirteenth Century Professor of Philosophy at the University of Paris, and **Duns Scotus** (1265-1308) a high profile Franciscan. At the time of the Fall of Constantinople (1453) two ideologies flourished. **Aristotle** had been discovered by the Arabs who brought him and his writings West from the newly emerging world of Ancient Greece, and began to disseminate his ideas. This movement that looked to the Ancient pre-Christian civilisation of Greece for intellectual guidance became known as the **Via-Antiqua**. In time it became **scholasticism**, which in turn on the eve of the Reformation was being rent by a tension over **Realism**. **Saint Thomas Aquinas** (1225-1274) was **Realism**’s chief exponent and he had placed a twin emphasis on Realism and Logic, perfectly balancing Theology and Philosophy. Thomists, i.e.: those who followed **Aquinas**’s way of thinking, believed in the integration of Christian Faith and Reason to make Truth. According to the Realist Faith came from God by Christian Revelation whilst Reason came from God through Nature and Mind. Both were from God and so they don’t contradict each other. This had some further implications: (a) Nature and Grace both originate in God, and grace builds on what is already there in Nature; (b) Human happiness is derived from the intellectual vision of God; (c) God therefore would not have become incarnate in Christ had not Adam sinned; (d) This being so there has to have been an Immaculate Conception of **Jesus Christ**. A Realist then based knowledge of the world and God on universals (e.g.: transubstantiation): a truth which is Divine in origin.

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3. Nominalism

Realism was being challenged by **Nominalism** which denied the existence of universals and was prevalent from about c.1300-c.1500 A.D.. It followed on from the ideas of **Bonaventure** (d.1237). **William of Ockham** (d.1349) initially followed the realist ideas of **Don Scotus** (a fellow Franciscan) and criticised **Aquinas** for his emphasis on reason. **William of Ockham** believed in the priority of the Human Will over the Human Intellect. Good, he pointed out, is the object of the human will, whereas Truth is the object of human intellect which has it as its goal. Will, he continued, is something that we do, Intellect is concerned with comprehending. Now: The greatest use of the human will, he argued, is to Love. Humans were created, he concluded, to love God. **Ockham** and others who followed his work were Nominalists, e.g.: **Robert Holcot** (d.1349), **Pierre D'Ailly** (1350-1420), and **Gabriel Biel** (c.1420-1495) in Paris, Heidelberg, Erfurt, and Cambridge. They were called Nominalists because they believed the particular was real, and they denied that there were universals. Also: They were optimistic about Humanity due to a concept of reciprocal covenant between God and Humanity. They espoused and expounded the **Via Moderna**, i.e.: they put a positive value on 'works' as being meritorious, or certainly important, for the process of a human obtaining Salvation.

4. The Schola Augustiniana Moderna: Anti-Pelagian Nominalists

(a) Introduction

However, there was a big question for all intellectuals at this time. Are we saved by Grace (as taught by **Saint Augustine**) or works (as taught by the British **Pelagius**)? On this issue **Ockham** was with the Pelagians, but the Realists with **Augustine**.

(b) The Realist View

The Scholastics and realists believed that infusion of Grace, particularly received at Baptism, makes Christiana Salvation possible. Grace is 'pre-venient' i.e.: something that comes from God in order to bring about Faith in the recipient. Hence: For **Saint Augustine** humans have the Gift of grace from God within them *before* they come to active faith, as an enablement to it.

(c) The Nominalist view

The Nominalists believed differently. According to **William of Ockham** good works are an important factor in bringing about one's Salvation. Now, he argues, no pre-venient 'Gift of Grace' is required to do good. **Ockham** now shows just how Pelagian he is when he then adds: 'Our salvation is found in ourselves'.

(d) The Schola Augustiniana Moderna

A third group whilst broadly Nominalist were also Anti-Pelagian: The **Schola Augustiniana Moderna** epitomised in **Thomas Bradwardine** (c.1290-1349), criticised the Via Moderna of the Nominalists, with a more Augustinian view of Human condition. For this group 'Works' are worthless for Salvation. This cause was particularly taken up by **Gregory of Rimini** (d.1358) of the order of the hermits of Saint Augustine. He argued against **William of Ockham** that there is a prevenient Gift of grace involved in a Christian coming to Faith: It comes from God and is decreed by pre-destination.

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5. The Devotio Moderna

There was also at this time a rising devotional movement amongst and for clergy and laity: asceticism, piety, and communal life characterised it. Its epicentre was the Low Country Augustinians at Windesheim Hospital (Netherlands). Its lasting legacy is the well known work *Imitatio Christi* (English translation *Imitation of Christ*) by **Thomas a Kempis** (c.1380-1471). **Thomas a Kempis** was a layman who was opposed to clericalism and challenged what he perceived as the superiority of clerical spirituality. His book is fresh, and still widely used, especially in ‘Spirituality’ courses as part of the process of ordination training in the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and some of the Free Churches.

3C. Humanism (Christian)

1. Humanism defined

The term ‘humanism’ as it currently appears in the English language is a Nineteenth Century term that describes intellectual thought that is deliberately secular and Godless in its foundation and outlook, and which appeared as a product of the so-called ‘European Enlightenment’. Hence when we apply the term ‘Humanism’ to European Thought on the eve of the Reformation we do *not* mean it in the Renaissance or Nineteenth Century or later understanding of that term. No: An *Humanista* in pre-Reformation Europe was a teacher of the liberal arts subjects (*Humanae Littorae*), usually in a university context. The term ‘Humanism’ used in this way covered the study and teaching of *Littorae* (i.e.: ‘the Arts’) and particularly *Litterae* (Literature), oratory, poets, but also the ‘new’ subjects of Romanic culture: Philology; language; and History. Today, all universities recognise the discipline of ‘Humanities’. Then, this kind of study was part of a rising national and international movement. The study of Nature, Medicine, Philosophy, Theology had all belonged together, and now other newer subjects were being brought alongside. Piety and Eloquence, incidentally, went together in the thought of these times. It wasn’t simply what you said, but how you said it and put it across! ‘Humanism,’ although a 19th Century term, is used in the pre-reformation context to describe the trend of thought originating in 14th Century in the University of Padua in Italy – a return to the language, rhetoric, and expression of the classical world: the *studia humanitatis*.

2. The thought of the Humanista

Francesco Petrarca otherwise known as ‘**Petarch**’ (1304-1374) emphasised the value of truth in language, and grammar and philology as experience and expression of truth. This represented a break and contrast with the recent Mediaeval past in which Rhetoric was regarded as wisdom; for it there was wisdom to be found in speaking copiously. The rebirth (*rinascita*) of such thought for the Humanista had come about in the works of **Dante Alighieri** (1265-1321). In the Eighteenth Century similar ideas arose in a French form: Hence the *Renaissance*. These were taken up by Republicans as a means of re-generating Italian cities, such as Salutati and Bruni in Florence.

3. The Dissemination of Humanism

On the eve of the Reformation Humanism began to be disseminated around Europe by scholars travelling to and from Italy to its great learning centres (e.g.: Paris, Oxford). The ability to manufacture paper, the rise of printing and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks dispersing works from Byzantine Monastic Libraries to the West all combined to bring

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about the new humanism. It was in this period that, for example, the Classical Greek author **Homer**, and the works of the Roman **M. Tullius Cicero** (106-143 B.C.) in Latin were rediscovered, disseminated, and soon popularised. This gave rise to questions of authenticity, for example, accuracy of the Latin Vulgate and the Greek Septuagint Bibles was put under scrutiny, whilst the *Donation of Constantine* in which Constantine allegedly gave untold wealth and rights to the Roman and European Church was revealed as an Eighth Century forgery in a work by **Lorenzo Vallo** (1440). **Vallo** also began to correct errors in the text of the Latin Vulgate Bible by critical exegesis in the light of the Greek Text of the New Testament, and extended his work even to the text of **Augustine**. Now scholars began to read the Gospels and Pauline Epistles in the original Greek. **Rudolf Agricola** (1442/3-1485) brought Italian Humanism to Northern Europe. In Germany **Johannes Reuchlin** (1455-1522) a German Humanist introduced the study of Classical (Old Testament) Hebrew into German universities to enable understanding of the Scriptures, previously usually only read by priest and scholar alike in Latin. His great uncle **Philip Melanchthon** (1496-1560), incidentally, was a lifelong friend of **Martin Luther** and systematised **Luther's** thought as the Reformation grew.

4. The Humanism of the Fifteenth Century in summary

Humanism was not really, then, new learning. It was older learning and civilisation re-discovered and added to the thought of the time. But: If you read the literature from this period, be careful of the use of the word 'Humanist'. It was used in the mid-Sixteenth Century by the Roman Catholics, as the Reformation gathered pace, as an abusive term for Protestants. So how do we sum up Fifteenth Century Humanism? Well: In it logic was preferred to rhetoric; analysis to dialogue; and systematic thought to eloquence. 'Humanism' was then a blanket term for these and the many intellectual pursuits to which these axioms gave rise.

5. The Christian Humanists

In the Reformation these axes of Humanism were to be applied to Theology and the practice of Christian Ministry with person and society transforming effects, usually for the good, but not always. The Christian Humanists applied this learning to the establishment, reading, and understanding of the Biblical Text. Their aim and work was to provide a better Biblical Text than the Latin Vulgate to the as yet undivided Church of the Western Latin rite. These scholars and priests also began to investigate the Gospels and the History of the Early Church in the light of the Humanist principles and insights.

4C. Desiderius Erasmus (c.1469-1536): Prince of Humanists

1. Erasmus: His life and intellectual contribution

Humanism finds its chief Theological exponent in **Desiderius Erasmus**. He was probably, apart from the Great European Reformers themselves, the most famous and influential thinker in Reformation Europe. Whilst a Fifteenth Century Humanist, he combined within this thought Devotion, elements of Scholasticism, and laid the foundation of what was to become the characteristic Reformation emphasis on Biblical scholarship. **Erasmus** was an itinerant thinker. An illegitimate son of a priest at Rotterdam, he was educated at the Augustinian house of Steyn. He shortly after that became secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai. From about **1492** he began his wanderings around Europe. He made several visits to England, and became a friend of **John Colet** then Dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, and of **Thomas More**, an English Humanist

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who in turn introduced him to other similar such thinkers. Some time around **1501 Erasmus** began to learn Greek so that he could read for himself the *New Testament*. By **1516 Erasmus** had published his now very famous *Greek New Testament* (1516), which was to change the face and method of Biblical Interpretation. But **Erasmus** did not take sides. He was a Western Catholic and a faithful Christian. He could write against Lutheran and Catholic Theology alike. He exploited the new technology of printing provided by the new presses, and this really defined his position. **Erasmus** had no ordination or ecclesiastical standing. He had no administrative office in government, empire, or city. **Erasmus** was not wealthy. He probably lived from **1467-1536**, although his usual date of birth is given as **1469**. In his later years, **Erasmus** was subsidised by patrons, most of whom were very happy with him and his work. **Erasmus** was highly influential upon **Luther** (in the period 1517-1519), but battled against **Luther** 1524 on the issue of freewill. He remained a faithful Catholic but criticized the Church and Monastic life. The intellectual institutions and (Catholic) traditionists of Louvain and Paris opposed him.

2. Erasmus, Humanism, and Erasmus's work with the New Testament

Erasmus's contribution to Biblical scholarship can be summed up in two phrases: The *Greek New Testament*, and the principle of his work: Return to the Ancient Text. For a thousand years previously the European Church almost universally had read the Bible in Latin using the official Latin Vulgate version, although there were others. Now with the rise of Humanism the way had opened for a return to the ancient Greek Text of the New Testament. This was made all the more important by the advent of printing, because people were now beginning to read the Bible for themselves in their English, German, or French vernacular. **Erasmus** began by writing *Ad Fontes* to discuss the Greek New Testament and its sources. In **1516** he published his *Novum Testamentum* which was his own translation. This was followed by his *Colloquies*; and his *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* which emphasised personal holiness and the inner spiritual life of the Christian rather than the outward ceremonial of the Church with all its potential of meaning for the devout worshipper. **Erasmus** had begun his work on his translation of the *New Testament* almost as soon as he had mastered the elementary rudiments of Greek in the early **1500s**. In **1504** he discovered **Vallo's** earlier Italian work on the textual criticism of the Bible (N.B.: This is not about criticising the Bible: The discipline of textual criticism works to co-ordinate known ancient manuscripts of the New Testament to establish the best Greek Text.) In **1516 Erasmus** published his *Novum Testamentum*. It had the Latin Vulgate translation laid out in parallel with the Greek, and then parallel with that was **Erasmus's** own translation. **Erasmus** published his *Novum Testamentum* without the parallels in **1515** and revised his *Novum Testamentum* again in **1519, 1522, and 1535**, making corrections with each successive edition. Behind all his work on the New Testament lay the principle of 'Ad Fontes' i.e.: back to source. For **Erasmus** the study of philology and bringing philological insight to bear on commentary was a key element for understanding and then preaching and expounding Theology. It brought new strength to Scriptural exegesis and showed the true essence of Scripture's meaning. With the work of **Erasmus** Scripture, in its earliest Greek format, was now open as an authority. No longer would the believer need to rely upon a papal curia or a priest who read Latin to him or her what was in Holy writ and how it applied to his or her life. Interpretation could become a personal matter and need no longer necessarily be derived from pope, hierarchy, or clergy. His emphasis on inner piety let **Erasmus** develop his well-known *Philosophy of Christianity*.

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5C. Reformation from above or below?

1. Dis-satisfaction with the state of the Church or rising intellectual influences?

So what was the cause of the European and slightly later English Reformations? Two answers are normally given to this question, and I think we have to say that for us it is not an either-or conclusion, but a both-and conclusion. First: **Dis-satisfaction**. Without doubt there was widespread dis-satisfaction with Ecclesiastical corruption (e.g.: Simony, Pluralism); probably with papal authority and its time to time interference in the affairs of European states and their churches, and its accumulation of wealth from its dioceses in many countries; certainly there was much resentment that far too much of Church money was in the disposal of far too few who used it selfishly; indulgencies seemed to be a later factor that gathered momentum as the Reformation progressed; and clergy discipline and behaviour could always be better – we are by no means free of such problems in the present Church of England where many parish priests appear to act imperiously as if the remnant of the English Mediaeval feudal system. However: All that said, we should take seriously the lack of education amongst the population, and the rising desire for more learning galvanised by the advent of the printing press and wide availability of Bible and literature to all. This leads to our second possibility: **Rising intellectual influences**. The advent of Humanism galvanised by the fall of Constantinople and the rise of the printing presses led to a new interest in ancient texts, and a quest and desire once more for the *New Testament* in both the vernacular of the people and in its most ancient Greek format. This led in turn to new exegeses and understandings, and hence also to a challenge to the authority of the pope, curia, and hierarchy as the *solum interpretum* of Scripture. Both of these were factors, and I think that they run as both/and rather than either/or, or neither.

2. Reformation: But: from above, or below?

A second consideration arises when we diagnose the causes of the Reformation. Can the Reformation be said to have been from below, or from above: i.e.: Was it bottom up, or top down? If we say that it is from above we are saying that the ideas of **Martin Luther** (1483-1546) and other reformers were imposed on the Church and the people of Europe. If by contrast we argue that the Reformation was ‘from below’ we are attributing it to a combination of factors, namely: The Word: Bible; Preaching; Devotion; dis-satisfaction with Indulgences and Clerical corruption; the rise of the Universities and lay interest in Scripture, Humanism, text, language, and Philology. So: Which is it? Please keep this question in mind as we proceed in coming units with the work of **Martin Luther, H. Zwingli, and John Calvin**.

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UNIT 2 *Student Notes*

Martin Luther

Conclusion of Unit 1: Why a Reformation?

Corruption; Papal Authority; clergy and religious; Indulgences; Wealth; Education; Humanism; Ancient Texts; New Exegesis, Challenge to the Pope; Martin Luther

What sort of a man was Martin Luther?

Youth and Education. Erfurt (1493), University career

Wittenberg and Frederick the Wise Elector of Hanover

Luther's 'Discovery'

Discredits the idea that one can be justified to God by using one's natural powers – i.e.: do what is in oneself (facere quod in se est), that is, without grace.

Attacks the notion that one can fulfil the law only in the Grace of God because that would make grace more burdensome than the Law itself

Discards the Aristotelean idea that one can become righteous by doing good deeds.

Argues that having been made righteous, namely by God's own grace and passive righteousness, we do good deeds.

This Augustinian Theology already present: Grace, for **Luther**, was essential to our relationship with God, for works are not enough.

Indulgences

Pope Leo X: Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici (1475-1521)

Luther's 95 theses

Posted on the door of All Saints Church, Wittenberg. Here are the five of the first six:

- (1) When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, 'repent,' he called for the entire life of believers to be one of penitence.
- (2) The word cannot be properly understood as referring to the sacrament of penance, i.e.: confession and satisfaction, as administered by the clergy.
- (3) Yet its meaning is not restricted to penitence in one's heart; for such penitence is null unless it produces outward signs in various mortifications of the flesh.
- (5) The Pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties beyond those imposed either at his own discretion or by Canon Law.
- (6) The Pope himself cannot remit guilt, but only declare and confirm that it has been remitted by God; or, at most, he can remit it in cases reserved to his discretion. Except for these cases the guilt remains untouched.

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Heidelberg Disputation, April 1518

Theology of the Cross

(18) It is certain that man must utterly despair of his own ability before he is prepared to receive the Grace of Christ.

(19) That person does not deserve to be called a Theologian who looks upon the invisible things of God as though they were clearly perceptible in those things that have actually happened.

(20) He deserves to be called a Theologian, however, who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross.

(21) A Theologian of glory calls evil good and good evil. A Theologian of the Cross calls the thing what it actually is.'

Theology of Glory

(1) Humans have the ability to do the good that lies within them (*Quod in se est*).

(2) There remains after the fall some ability to choose the good.

(3) Humans cannot be saved without participating in or co-operating with the righteousness given by God.

Augsburg, October **1518**; Leipzig Disputation **1519**; Johannes Eck (1486-1543);

The 1520 Treatises

Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation

(Written for the lay governing elite in the Holy Roman Empire.)

'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation to the improvement of the Christian Estate

'The Romanists have very cleverly built three walls around themselves. Hitherto they have protected themselves by these walls in such a way that nobody has been able to reform them. As a result, the whole of Christendom has fallen abominably.

In the first place, when pressed by the temporal power they have made decrees and declared that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but that, on the contrary, the Spiritual power is above the Temporal. In the second place, where the attempt is made to reprove them with Scriptures, they raise their objection that only the Pope may interpret the Scriptures. In the third place, if threatened with a Council, their story is that no one may summon a Council but the Pope. '

On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church. (Written for the clergy.)

Sacraments; *The Lord's Supper* is subject to three captivities: (a) Withholding the cup from the laity; (b) The Doctrine of Transubstantiation; (c) The understanding of the Mass as a sacrifice, which in **Luther** eyes made the Mass a human work.

Baptism: baptism is the only Christian vow, offers the divine promise of Salvation; Monastic vows add nothing new to this vow.

Penance, Ordination, Confirmation, Anointing of the sick/dying, and Marriage are not to be understood as Sacraments.

Sacrament for **Luther** is the promise of God's Grace with a sign, instituted by Christ.

The Freedom of a Christian (Statement of the positive aspects of his Theology for all).

Luther wrote: 'A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none (in the Spiritual nature, the inner, the new Christian). Also a Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all (in the bodily nature, the outer, old Christian).

Ideas to emerge from the Treatises

The priesthood of believers; Sacraments: Baptism and Communion only; Good works; Christian Freedom.

The Diet of Worms, 1521

Luther stands by his own works. There were three categories:

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- (a) Works which were well received by even his enemies, these he would not reject.
- (b) Works which attacked the abuses of the Church, these he could not reject without tacitly assenting to those abuses.
- (c) Works including attacks on individuals, sometimes regrettably harsh in tone, but whose substance was in accordance with Scripture.

Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason – I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other – my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe.

Luther then fled to Wartburg Castle, Eisenach.

The Peasants War, 1524-1525

Thomas Muntzer

Refinements in Luther's Theology 1522-1530

Two Kingdoms:

This principle was formulated by **Luther** in his **1523** treatises, *on Secular Authority*

Sin and Bound Will: This was opposed by **Erasmus** (c.1467-1536) of Rotterdam in his *De Libero Arbitrio* (i.e.: *The Freedom of Will*) he argues that Humanity has some capacity to 'know' God through our own merits, chiefly intellect and will.

Luther's rebuttal was in **1525** and was a wide ranging defence of the bondage of the will *De Servo Arbitrio*. Before grace the Will remains completely enslaved to sin, and, although the Holy Spirit liberates the will from this bondage during justification, the will is still not free in the sense that it could choose God.

Luther and Erasmus on Freewill

1524: Erasmus: *Diatribes de libero arbitrio*: Freewill is 'a power of the human will by which man may be able to direct himself towards, or turn away from, what leads to eternal salvation.'

1525: Luther: *De Servo arbitrio*: 'It is fundamentally necessary and healthy for Christians to acknowledge that God foreknows nothing uncertainly, but he foresees, purposes, and orders all things according to His own immutable, eternal, infallible will. This bombshell knocks 'free-will' flat, and utterly shatters it.'

Colloquy of Marburg: 1529

Real Presence at the Eucharist and Infant Baptism

The Eucharist: The words of institution had to be taken literally, because they promised the presence of Christ and the forgiveness of sin in such a way that Christians could be certain of receiving both in the Sacrament.

Infant Baptism: It was possible for children to have faith as a Gift of the Holy Spirit. Infant Baptism must be valid and efficacious, given the number of people who had become Christian by that means through the Centuries.

One should never be baptised for the sake of how much faith was present, but on the command of God. 'For Faith does not exist for the sake of Baptism, but baptism for the sake of Faith.'

Luther's Big ideas.

What is the legacy of **Martin Luther**?

Reformation Discovery: Justification by Faith; Theology of the Cross; Authority of Scripture over the Church; The Priesthood of all believers; Only two Sacraments; Genuine good works; Freedom of a

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Christian; The two Kingdoms; Sin and the Bound Will; The Real Presence and Infant Baptism; Law and the Gospel; The Holy Spirit: Source of true goodness.

Martin Luther and the Reformation: Timeline and texts

1483	10 th Nov	Born in Eisleben, Thuringia. Schooled in Eisenach.
1501		Matriculated at the Arts Faculty in Erfurt
1505		M.A. Begins to study Law.
1505	2 nd July	Prays to Saint Anne in a thunderstorm, promising to become a monk.
1505	17 th July	Requests entry into the order of Observant Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt; becomes a novice that Autumn.
1507		Ordination to the priesthood and start of Theological studies at Erfurt.
1508		Moves to the University of Wittenberg (founded 1502)
1509		<i>Baccalaureus Biblicus</i> and <i>Baccalaureus Sententiarus</i>
1509-1511		Lectures on Lombard's Sentences in Erfurt.
1512	October	Doctor of Theology.
1513		Lectures on <i>Psalms</i>
1515-1516		Lectures on <i>Romans</i>
1515-1518		Oversight of Augustinian Houses in Thuringia and Saxony under Abbot Staupitz
1516		Lectures on <i>Galatians</i>
1517-1518		Lectures on <i>Hebrews</i>
1517	Sept	<i>Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam</i> (against Scholastic Theology)
1517	31 st Oct	Luther writes a letter of protest to Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz enclosing 95 theses against the practice of indulgences.
1518	Feb	Augustinian Superior told to silence Luther ; His Province refuses to obey
1518	April	Heidelberg Disputation
1518	May/June	Luther cited for heresy in Rome
1518	Aug	Luther called to present himself in Rome within 60 days to offer a defence. <i>Resolutiones Disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute</i> (An explication of the 95 theses). Elector Frederick (the Wise) intervenes and arranges that Luther be summoned before Cardinal Catejan , the Papal legate to the Imperial Diet of Augsburg.
1518	Oct	Cross examination by Cardinal Catejan
1518	25 th Oct	Cajetan recommends that Luther be banned or given up in Rome
1518	7 Dec	Frederick refuses, since Luther's guilt is not proven.
1519	12 th Jan	Emperor Maximillian dies; Elector Frederick makes Luther's case a matter for negotiation in the Imperial Election
1519	27 th Jun	Leipzig disputation opens: Luther and Karlstadt dispute with Johannes Eck
1519	28 th Jun	Charles V elected Emperor
1519	late	Eck called to Rome to condemn Luther
1520	15 th Jun	<i>Exsurge Domine</i> Papal bull threatening to excommunicate Luther
1520	Aug	<i>To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation</i>
1520	Oct	<i>On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church</i>
1520	Nov	<i>On Christian Liberty</i>

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1520	10 th Dec	Luther burns the Bull together with works by the Pope
1521	23 rd Jan	Luther formally excommunicated in the bull <i>Decet Romanum Pontificem</i> .
1521	6 th Mar	Imperial command to Luther to present himself to the Imperial Diet at Worms
1521	16-26 Apr	Luther in Worms; stands to his works.: Three categories: (a) Works which were well received even by his enemies: These he would not reject. (b) Works which attacked the abuses of the Church; these he could not reject without tacitly assenting to those abuses. (c) Works including attacks on individuals, sometimes regrettably harsh in tone, but whose substance was in accordance with Scripture: “Unless I am convinced by the testimonies of the Scriptures or by clear reason (for I do not trust either in the Pope or the testimonies of Councils alone, since it is well known that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not retract anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience.”
1521	26 th May	Imperial ban on Luther (Wormser Edict); Luther ‘kidnapped’ by Frederick and brought to the Wartburg Castle where he remained until March 1522.
1522	29th Sept	Traditional celebration of the Mass is discontinued in the Anglican Monastery at Wittenberg; Luther writes a treatise on <i>The Misuse of the Mass</i> in support.
1522	March	Luther returns to Wittenberg; preaches moderate Lent sermons wearing his habit; celebrates the Eucharist in Latin, but with reception in both kinds.
1522	Sept	The German New Testament.
1525		Writings against the farmers’ uprising (‘Peasant Wars’); against prophets; against Erasmus (<i>De Servo Arbitrio</i> – ‘On Bound Choice’ / ‘On the Enslaved Will’)
1525		Marriage to Katharina von Bora
1529		Colloquy of Marburg: Luther and Zwingli on the Eucharist
1529		<i>Large and small Catechisms</i> / Marriage Service
1530		Diet of Augsburg / <i>Confessio Augsburgana</i>
1534		German Bible
1536		<i>Wittenberg Concord</i> agreement between Strasburg and Wittenberg on Eucharist ‘Schmalkald Articles’ (never accepted by the League as a confession.)

Illustrations

INTRODUCTION TO THE REFORMATION

UNIT 2: MARTIN LUTHER: MEDIAEVAL PRACTICE CRITIQUED

(Unit 2: Martin Luther: The critique of mediaeval practice and its consequences)

A. INTRODUCTION

1A. Orientation to Unit 2

1. The PICC Course *Introduction to the Reformation*

Welcome to Unit 2 of our ICPICC Course *Introduction to the Reformation*. In Unit 1 we surveyed the state of the Church on the Eve of the Reformation; and then surveyed the developing intellectual scenario from the end of the Mediaeval period to about 1525, noting the impact made by the advent of printing and cheap, easily available printed material. In Unit 2 we are turning our attention to the best known of the early continental reformers, **Martin Luther**. In England there was no great pioneering name associated with the English Reformation. By contrast, on the continent **Luther** was associated with the region that we nowadays call Germany and hence with Habsburg Austria and the Holy Roman Empire. In Unit 3 we will turn our attention to **Zwingli** the Swiss reformer, whilst in Unit 4 we will examine, albeit cursorily, the life and work of **John Calvin**. In Units 5 to 8 we will move on to turn our attention to the English Reformation and its course. We will begin by reviewing the reign of **King Henry VIII** and his Reforms of England and the English Church. In Unit 6 we will study **Edward VI** and English Protestantism and contrast this with the ensuing reign of **Mary I Tudor** and the return of England to what was by now Roman Catholicism. In Unit 7 we will look at the reign of **Queen Elizabeth I** and the establishment of the English Anglican Church as a 'Via-Media' (i.e.: a Church with a Catholic structure but staffed by Protestants). Unit 8 will be given to a study of the Church of England from the beginning of the reign of **James I** who in **1611** commissioned the English *Authorized Version* (otherwise known as the *King James Version*) of the Bible, to the end of the Great Rebellion (1642-1660) when **Charles II** ascended the throne, and the Anglican Church was once more the Church of England. Welcome then to Unit 2, and I hope that you are looking forward to this programme in coming weeks.

2. Conclusion of Unit 1: Why a Reformation?

In Unit 1 we surveyed the state of the (English) Church on the eve of the Reformation. There was corruption. Much of the income and wealth that should have gone to sustaining parish work, education, poor relief and projects was instead concentrated in the hands of a very few. Parishes were often staffed by poorly paid curates whilst the owners of the revenue of the benefices were busy enjoying income from multiple appointments and things in life other than Christian Ministry. Papal Authority was under suspicion. The Great Papal schisms in which the Church in Europe was rent apart by the claims of a Pope in Italy against another in Avignon had called into question the whole concept of Papal authority; and more pertinently, why should many of the decisions affecting the English Church have to be made in Rome or referred to her? Rome also took her share of the revenue from the English Diocese and did not seem to account for what she spent. Further: Spain and France also had influence at Rome and this was not always a positive factor for English foreign policy. Within the English church there was a clear division between clergy and religious (i.e.: monks and nuns in orders). Monasteries were wealthy and often had relatively lax discipline, and many were accountable more to Rome than the English Church of which they were a part. More senior clergy often held multiple appointments with bishops favouring not always suitable candidates for personal reasons for election to bishoprics and the more wealthy benefices. Indulgences promoted a certain

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spiritual corruption – e.g.: it was possible to buy time off purgatory for oneself or the souls of others. Chantry were endowed for the perpetual prayer for the souls of the departed (the origin of many of the Oxford Colleges). There was much ill-distributed and ill-used wealth in the Church. On the intellectual front with the advent of printing came a rise in demand for education. With the rise of Humanism new subjects were added to the professional subjects of Divinity, English, Medicine, and Law being studied at Oxford and Cambridge Universities: Littorae (Classics (i.e.: Latin and Greek and ancient Roman and Greek history and literature), English literature and English and European History, Philosophy, Music, and others. With the rise of Humanism came a new interest in ancient Biblically related and other ancient and classical texts; with respect to the bible there was a rise in interest in Exegesis: With printing it was now possible for anyone and everyone to read the Bible and to read it in their mother tongue. They now could understand it for themselves and make up their own mind as to what it was saying. This of course brought a challenge to the Pope and the (Roman based) hierarchy of the Church who hitherto whether parish priest, bishop or cardinal had dictated to the laity what they should understand of the Bible and how. All that was about to change. Lay piety on the eve of the Reformation was strong. There was rising demand for liturgy in the vernacular (i.e.: not in Latin but in the language of the people). Into this scene came the personage of **Martin Luther** one of many, but by far best known of the earliest European reformers.

2A. Two Dramatis Personae

1. What sort of a man was Martin Luther?

So: Who was **Martin Luther**? Why was he so significant? What did he achieve? How did his life and writings help shape the Church in Europe and indeed the Protestant Church today? What was his Theology? What were his motivations to do what he did? How Protestant really was he? Would a 'Lutheran' today be recognised by **Martin Luther** as someone who was living out **Luther's** Theology and ideas? To the question 'Who was **Martin Luther**?' I will give a first answer: 'A fascinating and extraordinary man.' For all the dis-satisfaction at her and within her, the Church of the Late Mediaeval Period had changed very little by **1500 A.D.** But that situation and the Church herself was about to change and change more radically than ever she had in the last thousand years. A young man from Saxony (now in Germany) named **Martin Luther** entered the scene. In one respect he was a fairly ordinary individual. But whether intentionally or not he was to be responsible for 'heading up' many far reaching changes that were to take place within the Church. **Luther** was a scholar, sometimes a bully, often a victim, all round clever, and a Christian who was not afraid to react to Theological cruces and Ecclesiastical crisis.

2. Martin Luther's youth, education, and early academic career

Martin Luther was born on November 10th **1483** in Eisleben, in Thuringia, Saxony. He was born into what in Mid Twentieth Century language would have been called 'A middle class family' and he was the eldest of seven children. He was schooled in Eisenach. Early on in his life the image of **Christ** as Judge terrified him, to say nothing of the hell fire that would follow for all who lived a life in any way displeasing to God in the light of the example of Christ. **Luther** then as a youth was very serious and very sensitive and carefully entered into his opportunity for education. He did well at school in Eisenach and so matriculated into the (new) Arts Faculty of the University in Erfurt in **1501** which he subsequently attended and from which he launched his university and academic career. Having read for his Master of Arts (M.A.) degree which he obtained in **1505**, **Luther** at the 'request' of his father began to study Law. Hence in 1505 he both lectured in the Law School there and read the

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subject. An interest in Law was a common thing in Reformation Theologians. However: That pursuit was about to change and **Luther** never completed his study of Law.

3. Luther's re-orientation to the Monastic life

On the 2nd July **1505 Martin Luther** found himself caught in a violent and terrible thunderstorm. Terrified he cried out to God for protection invoking the intercession of **Saint Anne** and promised that if he survived the awful storm, he would devote his life to God and become a monk. **Luther** survived and so, true to his word, on the 17th July **1505** he requested entry into the order of Observant Augustinian hermits in **Erfurt** and hence became a novice that Autumn. Hence: in **1506** after just a full year as a novice **Luther** became a fully professed Augustinian monk. **Luther** excelled as a monk. He attended confession some twenty times a day. In **1507** he was ordained to the priesthood and started his Theological Studies at **Erfurt**. It is said that he officiated at his first Mass with trembling hands. His Abbot was a good pastor and encouraged him to love God and to let himself be loved by Him. But for **Luther** the experience was different. **Luther** did not love God and could not see that God loved him. No: In his own words **Luther** said, 'I feared God.' His Abbot **Staupitz** decided in **1508** that **Luther** should be moved to the University of Wittenberg to take his focus off his soul and on to further Theological study. Wittenberg was a new university founded in **1502** and such was **Luther** as a student that he obtained his *Baccalaureus Biblicus* and *Baccalaureus Sententiarus* in **1509** after which he pursued with Doctoral studies.

4. Wittenberg and Frederick the Wise Elector of Hanover

However: A second character enters the drama. **Frederick ('the wise')** monarch of Hanover was also an Elector, i.e.: he was one of the rulers who elected the Holy Roman Emperor. **Frederick** spotted **Luther's** talent and potential. Wittenberg was a new university and so **Frederick** sponsored **Luther**. **Luther** in the event began a fruitful academic career.

B. LUTHER'S 'DISCOVERY' & NINETY-FIVE THESES

1B. Luther's 'Discovery'

1. Luther's university career

Luther was now a serious academic. From **1509-1511** he lectured on *Lombard's Sentences* in the University of **Erfurt**. In **1512** he obtained his Doctor of Theology degree. During **1513-1514** **Luther** lectured on *Psalms* and then during the years **1515-1516** **Luther** lectured on *Romans*. He began the preparatory work for this in **1513**. Whilst it was relatively new to approach the text of the New Testament in this way, there was precedence. In **1500** **John Colet** dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, England and founder of the famous Saint Paul's public school had lectured publicly in Oxford (i.e.: all could attend and hence receive an education) on Saint Paul's Epistles. Much of **Luther's** work was done before **Erasmus** published his *New Testament in Greek*, in German of course, in **1511**. From **1515-1518** **Luther** had oversight of Augustinian Houses in Thuringia and Saxony under **Abbot Staupitz**. In **1516** **Luther** lectured and wrote on *Galatians* and in **1517-1518** he lectured and wrote on *Hebrews*.

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2. Luther's insight builds

Luther began to emphasise in his Theological teaching that Grace that came from God came from God as something that was external to the sinner. There was nothing the sinner could do for himself or herself to deserve it or to obtain it. The Abbot's plan had worked! As **Luther** continually studied Scripture, and studied it carefully and thoroughly, he became something of an 'Enthusiast' (i.e.: Somebody who spends time worshipping God and studying Scripture the combination of which leads to Spiritual experience.) In **1515** **Luther** read and pondered *Psalm 22* verse 1: '**My God, My God, look upon me why hast thou forsaken me?**' and noted that **Jesus Christ** uttered it on the cross whilst bringing about the world's salvation. **Luther** realised afresh that God is the Divine Judge. **Jesus** had a desolation when being identified with sin. This resonated with **Luther** who also had long known spiritual desolation. It gave him a new perspective, and he continued his study. The next stage of revelation was not very long in coming. In **1517** whilst he was preparing work on *Romans* he read the words of *Romans 1:17* where **Saint Paul** quote *Habakkuk 2:4* and writes, '**The just shall live by faith.**'

3. Romans 1:17 = Habakkuk 2:4 and Luther's 'revelation'

Luther realised as he read *Romans 1:17* where **Saint Paul** quotes *Habakkuk 2:4* that a Christian is not justified before God by works, but by Faith that emanate from themselves, but by faith which comes by the Grace of God. Enthralled and deeply grateful to God, he immediately attacked writing and expounding the theme of Justification by Faith (for which he is now of course famous) from several angles. (1) First: **Luther** discredits the idea that one can be justified to God by using one's natural powers – i.e.: do what is in oneself (**facere quod in se est**), that is, without God's Grace. Hence: There can be no justification of any human being before God on the grounds of their work and personage alone. (2) **Luther** now goes a stage further and attacks the notion also that one can fulfil the law only in the Grace of God. (3) **Luther** gives his reason: This would make Grace more burdensome than the Law itself. (4) In arguing this **Luther** discards the Aristotlean idea that one can become righteous by doing good deeds. (5) **Luther** now argues that having been made righteous, namely by God's own grace and passive righteousness, we do good deeds. This particular thing was already present in Augustinian Theology. The difference between them is that Grace, for **Luther** is essential to our relationship with God, for works are not enough. For **Luther** it is the fact that only because we have first been made righteous by God can we only then do good deeds.

2B. The sale of indulgences and Luther's 95 theses

1. Indulgences, the rebuild of Saint Peter's, and Luther provoked

Pope Leo X, i.e.: **Cardinal Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici** was Pope from 1475-1521. **Leo** needed cash to rebuild the papal church of **Saint Peter** at Rome, first built on its site by the **Emperor Constantine**. So in **1515** a Papal Bull was issued to sell indulgencies and then promoted by **Tetzel**. Now: Repentance was not necessary in the sale of indulgences. Soon afterwards **Tetzel** arrived in Wittenberg to sell indulgences. **Tetzel** sold the indulgences on the pretext that, 'As soon as a coin in the coffer rings, a soul from purgatory springs.' **Luther** despised both indulgences and the way that **Tetzel** promoted them. Tine was granted off purgatory for souls at favourable rates. The money flowed into the papal coffers in Rome that year for the great rebuild of the Papal Church into what is now Saint Peter's basilica. **Luther** was dis-satisfied not least because of the revelation that he received. So **Luther** reacted.

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2. Luther's 95 theses

Luther penned his now famous 95 theses in reaction to this situation, and posted them up on the door of All Saints Church at Wittenberg late in October **1517**. He wrote them in Latin, and they were initially intended for university colleagues. Such postings on church doors as a preparation for discussion groups had not been unusual in the decades since **1500**. Here are five of the first six theses:

- (1) When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, 'repent,' he called for the entire life of believers to be one of penitence.
- (2) The word cannot be properly understood as referring to the sacrament of penance, i.e.: confession and satisfaction, as administered by the clergy.
- (3) Yet its meaning is not restricted to penitence in one's heart; for such penitence is null unless it produces outward signs in various mortifications of the flesh.
- (4) The Pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties beyond those imposed either at his own discretion or by Canon Law.
- (6) The Pope himself cannot remit guilt, but only declare and confirm that it has been remitted by God; or, at most, he can remit it in cases reserved to his discretion. Except for these cases the guilt remains untouched.

The main point of this was that 'repent' is faith that must pervade one's entire life. The word cannot be understood to be simply speaking of the act of going to a member of the clergy and receiving absolution of sin after confession. **Luther** took this insight to its logical conclusion: Even the Pope has no power to remit sin and guilt, only God Himself had that power. **Luther** then hammered home the point: *Repentance and forgiveness are an inward thing between the believer and God: There is no Biblical requirement for confession of sin to a priest so as to receive forgiveness.*

3. Luther's theses sent to Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz

Luther was no stranger to debate and disputation. In September **1517** he was involved with the *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam* (against Scholastic Theology). So now on the 31st October (All Hallows Day) **1517 Martin Luther** wrote a letter of protest to **Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz** enclosing his 95 theses against the practice of indulgences.

4. Luther's theses translated

Luther's theses were now translated into German. They were published by the Gothenberg Press in Saxony, which published **Erasmus'** *New Testament in Greek* and widely circulated. A copy soon reached the Pope who upon reading them exclaimed, 'What drunken monk wrote these?' Hence, a few weeks later in February **1518** his Augustinian Superior was told by Rome to silence **Luther**. His provincial and province refused to comply with the order.

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C. THE REFORMATION: DISPUTATIONS AND SEPARATIONS

1C. The Heidelberg Disputation

1. Luther summoned by his Abbot

Luther was summoned by his order on 26th April **1518** to appear before his Abbot and to present twenty eight of his theses that had since come to be known as ‘The Theology of the Cross’. The most important of these for **Luther’s** Theology are given in English translation below.

2. The Heidelberg Disputation April 1518: ‘The Theology of the Cross’

(a) Luther’s ‘Theology of the cross’

Here are the most essential of the theses to understanding **Luther’s** ‘Theology of the Cross’ i.e.: His Theology of what God did in and through the death of **Jesus Christ** on the cross.

(18) It is certain that man must utterly despair of his own ability before he is prepared to receive the Grace of Christ.

(19) That person does not deserve to be called a Theologian who looks upon the invisible things of God as though they were clearly perceptible in those things that have actually happened.

(20) He deserves to be called a Theologian, however, who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross.

(21) A Theologian of glory calls evil good and good evil. A Theologian of the Cross calls the thing what it actually is.’

(b) Theology of Glory

By contrast was the ‘Theology of Glory’ which previously **Luther** had espoused and which others who had not joined the Reformation clearly held. For **Luther** this ‘Theology of Glory’ called good evil and evil good. It worked like this:

(5) Humans have the ability to do the good that lies within them (*Quod in se est*).

(6) There remains after the fall some ability to choose the good.

(7) Humans cannot be saved without participating in or co-operating with the righteousness given by God.

Luther faced ecclesiastical officials and others who held to this in the disputations at Augsburg in October **1518**; the Leipzig Disputation in **1519**; and the disputation with **Johannes Eck** (1486-1543).

3. Luther’s Theological position

Luther was a Theologian of the Cross. **Luther** preached what seemed a foolishness to the world. **Luther** expounded that we humans cannot earn our own righteousness, nor can we somehow by acts of will, repentance, or our own actions merit, deserve, obtain, achieve, or procure the righteousness that God has given us in Christ as a result of God’s work in and through Him at the cross. Humans have the ability to do good, yes. There is some ability to good that lies within us even after the fall. But that is not enough. Humans cannot be saved even if we eventually co-operate with God, for faith is a gift of God, and we are justified by God alone, not by anything we are or do of ourselves.

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2C. The Diet of Augsburg: October 1518

1. Luther summoned

Luther's opponents saw their chance, and so now made papal authority an issue. Hence, in **October 1518**, **Luther** was summoned to a Di'et at **Augsburg**. For those of you who are thinking food, it is not quite like that. A Di'et was a meeting of princes of the Holy Roman Empire, usually called by authority of the emperor. **Luther** was instructed to appear at that Di'et in order to give an account of his views to the Papal Legate **Cardinal Catejan**.

2. Events at the Di'et of Augsburg

Luther hence attended in **October 1518** in the hope of defending his views. **Cardinal Catejan** tried to persuade **Luther** to recant. **Luther** said that he was most willing to recant if he could be shown from Scripture that his views were in error. This **Catejan** apparently could not do, and so the Di-et decided that **Luther** was to be arrested. However, **Luther** got wind of the judgement passed against him and escaped from **Augsburg** by night, fleeing to **Wittenberg** where he was kept in a castle under the protection of **Frederick the Wise**, Elector of Hanover, who encouraged him to continue writing and to get on with the business of the Reformation. The Pope realised that the situation was temporarily against him, and so he and **Luther** agreed to a truce. But the truce in the event was to be short lived.

3C. Luther's 1519 dispute at Leipzig with Johannes Eck

1. Eck and Luther debate

In **1519** **Luther** agreed to dispute with **Johannes Eck** (1486-1543). **Luther** and **Eck** both debated, and both participated directly. **Luther** performed well and was very good in both his rhetoric and his Theological logic and judgement. **Eck**, however, was a highly skilled and well-practised debater. He debated in such a way as to lead **Luther** to state that the Councils of the Church can err as well as the Popes. Whilst we would not find that so difficult to hear today, it was another story then. **Luther** contended that a single Christian with the Scriptures had more power than a Pope or Council where those had sat loose to Scripture.

2. The outcome of the Leipzig dispute

To those in ecclesiastical authority who attended, **Luther** sounded uncomfortably like an heretic, and clear in their minds was the matter of **John Huss** the reformer from one hundred years before. **Luther** was hence labelled, 'The Saxon Huss.' But, this Saxon Huss, so-called, was very far from finished.

4C. The 1520 Treatises

1. Condemnation by Pope Leo X provokes Luther's three treatises

In **1520** **Luther's** life seemed to lurch from crisis to crisis. In **May** of that year **Pope Leo X** condemned **Luther**. This provoked three treatises from **Luther's** pen: (1) *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (written for the lay governing elite of the Holy Roman Empire); (2) *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (addressed to clergy); and (3) *The Freedom of a*

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Christian. Before we comment on **Luther** and on these any further, let's read a sample of the first and take in its flavour.

2. LUTHER: *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*

(a) Extract from the text in translation

This was written for the lay governing elite in the Holy Roman Empire. Here is an extract that will give us the flavour:

'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation to the improvement of the Christian Estate,'
'The Romanists have very cleverly built three walls around themselves. Hitherto they have protected themselves by these walls in such a way that nobody has been able to reform them. As a result, the whole of Christendom has fallen abominably.

In the first place, when pressed by the temporal power they have made decrees and declared that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but that, on the contrary, the Spiritual power is above the Temporal. In the second place, where the attempt is made to reprove them with Scriptures, they raise their objection that only the Pope may interpret the Scriptures. In the third place, if threatened with a Council, their story is that no one may summon a Council but the Pope. '

(b) Comment

This address had led by the end of **1520** to a 'Theology of the Priesthood of All Believers,' but with the meaning 'that all lay people can interpret Scripture.' **Luther** here quotes *1 Peter* 2: **'You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, that you should show forth the praises of Him who has called you out of darkness into his marvellous light,'** and *Revelation* 12. For **Luther**, all Christians who had become so were therefore priests.

3. LUTHER: *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church.* (Written for the clergy.)

(a) Two, and only two Christian Sacraments

In this work **Luther** explained that there are in Scriptural reality only two Christian Sacraments: The Lord's Supper and Baptism. The Church Catholic as led by Rome was currently preaching that there were seven: Baptism, Confirmation, Confession/Absolution/Penance, Marriage, Ordination, Chrism/anointing of the sick, and Holy Unction at death.

(b) The rite of the Mass

Luther now contends that The Lord's Supper is subject to three captivities in the current Church: (a) The Church Catholic as led by Rome withholds partaking of the cup (i.e.: the chalice) from the laity; (b) The Church Catholic as led by Rome wrongly teaches the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, to wit, that the element of the bread in the Communion/Eucharist/Mass actually and corporeally becomes the flesh of **Jesus Christ**, and the element of the wine becomes really and actually the most precious blood of **Jesus Christ**; (c) The Church Catholic as led by Rome wrongly understands the sacrament of the Mass as a sacrifice: i.e.: The priest is repeating the sacrifice of **Jesus Christ** at the Calvary cross by the priest offering the transubstantiated elements as a sacrifice for the sin of the gathered people, i.e.; repeating **Jesus Christ's** final sacrifice before God. This was quite unacceptable to **Luther**, for in his eyes it made the Mass a human work.

(c) Baptism

For **Luther** Baptism is the only Christian vow, and it alone offers the divine promise of Salvation. Monastic vows add nothing new to this vow. Confirmation and Penance as and where they are

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practised, **Luther** further contended, should not be regarded as sacraments. No: They are rather a 'return to Baptism.' So: How for **Luther** should Baptism be viewed. Luther was quite straightforward here: Baptism was and is a lifelong covenant between God and the Christian believer. The Theology of the consequent Salvation that comes as a result of this covenant should be based on God's promises alone, and not on genuine or spurious good works in the life of the believer. **Luther** went further: religious activities that are undertaken simply to obtain God's favour are spurious. Nobody can co-erce God by any means into giving Salvation.

(d) Other 'sacraments'.

For **Luther**, *Penance, Ordination, Confirmation, Anointing of the sick/dying, and Marriage* are not to be understood as Sacraments.

Sacrament for **Luther** is the promise of God's Grace with a sign, instituted by Christ.

4. LUTHER: *The Freedom of a Christian*

Luther's *Freedom of a Christian* was a statement of the positive aspects of **Luther's** Theology for all. It is best summed up as a treatise about 'Freedom and Love' in the Christian experience. In it **Luther** writes this: 'A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none (in the Spiritual nature, the inner, the new Christian). Also a Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all (in the bodily nature, the outer, old Christian).' Because of the Love covenant between a Christian and God which a Christian is in, a believer is completely free, for that believer is justified by faith. However: Because of God's Love for the believer and the believer's Love for God that same Christian is also a dutiful servant of Christ. For **Luther**, this is what it means to be truly Christian.

5. Theological ideas to (re-)emerge from the Treatises

In brief summary, therefore, there were four main Theological tenets to emerge from **Luther's** 1520 treatises: (1) The priesthood of believers: that all Christians were priests unto God from Scripture, and hence all could intercede before God, all could confess their sin, repent, and receive God's forgiveness without the intermediary of an ecclesiastical priest; (2) The Sacraments: There were two sacraments only, Baptism and Communion; (3) Good works have no part in enabling a believer to obtain salvation but are an after- fruit of the faith by which the believer is first justified; and (4) Christian Freedom: In Christ all Christians are free, but all Christians will serve him through Love of Him, hence there is a 'Christian duty to serve.' These developments were to mean more tension and trouble between the authorities and **Luther**, and, of course, those who were increasingly following him.

5C. The Di'et of Worms, 1521

1. Luther burns his excommunication notice

In **December 1520 Martin Luther** publicly burned his excommunication notice at Wittenberg. He was still, of course, an Augustinian monk, but from this point was free to move around as he wished. He was not any longer obliged to be 'in choir.'

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2. The Di'et and the exchange between Luther and Eck

(a) April 16th 1521

The Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V** called the Di'et of Worms for the 22nd January 1521, and **Charles** himself opened it on that day. **Luther** was soon summoned to appear before it, and was guaranteed safe conduct to the event. **Luther** chose to appear, and he therefore appeared on 16th April 1521. **Johannes Eck** was the spokesman for the Emperor, and he had **Luther's** books upon the table in front of him. **Eck** opened his questioning with the question to **Luther**, 'Do you believe what you have written in these books?' **Martin Luther** asked for time to consider his answer. 'If I say, Yes,' he politely retorted to **Eck**, 'then I will be told that I am an heretic. If I say, 'No,' then I will be told that I am a liar.' **Luther** hence in the event requested the night to think about his answer, and was granted the time.

(b) April 17th 1521

Luther returned to appear the following day. When again asked the question by **Eck**, **Luther** briefly explained that his books fell into three different categories. They were as follows: (a) Works which were well received by even his enemies. These he would not reject. (b) Works which attacked the abuses of the Church. **Luther** explained that if he rejected these he could not reject them without tacitly assenting to those abuses, and this he could not do as it would be against his conscience. (c) Works including attacks on individuals, sometimes regrettably harsh in tone, but whose substance was in accordance with Scripture. These he could not reject, for to reject them was to reject Scripture itself. Hence, **Luther** stood by his works. But **Luther** only stood by his works with a qualification: He would recant if it could be shown him from the authority of Scripture that he was wrong.

(c) Luther stands by his works

So: **Luther** stood by his own works of which there were three categories. This is what he said, 'Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason – I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other – my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe.'

(d) A further exchange and Luther's condemnation

Eck questioned **Luther** further, but **Luther** remained firm. He would not recant as to do so would be against his conscience. **Luther** also said that he could no longer accept the teachings and hence the authority of the Pope.

3. Luther condemned by the Emperor Charles V

The result for **Luther** was not promising. The Holy Roman Emperor **Charles V** condemned **Luther** as an outlaw, and **Eck** saw to it with **Charles V** that **Luther's** works were condemned as those of an heretic in later in 1521.

4. Luther 'kidnapped'

Luther, realising that things had not gone his way, fled immediately back to **Wittenberg**. However, the ever vigilant and wise **Frederick** Elector of Hanover arranged for **Luther** to be stage-kidnapped, and his 'kidnappers' took him instead to Wartburg Castle at Eisenach. There **Frederick** kept him 'imprisoned' i.e.: he housed and restricted him to its inside grounds for a year. But that year was to prove fruitful for **Luther**.

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D. LUTHER'S THEOLOGY REFINED: THE PERIOD 1522-1530

1D. Anabaptist problems and the Peasant's War

1. Anabaptist problems

(a) The Anabaptist problem

The Reformation was now beginning to gather momentum. Others were working at Reformation Church, and reformed practices. At Wittenberg a group of 'Anabaptists' had formed, who were preaching that baptism should only be administered to those who were of years of discretion to answer for themselves. In line with this teaching, for which they claimed the authority of Scripture, they were 're-baptising' those people who came to them who had been baptised whilst still too young to remember. These we look at in a separate unit in a parallel course to this one: *Themes and Personalities in the Reformation* and Unit 7: 'The Radical Reformation'.

(b) Luther's response

Luther went to the Anabaptists and preached to them. He showed them from Scripture that their understanding of Baptism was very limited, and was not the full counsel of Scripture. So effective was he that the Anabaptists ran away from the preaching and ceased their activities so long as **Luther** was in Wittenberg.

2. The Peasant War(s) of 1524-1525

Whilst it is not a focus of ours here, the gathering Reformation brought with it a year of discontent from the peasants of the area that roughly speaking we now call Germany. This so-called 'Peasant's Revolt' was led by **Thomas Muntzer**. Initially **Luther** supported the peasants against the nobility by whom they were being exploited. However: The peasants began to commit atrocities. **Luther** now felt unable to support them, and so weighed in instead on the side of the Germany nobility and the Holy Roman Empire's rulers. Very early in **1525** **Luther** began writing against '**murderous, thieving bands of peasants.**' Later in **1525** he called for such peasants to be punished. In the event neither **Luther** as a Reformer, nor the Catholic Church (now about to be known as the 'Roman Catholic Church' from the time of the Council of Trent in **1525**) supported the Peasants, and the various authorities and militia of the Holy Roman Empire put down the revolt-war in **1525**. In its wake, **Luther** stressed in his preaching that obedience to the secular authorities that was based in Scripture.

2D. Luther's Theology of the Two Kingdoms

1. Scripture and sources of the Two Kingdoms Theology

(a) Sources

Luther's principle of the 'Two Kingdoms' was formulated by him in his treatises of **1523** entitled *On Secular Authority*. In it he interpreted and particularly applied **Saint Paul's** statement in *Romans* 13:01 and **Jesus Christ's** teaching in His *Sermon on the Mount* and then throughout *Matthew* and particularly *Matthew* 5:17-21). Here then are the *Romans* and *Matthew* Scriptures in the *New International Version*.

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(b) Saint Paul: The text of Romans 13:1-6

‘(1) Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. (2) Consequently, he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves. (3) For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and he will commend you. (4) For he is God’s servant to do you good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword for nothing. He is God’s servant, an agent of wrath to bring punishment on the wrong-doer. (5) Therefore it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment, but because of conscience. (6) This is also why you pay taxes, for the authorities are God’s servants, who give their full time to governing. (7) Give everyone what you owe him: if you owe taxes, pay taxes; if revenue, then revenue; if respect, then respect; if honour, then honour.’

(c) Matthew 5:17-5:21

‘(17) Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfil them. (18) I tell you the truth, until heaven and earth disappear not the smallest letter, not the least stroke of a pen, will by any means disappear from the Law until everything is accomplished. (19) Anyone who breaks these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be called least in the Kingdom of the Heavens, but whoever practises and teaches these commandments will be called great in the Kingdom of the Heavens. (20) For I tell you that unless your righteousness surpasses that of the Pharisees and teachers of the Law, you will certainly not enter the Kingdom of the Heavens.’ (Slightly adapted)

2. Luther’s Theology of the Two Kingdoms: An outworking of Gospel and Law

Now: This leaves **Martin Luther** with something of a problem. In *Matthew* **Jesus Christ** speaks only of the ‘Kingdom of the Heavens.’ This is brought in by the Gospel. This Gospel justifies people by Faith. But: This Law and the things in it have not yet come to complete fulfilment. Much of the law was fulfilled in Jesus Christ. But there are many who still have not accepted the Gospel and so are living by Law. Hence Law and gospel both have a place in the world until the end time when ‘all is fulfilled.’ (N.B.: (1) In the other Gospels these words are rendered by the words **Jesus Christ** exactly used: ‘The Kingdom of God.’ (2) In *Matthew* 5:17 **Jesus Christ** says that he came to fulfil the Law, meaning the Old Testament Law of the Old Covenant.) **Luther** therefore expounded a Theology that there were two kingdoms: One corresponded to the Law (the Kingdoms of this world and the rule of the un-Reformed Church) and the other to the Gospel (the Kingdom of Heaven/God that **Jesus Christ** brought in with the New Covenant.) For **Luther** writing at the time of the Reformation there were (as yet) few real Christians. Such as there were of these were no living by the Gospel and so by Grace and Faith rather than by Law. Such Christians should only use the power of the Law to protect themselves from their neighbour if their neighbour should prove troublesome. Others in the world, whether owning the title ‘Christian’ or no, were still living under the Law and striving to work out their Salvation by works as something which cannot be done. **Luther** came to the position that (real) ‘Christians live in the world but are not of it.’

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3D. Martin Luther versus Erasmus of Rotterdam: 'Sin and Bound Will'

1. LUTHER: The issue of sin and the bound will, and the sinner before having Grace

Martin Luther's teaching on the state of the sinner before receiving Salvation ran very much like this: Before his (or her) reception of God's Grace by a sinner, sin is a power that actively binds the human will. After the human person is saved by God through receiving the Gospel of Jesus Christ, sin remains present until death, but the repentant Christian who is walking before God is often asking forgiveness of his (or her) sins, and so those sins stand forgiven. For a human person to be saved therefore, argued **Luther**, our wills must be bound to God for us to be saved. This of course is a bond of Covenant Love.

2. ERASMUS: *De Libero Arbitrio* 1524

This teaching of **Luther** was opposed by **Erasmus** (c.1467-1536) of Rotterdam in his *De Libero Arbitrio* (i.e.: *The Freedom of Will*) in **1524**. **Erasmus** argues that Humanity has some capacity to 'know' God through our own merits, chiefly intellect and will.

3. LUTHER: *De Servo Arbitrio* 1525

Luther tackled **Erasmus's** challenge in **1525**. In that year he wrote a rebuttal of **Erasmus' De Libero Arbitrio** which was a wide ranging defence of the bondage of the will: *De Servo Arbitrio*. In it **Luther** argues that before God's work of Grace the Human Will remains completely enslaved to sin, and, although the Holy Spirit liberates this Will from this bondage during justification, the Will is still not free in the sense that it could choose God. But **Luther** went further in this work. He also stated that God chooses the Christian; and gives the Christian His Spirit. As a result of being given his Spirit by God, the Christian, says **Luther**, then receives Grace. The result of this for the Christian is that the Christian then receives the real presence of God in, through, and by **Jesus Christ**. However: Simultaneously they exchanged on the matter of Freewill, and this we also must now elucidate.

4. LUTHER & ERASMUS on Freewill

In **1524 Erasmus** wrote thus (in Latin of course) in his *Diatribes de libero arbitrio*: Freewill is 'a power of the human will by which man may be able to direct himself towards, or turn away from, what leads to eternal salvation.' **Luther** had no such Theology and no truck with such ideas. Hence in **1525 Luther** replied to **Erasmus** in his *De Servo arbitrio* and wrote: 'It is fundamentally necessary and healthy for Christians to acknowledge that God foreknows nothing uncertainly, but he foresees, purposes, and orders all things according to His own immutable, eternal, infallible will. This bombshell knocks 'free-will' flat, and utterly shatters it.' In **1525**, incidentally (in the midst of all this), **Luther** married **Katerina von-Bora**.

4D. The Colloquy of Marburg: 1529

1. Luther's Theology of the Eucharist

(a) Luther's Theology of the Eucharist explained

It was at the Colloquy of Marburg (a Colloquy is an intellectual gathering of Theologians or other scholars to discuss, formulate, or conclude a particular issue) that **Martin Luther** formed and gave a formal definition to his doctrine of the Eucharist. Just what did the great Reformer think happens in

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the Christian Communion service? The matter was made the more urgent because **Zwingli** who was the lead figure in the parallel Swiss Reformation (c.f.: Unit 3 of this lecture series and Unit 4 of PICC B.A./B.D./B.TH./B.Min *Themes and Personalities in the Reformation* for further details of **Zwingli**) had said that **Jesus Christ's** words 'This is my Body' as said by Him and repeated by the minister at the Eucharist were simply stating that the Communion bread symbolises the Body of Christ – the service was simply a remembrance of Him. With this **Luther** seriously begged to differ. **Martin Luther** hence stated that when the Christian receives the Sacrament of The Lord's Supper/Holy Communion/The Eucharist, that Christian receives the *real presence of Christ* and simultaneously receives the forgiveness of their sins. How? For **Luther** the Divine presence comes through the bread and wine which are for the believer as the body and blood of Christ.

N.B.: From 1522 **Luther** had celebrated the Eucharist administering elements in both kinds.

(b) Luther's Eucharistic Theology in summary

For **Martin Luther**, then, **Jesus Christ's** words of institution had to be taken literally, because they promised the presence of Christ and the forgiveness of sin in such a way that Christians could be certain of receiving both in the Sacrament.

2. Baptism

(a) Luther's Theology of Baptism explained

Martin Luther also turned his attention to challenging and answering the Anabaptists and took the opportunity to use the Colloquy of Marburg to do so. **Luther** said that children, like adults, can have Faith as a gift of the Holy Spirit. Infant Baptism must be valid and efficacious, contended **Luther**, given the number of people who had become Christian by that means through the Centuries. 'Faith is not received for Baptism,' remarked **Luther**, 'but Baptism for Faith.' **Luther** then explained: 'Baptism is a pre-condition of Faith.' **Luther** defined 'infant baptism' as just that: The infant has a(n infant) faith which grows as that infant grows. It is the Holy Spirit and the Holy Spirit alone who makes this possible. **Luther** undergirded his argument here with the point that 'Faith is a gift of God, and so Baptism at the beginning of a life is appropriate.'

(b) A consequence for Parish Theology

If I may just briefly divert to draw your attention to the consequence of **Luther's** Theology for parish work? Let me ask you when you are in a parish and approached by people for baptism: 'What in your opinion is the qualification for receiving baptism? Is it a parent's Faith? For **Luther** and most other Reformers Baptism, not least because he was in a largely 'Christian' society, was an inclusive thing for all. Baptism was a Reformation issue, but all the Reforming leaders (e.g.: **Calvin, Luther, Zwingli**) advocated 'Infant Baptism'.

(c) Luther's Theology of Baptism in summary

For **Martin Luther**, then, it was possible for children to have Faith as a Gift of the Holy Spirit. Infant Baptism must be valid and efficacious, given the number of people who had become Christian by that means through the Centuries. **Luther** further explained that one should never be baptised for the sake of how much faith was present, but on the command of God. **'For Faith does not exist for the sake of Baptism, but baptism for the sake of Faith.'**

3. Luther on Preaching

Just before we sum up and finally close on **Luther** with a summary comment on 'Luther's big ideas,' I will say a brief word about **Luther's** Theology of Preaching. **Martin Luther**, you may remember,

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had made a distinction between *Law* and *Gospel*. How do they go together in a sermon? **Luther** was adamant that *the preaching of the Law of God must be kept distinct from the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ*. Just before you react in surprise, let me (or rather him) explain why. For **Luther** there are two kinds of authority: God's (and other Law) which pre-exist the Gospel and are the authority of earthly kingdoms including Israel, and the authority of the Gospel which is the authority of the Kingdom of Heaven, and which, **Jesus Christ** indicated, has a place for Law, but, if you remember, in a very specific context. So why the difference? It is because the Gospel of Justifying Faith is a Gospel that is not of human authority, but of God's own authority because it is a work of the Holy Spirit.

E. LUTHER'S BIG IDEAS

What then is the legacy of **Martin Luther**? I will sum it up in a simple but stupendous list. Reformation Discovery: Justification by Faith; Theology of the Cross; Authority of Scripture over the Church; The Priesthood of all believers; Only two Sacraments; Genuine good works; Freedom of a Christian; The two Kingdoms; Sin and the Bound Will; The Real Presence and Infant Baptism; Law and the Gospel; The Holy Spirit: Source of true goodness.

APPENDIX: Martin Luther and the Reformation: Timeline and texts

1483	10 th Nov	Born in Eisleben, Thuringia. Schooled in Eisenach.
1501		Matriculated at the Arts Faculty in Erfurt
1505		M.A. Begins to study Law.
1505	2 nd July	Prays to Saint Anne in a thunderstorm, promising to become a monk.
1505	17 th July	Requests entry into the order of Observant Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt; becomes a novice that Autumn.
1507		Ordination to the priesthood and start of Theological studies at Erfurt.
1508		Moves to the University of Wittenberg (founded 1502)
1509		<i>Baccalaureus Biblicus</i> and <i>Baccalaureus Sententiarus</i>
1509-1511		Lectures on Lombard's Sentences in Erfurt.
1512	October	Doctor of Theology.
1513		Lectures on <i>Psalms</i>
1515-1516		Lectures on <i>Romans</i>
1515-1518		Oversight of Augustinian Houses in Thuringia and Saxony under Abbot Staupitz
1516		Lectures on <i>Galatians</i>
1517-1518		Lectures on <i>Hebrews</i>
1517	Sept	<i>Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam</i> (against Scholastic Theology)
1517	31 st Oct	Luther writes a letter of protest to Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz enclosing 95 theses against the practice of indulgences.
1518	Feb	Augustinian Superior told to silence Luther ; His Province refuses to obey
1518	April	Heidelberg Disputation
1518	May/June	Luther cited for heresy in Rome
1518	Aug	Luther called to present himself in Rome within 60 days to offer a defence. <i>Resolutiones Disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute</i>

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		(An explication of the 95 theses). Elector Frederick (the Wise) intervenes and arranges that Luther be summoned before Cardinal Catejan , the Papal legate to the Imperial Diet of Augsburg.
1518	Oct	Cross examination by Cardinal Catejan
1518	25th Oct	Cajetan recommends that Luther be banned or given up in Rome
1518	7 Dec	Frederick refuses, since Luther's guilt is not proven.
1519	12 th Jan	Emperor Maximillian dies; Elector Frederick makes Luther's case a matter for negotiation in the Imperial Election
1519	27 th Jun	Leipzig disputation opens: Luther and Karlstadt dispute with Johannes Eck
1519	28 th Jun	Charles V elected Emperor
1519	late	Eck called to Rome to condemn Luther
1520	15 th Jun	<i>Exsurge Domine</i> Papal bull threatening to excommunicate Luther
1520	Aug	<i>To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation</i>
1520	Oct	<i>On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church</i>
1520	Nov	<i>On Christian Liberty</i>
1520	10 th Dec	Luther burns the Bull together with works by the Pope
1521	23 rd Jan	Luther formally excommunicated in the bull <i>Decet Romanum Pontificem</i> .
1521	6 th Mar	Imperial command to Luther to present himself to the Imperial Diet at Worms
1521	16-26 Apr	Luther in Worms; stands to his works.: Three categories: (a) Works which were well received even by his enemies: These he would not reject. (b) Works which attacked the abuses of the Church; these he could not reject without tacitly assenting to those abuses. (c) Works including attacks on individuals, sometimes regrettably harsh in tone, but whose substance was in accordance with Scripture: "Unless I am convinced by the testimonies of the Scriptures or by clear reason (for I do not trust either in the Pope or the testimonies of Councils alone, since it is well known that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not retract anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience."
1521	26 th May	Imperial ban on Luther (Wormser Edict); Luther 'kidnapped' by Frederick and brought to the Wartburg Castle where he remained until March 1522.
1522	29th Sept	Traditional celebration of the Mass is discontinued in the Anglican Monastery at Wittenberg; Luther writes a treatise on <i>The Misuse of the Mass</i> in support.
1522	March	Luther returns to Wittenberg; preaches moderate Lent sermons wearing his habit; celebrates the Eucharist in Latin, but with reception in both kinds.
1522	Sept	The German New Testament.
1525		Writings against the farmers' uprising ('Peasant Wars'); against prophets; against Erasmus (<i>De Servo Arbitrio</i> – 'On Bound Choice' / 'On the Enslaved Will')
1525		Marriage to Katharina von Bora
1529		Colloquy of Marburg: Luther and Zwingli on the Eucharist
1529		<i>Large and small Catechisms</i> / Marriage Service

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1530	Diet of Augsburg / <i>Confessio Augsutana</i>
1534	German Bible
1536	<i>Wittenberg Concord</i> agreement between Strasburg and Wittenberg on Eucharist ‘Schmalkald Articles’ (never accepted by the League as a confession.)

Illustrations

INDICATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR UNIT 2

MARTIN LUTHER: PRIMARY TEXTS

The all-round most useful reference work for our purposes is the complete edition of Luther’s works in English edited by **Pelikan J.** and **Lehmann H.T.** 55 volumes (1962-1971). There is a very useful and comprehensive selection of texts for initial study of Church History purposes in

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UNIT 3 Student Notes

Huldrych Zwingli 1484-1531

Switzerland after **1499** was a loose Confederation, sustained by mercenary service. Linguistically diverse, no single Archbishop.

Zwingli:	Early life and education;
1506	Parish priest at Glarus ;
1513, 1515	Military chaplaincies;
1516	Chaplain at Ensiedeln;
1518	Papal Chaplain;
1519	Post as <i>Leutpriester</i> (people's priest) in the Grossmunster, Zurich
1519	Wrote <i>Pestlied</i> (poem) after plague
1522	Affair of the Sausage Lent.
1522	Zwingli secretly married
1522	Wrote <i>Apologeticus Archeteles</i> : In it he attacked the Bishop of Konstanz
1523	First Zurich Disputation

The Sixty-Seven Articles, or Conclusions, prepared for the public disputation held January 29, 1523, in the city of Zurich

- (1) All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the approbation of the Church, err and cast reproach upon God.
- (2) The sum of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, had made known to us the will of his Heavenly Father, and redeemed us by his innocence from eternal death, and reconciled us to God.
- (3) Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation for all who were, all who are, or all who ever shall be.
- (4) Whosoever seeks or shows another door errs, yea, is a murdered of souls and a robber.
- (7) Christ is the Head of all believers.
- (8) All who lives in this head are his members and children of God. And this is the true Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.
- (15) Who believes the Gospel shall be saved, who believeth not shall be damned. For in the Gospel the whole truth is clearly contained.
- (16) from the Gospel we learn that the doctrines and traditions of men are no use to salvation
- (17) Christ is the one eternal high priest.
- (18) Christ who offered himself once on the cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the cross and a seal of the redemption through Christ.
- (19) Christ is the only mediator between God and us.
- (22) Christ is our righteousness. From this it follows that our works are good so far as they are Christ's but not good so far as they are our own.
- (24) Christians are not bound to any works which Christ has not commanded
- (26) Nothing is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy
- (27) All Christians are brethren
- (34) the power of the Pope and the Bishops has no foundation in the Holy Scripture and the doctrine of Christ.

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(49) I know of no greater scandal than the prohibition of lawful marriage to priests, while they are permitted for money to have concubines. Shame! (Pfui der schande!)

(50) God alone forgives sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord alone.

(57) The Holy Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life.

Second Disputation October 1523; November 1523.

In June 1524 'superstitious' images removed from the city

13th April 1525: The Roman mass was abolished.

Also in 1525 Zwingli published *On the True and False Religion* about the Eucharist

In 1530-1531 Zwingli broadens his Eucharistic thinking.

However, Zwingli failed to secure an Eucharistic understanding with Martin Luther even after the intervention of Philip of Hessen to produce the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529

Zwingli's Theology

The Bible

Christ

Divine Providence

The Spirit

The Sacraments: Baptism and the Eucharist

A Clear Instruction concerning the Supper of Christ – February 23, 1526. Zwingli's 'Memorialist' view of the Lord's Supper.

But there are two flaws in the argument (that the words 'This is my body' refer to the bread being the physical body of Christ'). The first is that we are not given any reason to believe that when the Pope or some other human person says: 'This is my body', the body of Christ is necessarily present. It is useless to say that Christ himself said: 'Do this in remembrance of me': therefore the body of Christ is there The second flaw is a failure to see that before we use the Word of God to justify anything, we must first understand it correctly. For example, when Christ says: 'I am the vine' (John 15:15), we have to consider that he is using figurative speech in the first place ... If the simple meaning of Scripture is that which we maintain through a misunderstanding of the letter, then Christ is a piece of vine wood, or a silly sheep, or a door, and Peter is the foundation stone of the Church. The simple or natural sense of these words is that which obtains in all similar instances, that which the minds of all believers find the most natural and the most easily understood.

See Matthew 26:26.

Baptism

From December 1524 Zwingli supported infant Baptism.

- (1) As initiation 'both of those who already believed and those who are going to believe,' and argued that infant baptism replaced circumcision, which infants received before believing, and that forbidding the baptism of infants meant forbidding them to come to Christ (Matthew 19:13-19:14)
- (2) He held that it is more likely than not that children were in the households baptized in 1 Corinthians 1, and Acts 16. He insisted that the New Testament, whilst not specifically commanding infant baptism does not either forbid it.

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- (3) Baptism is a pledge and should be given to infants as, being children of Christians, they are part of God's people.

Government and Councils

How they should act: In submission to the Word of God; with the assent of the Church; guided by the need for peace; for the furtherance of the Gospel.

Zwingli and Luther

Law and Gospel

Zwingli: Stressed the continuity between the Old and New Testaments.

Luther: Stressed the contrast with an emphasis on a Canon within the Canon of Scripture

Justification by Faith

Justification by faith was central for **Luther** but not for **Zwingli**, in whose work the emphasis is on making righteous rather than on declaring righteous; Both stressed Faith, but for **Zwingli** it was faith in the Creator rather than the creature, and therefore in Christ as Son of God as opposed to the creature (that is anything that is not of God, not only works, as with **Luther**).

The Eucharist and Christology

One of the differences between **Luther** and **Zwingli** that emerged in the Eucharistic controversy was Christological. **Luther** stressed the unity of the two natures in the person of Christ, whereas **Zwingli** stressed the distinction of the two natures.

Providence and Pre-destination

These feature in **Luther's** Theology as well as in **Zwingli's**, but they have a more influential and extensive role in **Zwingli's** Theology, just as they do in Reformed Theology. The later distinction between the two kingdoms and the kingdom of Christ in Lutheran and Reformed Theology is partially seen in **Zwingli**.

Success in winning **Berne** to unambiguous Reformed commitment **1528**, after disputation rigged by Evangelicals.

Christian Civic Union of Swiss Evangelicals 1529

1531 **Zwingli** encouraged Zurich in a solo war with the Catholic Swiss Cantons. In the same year **Zwingli** was killed at the **Battle of Kappel** along with some other Reformers. This battle destroyed the Swiss Christian Civic Union and ended Zurich's chances of leading Switzerland.

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) was chosen as **Zwingli's** successor as *Antistes* (presiding minister) of Zurich. Stabilised its reformation. With Strassburg, centre for non-Lutheran Protestantism.

Bullinger: *Antistes* of Zurich from **1531**, **Bullinger** concentrated on ecclesiastical and not secular politics.

'Theology of Covenant' was built on **Zwingli's** positive attitude to Divine Law. **Bullinger** cultivated **international links**: e.g.: from **1536** with England and **Thomas Cranmer** (1489-1556)

Year	Zwingli	Luther	History
1484	Zwingli's birth		
1506	Zwingli becomes a Pastor in Glarus		

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1515	Zwingli as chaplain in Marignano		
1517		Luther's ninety five theses	
1519	Zwingli becomes Pastor of the Grossmunster		
1521		Pope excommunicates Luther	
1522		Luther translates the New Testament into German	Adrian VI becomes Pope
1523	Reformation in Zurich		Clement VII becomes Pope
1524	Zwingli marries Anna Reinhard		German Peasant's War
1525	Zwingli publishes his tract: <i>On the true and false religion</i>	Luther marries Katharina von Bora	Anabaptist movement in Switzerland
1527			Charles V sacks Rome
1528			Reformation in Berne
1529	Zwingli meets Luther for the first time in the Colloquy of Marburg		
1530		The Augsburg Confession	
1531	Zwingli dies in combat		The league of Schmalkalden
1533			Calvin becomes a Protestant
1536			Calvin in Geneva

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INTRODUCTION TO THE REFORMATION

UNIT 3: HULDRYCH ZWINGLI 1484-1531

A. INTRODUCTION

1A. Orientation to Unit 3

1. Illustrations: Huldrych Zwingli 1484-1531 and Switzerland just after 1499

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2. The ICPICCJC Course *Introduction to the Reformation*

Welcome to Unit 3 of our ICPICCJC Course *Introduction to the Reformation*. In Unit 1 we surveyed the state of the Church on the Eve of the Reformation; and then surveyed the developing intellectual scenario from the end of the Mediaeval period to about 1525, noting the impact made by the advent of printing and cheap, easily available printed material. In Unit 2 we turned our attention to the best known of the early continental reformers, **Martin Luther**. In Unit 3 we now turn our attention to **Huldrych Zwingli** the Swiss reformer, whilst in Unit 4 we will examine, albeit cursorily, the life and work of **John Calvin**. In Units 5 to 8 we will move on to turn our attention to the English Reformation and its course. We will begin by reviewing the reign of **King Henry VIII** and his Reforms of England and the English Church. In Unit 6 we will study **Edward VI** and English Protestantism and contrast this with the ensuing reign of **Mary I Tudor** and the return of England to what was by now Roman Catholicism. In Unit 7 we will look at the reign of **Queen Elizabeth I** and the establishment of the English Anglican Church as a 'Via-Media' (i.e.: a Church with a Catholic structure but staffed by Protestants). Unit 8 will be given to a study of the Church of England from the beginning of the reign of **James I** who in 1611 commissioned the English *Authorized Version* (otherwise known as the *King James Version*) of the Bible, to the end of the Great Rebellion (1642-1660) when **Charles II** ascended the throne, and the Anglican Church was once more the Church of England. Welcome then to Unit 3, and I hope that you are still looking forward also to this programme in coming weeks.

3. Unit 2: The German 'Lutheran' Reformation heritage in summary

We traced the key events and features of the German Reformation in Unit 2, principally by tracing the life and work of **Martin Luther**. **Luther** had had live encounters with the Lord and as a result had derived from Scripture (especially *Romans* and *Galatians*) the Doctrine of Justification by Faith. He and the other German Reformers had recognised the Authority of Scripture as the paramount source of Authority for the Christian Faith as interpreted by the Holy Spirit to all believers; **Luther** had expounded (especially from *1 Peter* the Theology of the priesthood of all believers; **Luther** and the German Reformers now accepted only Baptism and Holy Communion as Sacraments because they were the only two Dominical Sacraments; **Luther** had also expounded the doctrines of the Two Kingdoms; Sin and the Bound Human Will up to the moment of Faith; the Doctrine of Infant Baptism; the Doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist/Holy Communion/Lord's Supper; the Christian is under the authority of the Grace of God as mediated in and through Jesus Christ as his or her Lord and Saviour and hence is not under (Ecclesiastical or Old Testament) Law vis-à-vis Salvation and reception of forgiveness, the Holy Spirit, and relationship with God; and the Christian believer may receive the Holy Spirit through personal encounter with God rather than 'infusion' from a Christian (Catholic) priest or bishop. Thus and thus far the story. Today, we assemble another piece of the Reformation mosaic by looking at the life and work of **Huldrych Zwingli** and more generally the course of the Swiss Reformation.

2A. Huldrych Zwingli's early years

1. Switzerland in 1499 on the eve of the Swiss Reformation

Switzerland after 1499 was a loose Confederation of cantons, sustained by mercenary service. There were many temporal rulers, and there was no overarching common political government. Switzerland at this time was also linguistically diverse with no common language, although

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dialectic forms of French and German were for the most part spoken. Likewise there was no single religious authority: Switzerland had no single Archbishop with overall oversight of the canton confederation. Put another way: Politically all was up for grabs. Incidentally: Geneva, at that time, was not in Switzerland.

2. Huldrych Zwingli's early life

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) as a Reformer lived by the standards of his time a somewhat fast life, and died relatively young in battle in **1531**. Born at Wilthaus, Switzerland in **1484**, his life was short and turbulent. He came from a prominent Swiss 'Middle-class' family and was the third of eight sons. His father was a District Officer in Wilthaus. **Huldrych Zwingli** undertook his higher education studies at the University Of Berne where **Schuler** was the Professor of Theology. He graduated first with his **B.A.** followed by his **M.A.** in Theology later in that year-**1506**. Even before he had graduated the town of Glarus had selected him as their parish priest. His experience at Glarus made **Zwingli** a zealous supporter of the oncoming Reformation. However: He was 'no saint'.

3. Zwingli's education, early pastoral work, and outlook

Zwingli was a Humanist by study (c.f.: Unit 1). He learnt Greek at Berne University, and read Classics and the Early Church Fathers (i.e.: the Patristic authors) in Greek. He was devoted to his Biblical and Theological Study and of course to the Lord in his Christian Faith, and he dialogued with **Johannes Eck** (c.f.: Unit 2) who knew of **Zwingli's** pastoral work and work on translation of the *New Testament*. **Zwingli** was also politically active: the policies of the city government at Glarus were closely linked with **Zwingli's** reforms of the Church there. Because of his political as well as religious passion, of course, **Zwingli** died in battle in **1531**. From **1513-1516 Zwingli** was also an army chaplain. This gave him an insight into the workings of the military, more insight into politics, and more insight into the religious currents and categories of the day, all of which contributed to his vision for the eventual unification of the Swiss cantons.

4. In summary I: The story so far

1506	Parish priest at Glarus
1513, 1515	Military chaplaincies
1516	Chaplain at Ensiedeln
1518	Papal Chaplain

B. HULDRYCH ZWINGLI THE REFORMER

1B. Zwingli at Ensiedeln and as papal chaplain

1. Zwingli's reforming ministry at Ensiedeln

From **1516 Zwingli** was the chaplain at Ensiedeln. This was a place of pilgrimage and he was popular and did well there. **Zwingli** preached there and it is there that his reforming began. **Zwingli** did his reforming by pastoring and preaching. He was empowered by his study of the Bible in a Humanist as well as a devotional way. In this connection he also did a new thing for those times – he learnt Old Testament (Classical) Hebrew! Alas: **Zwingli** was into classics and

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secular literature, to say nothing of the Bible in German. Further: Whilst he was at Ensiedeln he did not preach as a Conservative Catholic should.

2. Zwingli as papal chaplain

In 1518 therefore, **Oswalt Mycunius** employed **Zwingli** as a secular papal chaplain to lecture. However: **Zwingli** was not now celibate and so again had to move on.

2B. Zwingli at Zurich

1. Zwingli as Leutpriester and budding reformer in the Grossmunster at Zurich

Not now celibate, **Zwingli** was appointed as the *Leutpriester* (i.e.: the people's priest) at the Grossmunster in **Zurich** from January 1st 1519. Here he preached in the great Catholic Church in the city centre. He took his preaching and teaching ministry seriously. It was here that **Zwingli** systematically expounded *Matthew*, *Acts of the Apostles*, and the Pauline Epistles – direct from the Greek text incidentally for those of you in the group who read Greek! It was whilst at Zurich that **Zwingli** set about his doctrinal innovation for which he is now so justly famous. However: At this stage of his ministry he had no thoughts about doctrinal reform except in regard to indulgences. Indeed, so strongly did he feel about this issue that he prevented the papal ambassador for the purpose from selling indulgences in Zurich.

2. Rome and the beginnings of Reformation in Zurich

When eventually it did begin to gain a momentum, the Reformation in Switzerland was secured by the attitudes of the people. For **Zwingli** the first signs were not so promising. Rome was milking the Swiss mercenaries. Initially Zwingli and the city council of Zurich sided with the Pope as the first rumblings of reformation began. This may have been influenced by a plague at Zurich in 1519, after which **Zwingli** wrote his *Pestlied*, a pastoral poem in the plague's wake. However: **Zwingli** was increasingly unhappy with the matter of Roman indulgences and the Theology that went with them. Hence in 1520 **Zwingli** renounced his papal pension – this was the same year, incidentally, that **Martin Luther's** Reformation Theology was condemned by the Pope. **Zwingli** attacked the Swiss mercenary system. In the event the canton of Zurich did not ally with the Swiss Federation, but with the Pope, the only canton to do so. By 1522 **Zwingli** had become the 'people's priest' at Zurich. Included in this important and prestigious post was a considerable political responsibility and influence within the city and its canton.

3. On choice and Liberty regarding food 1522 & the affair of the Sausage Lent

In 1522 **Zwingli** penned his pamphlet *On Choice and Liberty regarding food*. He did of course write in both Latin and the Swiss vernaculars. In it he protested against the practice of fasting in Lent. His work was published by **Christof Procher** the Zurich based printer. It was avidly read and through it **Zwingli** persuaded people to defy the Roman Lenten fasting and abstention laws regarding meat. Twelve men and Zwingli met together to begin the defiance. Initially **Zwingli** abstained but then joined them. They ate sausages throughout Lent that year. After he began eating the sausages, **Zwingli** pamphleteered. This was a mark of his reforming.

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4. Zwingli weds in secret

We have just observed that **Zwingli** first acted, then he wrote and went into print about the issue in question. This was also true of his marriage and the issue of married priests. **Zwingli** secretly married in **1522**, and then published a document *Apologeticus Archeteles* in which he argued that there is no Theological reason why priests should not be allowed to marry.

5. 1522 *Apologeticus Archeteles*

In it he also attacked the authority of the **Bishop of Konstanz** by baldly stating that Scripture and Scripture alone was the (sole) authority by which things could be decided in the Church. All issues should be assessed in the light of Scripture and those that test positive for a Scriptural precedent or directive, and those alone should be believed, observed, or practised. The only exception **Zwingli** made was the matter of infant baptism.

6. In Summary II: 1519-1522

1519 Post as *Leutpriester* (people's priest) in the **Grossmunster, Zurich**

1519 Wrote *Pestlied* (poem) after plague

1522 Affair of the Sausage Lent.

1522 **Zwingli** secretly married

1522 Wrote *Apologeticus Archeteles*: In it he attacked the **Bishop of Konstanz**

Now: I am sure that you will appreciate that the **Bishop of Konstanz** for his part was not happy with **Zwingli's** verbal attack. Hence, the **Bishop of Konstanz** asked **Zwingli** to demur from what he had said, and to publicly affirm his obedience to the Roman Church. This **Zwingli** was pleased to attend, and so came about the *First Zurich Disputation* of **1523** for which **Zwingli** prepared a statement of fifty seven theses.

3B. The First Zurich Disputation 1523 and the Reformation in Zurich to 1525

1. The event of the First Zurich Disputation in 1523

Zwingli was now to appear before the **Bishop of Konstanz**. For the event, the Zurich City Council called the whole population together. **Zwingli** was to speak on behalf of himself and them all. For the occasion **Zwingli** read the fifty seven theses that he had prepared. They are very important for understanding the thought and Theology of the Swiss Reformation and its course and progress. These fifty seven theses propagated the formal progress of reforming innovation. Their basis was that the Bible is the only formal source of ecclesiastical authority. The Archbishop of the province in which Zurich was situated at that time was represented at the Disputation by **Johannes Zwick**. What was the outcome? **Zwingli** spoke passionately. The Council voted in his favour. But before you celebrate or otherwise, let's listen to some of the fifty seven theses in English translation. (N.B.: These are sometimes known in English as 'theses,' sometimes as 'articles,' and sometimes as 'conclusions.')

2. Highlights of the text of the fifty seven theses in English translation

The Fifty Seven Articles, or Conclusions, prepared for the public disputation held January 29, 1523, in the city of Zurich

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- (1) All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the approbation of the Church, err and cast reproach upon God.
- (2) The sum of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, had made known to us the will of his Heavenly Father, and redeemed us by his innocence from eternal death, and reconciled us to God.
- (3) Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation for all who were, all who are, or all who ever shall be.
- (4) Whosoever seeks or shows another door errs, yea, is a murdered of souls and a robber.
- (7) Christ is the Head of all believers.
- (8) All who lives in this head are his members and children of God. And this is the true Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.
- (15) Who believes the Gospel shall be saved, who believeth not shall be damned. For in the Gospel the whole truth is clearly contained.
- (16) From the Gospel we learn that the doctrines and traditions of men are no use to salvation
- (17) Christ is the one eternal high priest.
- (18) Christ who offered himself once on the cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the cross and a seal of the redemption through Christ.
- (19) Christ is the only mediator between God and us.
- (22) Christ is our righteousness. From this it follows that our works are good so far as they are Christ's but not good so far as they are our own.
- (24) Christians are not bound to any works which Christ has not commanded
- (26) Nothing is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy
- (27) All Christians are brethren
- (34) the power of the Pope and the Bishops has no foundation in the Holy Scripture and the doctrine of Christ.
- (49) I know of no greater scandal than the prohibition of lawful marriage to priests, while they are permitted for money to have concubines. Shame! (Pfui der schande!)
- (50) God alone forgives sins, through Jesus Christ our Lord alone.
- (57) The Holy Scripture knows nothing of a purgatory after this life.

Of particular note is thesis 19: 'Christ is the only mediator between God and us,' which by implication forthwith forbids any Marian prayers. Note that by the time of writing thesis 49 **Zwingli** was married. But this was only the beginning. The hare had been allowed to run, and so the Council and **Zwingli**, eager to progress with reforms called a Second disputation for October and November 1523.

3. The Second Disputation: October 1523; and November 1523

This Second Disputation took reform to a new level. Politicians, statesman, and Church clerics worked together. The removal of images in churches was decreed and enacted. Veneration of saints was forbidden. From now on there were to be but two sacraments: Baptism and the Eucharist. The other five sacraments of the Church were not to be practised. **Zwingli** proposed, and the Zurich Council adopted his proposals by passing appropriate laws and measures. Organs were stripped from churches and banned. This last measure, many of his friends said to **Zwingli**, was too severe.

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4. Further Reform at Zurich 1524

During these years further reform proceeded apace. In **1524** pilgrimages were banned, relics and pictures in churches were destroyed, sacred vessels were melted down and minted into coins, monasteries suppressed, and monks and nuns given legal and civic freedom to marry. Good works were declared to be of no merit with respect to individual Salvation. The Zurich Council and **Zwingli** also petitioned the **Bishop of Konstanz** to allow priests to be married. As part of the petition, the petitioners freely admitted that they were married.

5. Further Reform 1525

Zurich formally introduced a law allowing priests to marry in **1525**. In the Spring of **1525** the Mass was abolished. Church members became servers of the Lord's Supper instead. **Zwingli** followed this move with a publication *On the True and False Religion* which was a Theological treatise on the Eucharist.

6. In Summary III: 1523-1525

In June **1524** 'superstitious' images removed from the city

13th April 1525: The Roman mass was abolished.

Also in **1525** **Zwingli** published *On the True and False Religion* about the Eucharist

4B. Other arising issues

1. The role of the Zurich City Council vis-à-vis the Church and vice-versa

It should become obvious to those of you who are listening that there are implications for Church Government in the way that **Zwingli** and the City Council of Zurich went about their reforms. The Council now had a role in the Church. But the Council was formally independent of the Church, and the Church of the Council. According to both **Zwingli** and the Zurich City Council the issue was that if the Catholic bishops would not reform the Church, then they must do so and would! But **Zwingli** and the Council recognised that in all matters both they and the Church must be subject to Scripture as the word of God and the governing authority. **Zwingli** saw Zurich City Council as a Christian body. But, **Zwingli** insisted, the Council could not act independently. Rather it acted in subjection to the Bible as word of God for the whole Church in Zurich. In all things, therefore, the Council must have the assent of the Church, and always it must act for peace.

2. Instruments of Government

How can this be justified from the *New Testament*? **Zwingli** turned to *Acts of the Apostles* Chapter 15 and closely studied verses 6 to 20. He noted that there was a dispute in the Church as to whether Gentiles had to become Jews to become Christians. The elders of a local Church, some Pharisees who had recently become Christians, and two apostles – **Saints Paul and Barnabas** could not resolve the matter on their own. So the two apostles and some of the elders went up to Jerusalem to consult with **Saint James** and the apostles and elders there. **Zwingli** pointed out that in this case, an outside, but Christian body nevertheless, with some form of overall oversight was consulted and involved. For him the same situation prevailed between the local Church of Zurich and the City Council who were all Christians and who all had oversight of matters related to

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living in Zurich. For **Zwingli** the elders of the Church were equivalent to the church elders in *Acts* 15, whilst the Senatus of Zurich (the City Council) had the role of James and the Jerusalem apostles and elders. After hearing the deliberations which were done in the ears of the people, and **Paul**, **Barnabas**, and **Peter** had contributed, **James** and the Jerusalem based apostles and elders gave their verdict: Gentiles could become Christians without becoming Jews or keeping the Law of Moses. This was because Salvation was by the faith that comes from the Grace of Jesus Christ. They explained that even the Jewish people could not keep the Mosaic law. God did not want heavy burdens put on people in the wake of the redeeming work of **Jesus Christ**. Hence: They only laid on Christians four things from Old Testament Law. Zurich Church and Council decreed these afresh.

3. Zurich & the four decrees of the First Council of the Church: *Acts* 15:20

The Zurich Church and Council (i.e.: Senatus) decreed that the four laws of *Acts* 15 should stand: (1) No participation in idol worship i.e.: do not knowingly eat food offered to idols; (2) No fornication; (3) Abstain from meat slaughtered by strangling; (4) Do not eat/drink blood. These four things were adopted as city and church policy.

4. Opposition to Zwingli: The Peasant Revolts & Authorities distinguished

Zwingli, however, was not without opposition and opponents. The peasants, for whom reading the printed Bible was a relatively recent thing, refused to contribute rent to their landlords or overlords. Why? Because according to them rent and contributing rent could not be found in the *New Testament*! Landlords and overlords took a dim view of **Zwingli**'s Theology as a result. The situation was similar to that of the Reformation in Germany where **Luther** and the Reformers were blamed for precipitating the Peasant Revolts. How was **Zwingli** going to steer the Council in dealing with this matter? **Zwingli** pointed out to all involved that there were three sources of legislative authority in Zurich (in no particular order): (1) The Zurich Senatus which was the civil authority; (2) The Authority of Scripture which all can interpret and find; (3) God's authority which is dispensed by the Church elders.

5. Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli

This raises another interesting matter: Did **Martin Luther** and **Huldrych Zwingli** communicate during these years? The Reformation movements in Germany and Switzerland were so similar that many historians conclude that they must have done. But if they did, we have no direct evidence. We do know, however, that **Luther** and **Zwingli** met at the Colloquy of Marburg in **1529**. This was convened by **Philip of Hessen**, and its purpose was to enable **Zwingli** to secure a common understanding with **Luther** about the Theology of the Eucharist. Despite **Philip of Hessen**'s intervention the two men failed to secure an understanding with each other. Worse: The bad row that they had at this Colloquy, which was characterised by terrible controversy then and afterwards, was never resolved. Incidentally, the Roman authorities did not like **Zwingli**. **Zwingli**, however, did further thinking and praying, and broadened his Eucharistic thinking in what were to be the closing years of his life: **1530-1531**. More about that in a moment.

6. The Anabaptists

Zwingli persecuted the Anabaptists in Zurich and its canton. He drowned their leader **Friedrich Martz**. The reason was simple: The Anabaptist's claimed that their authority to withhold baptism

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from the child of a believer came not from Scripture or from the Earliest Church, but from the Holy Spirit. So too, they claimed, they had the authority of the Holy Spirit for all that they were doing. This was not acceptable to **Zwingli** who upheld the Theological tenet that all must be able to be derived from the *New Testament*.

(N.B.: The Anabaptists are *not* the Baptists of today who began between 1600 and 1610.)

7. A political note about Zwingli and the Swiss Reformation wars

In **1528 Berne**, nowadays the Swiss Capital, was won over to unambiguous Reformed commitment after a disputation rigged by Evangelicals. The Reformed Cantons now joined with one another to form the **Christian Civic Union** of Swiss Evangelicals **1529**. Rome had been keeping up steady military pressure on the Protestant Swiss cantons, and at least for now, this wasn't working out. The Roman side hence sued for peace. However: This was not what it seemed. The whole thing was a ruse in order to allow them to re-group. In **1531** Rome declared war on the Protestant Swiss cantons. Many Swiss cantons (e.g.: Freiburg) had opposed **Zwingli**. **Zwingli** responded to this threat and challenge by encouraging Zurich in a solo war against those Swiss cantons that had remained (Roman) and Catholic.

8. Zwingli's death in battle (1531) & John Calvin becomes a Protestant (1533).

Alas: In that same year, **1531**, **Zwingli** was killed at the **Battle of Kappel** along with some other Reformers. This battle destroyed the Swiss Christian Civic Union and ended Zurich's chances of leading Switzerland. **Zwingli** was cut into four pieces by the Catholic victors and these parts of his body were then buried in dung. Whence the Swiss Reformation now? There was not long to wait: In **1533** an ardent Christian priest in Geneva became a Protestant and continued to lead the Reformation. We will study **John Calvin**, the leader in question, in Unit 4. However: Before we leave **Zwingli** we need to study much more closely the brand of Protestant Theology that he developed as he spearheaded the Swiss Reformation.

C. ZWINGLI'S THEOLOGY

1C. The flavour of Zwinglian Theology

1. Preaching and Teaching

In **1519 Zwingli** preached from the Gospel according to Saint *Matthew*. However: Although he preached and taught the people of Zurich regularly, he never used a Lectionary. He rather relied on the guidance of the Holy Spirit from his prayers (when the Spirit gave it) as to from which passage of the *New Testament* he preached. A new phase came in this aspect of **Zwingli's** ministry when in **June 1525** in the wake of the trouble from the peasants over paying rent he began to hold 'Prophezy' all day on every day save Friday and Sunday. What did this involve? In these sessions **Zwingli** expounded the *Old Testament* in German for the ordinary people of the city working from the Hebrew text as he did so. **Zwingli** said that such an exposition was needed so that members of the Church would be free from all error and would understand the Scriptures that were the Scriptures of **Jesus Christ** and the **early apostles**.

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2. Zwinglian Hermeneutics

Zwingli's Theology of Hermeneutics was a *via media*. In other words he found a mid-point balance between two extremes: **Zwingli** rejected the Catholic Theology of Rome that held that only a priest of the church should and could interpret the Scriptures to a person or the people. But equally **Zwingli** was not at ease with the Theology of the Swiss Radical Reformers at whom we look in the parallel course to this: PICC B.A./B.D./B.TH./B.Min *Themes and Personalities in the Reformation*. These radical reformers held that any individual could authoritatively interpret the Scriptures. All that was needed was the leading of the Holy Spirit. After all, the Holy Spirit indwelt every Christian believer. For **Zwingli** a balance should be struck: the Holy Spirit convicts a Christian of the truth of the Scripture and will lead that Christian into all truth. But essential in this process is the wise counsel of learned and prayerful ministers through whom the Holy Spirit can lead and teach the people.

3. The Bible

In his Biblical interpretation **Zwingli** distinguished between the *letter of the law* and the *Spirit*. For him also every portion of Scripture had a *literal* and a *spiritual* meaning. **Zwingli** was also conscious of the dichotomy between *Grace* and *Law*. The Christian lives by the first and so is enabled to keep the *New Testament* laws – the Christian does not of course need to keep the whole *Old Testament* law. Hence: **Zwingli** interprets the *Old Testament* in the light of the *New Testament*. He only takes from the *Old Testament* and gives to the people of the Church of **Jesus Christ** what is made true by the words of **Jesus Christ**. Why does he do this? It is because the *New Testament* is the fulfilment of the *Old Testament*. In this he claims to follow the Apostles of the Earliest Church whose Scripture the *Old Testament* was, but who appealed to it in the light of their experience of the earthly and risen Jesus Christ, and the working of his Spirit – the Holy Spirit – in and through them. Further: When interpreting Scripture, unlike the radical reformers, **Zwingli** included Theological insights from the Early Church Fathers and the Early Councils of the Church (what we now call the Councils of the Patristic period) to help him and the people interpret Scripture.

4. The work and role of Jesus Christ

In 1523 **Zwingli** began to clearly preach that as humans we need no Mediator between ourselves and God except for **Jesus Christ**. Further: **Jesus Christ** is the only one who can be that Mediator for he was and is human like us in every respect save that he did not sin; but he was and is also God incarnate, the second person of the Trinity, and as such now risen, ascended, and glorified, ever the high priest making intercession for us (as found in *Hebrews*). Further: In and through **Jesus Christ** God has brought about all that is necessary for our salvation, which we receive by Faith in Him through the working of the Holy Spirit bringing us to that place of repentance and faith. There is no need for any human creativity or work to earn or bring about that salvation on the part of each of us. God Himself and God alone (in Christ), preached **Zwingli**, is our Saviour and Salvation.

5. Zwingli's Theology of Divine Providence and Election

In his Theology and thinking **Zwingli** was influenced in particular by **Seneca** an author from Classical Rome; and the works and writings of **Saint Augustine** with which he either disagreed or agreed depending on what he was preaching. The plague that afflicted the people of Zurich in

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1519 confirmed to **Zwingli** his sense of both Divine predestination and also Divine providence at work in both God's church and God's world. **Zwingli** preached that our Christian Salvation as human beings depends not on our Faith, our own wills, or our works, but it is the work of God alone in Christ – of which there is a Divine invitation to the hearer of the Gospel to partake, and to which the hearer will respond by the grace of God at work through the convicting work of the Holy Spirit who brings about the gift of faith in God through the Gospel of Jesus Christ within the hearer. Whilst there was no direct contact between the two men, this Theology seems to have been copied from **Martin Luther** and the German Reformation movement. Hence, **Zwingli** preached, God (in and through **Jesus Christ**) is our Saviour and the salvation of all things. A person's election (i.e.: being chosen by God) is hence rooted in God's own will. It does not come about because God sees what a person is really like (i.e.: how very good they are of themselves etc.). This election is to be discerned by the change and formation that comes about in that disciple of God through the working of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, being seen as the Christian believer/disciple fellowships with other Christian believers.

6. The Holy Spirit

Zwingli taught that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ and was sent as the promise of the Father by the ascended **Jesus Christ** at the feast of Pentecost after his Ascension. The Holy Spirit in New Testament Scripture is the Spirit of Christ and does his work on earth in and through the Christian believer(s). The Holy Spirit, taught **Zwingli**, is the Creator Spirit. His work is not just limited to one area. There is freedom for the Holy Spirit to work as he likes on earth, and this means that he works to bring about the will of the God the Father on earth. The Holy Spirit brings about Faith. There is a contrast in the Christian disciple's life between his or her flesh with its desires and expression of the fallen human will, and the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Christian. A Christian is to go with the Spirit of God in line with the word of God and not the desires of their flesh if they are to continue as a true disciple.

2C. Zwingli's Theology of the two sacraments: The Eucharist and Baptism

1. Zwingli on the nature of a Sacrament as applied to the Eucharist

For **Zwingli** the Holy Spirit has a vital role in the sacraments. **Zwingli** points to the words of **Jesus Christ** in *John* 6:33: '**It is the Spirit that quickens (i.e.: give life), the flesh profits nothing. The words that I speak to you are spirit and are life.**' Hence: **Zwingli** concluded, the work of the Holy Spirit in through the sacrament is more important than the material of the sacrament itself. In Reformation terms: It is not the receiving of bread and wine that has been turned into the body and blood of Christ by a priest that is important in the Eucharist, but rather that the Holy Spirit works in that sacrament for the believer to appropriate to themselves the spiritual benefits of Jesus Christ's offering himself for our redemption at the cross. This is Platonic: The Spirit (analogous to the Platonic world of forms here) is more important than the matter of the sacrament (i.e.: the consecrated bread and wine). **Zwingli** continues by teaching that the sacrament *by its own power cannot free any human conscience from sin*. **Zwingli** teaches that the '**sacrament is a sign. A sign cannot also be what it signifies.**' Therefore, concludes **Zwingli**, in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion the bread and wine are not the body and blood of **Christ** Himself, but are rather the outward sign of something spiritual. For **Zwingli** the Holy Communion/Eucharist/Lord's Supper was rather a remembrance. The sacrament was also like an oath, a military oath for the Christian. Partaking of it meant that you were one of the group. What did **Zwingli** mean by all this? Let us examine in its context more clearly **Zwingli's**

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teaching on the Eucharist. **Zwingli** chose to call it ‘The Lord’s Supper’ and was quite clear that it was an act of remembrance done at **Jesus Christ’s** own (Dominical) command.

2. Zwingli on the Lord’s Supper: 23/2/1526: ‘A Clear instruction ...’

(a) The text

Here is an extract from, *A Clear Instruction concerning the Supper of Christ* – February 23, 1526. It outlines **Zwingli’s** ‘Memorialist’ view of the Lord’s Supper.

‘But there are two flaws in the argument (that the words, ‘This is my body’ refer to the bread being the physical body of Christ’). The first is that we are not given any reason to believe that when the Pope or some other human person says: ‘This is my body’, the body of Christ is necessarily present. It is useless to say that Christ himself said: ‘Do this in remembrance of me’: therefore the body of Christ is there. ... The second flaw is a failure to see that before we use the Word of God to justify anything, we must first understand it correctly. For example, when Christ says: ‘I am the vine’ (John 15:15), we have to consider that he is using figurative speech in the first place. ... If the simple meaning of Scripture is that which we maintain through a misunderstanding of the letter, then Christ is a piece of vine wood, or a silly sheep, or a door, and Peter is the foundation stone of the Church. The simple or natural sense of these words is that which obtains in all similar instances; that which the minds of all believers find the most natural, and the most easily understood.’

(b) Matthew 26:26 and other accounts

May I insert an interjection for a moment? Does *Matthew* 26:26 give a Memorialist view of the Lord’s Supper from Matthew’s account of the Last Supper? It does not seem so: **And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it and broke it and said, ‘Take, eat, this is my body.’ And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them saying, ‘Drink this all of you, for this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say to you I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s Kingdom.’** Saint Paul’s account in *1 Corinthians* 11, and the accounts in *Mark* and *Luke* do however seem to support **Zwingli’s** position. However: They can also support other possibilities. That discussion is for another day.

3. The colloquy of Marburg: 1529

The colloquy (i.e.: organised meeting to discuss Theology) at Marburg in what is now Germany in 1529 (which calls for a teaching hour in its own right), was convened by **Philip of Hessen** to try and unite (Lutheran and other) reformers in what is now Germany, and Zwinglian and other) reformers in Switzerland in a common Reformation Theology of the Eucharist. Hence: **Luther** and **Zwingli** were arranged to meet, and to debate, and discuss. They did. The result made the situation worse. Not only did they fail to agree, but they publicly rowed. **Zwingli** reasserted what he had already written in 1523: ‘When Christ says that he is the true vine, he is not a bunch of grapes. Therefore, his words ‘this is my body’ are a figure of speech as well.’ **Luther** was keen to bring *John* 6:53-6:58 to bear: ‘Then Jesus said to them, ‘Truly, truly, I say to you, ‘Except you eat of the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood you have no life in you. Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eats my flesh and drinks my blood dwells in me and I in him. As the living Father has sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eats me, even he shall live by me. This is that bread which came down from heaven; not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead; he that eats of this

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bread shall live for ever.' Zwingli held to his position. He interpreted *John 6* as the mind of the Christian feeding on the word of God, and particularly the words of Jesus Christ as found in Scripture. The eating for Zwingli here is the spiritual act of appropriating the word of God to our mind and hence our thinking, will, and actions. For Luther the words had an altogether more literal interpretation. The bread and wine are spiritually to us the body and blood of Christ. But they do not physically change into flesh and blood as the Church of Rome held at that time. However, Zwingli clearly gave the whole matter more thought: In 1530-1531 he broadened his Remembrance Theology of the Lord's Supper to take account of the content of these words in *John*. Incidentally, Luther and Calvin who certainly did not hold to the Roman doctrine of the Mass nevertheless, on account of *John 6:53-58* and other considerations from Scripture did have a high Theology of the Eucharist. What Lutherans and Calvinists have done with that Theology since and made it is another story. But to return to the point: The Colloquy ended not only with no agreement but an open rift.

4. Baptism

From December 1524 Zwingli supported infant Baptism. He argued pastorally: Children who are brought up in a Christian family and society are going to believe. Therefore they may be baptised. For Zwingli baptism was the New Testament version of Jewish circumcision. **'Forbidding baptism to children forbids them coming to Christ,'** he declared. For Zwingli baptism is a pledge: It is given to Christians and their households by God as part of God's provision and providence as all grow together in faith. In summary: Baptism was for Zwingli:

- (1) An initiation **'both of those who already believed and those who are going to believe,'** and argued that infant baptism replaced circumcision, which infants received before believing, and that forbidding the baptism of infants meant forbidding them to come to Christ (*Matthew 19:13-19:14*)
- (2) He held that it is more likely than not that children were in the households baptized in *1 Corinthians 1*, and *Acts 16*. He insisted that the *New Testament*, whilst not specifically commanding infant baptism does not either forbid it.
- (3) Baptism is a pledge and should be given to infants as, being children of Christians, they are part of God's people.

5. An additional matter: Zwingli on Government and Councils

Zwingli was Theocratic. He believed that God could and would act through Church Councils, Christian city councils etc. for the purpose of enabling Christian people to live constructively and peaceably together. He saw the whole life of Zurich and her citizens as that of a society (and Church) under the will and sovereignty of God. Zwingli related the existence of human civic government to human sin. The existence of a city council in Zurich was necessary because of human sin. If all were Christians and everyone a member of the one Church, then civic government would not be necessary. The government was there to promote the good and punish the evil that people can do. The government of Zurich was a 'Senate of God' and so they should make laws based on God's word i.e.: Christian Scripture. People act against the authorities set over them by God if they disobey their (Godly) (city) government and/or if they act against Scripture and/or God Himself. But where there is conflict between these, it is for a Christian to obey God rather than fellow humans. Zwingli gives a pertinent example: When human persons become tyrants they are not to be obeyed. How they should act: In submission to the Word of God; with the assent of the Church; guided by the need for peace; for the furtherance of the Gospel.

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3C. Zwingli and Luther

1. Introduction

Before we close, a comparison between **Zwingli** and **Luther** will be instructive. At root: **Zwingli** saw *God's word* as directed to the people as a whole, and only within that context, then the individual. For **Luther** God's word was directed in the first instance to the individual: '**All that I have said is for the glory of Christ and the peace of a person's conscience.**' There are other pertinent comparisons further to the ones we have already made in passing.

2. Law and Gospel: i.e.: the relationship between the Testaments

From the outset of the Reformation the distinction between Law and Gospel was important: However: **Zwingli** stressed the continuity between the Old and New Testaments whereas **Luther** stressed the contrast with an emphasis on a Canon within the Canon of Scripture i.e.: the *New Testament* was a Canon within a Canon.

3. Justification by Faith

Justification by faith was central for **Luther** but not for **Zwingli**, in whose work the emphasis is on God making a person righteous in Christ rather than on declaring a person righteous in Christ. Both stressed Faith, but for **Zwingli** it was faith in the Creator rather than the creature, and hence in **Christ** as Son of God as opposed to the creature (that is anything that is not of God, not only human works but any other thing not directly of God, as with **Luther**).

4. The Eucharist and Christology

One of the differences between **Luther** and **Zwingli** that emerged in the Eucharistic controversy was Christological. **Luther** stressed the unity of the two natures, Divine and Human, in the person of **Jesus Christ**, whereas **Zwingli** stressed the distinction of the two natures. For both they were in perfect communion, but for **Zwingli** it was possible for **Jesus Christ** to act in and through one or other of his natures, whereas for **Luther** one always implied the other vice-versa.

5. Providence and Pre-destination

These feature in **Luther's** Theology as well as in **Zwingli's**, but they have a more influential and extensive role in **Zwingli's** Theology, just as they do in Reformed Theology. The later distinction between the two kingdoms and the kingdom of Christ in Lutheran and Reformed Theology is only partially seen in **Zwingli**.

4C. Heinrich Bullinger: Zwingli's successor at Zurich

1. The leadership of the Swiss Reformation

Was **Zwingli** responsible for the Swiss Reformation? Yes and No. **Zwingli** without doubt initiated and established it. But it was **Heinrich Bullinger**, appointed to Zurich after **Zwingli's** death, who really took it forward. **Heinrich Bullinger** (1504-1575) was chosen as **Zwingli's** successor as *Antistes* (presiding minister) of Zurich. He stabilised its reformation. He worked

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closely with reformers at Strassburg, which had meantime become the centre for non-Lutheran Protestantism.

2. A closing note about Bullinger's ministry

Bullinger deserves a teaching hour in his own right. He was *Antistes* of Zurich from **1531**, **Bullinger** concentrated on ecclesiastical and not secular politics. His 'Theology of the Covenant' was built on **Zwingli's** positive attitude to Divine Law. **Bullinger** cultivated **international links**: e.g.: from **1536** with England and **Thomas Cranmer** (1489-1556). (We enlarge his role vis-à-vis the English Reformation in the PICC B.A./B.D./B.Th./B.Min course *The Elizabethan Settlement*.) **Bullinger** was at Zurich from **1531-1575**, a memorable ministry of lengthy duration. He established the Swiss Reformation at the First and Second Helveticae.

3. In summary

Zwingli was a Trinitarian. For him Christ is literally and physically now at the right hand of God in the heavenly realm. Therefore there could not possibly be a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

4. Unit 4

We study **John Calvin** in Unit 4 and turn our attention to Geneva, which in his day was in France.

APPENDIX I: A comparative table

Here for your reference is a brief outline comparison of the chronologies of **Luther** and **Zwingli** with comments on background political and historical events.

Year	Zwingli	Luther	History
1484	Zwingli's birth		
1506	Zwingli becomes a Pastor in Glarus		
1515	Zwingli as chaplain in Marignano		
1517		Luther's ninety five theses	
1519	Zwingli becomes Pastor of the Grossmunster		
1521		Pope excommunicates Luther	
1522		Luther translates the New Testament into German	Adrian VI becomes Pope
1523	Reformation in Zurich		Clement VII becomes Pope
1524	Zwingli marries Anna Reinhard		German Peasant's War
1525	Zwingli publishes his tract: <i>On the true and false religion</i>	Luther marries Katharina von Bora	Anabaptist movement in Switzerland
1527			Charles V sacks Rome

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1528			Reformation in Berne
1529	Zwingli meets Luther for the first time in the Colloquy of Marburg		
1530		The Augsburg Confession	
1531	Zwingli dies in combat		The league of Schmalkalden
1533			Calvin becomes a Protestant
1536			Calvin in Geneva

APPENDIX II: Bibliography Unit 4

A. Huldrych Zwingli: Primary Texts

Bromiley	G.W. (Ed.)	Zwingli and Bullinger, London: SCM <i>Library of Christian Classics</i> Volume 24,	1953
Jackson	S.M. &	Ulrich Zwingli: Selected Works	
Peters	E. (Eds.)		1972
Potter	G.R.	Huldrych Zwingli (Documents)	1978

B. Zwingli

Birnbaum	N.	The Zwinglian Reformation in Zurich, <i>Past and Present</i> , 15 /27-47	1959
Potter	G.R.	Zwingli	1976
		This publication has been filleted in <i>Ulrich Zwingli</i> , Historical Association Pamphlet, GS 89,	1977
Locher	G.W.	Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives	1981
Stayer	J.M.	Zwingli before Zurich: humanist reformer and papal partisan, <i>Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte</i>	
Furcha	E.J. &	Prophet, Pastor, Protestant: the work of	
Pipkin	H.W.	Huldrych Zwingli after five hundred years	1984
Gabler	U.	Huldrych Zwingli: His life and work	1986
Stephens	W.P.	The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli	1986
McGrath	A.	The Eucharist: Reassessing Zwingli, <i>Theology</i> 93 /13-19	1990
Cameron	E.	The European Reformation, Chapters 8-12	1991
Stephens	W.P.	'Huldrych Zwingli the Swiss Reformer' in <i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i> 41 /27-47	1988
Stephens	W.P.	Zwingli: An introduction to his thought	1992
Lindberg	C. (Ed.)	The Reformation Theologians: An introduction to Theology in the early modern period, /157-169. C.f.: Especially the article by G.J. Miller	2002
MacCulloch	D.	Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700, Chapters 3 and 4.	2003
Wandel	L.P.	The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy	2006

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C. The Swiss Reformations

Gerrish	B.A.	The Old Protestantism and the New, in particular c.f.: /118-130 by that author on ‘Sign and Reality: The Lord’s Supper in the Reformed Confessions’.	1982
Brady	T.A. Jnr	Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire 1450-1550	1985
Cameron	E.	The European Reformation /219-266	1991

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UNIT 4 Student Notes

John Calvin 1509-1564

Calvin's Life

Born in **1509** at Noyon, France. Died **1564** at Geneva in Switzerland.

Childhood; Education:

1523 Student of Theology, Paris;

1528 Student of Law and the Classics at Orleans.

Publications and Ministry:

1532: April Publishes the text of **Seneca's** *De Clementia*, with a Commentary.

1533 Conversion

1533: Nov 1st **Nicolas Cop's** inaugural Address on Christian Philosophy – the Gospel

1534 - 1536 Years of Wandering, and Second Publication

1534: April Calvin at Nerac.

1534: Dec Calvin at Angouleme, and then at Strasburg

1535: Jan Completed the *Institutes*, published in March **1536**

1536: July Calvin at Geneva, but exiled from it with **Guillaume Farel**

Calvin then went to Basel, and to Strasburg

1538: Sept Calvin became minister to the French refugees at the Church of S.Nicolas aux Oudes

1540: Aug Married **Idelette de Bure** who died in **1549**

Calvin's fame begins rising and he is recalled to Geneva.

1541: Feb **Farel** urges **Calvin** to return to Geneva.

1541: Sept 13 Second Residence in Geneva. This included Calvin's Reforms in Geneva, and the burning of **Michael Sevetus** in October 27th **1553** for heresy, specifically Anti-Trinitarianism

Calvin's Theology

The Institutes

Institutes of the Christian Religion (**1536**), expanded four times in the Latin Edition **1539**, **1543**, **1550**, and **1559**). The final edition is a definitive statement of his teaching. There was a French translation by **1560**.

(1) A Summary of basic Christian Teaching

(2) An Introduction to the further reading of the Bible

Interpretation

Melanchthon's exposition was too brief. **Bucer** was too long-winded. **Calvin** suggested an alternative approach to the exposition of Scripture called '**Lucid brevity**'.

Calvin taught that students of the Ministry should read individual commentaries on Biblical Books and his *institutes* and to move from the commentaries to the institutes. This was known as **Calvin's Hermeneutical circle**.

Calvin's Hermeneutical Circle

(1) **Applied to the everyday**. Calvin believed Scripture reading should be applied to a person's everyday life.

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- (2) **Bridged gap between past and present.** Proper Biblical interpretation could never be reduced to miscellaneous information about ancient culture.
- (3) **Old and New Testaments.** The two testaments bound together by one covenant but separated by time. But Abraham's faith was sealed by circumcision, Saint Paul's Faith by Baptism.
- (4) **Theological method – Systematic?** Institutes = compilation of extended discussion of central themes and problems in the Christian faith, from Biblical interpretation, and organised into four books corresponding roughly to the main articles of the Apostles' Creed. Just as **Thomas Aquinas** had written a 'Summa Theologiae' to train beginning students in Theology, **Calvin** wrote 'Sum of Christian Doctrine' to 'instruct and prepare candidates in Sacred Theology for the reading of the Divine Word.'
- (5) **The knowledge of God:** The first two books of the *Institutes* are devoted to the problem of the knowledge of God – the knowledge of god the Creator in Book 1, of God the Redeemer in Book 2, Holy Spirit book 3, and the Christian Church, Book 4. Knowledge of God means love, trust, dear, obedience, and worship of God. It embraced mind and heart, affections and will, worship and devout work. It is based upon the Gospel of God's free grace towards sinners, and focused on the duties of love toward God and toward one's neighbours.
- (6) **Noetic damage:** From the Greek word Noesis, meaning inner wisdom or direct understanding, self-awareness. After the Fall, humans beings were no longer receptive to what could be learnt from Creation. **Calvin** used three images to describe what he had in mind when he contemplated the human predicament: (a) *The scattered sparks of a fire that had all but gone out;* (b) *A sudden flash of lightning on a dark night;* (c) *The reduced vision of an old man who could read only with the aid of spectacles.*
- (7) **The Church as Mother and School:** The Church provides the means of Grace: Scripture, Baptism, Eucharist, Preaching, Catechesis, without which Faith is impossible. The Church is Mother and School focusing on the centrality of the teaching mission of the church and the Theological responsibility of the whole people of God, lay as well as clergy. The Church moulds its members, reshapes their disordered desires, disciplines their wills, invites them to sacrifice, and instructs them how to die. It is a social instrument through which the Holy Spirit forms a new creation.

Institutes of the Christian Religion Book IV, The external means or aids by which God invites us into the society of Christ and holds us therein.

The Roman Church and its claim

Since this is the state of matters under the Papacy, we can understand how much of the Church there survives. There, instead of the ministry of the word, prevails a perverted government, compounded of lies, a government which partly extinguishes, partly suppresses the pure light. In place of the Lord's Supper, the foulest sacrilege has entered, the worship of God is deformed by a varied mass of intolerable superstitions; doctrine (without which Christianity does not exist) is wholly buried and exploded, the public assemblies are schools of idolatry and impiety, ignorance of God, and other kinds of evil, but rather to retain us in the Fear of God and obedience to the truth.

They, indeed, vaunt loudly of their church, as if there was not another in the world; and then, as if the matter were ended, they make out that all are schismatic who withdraw from obedience to that church which they thus depicts that all are heretics who presume to whisper against its doctrine, (see section 5). But by what arguments do they prove their possession of the true Church? They appeal to ancient records which formerly existed in Italy, France, and Spain, pretending to derive

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their origin from those holy men, who, by sound doctrine, founded and raised up churches, confirmed the doctrine, and reared the edifice of the Church with their blood; they pretend that the Church this consecrated by spiritual gifts and the blood of martyrs was preserved from destruction by a perpetual succession of bishops. They dwell on the importance which **Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine**, and others, attached to this succession, (see section 3).

How frivolous and plainly ludicrous these allegations are, I will enable any, who will for a little consider the matter with me, to understand, without any difficulty. I would also exhort our opponents to give their serious attention, if I had any hope of being able to benefit them by instruction; but since they have laid aside all regard to truth, they make it their only aim to prosecute their own ends in whatever way they can, I will only make a few observations by which good men and lovers of the truth may disentangle themselves from their quibbles. First, I ask them why they do not quote Africa, and Egypt, and all Asia, just because in all those regions there was a cessation of that sacred succession, by the aid of which they vaunt of having continued Churches. They therefore fall back on the assertion, that they have the true Church, because ever since it began to exist it was never destitute of bishops, because they succeeded each other in an unbroken series. But what if I bring Greece before them? Therefore, I again ask them, why they say that the Church perished among the Greeks, among whom there was never any interruption of succession of bishops – a succession, in their opinion the only guardian and preserver of the Church? They make the Greeks schismatic. Why? Because by revolting from the Apostolic See, they lost their privilege. What? Do not those who revolt from Christ much more deserve to lose it? It follows, therefore, that the pretence of succession is in vain, if posterity do not retain the truth of Christ, which was handed down to them by their fathers, safe and uncorrupted, and continue in it.'

Disagreements with the Catholic Church

Baptism, Penance, Eucharist, Priesthood.

The Eucharist

The three Reformers rejected Transubstantiation

- (1) **Luther**: real presence of Christ and of bread and wine;
- (2) **Zwingli**: Bread and Wine signify the Body and Blood of Christ only.
- (3) **Calvin**: Spiritual 'real presence'.

Four explanations:

- (a) Christ is present wherever his power and effect are.
- (b) Ecstasy of Faith
- (c) The Trinity
- (d) Extra-Calvinisticum (the Calvinist outside) as Lutherans called it

The Lord's Supper, with the signs of bread and wine, provide spiritual food,

1-3: Sign and thing

After God has once received us into his family, it is not that he may regard us in the light of servants, but of sons, performing the part of a kind and anxious parent, and providing for our maintenance during the whole course of our lives. And, not contented with this, he has been pleased by a pledge to assure us of his continued liberality. To this end, he has given another Sacrament to his Church by the hand of his only begotten Son, viz.: a spiritual feast, at which

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Christ testifies that he himself is a living bread (John 6:51), on which our souls feed for a true and blessed immortality.

Now, as the knowledge of this great mystery is most necessary, and, in proportion to its importance, demands an accurate exposition, and Satan, in order to deprive the Church of this inestimable treasure, long ago introduced first, mists, and then darkness, to obscure its light, and stirred up strife and contention to alienate the minds of the simple from the relish for this sacred food, and in our age, also, has tried the same artifice, I will proceed, after giving a simple summary adapted to the capacity of the ignorant, to explain those difficulties by which Satan has tried to ensnare the world.

First, then, the signs are bread and wine, which represent the invisible food which we receive from the Body and Blood of Christ. For as God, regenerating us in baptism, ingrafts us into the fellowship of his church, and makes us his by adoption, so we have said that he performs the office of a provident parent, in continually supplying the food by which he may sustain and preserve us in the life to which he has begotten us by his word.

Moreover, Christ is the only food of our soul, and therefore, our Heavenly Father invites us to him, that, refreshed by Communion with him, we may ever and anon gather new vigour until we reach the heavenly immortality.

But as this mystery of the secret union of Christ with believers is incomprehensible by nature, he exhibits its figure and image in visible signs adapted to our capacity, nay, by giving, as it were, earnest and badges, he makes it certain to us as if it were seen by the eye; the familiarity of the similitude giving it access to minds however dull, and showing that souls are fed by Christ just as the corporeal life is sustained by bread and wine. We now, therefore, understand the end which this mystical benediction has in view, viz.: to assure us that the body of Christ was once sacrificed for us, so that we may now eat it, and, eating. Feel within ourselves the efficacy of that one sacrifice, - that his blood was once shed for us so as to be our perpetual drink. This is the force of the promise which is added, 'Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you,' (Matthew 26:26 & etc.) the body which was once offered for our salvation we are enjoined to take and eat, that, while we see ourselves made partakers of it, we may safely conclude that the virtue of that death will be efficacious in us. Hence he terms the cup the covenant in his blood. For the covenant which he once sanctioned by his blood he in a manner renews, or rather, continues, in so far as regards the confirmation of our faith, as often as he stretches forth his sacred blood as drink to us.'

Priesthood

Calvin rejected the hierarchical priesthood. Agreed with **Luther** that the priesthood of believers meant that all Christians had the right by virtue of their baptism to preach and preside at the sacraments. No difference in kind between ministers and lay-persons, but only a difference of office and function in the Church.

Calvin and Government

Legitimacy of the state rested on the ordination of God on the one hand and on the disorder caused by sin on the other. So, Christians vowed obedience to state authorities. God, reclaims his fallen creation, not only through the Church but also by order by the state. Authorities were needed to keep Christians in check.

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UNIT 4: JOHN CALVIN: MAKING THE REFORMED TRADITION

A. JOHN CALVIN'S LIFE & GENEVA (1509-1564)

1A. Introduction

1. Course orientation

In this Unit 4 in which we study **John Calvin**, we move to the French speaking areas of the continent. And, of course, Unit 4 is our last 'continental religious' unit of these eight Reformation units. Our remaining units, units 5-8 are given to the course of the English reformation, which, unlike its continental counterparts was not dominated by any great Theological leader. Unit 5 will study King Henry VIII and the English Henrician Reformation; Unit 6 will look at the English Church in the reigns of King Edward VI; and of Mary I Tudor and its reconciliation with Rome; Unit 7 will look at the Elizabethan Settlement of the English Church, to which we are also giving a complete ICPICCJCB.A./B.D./B.Th./B.Min course series of eight teaching hours, *The Elizabethan Settlement*.

2. Calvin's influence

Why is it important to make (an albeit brief) study of **Calvin** as a reformer? Very simply it is that **John Calvin** had the single greatest influence of all the reformers. **Calvin's** teaching, doctrine, and practice spread to the French Huguenots, it drove the Scottish Reformation, it was the pillar of the Dutch Reformed Church, and **Calvin** was widely influential in Germany and Switzerland.

2A. Calvin's early life and ministry to 1536

1. Calvin's Childhood and study

Calvin was born in **1509** at Picadi, Noyon, in France. He died **1564** at Geneva in Switzerland. His father was the Registrar of the Court at Noyon. **John Calvin** was the second of five sons, and one of two who survived. His father wanted him to be a priest, so in **1523** he became a student of Theology in Paris, France. However, in **1528** his father changed his mind about **John** and ordered that he continue his studies by changing to law and classics, regardless of the dictat of the Ecclesiastical protocol at that time which was strictly against this. So, from **1528** he studied Classics and Law at Orleans. It was here that he fell under the influence of **Bucer** who was a fan of Reformed Theology. However, in **1531 John Calvin's** father died and so he took up the study of Theology again, and for the interest of some of the audience here, included Old Testament Hebrew in his scheme.

2. Calvin's first publication: *De Clementia*

Calvin's first publication came in April **1532**. He translated and edited the text of **Seneca's** *De Clementia*, with a Commentary. In terms of his study of the Arts, **Calvin** was a Humanist (N.B.: not in the modern sense but in the Sixteenth century sense of that word).

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3. Calvin's conversion

However, in **1533 John Calvin** underwent some sort of conversion experience to a living Christian faith and personal relationship with God in prayer through Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit. He wrote about it in the same year, although we have very few details about it. After his conversion he had a passion for Reformed Christian Theology.

4. Calvin and Cop

(a) Cop's election and inaugural address

On November 1st **1533 Nicholas Cop** was elected as Rector of the University of Paris. **Calvin** and **Cop** planned **Nicholas Cop's** inaugural address together. In it they called the newly emerging Reformation Theology 'Christian Philosophy'. Now, the Theology Faculty of the University of Paris was then, as today, a haven of Christian Doctrinal Orthodoxy. **Cop** frankly amazed his learned audience with the claim that 'the Gospel' as in the message of the New Testament Good News of Jesus Christ for all Christian people was nothing less than the claims of Justification by Faith and Reformed Theology. Reformed 'Christian Philosophy' and 'Gospel' for **Cop** were synonymous. This equation was not new, of course, the language was borrowed from **Erasmus**. Alas, if the audience were amazed, some were also enraged. **Martin Luther's** thought, of course, had influenced this address as well. The text of the address was shot through with a Salvific theme, and from then on striking a note of salvation in an address was to become a theme of **Calvin's** preaching, and indeed of Calvinism.

(b) Cop is criticised and exiled by the Parisian Theological establishment

Now: In doing this **Cop** was widely perceived as criticising the Theologians of the Sorbonne Faculty at Paris as 'Sophists'. To the Theologians there this was equivalent to being branded as 'Pelagians', and so those same university Theologians caused a stir. The result was that the university and civil authorities of Paris became involved, and **Nicholas Cop** fled. **John Calvin** fled as well.

5. Calvin's years of wandering

So in **1534 Calvin** began his years of wandering. He wandered all over the place. He took some benefices here and there, and almost as soon resigned. In **1536** he took the decision to repudiate his Roman Catholic pension and instead began writing his now classical and deservedly world famous *Institutes*. By the close of **1534 Calvin** had had no fewer than eight ministerial appointments: e.g.: during April **1534** he was at Nerac, in December he was at Angoulême, and then Strasbourg. Finally he went to **Basel** and settled there in **1535**, from thence onward concentrating on writing and completing his *Institutes*, publishing his second publication and their first edition in March **1536**.

3A. Calvin's *Institutes* and Ministry at Geneva

1. The *raison-d'être* of Calvin's *Institutes*

Why did **Calvin** think out and write his *Institutes*? His initial motivation for their preparation was the persecution of reformers in France by French authorities. **Calvin** sought to 'vindicate my brethren whose death is precious in the sight of the Lord ...'. His prayer was that 'foreign nations

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may be touched because of their plight.’ The *Institutes* were above all about the proper way to be both a Church person and a Christian.

2. Calvin and Farel at Geneva 1536-1538

(a) Calvin’s first term at Geneva: Calvin and the Genevan context

After more travel **Calvin** arrived at Geneva in July **1536**. He intended initially simply to stay the night, but whilst there in the city met **Guillaume Farel**. **Farel** was trying to keep the Genevans at peace amongst themselves. Like all caught up in the newly emerging Protestant Movements of the time, the Genevans felt that they now understood the full truth of the Christian Faith. However, like all Protestants, with this understanding came the emergence of different factions, many concerned not least with how far the reforms and reformers should or should not go with their reforming. Now **Guillaume Farel** had heard of and knew of **Calvin**, and word had come to his ears that **John Calvin** was a promising young up and coming Reformed scholar. **Calvin** was not now looking for a Reformed or other pastorate or ministerial appointment, but wanted to be a student again. Be that as it may, **Guillaume Farel** asked **Calvin** to stay, and **Calvin** did.

(b) Calvin’s exile

Calvin went to **Farel**’s side. However, the city authorities shortly afterwards took the line that they did not want to co-operate with reforms or reformers. Hence, in **1538** **Calvin** and **Farel** were barred from the city. **Calvin** and **Farel** hence went to Basel, and **Calvin** after a brief stay there then settled in **Strasbourg**.

2. Calvin at Strasbourg and his invitation from Geneva

In September **1538** **Calvin** became minister to the French refugees at the Church of Saint Nicolas aux Oudes in Strasbourg. He soon became prominent in the city, whilst friends at Geneva kept him in touch with developments there and in turn kept interested parties in Geneva informed as to his activities. **Calvin** used his position at Strasbourg to study and reform as well as to pastor. Now: In the wake of the Diet of Worms, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of the province in which the city was situated asked the authorities of Geneva to return to the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. They asked **John Calvin** to reply to him on their behalf, and he did so very successfully. Hence in **1540** what has become known as ‘Little Council of Geneva’ approached **Calvin** to become their preacher and ruler with a brief to integrate their religion and politics. The Genevans as a populous had no interest in returning to Roman Catholicism because they perceived that if they did so they would be returning again to late Mediaeval ways. But more on that in a moment.

3. Calvin’s marriage to Idelette de Bure

Meanwhile in August **1540** **Calvin** married **Idelette de Bure**, but she died in **1549**, and from then on he remained single. With his marriage, his fame began to rise, and **Calvin** was recalled to Geneva.

5. Calvin’s recall to Geneva

In **October 1540** **Calvin** was again invited to return to Geneva. However, the Genevan population, as **Calvin** well knew, could be unruly, and needed to be bossed. **Calvin** was hesitant. But **Calvin** was also sometime easily led when it came to the business of taking appointments, and hence in **February 1541** **Farel** urged **Calvin** to return to Geneva, and **Calvin** was persuaded

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and agreed. So on September 13th **1541**, **Calvin** took up his second residence at Geneva. **Calvin** was then quiet until the late **1540s** when the impetuous side of his character emerged once again. But more about that in a moment. During this ‘quiet’ period **Calvin** reformed Geneva and ordered the city to a high standard morally and civically. **Calvin** believed God had called him to the task. He had many enemies there, but he was also generally well received.

6. Calvin’s second term at Geneva

Hence, **Calvin**’s second term in Geneva saw him having a very different and positive reception. **Calvin** was given a ‘red carpet’ treatment, a nice house, a salary of five hundred florins, twelve orchs of wheat, and two barrels of wine per annum. **Calvin** told Geneva’s ecclesiastical courts to function on reformed principles, and established Reformed Church regulations. **Calvin**’s *Institutes* now began to be the centre of Reformation Orthodoxy, and not just for Geneva.

7. The use of ecclesiastical courts to discipline Genevans

But, a small and for the time being insignificant cloud appeared on the horizon as **Calvin** and the Genevans began to use ecclesiastical discipline to end faction and enforce reformation orthodoxy. In **1541** a Consistory Court was drawn up which consisted of the city’s pastors and twelve city elders. This court put any citizen of Geneva under discipline if they were out of spiritual ecclesiastical order, irrespective of rank. **Calvin** used preaching as a means of reforming and sustaining the order, peace and well-being-ness of the city. His Theology proved irresistible.

8. Calvin’s preaching and introduction of hymnic music to Church worship

Calvin’s sermons and his manner of delivering them soon became famous. **Calvin** spoke slowly and carefully. His preaching was well crafted and orated. Members of his congregations took notes. **Calvin** held a ‘congregational’ every Friday for the purposes of public discussion, debate, and formulation of doctrine. Children and wives, from **1545**, were carefully instructed in the Latin and French tongues, and in the Geneva Catechism which was an abbreviated version of **Calvin**’s *Institutes*. **Calvin** also introduced congregational hymn and choral singing into the Genevan Church. It quickly became popular and well received as a way of worshipping and praising God. **Calvin** used metrical versions of the Psalms which were easily set to music. By contrast, **Zwingli** at Zurich in Switzerland banned such practices.

9. Calvin and the Genevan Anabaptists

Calvin had problems with the Genevan Anabaptists. He publicly debated with them in **1537**, and in the same year made the Genevan Consistory Council and its courts ban them. Some fifteen years later, **Michael Sevetus** was burned on October 27th **1553** for heresy as an Anabaptist on the specific charge of Anti-Trinitarianism. His burning was approved by **Calvin**.

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B. CALVIN'S THEOLOGY

1B. The *Institutes* of John Calvin

1. The various editions

John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* were written by the end of **1536** and he subsequently expanded them four times in the Latin Editions of **1539**, **1543**, **1550**, and **1559** respectively. His final **1559** edition is a definitive statement of his teaching. There was a French translation by **1560**.

2. The essence of the *Institutes*

'Institutes' at the time **Calvin** wrote were handbooks of the basic principles of a subject. Their purpose was education, and one of their features was that they made their subject accessible to a beginner: in other words, they were a well written introduction. **Calvin's** final edition of his *Institutes* was roughly the size of a medium-sized English printed telephone directory. In the last **1559** edition, **John Calvin** himself describes his *Institutes* as, 'An introductory manual for Christian Faith and practice,' and 'a summa,' that is, an accessible summary of religion in all its parts. **Calvin** followed this with *An Introduction to further reading of the Bible* in **1560** shortly before he died that same year. His *Institutes* hence were a summary of basic (Reformed) Christian teaching, with a final volume *An Introduction to the further reading of the Bible* that complemented their systematising style.

3. Calvin's Interpretation of Scripture

Calvin wrote his now very well-known commentary *Romans* in **1540**. He compared his authoring with that of **Philip Melancthon** who at the time was Professor of Greek at Wittenberg University; and **Bucer, Zwingli's** successor at Zurich. **Calvin** praised them as Reformers, but criticised their style of writing, i.e.: their written communication of their interpretation of Christian Scripture and Faith. According to **Calvin**, **Melancthon's** exposition was too brief whilst **Bucer** was too long-winded. **Calvin** suggested an alternative approach to the exposition of Scripture called '**Lucid brevity**'. What did **Calvin** mean by 'lucid brevity'? It ran something like this: Be as brief as your subject requires, but never too short to fully explain and expound a relevant passage of Scripture. Hence, **Calvin** wrote, 'Be brief, lucid, and thorough.' In stating this principle, **Calvin** laid down the foundation principle of modern western university lecturing in the Humanities disciplines.

4. Calvin's Hermeneutical Circle of Scripture reading

(a) Introduction

Calvin taught that students of the Ministry should read individual commentaries on Biblical Books and his *institutes* and to move from the commentaries to the institutes and back. This was known as **Calvin's hermeneutical circle**. Hence, **Calvin** never discussed doctrine in commentaries, he did this in his *Institutes*. He recommended that when a student had a thorough grasp of the content of the Bible that they then move on to the *Institutes*, but still read and re-read the Bible whilst working through them. He called this technique 'the hermeneutical cycle.' We will call it by its better known name of 'Calvin's hermeneutical circle'. Here briefly are its principles:

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(b) Principles of the Hermeneutical Circle

- (1) **Scripture applied to the everyday.** Calvin believed Scripture reading should be applied to a person's everyday life.
- (2) **Scripture bridges the gap between past and present.** Proper Biblical interpretation could and should never be reduced to miscellaneous information about ancient culture.
- (3) **The Old and New Testaments:** The two Testaments are bound together by One Covenant but separated by time. Abraham's faith was sealed by circumcision, Saint Paul's Faith by Baptism.
- (4) **Calvin's Theological method – is it Systematic?** His *Institutes* are compilations of extended discussion of central themes and problems in the Christian faith, drawn from Biblical interpretation, and organised into four books corresponding roughly to the main articles of the Apostles' Creed. Just as **Saint Thomas Aquinas** had written a *Summa Theologicae* to train beginning students in Theology, **Calvin** wrote 'Sum of Christian Doctrine' to 'instruct and prepare candidates in Sacred Theology for the reading of the Divine Word.'
- (5) **The knowledge of God:** The first two books of the *Institutes* are devoted to the problem of the knowledge of God – the knowledge of God the Creator in Book 1, of God the Redeemer in Book 2, of God the Holy Spirit in Book 3, and of the Christian Church in Book 4. Knowledge of God means love, trust, dear obedience, and the worship of God. It embraces mind and heart, affections and will, worship and devout work. It is based upon the Gospel of God's free grace towards sinners, and focuses on the duties of love toward God and toward one's neighbours.
- (6) **Noetic damage:** What is 'Noetic damage'? 'Noetic' as a word comes from the Greek word 'Noesis,' which means inner wisdom or direct understanding, and self-awareness. After the Fall, human beings were no longer receptive to what could be learnt from Creation. **Calvin** used three images to describe what he had in mind when he contemplated the human predicament: (a) *The scattered sparks of a fire that had all but gone out;* (b) *A sudden flash of lightning on a dark night;* (c) *The reduced vision of an old man who could read only with the aid of spectacles.*
- (7) **The Church as Mother and School:** The Church provides the means of Grace: Scripture, Baptism, Eucharist, Preaching, Catechesis, without which Faith is impossible. The Church is Mother and School focusing on the centrality of the teaching mission of the church and the Theological responsibility of the whole people of God, lay as well as clergy. The Church moulds its members, reshapes their disordered desires, disciplines their wills, invites them to sacrifice, and instructs them how to die. It is a social instrument through which the Holy Spirit forms a new creation.

5. Further explanation of the principles of the hermeneutical circle

- (1) **Calvin**, wherever possible, encouraged a literal interpretation of Scripture. He respected the recent 'Humanists' (c.f.: Unit 1), the Early Church Fathers, and the Mediaeval Commentators. The 'humanists' particularly emphasised words and philology. In this respect **Calvin** took on the ideas of **John Dunn-Scotus**. **Calvin's** writings were always directed at his readers. His desire was that his writing increased a reader's knowledge and love of God, and live of their neighbour.
- (2) **Calvin** used 'layers' of exposition. It was only helpful to study the detail of the text if its application to living life was then shown and of course applied to their own lives by the reader. **Calvin** urged a procedure here for him and all other authors: Explain the details of the text by examining their historical context, the meaning of their words (philology, grammar, syntax etc.), apply them to your life – but before you do so compare this application with how the earliest

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Christians and Early Church Fathers went about it. It is important always to bridge any gap between past and present. Also: This process was exceedingly important: Detail of (some) Scripture and what it says and means is crucial for a right understanding of the Christian Faith and the Salvation that it offers!

(3) With respect to the relationship between the Old and New Testaments **Calvin** insisted that they were bound by a single covenant between God and His people which has Old and New manifestation. In this respect, for **Calvin**, baptism was a New Testament update of circumcision.

(4) **Calvin** was both a systematic Theologian, and when he commentated, both a biblical scholar and systematiser in his commentary. Hence, it is correct to call **Calvin** a 'Systematic Theologian'. This can be demonstrated by a close inspection of the way that he authored his *Institutes*. It has headings, its text is plain and simple, and it is nicely laid out. **Calvin** is very systematic in his exposition and 'leads' his reader's thought. He contrasts sharply with **Martin Luther** who often expressed truth by blinding paradoxes and wrote opaque and ambiguous expression. **Calvin's** *Institutes* are also systematic in that, like Systematic Theology, they discuss individual themes of Christian Doctrine and practice. **Calvin** does not dialogue in the way that the Mediaeval Scholastics did, but rather follows historical fact and context, and then produces his argument, organising all around topics related to the Faith.

(5) The *Institutes* are devoted to 'knowing God' and its problems. He called them a 'summa' meaning that they are a summary of the Christian Faith to be used for its teaching. **Jesus Christ** in the great commission of *Matthew* 28:20 instructed his disciples to '**make disciples**' of all nations '**teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you.**' For **Calvin** teaching was paramount for carrying out the Great Commission. The *institutes* hence should be read with Scripture, but apart from Scripture were designed as the only book you need to read to enable your Christian discipleship and vocation. They were designed as much to prepare candidates for the ministry in matters of Sacred Theology and Reading of the Word of Scripture as they were for the everyday Christian person to grow in his or her faith and obedience to **Jesus Christ**. For **Calvin** as a pastor he had to reckon with the fact that for many their eternal destiny and salvation may depend on his writings. Christian preacher, heed his example!

(6.1) **Calvin** had a distinct Theology of the kingdom of God, as did most reformers. **Saint Thomas Aquinas** had said that Salvation was essentially cognitive: 'Salvation comes from the influx of the divine through our knowledge.' No: For **Calvin** the Kingdom of God is the 'Kingly rule' of Christ in a believer and His Church. The purpose of the *Institutes* is to enable a believer to have a personal knowledge of God both cognitively and in personal relationship, and that both these aspects of a Christian's faith should be expanded and deepened over time. For **Calvin**, human original sin had catastrophic consequences for human relationship with God. **Calvin** called this 'Noetic damage'. It could and can only be repaired and so removed by God Himself through the Faith of Jesus Christ. **Calvin** accepted therefore that any human person had a limited knowledge of God because of the damage to human nature from Original Sin. **Calvin** hence denied that a person can have a functionalist knowledge of God, i.e.: know God simply by working at finding him through a Theology derived simply from the experience of 'human-being-ness'.

(6.2) If I may make point 6 two points: **Calvin** went on then to explain that we understand the self-revelation of God in and through the person **Jesus Christ** whom for **Calvin** was most certainly God Incarnate. However, **Calvin** points out that we can't see him. Without using 'glasses' all we will get for our labours are our own idols. But Scripture provides the 'glasses' by which we can see God. Further: The revelation of God in **Jesus Christ** is like a lightning flash that momentarily illuminated the night against the backdrop of nature and the cumulative history of human experience. Grace, **Jesus Christ**, the Holy Spirit are all mediated to us through the word of Scripture.

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(7) I will treat this point as section 2B below.

2B. Calvin's disagreement with the Roman Catholic Church

1. The context of Calvin's Theology and disagreement with the Roman Church

Calvin was not writing and ministering in an historical vacuum. **Calvin** believed the doctrine of pre-destination as expounded by **Saint Augustine**. For **Calvin** every human act of faith was pre-determined before time began. All human life, and hence, but only then, the existence of every human person was pre-ordained. (Christian) Faith comes through the Church. Any person was either elected to be saved or damned. But all of this is done within the Church. The Church is God's means of providing Grace – through baptism, the Eucharist, and preaching and receiving of the word of Scripture. Indeed a person's love of the Church is a sign of their Faith. As we follower **Jesus Christ** and become a disciple of His, says **Calvin**, the noetic damage that we have suffered through human original sin can be repaired. It is part of the promise of the New Covenant that God has made with all human beings in and through **Jesus Christ**. **Jesus Christ** agreed to do this for all people, and hence there can never be any such thing as a solitary Christian Faith. This insight is re-inforced when we remember that it is God's intention that all Christians partake of, certainly, the two sacraments of baptism and communion as a part of ongoing Christian faith and discipleship. But what about 'Church'? **Calvin** had serious disagreement with the Roman Catholic Church and hence defined his own position. first let us hear his disagreement, and then we will briefly look at his own teaching on **Jesus Christ's** Church and her sacraments.

2. *Institutes of the Christian Religion* Book IV

The external means or aids by which God invites us into the society of Christ and holds us therein.

The Roman Church and its claim

'Since this is the state of matters under the Papacy, we can understand how much of the Church there survives. There, instead of the ministry of the word, prevails a perverted government, compounded of lies, a government which partly extinguishes, partly suppresses the pure light. In place of the Lord's Supper, the foulest sacrilege has entered, the worship of God is deformed by a varied mass of intolerable superstitions; doctrine (without which Christianity does not exist) is wholly buried and exploded, the public assemblies are schools of idolatry and impiety, ignorance of God, and other kinds of evil, but rather to retain us in the Fear of God and obedience to the truth.

They, indeed, vaunt loudly of their church, as if there was not another in the world; and then, as if the matter were ended, they make out that all are schismatic who withdraw from obedience to that church which they thus depicts that all are heretics who presume to whisper against its doctrine, (see section 5). But by what arguments do they prove their possession of the true Church? They appeal to ancient records which formerly existed in Italy, France, and Spain, pretending to derive their origin from those holy men, who, by sound doctrine, founded and raised up churches, confirmed the doctrine, and reared the edifice of the Church with their blood; they pretend that the Church this consecrated by spiritual gifts and the blood of martyrs was preserved from destruction by a perpetual

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succession of bishops. They dwell on the importance which Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and others, attached to this succession, (see section 3).

How frivolous and plainly ludicrous these allegations are, I will enable any, who will for a little consider the matter with me, to understand, without any difficulty. I would also exhort our opponents to give their serious attention, if I had any hope of being able to benefit them by instruction; but since they have laid aside all regard to truth, they make it their only aim to prosecute their own ends in whatever way they can, I will only make a few observations by which good men and lovers of the truth may disentangle themselves from their quibbles. First, I ask them why they do not quote Africa, and Egypt, and all Asia, just because in all those regions there was a cessation of that sacred succession, by the aid of which they vaunt of having continued Churches. They therefore fall back on the assertion, that they have the true Church, because ever since it began to exist it was never destitute of bishops, because they succeeded each other in an unbroken series. But what if I bring Greece before them? Therefore, I again ask them, why they say that the Church perished among the Greeks, among whom there was never any interruption of succession of bishops – a succession, in their opinion the only guardian and preserver of the Church? They make the Greeks schismatic. Why? Because by revolting from the Apostolic See, they lost their privilege. What? Do not those who revolt from Christ much more deserve to lose it? It follows, therefore, that the pretence of succession is in vain, if posterity do not retain the truth of Christ, which was handed down to them by their fathers, safe and uncorrupted, and continue in it.’

3. Calvin’s Disagreement with the Roman Catholic Church

Calvin’s disagreement with the Roman Church had to be worked out in his own Theologies of Baptism, Penance, Eucharist, Priesthood, and the matter of Church and State, all of which he sought to derive from Scripture, but Scripture as interpreted in the historical context of its own times and **Calvin’s** own times. We will review each of these in turn before closing this teaching hour.

4. Calvin on Baptism

According to the Roman Catholic Church a child was enrolled in the school of faith by being marked with the seal of the covenant and hence being made a member of the Church. With this **Calvin**, unlike many reformers, had no particular disagreement – but he simply pointed out that if the ‘Church’ in the first place of which that child was made a member was in fact ‘no church,’ then there would be no salvation for that person because Salvation comes through God’s means of Grace – His Church. However: Christian Election from God was regarded by **Calvin** as a Mystery of Faith. Christian Faith was and is a gift from God to the now Christian believer and is not our work. Here the Roman Catholic Church was in error according to **Calvin** for it believed that grace, Faith and the Holy Spirit could be infused in the Christian believer through baptism and the on-going receiving of the sacrament of the Mass.

5. Calvin on Penance

All Christians received the Mass a minimum of twice a year in the late undivided Mediaeval Church of the Western Latin Rite. The main reason for this infrequency was that as a preparation for this Communion in the Mass a believer was taught that they had to confess their sin to God in

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front of a priest, and then receive absolution on condition that they also are careful in carrying out a penance. This penance in many cases was supposed to count as merit towards the forgiveness of the confessed sins by God. With this practice **Calvin** disagreed. **Calvin** taught by contrast that faith and repentance were an ongoing part and feature of a Christian's life. Repentance is a daily activity, and a Christian may confess their sins to God privately at their bedside at the end of the day and receive his forgiveness. A priest is not needed as a mediator. It is faith in God through Jesus Christ as found from Scripture that is the source of grace that enables a Christian to receive forgiveness, which must of course be accompanied by on-going repentance. **Calvin** rightly saw that there was no merit at all toward forgiveness of sin that could derive from 'doing penance'. At best it was a pastoral help to the consistency of a person's repentance and establishing them in a new dynamic. **Calvin** also pointed out forcefully that doing a penance does not in any way earn forgiveness from god or help towards it.

6. Calvin on the Eucharist

(a) Roman Catholic Theology of the Eucharist in Calvin's time

The undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite had agreed to teach the Real Presence of Christ as the Eucharist at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Briefly speaking, this meant that the philosophy of **Aristotle** (who was not a Christian but a pre-New Testament era Greek philosopher) was applied to the Theology of the Mass resulting in the belief that Christ was really present in the elements of the Eucharist, indeed the belief of Transubstantiation was universal – that the bread and wine turned physically and really into the actual flesh and blood of the risen and ascended (Jesus) Christ. This **Calvin** and the other two great European Reformers – **Luther** and **Zwingli** firmly rejected.

(b) Teachings of the three great reformers vis-à-vis transubstantiation

The three Reformers **Luther**, **Zwingli**, and **Calvin** rejected the mediaeval Doctrine of Transubstantiation. However, they differed as to what they put in its place. For **Martin Luther** there was a real but unseen presence of Christ with the Christian believer as that believer in obedience to his command partook of the elements of bread and wine which were and remained bread and wine. For **Zwingli** the bread and wine as physical elements only signified the body and blood of Christ, and the Service of Communion was a remembrance of what **Jesus Christ** had done on the night before he was betrayed, and a testimony to **Jesus Christ's** historical existence, death and resurrection. What of **Calvin**? If **Luther** taught the real presence of Christ and of bread and wine; and **Zwingli** that the Bread and Wine only signify the Body and Blood of Christ, **Calvin**, who incidentally seems to have kept a reserved sacrament in his Church at Geneva, taught that in the Eucharist the believer encountered Christ as a Spiritual 'real presence.'

(c) Calvin's teaching in more detail

For **Calvin**, (as for **Zwingli**) the ascended **Jesus Christ** is still human, and as such at the right hand of the Father. Now: A human cannot be in more than one place at once, and so it is obvious, say **Calvin** and **Zwingli** that he cannot be present in the bread and wine of the communion. Rather, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ and lives and works effectually in the Christian believer, and in that believer for that matter during the Communion. **Calvin's** explanation of what does not happen at the Eucharist (i.e.: Transubstantiation) and what happens instead (which we can only ever anyway part out into words) takes into account four factors: (1) Christ is present wherever his power and effect are; (2) There is often an experience of meeting with him unseen which Calvin calls the 'Ecstasy of Faith'; (3) the Doctrine of the Trinity (as we have just noted) and (4) The extra-Calvinisticum (the Calvinist outside) as Lutherans called it is where because

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there is no distance in the realm of the spiritual when it comes to drawing near in prayer to God's presence, **Jesus Christ**, though unseen is present spiritually both as God the Son and as a fellow human being. But let us now listen to **Calvin** himself.

(d) Calvin's exposition of Eucharistic doctrine

The Lord's Supper, with the signs of bread and wine, provide spiritual food,

1-3: Sign and thing

'After God has once received us into his family, it is not that he may regard us in the light of servants, but of sons, performing the part of a kind and anxious parent, and providing for our maintenance during the whole course of our lives. And, not contented with this, he has been pleased by a pledge to assure us of his continued liberality. To this end, he has given another Sacrament to his Church by the hand of his only begotten Son, viz.: a spiritual feast, at which Christ testifies that he himself is a living bread (John 6:51), on which our souls feed for a true and blessed immortality.

Now, as the knowledge of this great mystery is most necessary, and, in proportion to its importance, demands an accurate exposition, and Satan, in order to deprive the Church of this inestimable treasure, long ago introduced first, mists, and then darkness, to obscure its light, and stirred up strife and contention to alienate the minds of the simple from the relish for this sacred food, and in our age, also, has tried the same artifice, I will proceed, after giving a simple summary adapted to the capacity of the ignorant, to explain those difficulties by which Satan has tried to ensnare the world.

First, then, the signs are bread and wine, which represent the invisible food which we receive from the Body and Blood of Christ. For as God, regenerating us in baptism, ingrafts us into the fellowship of his church, and makes us his by adoption, so we have said that he performs the office of a provident parent, in continually supplying the food by which he may sustain and preserve us in the life to which he has begotten us by his word.

Moreover, Christ is the only food of our soul, and therefore, our Heavenly Father invites us to him, that, refreshed by Communion with him, we may ever and anon gather new vigour until we reach the heavenly immortality.

But as this mystery of the secret union of Christ with believers is incomprehensible by nature, he exhibits its figure and image in visible signs adapted to our capacity, nay, by giving, as it were, earnest and badges, he makes it certain to us as if it were seen by the eye; the familiarity of the similitude giving it access to minds however dull, and showing that souls are fed by Christ just as the corporeal life is sustained by bread and wine. We now, therefore, understand the end which this mystical benediction has in view, viz.: to assure us that the body of Christ was once sacrificed for us, so that we may now eat it, and, eating, feel within ourselves the efficacy of that one sacrifice, - that his blood was once shed for us so as to be our perpetual drink. This is the force of the promise which is added, 'Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you,' (Matthew 26:26 & etc.) the body which was once offered for our salvation we are enjoined to take and eat, that, while we see ourselves made partakers of it, we may safely conclude that the virtue of that death will be efficacious in us. Hence he terms the cup the covenant in his blood. For the covenant which he once sanctioned by his blood he in a manner renews, or rather, continues, in so far as regards the confirmation of our faith, as often as he stretches forth his sacred blood as drink to us.'

7. Calvin on Priesthood

Calvin rejected the hierarchical priesthood. Agreed with **Luther** that the priesthood of believers meant that all Christians had the right by virtue of their baptism to preach and preside at the

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sacraments. No difference in kind between ministers and lay-persons, but only a difference of office and function in the Church. Nonetheless, for the order of the Church it is good that the matter of the administration of the sacraments be done in an ordered manner, reverently and discerningly.

8. Calvin on Church and State; i.e.: Government

The Roman Catholic Church, and before it the undivided Church of the Western Latin Rite had long believed that the it, *The Church*, is the Kingdom of God on earth and as such constitutes the true state. All other forms of government are only temporary until **Jesus Christ** at his second coming, or somehow before by the Holy Spirit, should establish God's Kingdom on earth. This **Calvin, Luther, and Zwingli** rejected. Calvin taught that the legitimacy of the state rested on the ordination of God on the one hand and on the disorder caused by sin on the other. So, Christians vowed obedience to state authorities. God, reclaims his fallen creation, not only through the Church but also by order by the state. Authorities were needed to keep Christians in check.

3B. Conclusion

Over to you to write one!

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UNIT 5: *Student Notes*

The Henrician Reformation

Henry VIII (1491-1547) reigned 1509-1547

Second son of Henry VII.

1502 Brother Arthur (heir apparent) dies.

1509 Henry VIII becomes King.

1509 Henry VIII marries Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain

1512 Disastrous campaign in the Pyrenees

1513 Seizure of Tournai more successful

1513 Battle of Flodden, Scotland.

Henry VIII's Religious Reforms

1515 **Thomas Wolsey** becomes Chancellor

1516 **Mary Tudor** born.

1518 **Wolsey** becomes Papal Legate

1519 **Charles V** becomes Holy Roman Emperor

1522/3 **Henry VIII** attacks France again.

Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530)

Trends in England

Continental Theology arrives

Lollardy and heresy

'Little Germany' in Cambridge White Horse Inn: **Robert Barnes**, and **Simon Frith**

Wolsey's Cardinal College: students reading **Huss**, **Wycliffe**, **Bucer**, **Zwingli**, and **Luther**

Justification by Faith.

Pre-destination

Tyndale: Lutheran language in **1525** Introduction to the Bible

No big Theologians in England, unlike the Continent

William Tyndale (1492-1536)

Divorce

1527 Marriage in decline, divorce discussed

Charles V's troops sacked Rome, forcing Pope Clement VII to seek his protection

Clement will not shame **Charles** by annulling his Aunt's Marriage

Wolsey tries to force the annulment and fails. **Wolsey** dies (1530).

Cranmer succeeds him as Archbishop of Canterbury

Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540)

1534 Principal Royal Secretary. Thereafter also Chancellor of the Exchequer; Master of the Rolls; Lord Privy Seal; Great Chamberlain

1532 Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinaries (Grievances against Clergy)

1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome (allowed **Cranmer** to rule on marriage and intimidated the Pope)

1532/4 Act of Restraint of Annates (taxes to Rome)

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1534 Act of Supremacy: 'Supreme Head'

Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556)

1533 **Cranmer** becomes Archbishop of Canterbury. Already married with secret German wife

1533 Presided over court which granted **Henry VIII** divorce

1535/8 **Cranmer** and **Cromwell** shaped Religious Policy. **Cranmer** opposed to Act of Six Articles (which forced him to send his wife away).

Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-1540)

Possible Reasons:

Cromwell., money, power, land, war, monastic corruption

Heavy tax on seculars too

Pilgrimage of Grace negotiated, **Robert Aske** executed. Continued support from Southern nobility

1537 **Edward VI** born to **Jane Seymour**, who dies shortly afterwards

Act of Ten Articles 1536

'... to stablish Christian quietness and unity among us.' Probably compiled by **Cranmer**

Articles related to Doctrines:

- (1) That Holy Scriptures and the three Creeds are the basis and summary of a true Christian Faith.
- (2) That Baptism conveys remission of sins and the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit and is absolutely necessary as well for children as for adults.
- (3) That penance consists of contrition, confession, and reformation, and is necessary to salvation.
- (4) That the body & blood of Christ are really present in the elements of the Eucharist
- (5) That justification is remission of sin and reconciliation to God by the merits of Christ, but good works are necessary.

Articles related to Ceremonies

- (6) That images are useful as reminders, but are not objects of worship
- (7) That saints are to be honoured as examples of life, and as furthering our prayers
- (8) That saints may be invoked as intercessors, and their holydays observed.
- (9) That ceremonies are to be observed for the sake of their mystical signification, and as conducive to devotion
- (10) That prayers for the dead are good and useful, but the efficacy of the Papal pardon is denied.

Upon these articles was founded the work entitled *Institution of a Christian Man, Commonly known as The Bishop's Book*

Bishops' Book (1537)

Basis of Justification: 'By his passion ... he hath made a sufficient expiation or propitiation towards God, that is to say, a sufficient satisfaction and recompense.'

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Means of Justification: 'Christ shall pronounce the extreme or final sentence and judgement of everlasting salvation upon all those persons, which in their lifetime obeyed and conformed themselves to the will of God, and exercised the works of right belief and charity, and so persevering in well-doing, sought in their hearts and deeds the honour and glory of God, and life immortal.'

Nature of Justification: Christ 'hath planted and grafted me into his own body, and made me a member of the same, and hath communicated and made me participant of his justice, his power, his life, his felicity, and of all his good.'

Ten Articles (1536)

Nature: Justification is 'remission of our sins and our acceptance of reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.'

Means: 'Sinners attain this justification by contrition, and faith joined with charity.'

Basis: It is 'not as though our contrition or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for only the mercy and grace of the father, promised freely to us for his Son's sake, Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof.'

The Official Doctrine of Justification under Henry VIII (Dr Robert Wainwright)

Exegesis of the formularies on justification

Basis? Merit of the individual or merit of Christ?

Means? By faith alone or a combination of faith and charity?

Nature of righteousness? An imputed state or an imparted state?

Continental patterns

Melanchthon: Christ's merits; faith alone; imputation.

Bucer: Christ's merits; faith (never without good works); unclear on nature.

Zwingli: Christ's sacrifice; election and faith; implies imparted righteousness.

Eck: graciously meritorious human works; faith informed by hope and charity; imparted righteousness.

Acts of Six Articles 1539

Upheld: (1) Transubstantiation; (2) Celibacy; (3) Communion in one kind; (4) Binding character of vows of chastity; (5) Private Masses; (6) Auricular Confession.

Latimer resigned in protest. **Cranmer** did not.

The King's Book (1543)

Means: Faith 'hath hope and charity annexed and joined unto it: and faith so taken, signifieth not only belief and persuasion before mentioned in the first acceptation, but also a sure confidence and hope to attain whatsoever God hath promised for Christ's sake, and a heart to love God, and obedience to his commandments. And this faith is a lively faith, and worketh in man a ready submission of his will to God's will.'

Official English doctrine between 1536 and 1543

Justification is based on the merits of Christ alone.

It is received by means of faith and charity

Righteousness is an imparted state i.e.: we participate in the process

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The last decade

- 1540** Short marriage to **Anne of Cleves**
- 1542** **Catherine Howard** killed for infidelity
- 1542** Successful campaign by **Lord Wharton** in Scotland
- 1544** Another campaign against France

The last years allowed **Cranmer** some Liturgical reforms

Edward Henry VIII's young son under Protestant protectors before Henry dies.

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UNIT 5: HENRY VIII'S BREAK WITH ROME: SOME INTERPRETATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

1A. Course Orientation

1. Theme and place of Unit 5

Welcome to Unit 5 of our course *Introduction to the Reformation*. Units 1-4 have focused on the continental European reformation, and in particular the life and work of three great reformers: **Martin Luther** (Unit 2), **Huldrych Zwingli** (Unit 3) and **John Calvin** (Unit 4). With Unit 5, today's unit, on '**Henry VIII's** break with Rome: Some interpretations' we turn our attention to the English Reformation. Unlike her Continental counterpart(s), the English Reformation did not produce a single great Theological pastor or scholar who was its driving force or spearhead. There were nevertheless a number of pertinent Christian personalities involved, and the course of the English reformation was shaped in a large measure by the English monarchs of that time.

2. Units 5-8

Subsequent course units will focus on Edward VI and Mary I (Unit 6); The Elizabethan Settlement (Unit 7); and The Church in the Seventeenth Century (Unit 8). These units make for exciting and interesting study. England was entering an 'All new' era. Henry VIII brought about an Ecclesiastical split with Rome that produced an English National Catholic Church. The Church of England again was existing as a separate, if widely thought schismatic, entity within the Body of Christ. In these momentous years there was a new (re-) emergence of the 'Church of England'. Strong and fresh brew! But: Why was there an English Reformation? Why was it so different to its European counterpart? Two current and conflicting answers to these questions provide us with a working perspective.

2A. The Late Mediaeval Church: A variety of perspectives

1. A first 'traditional' view: The shortcomings of the late mediaeval English Church

The first view, that the Reformation in England was brought about by the shortcomings of the late mediaeval English Church, is one that has long been held by historians and 'committed Christians' alike. The late mediaeval English Church was staffed by poorly paid, largely uneducated parish clergy. In reality there was but little pastoring of them or their people. The Church was dominated by land, property, education, and treasure rich monasteries that spawned moral decadence as their by-product. Abbots in particular were wealthy, and monks were often known to have mistresses. Within the secular Church Dioceses bishops were wealthy, and simony and pluralism were common. It was not difficult in the decades leading up to Henry's reign to 'buy a living' (i.e.: buy the income, tithes, and tenure of a parish and its property and then install a poorly paid curate in one's place to do the routine work.) The Church was a fellowship of the wealthy rich elite. She also, of course, insisted that tax was paid to Rome. This tax was widely resented by people, parishes, clergy, hierarchy, and politicians alike. (For further details on the Mediaeval Church c.f.: Unit 1 of this course and of the parallel course PICC B.A./B.D./B.Th./B.Min *Themes and Personalities of the Reformation*.)

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2. A second view: EAMON DUFFY: The fruitfulness of the Mediaeval Church

However: A recent second view has challenged these long held assumptions and in some cases their accompanying emotional investment, and has painted a very different picture. The English Church does not seem to necessarily have had to have had many of the shortcomings of its pre-reformation continental counterparts. Hence, **Eamon Duffy** argued in **1992** in his book *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*, that the English Church of the late Mediaeval period was in very good shape. Its pastoral ministry, if sometimes staffed by poorly educated curates, was quality, and the many ministry guilds and fraternities provided pastoral care, training perspectives, resource, and help. Worship was vibrant. Tithes were well used and there was a plethora of well organised ecclesiastical charity. Saint Paul's Cathedral alone ran fifty charities. The Church attracted endowments, and tithes and contributions were regularly paid.

3. A third view: The perspective of the Lollards

So: Which of these two views is correct? As is often the case, I think, the truth lies somewhere between the two. But there were other Christians in England outside of the English Church, and so often persecuted for it. One such group was the Lollards. These Christians believed that the New Testament and so the Bible was the only sure basis for Christian belief and practice. For them the tradition of the Church with its claim to pass on the faith as received from the Apostles, and the claim by Roman and her curia and bishops to be the only legitimate and authentic source of the true interpretation of Scripture rang hollow: Scripture was sovereign over any Church tradition. Hence the Lollards denounced the possession of personal wealth and the power of the clergy. **John of Gaunt** and others were their supporters. Lollardy was strong particularly around here at Amersham, and more generally in the Kent area, and not surprisingly, in London. Lollardy promoted strong, if patchy, dissent.

4. A fourth perspective: Other currents: Erasmus, Colet et.al.

Erasmus arrived in England in **1500** (c.f.: Unit 2 of *Themes and Personalities of the Reformation* for further details on **Erasmus**). He immediately met **John Colet** in Oxford who was lecturing in its university at that time on **Saint Paul's** Epistles. **Foxe** has called **Colet** 'a Protestant before the Reformation'. This is wrong. **Colet** was a traditional English Catholic. He exposed clerical ignorance and publicly deplored clerical bad behaviour. He founded what is now Saint Paul's School in London. As the English Reformation progressed **Colet** came to detest **Martin Luther** and any influence his Theology might have on the English Church and her hierarchy.

B. HENRY VIII: HIS REIGN TO WOLSEY'S DEATH IN 1530

1B. Henry VIII: A short biography and his early regnal years

1. Sundry biographical details

Henry VIII (1491-1547) reigned from **1509-1547**. He was the second son of Henry VII, the first being **Arthur**, the heir apparent, who married **Catherine of Aragon** in **1501** but died a year later in **1502**, and so Henry became heir to the throne. In **1509** Henry became king and married the same **Catherine of Aragon** (1485-1536), one time wife of his brother, and of course the daughter

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of **Ferdinand** and **Isabella of Spain**, the then Spanish monarchs. **Henry** and **Catherine** had one daughter in **1516**, who eventually became **Mary I** of England; and an illegitimate son, **Henry Fitzroy**, who became Duke of Richmond. Military campaigns and marriages characterised Henry's life.

2. Henry's early foreign military campaigns

Henry's foreign military ventures began none too successfully. In **1512** he initiated and fought a disastrous campaign in the Pyrenees (France). His Seizure of Tournai, in **1513**, more successful. In **1513** he also fought the battle of Flodden in Scotland. Interesting though a study of these may be, our focus is Henry's early religious reforms. However: here briefly are some other landmark dates: In **1515** **Thomas Wolsey** became Chancellor (more about him in a moment); In **1516**, as we have just seen, **Mary Tudor** was born; in **1518** **Wolsey** became Papal Legate; in **1519** **Charles V** becomes Holy Roman Emperor. **1522/3** **Henry VIII** attacks France again.

2B. Henry VIII's Religious Reforms

1. Three great figures

Henry VIII was assisted in his religious reforms by three great figures: **Thomas Wolsey** (1473-1530); **Thomas Cromwell** (1485-1540); and **Thomas Cranmer** (1489-1556). We will trace through his life and reforms in chronological order, and not the contributions of each of these other statesmen as we go.

2. Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530)

Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530) was the son of a butcher. In **1515** **Wolsey** became Lord Chancellor and in **1518** became the Papal Legate for England and so effectively, under the authority of Henry VIII and the Pope, ruled Church and State. **Wolsey** wanted to become Pope, and whether for this or other reasons, Pope **Leo X** made him a cardinal also in **1518**. **Wolsey**, however, made many enemies. Although he never, of course, became pope, he did at one point consider removing **Clement VII** to make way for himself. He eventually died in poverty. However, at his zenith he was proud, fat, and ostentatious. An ecclesiastical anecdote will suffice for this particular audience as an illustration: In Divine Service Wolsey was always preceded by two tall priests; the first carried the processional Lorraine Cross of the Archbishopric and See of Canterbury; and a second solid silver processional cross for the office of papal legate. Wolsey's shoes were embroidered with gold thread, and inlaid with jewels. He invariably wore the red vestments of the cardinal's office made from velvet. We have reason to be grateful to him in the Oxford diocese, because he founded Christ Church College and Cathedral of the University of Oxford and the Oxford Diocese. The way that he did this is either appalling or amusing. Approximately on the site of platform 2 of the present Oxford station stood Osney Abbey, an ecclesiastical building about the size of the present Winchester Cathedral here in England (i.e.: vast with a very, very, long nave). Wolsey dismantled the Abbey and moved it to the site of what is now Christ Church, rebuilding it as a Cathedral which soon became a College of the university as well.

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3. Trends in England

(a) 1521: Henry VIII publishes *Defence of the seven sacraments*

In 1521 King Henry VIII published his *Defence of the seven sacraments* which was probably in the event written by **Thomas Moore**. For this **Henry VIII** was rewarded by the pope with the title 'Defender of the Faith.'

(b) Continental currents

But another and different trend was making its appearance and running fast through the English Church. Continental Theology was arriving in the shape of books that were being produced by European authors in sympathy with the newly emerging ideas, Theology, and writings of **Martin Luther** and other continental reformers, for the continental reformation was just getting under way. These ideas influenced a group of students and scholars in Cambridge who became dubbed 'the White Horse Tavern group' on account of the venue of their at first informal meetings. Their immediate district and academic social circle soon earned the nickname 'Little Germany': students who were its members were soon reading the works of **John Huss** the Czech reformer, **John Wycliffe**, **Bucer** from Geneva, **Zwingli** from Zurich, and of course **Martin Luther**. These were joined by **Robert Barnes** and **Simon Frith** from Wolsey's Cardinal college. Alas, most of the White Horse Tavern members were eventually killed in the name of Lollardy or some other heresy. Justification by Faith, the practice of Baptism in England, and Pre-destination were main topics among the many with which they were concerned. However, unlike its continental counterparts, as we have observed above, the English Reformation did not produce a leading Theological name.

4. William Tyndale and the translation and printing of the English Bible

(a) The Tyndale English Bible and its importance

However, one person whose important contribution to the English reformation cannot go unnoticed at this point, is that of **William Tyndale** (1492-1536). In 1525 **William Caxton**, of printing press fame, produced the first English (William Tyndale translated) Bible, which featured an introduction by authored by himself using markedly Lutheran and reformation type language. Until then, despite the availability of **Bede's** work, the Bible had for centuries been read in Latin in English parish churches, and interpreted by the parish priest in his sermon which in turn was preached within the setting of the different rites of worship of the English Church. Until the advent of printing, Bibles had been rare and expensive. Now, with the work of **Tyndale** and his Bible being printed on the Caxton presses, ordinary people could hear the Bible read in the English vernacular, and be educated. As it happened, **William Tyndale** took the views of the establishment. He was not out to make trouble, simply to translate the Bible. However: He believed that all should be able to read and sing the Scriptures for themselves. The weaver could hum the Scriptures to the sound of his shuttle, and the Bible could be taken on their journeys as a source of refreshment emotionally and mentally for the weary traveller.

(b) Tyndale re-establishes in Germany

But: **Tyndale's** personal contribution suffered a sharp setback when he was charged in person at Bristol (England) with spreading heresy. He hence relocated to Germany and continued his work in Wittenberg. **Tyndale** used the third edition of **Erasmus's** Greek New Testament as a basis for his work, and used **Luther's** New Testament in German to help with some of the problems of English translation. Copies of **William Tyndale's** English Bible were then smuggled into England for Germany, and **Thomas Garrett** co-ordinated their distribution.

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(c) Tyndale's Bible declared heretical by the Bishops of the Church of England

Now: Not everyone was happy with the idea of hoi polloi (i.e.: everybody in the general population) reading the Bible, and worse having their own information and opinion as to its interpretation and application to contemporary English life. So in **1526** thirty six bishops, abbots, and friars gathered at Saint Paul's Cathedral and declared **William Tyndale's** translation of the English Bible heretical with consequent implications for its readers. Un-daunted **Tyndale's** work continued. In **1534** he produced a new edition of his translation annotated with Protestant notes and commentary. Incensed, the bishops of the English Church bought up every copy that they could find and had them publicly burned at Saint Paul's cross in London. Clearly by **1530** the religious reformation had by no means happened in England. But something even now was happening within the royal household that was to change all that and bring in an English Reformation in an as yet quite unforeseen way.

3B. Henry VIII's need for an heir: The matter of his divorce(s)

1. Henry's unsuccessful supplication to Rome for a divorce

By **1527** **Henry VIII** had had little progeny and his marriage to **Catherine of Aragon** was in decline. A divorce was being discussed. This was exacerbated by two factors: (a) **Henry** had been attracted to **Anne Boelyn**, whom he was keen to insist, was not his mistress, but was someone whom he very much wished to marry. (b) **Henry** had not been able to produce as yet a male heir, and anyway had had bouts of ill health. He considered that his illnesses stemmed from marrying his brother's widow, and hence were a punishment sent by God. He considered whether his lack of male progeny may have had a similar cause. **Henry**, through the offices and mediation of **Wolsey**, sought an annulment of his marriage from the Pope. However: **Clement VII** refused his supplication for annulment. The reason was not far to seek. Irrespective of the Theological ins and outs that would have had to have been considered, there was one over-riding factor that compelled a refusal. **Catherine of Aragon** was related to the Spanish monarch **Charles V** whose troops had just sacked Rome. Whether he had wanted to grant any such annulment or not, Pope Clement was in no position to do so, for he needed and was actively seeking the favour and protection of **Charles V** at the present critical time. **Clement** could ill afford to shame **Charles V** by annulling his aunt's marriage to the English monarch. **Wolsey** made a further attempt at an annulment by trying to force the pope to act. However, he died in **1530**, and was succeeded as Archbishop of Canterbury by **Thomas Cranmer** (1489-1556). In **King Henry VIII's** mind there was now only one thing for it: **Henry** acted to force the hand of the Pope by attacking the English Ecclesiastical establishment.

2. Henry VIII's initial reprisal proceedings against the (English) Church

(a) Henry's 'tactical' reprisals

Henry now acted by calling what has become known as the 'Reformation Parliament'. **Henry** invented the crime of 'Praemunire,' and so accused the clergy of the as yet undivided Church of overstepping their legal authority and obstructing the crown. Such an offence, **Henry** declared, was treason, and as such was punishable by death. In practice **Henry** had nothing against ordinary parish clergy, he left them to do their job. **Henry's** introduction of praemunire was essentially an attack on the English Ecclesiastical (i.e.: Church) courts. He did, however, make a way of escape for the Church hierarchy and all others involved: If they paid **Henry** the sum of £100,000, they could buy their corporate pardon. In **1531** the clergy paid, and **Henry** granted the pardon. However, any perceived truce was short lived. In **1532** **Henry**, as English sovereign,

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declared that the clergy of the English Church had no jurisdiction independent of the crown. Worse for many, **Henry** announced, also in **1532** that, 'Allegiance to the pope makes someone not even half our subject.' This was preceded in **1531** by the 'Act of Submission of the clergy' whereby from that time onwards no Ecclesiastical Laws could be introduced without Royal Authority.

(b) The legal enactments

All this was enshrined in law as follows: **1532**: Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinaries (Grievances against the clergy); **1533**: Act of Restraint of Appeals to Rome (allowed **Archbishop Cranmer** to rule on marriage and intimidated the Pope); and **1532/1534**: Acts of Restraint of Annates (i.e.: payment of taxes to Rome).

C. HENRY VIII 's RELIGIOUS REFORMS, AND MARRIAGES TO 1538

1C. Two architects of the English Religious Reformation

1. Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540)

Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540) was also a man of humble beginnings. Nevertheless, in **1534** he was appointed Principal Royal Secretary and subsequently Chancellor of the Exchequer; Master of the Rolls; Lord Privy Seal; and Great Chamberlain. It was he who had shaped **Henry VIII**'s 'Grievances against the Clergy,' stopped the payments to Rome and the so-called 'Diocesan Bounties' from the Consecration of Bishops, and had framed the legislation that banned appeals to the Pope in Judicial cases, enforcing appeal in its place to the English crown instead. Twice, in **1532** and **1534** Annates to Rome (taxes) were restricted. **Cromwell** had also seen to this. He was not unaware of its Lutheran precedent, and importance in the European Reformation. As a student at the University of Cambridge in the early 1520s, **Cromwell** had read **Luther**. He had become convinced that Scripture was the only infallible authority for the Christian Faith.

2. Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556)

Thomas Cranmer, also a Cambridge graduate, obtained his Cambridge D.D. in the late **1520s**. He was the saviour of many half-hearted people. He gained many Lutheran colleagues included Bishop **Latimer**, with whom he was eventually burned at the stake in Oxford in **1556**. **Thomas Cranmer** met **Bishop Warner** during his re-trial at Waltham Abbey, and reflected there on **Henry VIII**'s situation and his application for a divorce in the light of Scripture. **Thomas Cranmer** decided to consult with fellow university Divines at Oxford and Cambridge. This excited **Henry** and so **Henry** summoned him. The consultations with the Divines produced the consensus that the Will of God as found in Scripture should be followed. Incidentally, **Thomas Cranmer** like other Church leaders at that time made his wealth, but his manner of handling **Henry**'s marital matters sealed his fate. In **1533 Cranmer** was made Archbishop of Canterbury. From the outset he became a trusted member of **Henry**'s government. He dealt with **Henry VIII**'s six further marriages. He was a very canny individual, and a survivor. **Thomas Wolsey** was dead and many others had been killed. **Cranmer** survived for the time being. He didn't preach the Lutheran Gospel until **Henry VIII** died in **1547**, and the nine year old boy Protestant **King Edward VI** came to the throne. However, **Cranmer** had a secret German wife.

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3. Archbishop Cranmer and Lord Cromwell

From **1535** to **1538** **Cranmer** and **Cromwell** shaped English religious reforms and religious policies. **Cranmer**, however, was opposed to the Act of Six Articles which forced him to send his wife away.

2C. Henry, Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boelyn, Jane Seymour, and a male heir

1. 1534: The Act of Supremacy and granting of Henry's divorce

In **1534** he presided over the English court which granted **Henry's** divorce from **Catherine of Aragon**, and enabled **Henry** to marry **Anne Boelyn** later that year, whom of course was gave birth to a daughter who eventually became **Elizabeth I**. Later in **1534** **Henry** also made himself the Supreme Governor of the English Church. But, please note, there was no Church of England in the way that we now know it until it was put into place with the Via Media Settlement of **Elizabeth I** which we will look at in a future teaching hour. You may not be aware, but in the reign of **Mary I**, two monarchs after **Henry**, the English Church was fully reconciled to Rome. To say that **Henry VIII** 'founded the Church of England on a divorce' is blatant and ignorant Roman Catholic propaganda. **Thomas Moore** and **John Fisher** did not assent to **Henry's** divorce and so regarded **Henry** and **Anne** as not married and so also did not regard the eventual **Elizabeth I** as a legitimate daughter or successor of his.

4. 1537: Henry VIII marries Jane Seymour and establishes a male succession

The absence of a male heir persisted, and so in **1536** **Anne Boelyn** was beheaded by **Henry's** order. **Henry** then married **Jane Seymour** who soon afterwards gave birth to the future King **Edward VI** in October **1537**. In October **1537**, therefore, **Henry's** long cherished dream and ambition to establish his line through a male heir came true for him. **Jane Seymour** died shortly afterwards.

3C. The Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-1540)

1. 1536-1538: The accounting and surrender of the monasteries

In **1536** King **Henry VIII** as Supreme governor of the Church in England sent his commissioners to the smaller monasteries to account for their estates, formally accept their surrender to his officers, and oversee their dissolution. In **1538** the king did similarly for the larger monasteries of England. To this day there are many monastic ruins to be seen around the English countryside, or one time monastic foundations now used for another purpose (e.g.: a country house, a parish church) in English towns and villages.

2. Financial implications for the crown

Henry ordered his commissioners to deposit into the royal coffers all the monastic revenue and wealth from the dissolution of monasteries. The effect was to double the income of the crown from then on. **Thomas Cromwell** had succeeded **Wolsey**, and unlike his proud predecessor, had never known wealth. **Thomas Cromwell** exercised the office of Lord Privy Seal, and Master of the Rolls. But although a lay man, **Thomas Cromwell** to all intents and purposes became the head of the Church in matters temporal. He saw to it that Bishops submitted to the king's word

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and will. With the proceeds of the dissolution **Henry VIII** funded a war with France, built defensive castles on the South Coast of England, and seized and administered the one time monastic lands and estates.

3. Possible reasons for the Dissolution of the Monasteries

There appear to be a number of reasons as to why the monasteries were dissolved. **Cromwell** certainly had an interest in making them the preserve of the king, and enforcing the king's will and word over them. However: There were other more mercenary reasons. Money, of which **Henry VIII** had not had enough not least because of his earlier foreign disasters, was an attractive plunder which held many possibilities. Also, the dissolution allowed **Henry** to consolidate his power over the Church, eliminating powerful bastions of resistance to his rule. Extra land was useful for the royal estate, and revenue derived from it and the dissolution generally could fund further foreign military campaigning. From **Henry's** vantage point he could console himself with the fact that as Supreme Governor of the English Church he was expected (by whom?) to root out all corruption and lax practice in the monasteries of the realm. **Henry**, incidentally, did not stop with the monasteries. He imposed heavy taxes in these years on secular clergy and laity alike.

4. Opposition to the Dissolution of the Monasteries

Not everybody was in favour of **Henry's** actions against the monasteries, or saw any benefit from their dissolution. In general the populous of Yorkshire, Durham, and the North Country was against the dissolution, and simply saw in it **Henry VIII's** and **Thomas Cromwell's** greed. So: The Pilgrimage of Grace revolt took place between **1536** and **1538**. The revolt was started by **Robert Aske** in **1536** and quickly gathered momentum. Riots took place in many towns and places affected by the dissolution. However, **Robert Aske** was captured and executed in **1537**. However, the dissolutions had the support of the Southern nobility right through to the end of **1538**.

5. The English Bible as the statutory vernacular Scripture for Church services

A further move was initiated at this point to strengthen the English Church. In **1528 William Tyndale** had been killed on account of his work of translating, printing, and distributing the Bible in English so that eventually every English person could own one. This work of **Tyndale** had not pleased the Church hierarchy of that time. However: in **1538 Cranmer** and **Cromwell** ordered that the Bible was from that time onward to be read in English in all services of the English Church. This initiative was part of an ongoing Henrician reform of the English Church which because of our concentration on **Henry's** divorce and the dissolution of the monasteries as yet has not received our attention.

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D. HENRICIAN REFORMATION THEOLOGY & HENRY'S LATER YEARS

1D. The Act of Ten Articles 1536

1. Purpose of the Act

According to its text, the *Act of Ten Articles* was passed in **1536** in order to 'stablish Christian quietness and unity among us.' It was probably compiled by **Archbishop Cranmer**. Its effect was to introduce continental Reformation Theology into the doctrine of the English Church whilst at the same time forming within her a Catholic unity by giving her an unified doctrine.

2. Text of the Act of Ten Articles 1536

Here then is the text of the Ten Articles. The first five, related to doctrine, are particularly important.

Articles related to Doctrines:

- (1) **That Holy Scriptures and the three Creeds are the basis and summary of a true Christian Faith.**
- (2) **That Baptism conveys remission of sins and the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit and is absolutely necessary as well for children as for adults.**
- (3) **That penance consists of contrition, confession, and reformation, and is necessary to salvation.**
- (4) **That the body & blood of Christ are really present in the elements of the Eucharist**
- (5) **That justification is remission of sin and reconciliation to God by the merits of Christ, but good works are necessary.**

Articles related to Ceremonies

- (6) **That images are useful as reminders, but are not objects of worship**
- (7) **That saints are to be honoured as examples of life, and as furthering our prayers**
- (8) **That saints may be invoked as intercessors, and their holydays observed.**
- (9) **That ceremonies are to be observed for the sake of their mystical signification, and as conducive to devotion**
- (10) **That prayers for the dead are good and useful, but the efficacy of the Papal pardon is denied.**

Upon these articles was founded the work entitled *Institution of a Christian Man*, Commonly known as *The Bishop's Book*, and it is to this that we now turn, before further commenting on the Ten Articles.

3. The Bishops' Book of 1537

The *Bishops' Book* was published in **1537**. It states amongst other things that images can be usefully used, saints are to be honoured, and the veneration of saints can be liturgically and spiritually useful. However, its main theme is Justification. As to the Basis of Justification, the Book states this of **Jesus Christ**: **'By His passion ... He hath made a sufficient expiation or propitiation towards God, that is to say, a sufficient satisfaction and recompense.'** Here the need for individual merit as a condition for Salvation is clearly repudiated, and a doctrine of merit in Christ alone as being the basis of a Christian person's salvation is established. Concerning the Means of Justification it reads thus: **'Christ shall pronounce the extreme or final sentence and judgement of everlasting salvation upon all those persons, which in their lifetime obeyed and conformed themselves to the will of God, and exercised the works of right belief and**

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charity, and so persevering in well-doing, sought in their hearts and deeds the honour and glory of God, and life immortal.’ This seems to us to imply both *Imputed Justification* (Justification infused through participation in the sacraments and living a devout Godly life) and *Imparted Justification* (Justification imparted by the Grace of God to the Christian so as to live a life that sustains salvation in the here and now and leads to it finally being imparted forever by Christ Himself at the Last Judgement). On the Nature of Justification it has this to say: Christ ‘hath planted and grafted me into his own body, and made me a member of the same, and hath communicated and made me participant of his justice, his power, his life, his felicity, and of all his good.’ There is here a distinction made between the Theology of Christ’s merits through God’s redemptive work in and through him at the cross for the salvation of all human kind being imputed to us by Faith; and the **Zwinglian** doctrine that Christ offered himself as the one great sacrifice for the atonement of all sin, and so when we are brought by the Grace of God to the point of conversion and being thereafter ‘in Christ,’ from that moment we live by faith and are one of the elect, and so live in this life in imparted righteousness, the impartation of which is sealed at the Day of Judgement. Thus the Theology of the *Bishop’s Book* and of the Henrician ‘Protestant-National-Catholic’ English Church.

4. A brief analysis of the Ten Articles (above) of 1536

Having reviewed the Theological content of the *Bishop’s Book*, what can we say with its hindsight about the Theology of the *Ten Articles* of 1536? In brief they state concerning the Nature of Salvation that Justification is ‘remission of our sins and our acceptance of reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.’ As to the means of Salvation they state thus: ‘Sinners attain this justification by contrition, and faith joined with charity.’

Basis: It is ‘not as though our contrition or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for only the mercy and grace of the father, promised freely to us for his Son’s sake, Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof.’

5. Dr Robert Wainwright: The Official Doctrine of Justification under Henry VIII

Just in case you think that **Henry VIII** and the Theologians of the Henrician Reformation have had their cake and eaten it because their Theology seems to be simultaneously Catholic and Protestant, fear not! You have an ally in **Dr Robert Wainwright** who raises some concise questions to help us clarify the Theology of the Henrician Reformation but also to work out our own position(s) on the issues that it raises. He asks us to read Scripture for ourselves on the following considerations, and to undertake our own exegesis in respect of the Henrician formularies on Justification. (1) Its basis: Merit of the individual or merit of Christ? (2) Its Means? By faith alone or a combination of faith and charity? (3) What is the Nature of a Christian’s ‘righteousness’? Is it an imputed state or an imparted state? Now: Just before you consider these questions for yourself and lose a night or two’s sleep reading the Bible if necessary, let me point out to you how some of the great Continental Reformers differed on these questions.

6. Continental patterns vis-à-vis the Theology of Justification

For **Melanchthon** it is only Christ’s merits that are meritorious for our Salvation; Our salvation as Christians is by the faith of/in Jesus Christ alone including all that fountains from that; and our

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righteousness as Christians is imputed, that is, we are not made (fully) righteous in and by (Jesus) Christ until the end time Judgement. **Bucer** of **Geneva** is similar: It is Christ's merits alone that avail for Salvation; Salvation is by the faith of Christ Jesus which is never without good works; but **Bucer** is unclear on the nature of Christian Justification and Righteousness. For **Zwingli**: Christ's sacrifice alone atones for sin and avails for our Salvation; when we become a Christian have election in so far as we are heirs of God in Christ, and live by His faith; and this implies imparted righteousness, i.e.; that in Christ a Christian is righteous before God (even though as repentant people we continue to sin) because a Christian is in Christ. Finally, for your information: **Eck** preached graciously meritorious human works as the basis for Salvation; faith informed by hope and charity as its means; and a Theology of justification as that of Imparted Righteousness.

2D. The Act of Six Articles 1539; The King's Book 1543: Official English Doctrine

1. Act of Six Articles 1539

But to what extent was a Protestant religious reformation really underway at this point in **Henry's** reign? How far was the English Church a National Catholic Church, and how far had it had a Spiritual Reformation? What you hear next may be shocking, because in the light of the continental Theological reforms, the answer is 'very little'. *The Act of Six Articles* was passed in **1539** with the approval of **Henry**. It upheld the following Ecclesiastical practices, widely denounced by now in most of the Continental Reforms: (1) Transubstantiation (i.e.: that the elements of bread and wine in the mass/communion really are transformed into the Body and Blood of **Jesus Christ**); (2) Celibacy (i.e.: that priests and deacons should not marry); (3) Communion in one kind (i.e.: that recipients of Holy Communion should take only the bread (host)); (4) Binding character of vows of chastity (i.e.: that a vow of chastity should be fully kept and cannot be repealed by supplication to the Bishop of Rome or any other authority save God Himself); (5) Private Masses; (6) Auricular Confession (i.e.: that it is very desirable to confess your sin before God in the presence of a priest who alone can assure from Scripture its absolution.) **Bishop Latimer** resigned in protest. **Archbishop Cranmer**, however, did not.

2. Comment on *The Act of Six Articles* and Henry's 'Theology'

Although Scripture was now to be regarded as the sole authority of the Christian Faith, it and such an attitude had not as yet 'killed off' those things re-affirmed in *The Act of Six Articles*. Three 'Catholic' priests were hung, drawn, and quartered for publicly not agreeing to the Act, and three 'Protestant' clergy were also executed for not agreeing. The point of these executions was to clearly demonstrate that if you disagree with the King, you die. Why then did **Henry** believe as he did? The truth was that his was a developing Christian Faith and Practice: **Henry** disliked the social change that the Protestant Reformations were bringing about on the continent and so would by no means embrace a full blown Protestantism; but equally **Henry** also disliked the allegiance to Rome demanded by being a part of the (Roman) Catholic Church, and so would not have that as a feature of the English Church either. Some sort of 'underpinning' in the area on which the reformers were preaching and propagating was needed to underpin the position of the English Church. So in **1543** *The King's Book* was published which addressed the issue of Faith.

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3. The King's Book (1543)

Some clarification was needed as to how faith is the means by which a Christian receives Salvation. What does 'faith' mean? It certainly wasn't to mean for the English Church what **Luther** meant by it – the social consequences might be too dire. No: The Henrician definition was careful to spell out that we do our part in the process of our justification in Christ: Faith *must* result in obedience to **Jesus Christ** and his Church – faith works within the Christian to change a Christian and his or her actions. Hence in *The King's Book* of **1543** the issue is addressed. Faith **'hath hope and charity annexed and joined unto it: and faith so taken, signifieth not only belief and persuasion before mentioned in the first acceptation, but also a sure confidence and hope to attain whatsoever God hath promised for Christ's sake, and a heart to love God, and obedience to his commandments. And this faith is a lively faith, and worketh in man a ready submission of his will to God's will.'**

4. Official English doctrine between 1536 and 1543

So: What can we say about the (official) doctrine of the English Church between **1536** and **1543**? I think that it can be summed up in three statements: (1) Justification is based on the merits of Christ alone; (2) It is received by means of faith and charity; and (3) Righteousness is an imparted state i.e.: we participate in the process of receiving righteousness in the here and now, the reception of which will be finalised and sealed at the Last Judgement. A final remark on this: **'Henry VIII** was a Catholic Christian without a Pope: England was still Catholic, it is simply that she wasn't Roman Catholic.'

3D The Last Decade of Henry VIII's life

1. Henry's unsuccessful marriage to Anne of Cleves: Cromwell blamed

In January **1540** **Henry VIII** married **Anne of Cleves**, and in so doing made an alliance with Germany. Alas, **Henry** agreed to the marriage having only seen **Anne** on a portrait. The reality when they met was very different. **Henry** didn't like her. He married her but they did not consummate their marriage. **Henry** squarely blamed **Thomas Cromwell** for the whole matter.

2. The double act comes to an end

Now: **Bishop Gardner** of Winchester, later to feature in the reigns of **Edward VI** and **Mary** did not like **Cranmer** and waited his moment. On the 8th April **1540**, **Henry** made **Cromwell** Duke of Essex, and shortly afterwards executed him.

3. Henry, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr

Henry now married the nineteen year old **Catherine Howard**. The marriage was again to be short-lived. **Catherine** was unfaithful to him, and so two years later in **1542** was killed for her infidelity. **Henry VIII** continued to protect Protestants including **Catherine Parr** who was a strong influence on the boy king to be **Edward VI**.

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4. The closing years of Henry VIII's reign

In 1542 Lord Wharton conducted a successful military campaign against the Scots, and a further successful campaign against France in 1544. The last years of Henry's reign allowed Cranmer some scope for liturgical reform. Edward VI to be was given protestant tutors for his education and protectors for his welfare, of which all were 'English-Church-Lutheran' in their doctrine and practice.

5. The Christian and ecclesiastical legacy of Henry VIII

What do I say about the Christian and ecclesiastical legacy of Henry VIII as I close this teaching hour? First: Henry VIII facilitated the English Protestant Reformation; Second: Henry VIII abolished the monasteries for their revenue; Third: Henry VIII gave the Bible to the English people in the English language; and Fourth: Henry VIII abolished papal jurisdiction in England.

6. Henry VIII's death

Henry VIII died in 1547. His young son Edward VI succeeded him. With the accession of nine year old Edward to the throne came the rise of English Protestantism. That will be one of the subjects of our next Unit. Thank you Ladies and Gentlemen.

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UNIT 6: *Student Notes* Edward VI and Mary I

Edward VI (1537-1553); Mary Tudor (Mary I) (1516/1517-1558)

Edward VI (1537-1553)

- **1547** succeeds **Henry** at nine years old
- Under the **Duke of Somerset (Edward Seymour, brother of Jane)** and the **Duke of Northumberland (John Dudley)**
- **1547: Cranmer** immediately brings out the First Book of Homilies, sermons including the Doctrine of Justification by Faith and Predestination

Injunctions of Edward VI to the Church of England, 1547

Foxes Monuments Edited **George Townsend (1846)** volume 5, pages 708-713

1. All clerics to obey the laws against the usurped powers of the Pope.
2. To preach quarterly against the usurped powers of Rome
3. The king's supremacy shall be preached four times a year
4. Shall not encourage pilgrimages or hold out enticements
5. Once a quarter at least, preach on the Scriptures and against fantasies – adoration of idols, pilgrimages
6. Images to be taken down; no torches, tapers, wax images etc.; only two lights on the Communion Table before the Sacrament
7. Every holy day where no sermon, must recite the Paternoster, Creed, and Commandments in English to the parishoners
8. All parents, masters, governors to have care for the religious upbringing of the young.
9. The Sacraments to be properly administered
10. Shall provide within three months a Bible in English, and within twelve months **Erasmus's** Greek New Testament; and ensure free access to the Books.
11. No clergy to haunt pubs, taverns etc., no play dice and gambling games.
12. In Lent ask all at Confession if they know the Paternoster, Creed, and Commandments and urge them to do so if otherwise.
13. All preachers to be competent and licensed
14. If any images, idols, pilgrimages previously advised to parishioners, to recant and reprove them.
15. Hinderers of worship and supporters of Rome to be detected and reported
16. A parish register to be kept and record wedding, christening, burial, to be weekly updated in the presence of the wardens of the Church.
17. Non-resident clergy with a benefice of more than twenty pound to distribute 1/40th part to the poor etc.
18. Every benefice of one Hundred pound or more to fund a scholar at a University.
19. Manses, churches, chapels etc. to be repaired with 1/5th of their benefice until repairs are completed.
20. Once a year read all injunctions made to parishoners.
21. Tithes must be paid.
22. No change to be made to the manner of fasting days, common prayer, or other service.
23. Churchmen to have New Testament in Latin and English, along with **Erasmus's** paraphrase; Bishops are to ensure that this is done and that time is spent on reading the

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- same, services in English and readings from the New Testament made, including comfort for the sick and despairing.
24. Holy days to be that with a religious overtone; not on drinking etc. But may labour in times of need; e.g.: harvest time.
 25. Proper and diligent preparation (state of mind and grace) for taking Communion.
 26. All Deans, Archdeacons, and Masters, Prebendaries, etc. being priests/ministers to preach by himself at least twice a year.
 27. Qualifications on ceremonies, ringing bells, candles etc., intercessions banned if intention to imply discharge of the burden of sin.
 28. Remove and destroy all images, and monuments that are accessories to idolatry. Encourage parishoners to do the same.
 29. Provide a strong chest for the collection of alms, with instructions on who and how to disburse monies.
 30. Minister not bound to visit women in childbirth, or attend on deceased before the corpse brought to the churchyard.
 31. Simonical sale or purchase of a benefice prohibited.
 32. Shall read the provided homilies when there is no sermon.
 33. Use of primers: All graces at meals shall be in English.
 34. Chantry priests to teach reading and writing to youths.
 35. The prime and hours should be omitted from any sermon or homily.

The Theology of Thomas Cranmer

Prayer Books

- **1549** Book of Common prayer by **Cranmer** not Protestant enough.
- **Cranmer** invited continental reformers over including the returning Scottish reformer **John Knox** who helps draft Liturgy including the next item.
- **1552** *Book of Common Prayer*.
- **1553** *Forty Two Articles*. (These formed the basis for **1563** *Thirty Nine Articles* of **Elizabeth I's** reign, which are in the **1662** *Book of Common Prayer*).
- **1559** *Book of Common Prayer* 3.

Mary I (1516-1558)

Introduction

- **Catherine of Aragon's** daughter, took divorce very hard in **1533**. Henry VIII insisted that she acknowledge his marriage to her mother as invalid.
- **1537: Mary** was granted a household again.
- **1543: Mary** is restored to the crown succession, after **Edward** and his heirs.
- **6th July 1553**: Edward VI dies, and the attempt to made **Lady Jane Grey** Queen is short-lived. **Mary** declares herself Queen (as does Lady Jane). **Mary** is Queen by August 7th **1553**.

Mary I's Two Objectives

- To restore the Catholic (Roman) Faith in England.
- To negotiate a marriage to secure the succession after her.
- Change was not easy. Ecclesiastical changes needed parliamentary rulings but by Autumn **1553** her mother's marriage is declared legal again and much of **Edward VI's** legislation is repealed.

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Surrender of the Crown of England to Rome, 28th November 1554

‘We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled – and representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominion, of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means to be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal pole, legate, sent especially hither from our most holy father pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome – do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinance, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking what might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by, this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the utmost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordnance, in this present parliament, as well as ourselves, as for the whole body we represent.

Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, has made subject to your majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ’s church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties, as the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen.

Other difficulties

- Lack of clergy
- Lack of monasteries and religious houses
- Money gone
- Opposition to Religion and Marriage
- Lack of time etc...

Marriage and Cardinal Pole

- **Charles V** suggests that his son **Philip** marry **Mary** (protest by **Thomas Wyatt**)
- **1554: Mary I** has a phantom pregnancy
- **1555: August: Philip** leaves for Spain
- **1554: November: Reginald Pole** returns from the Continent. **Mary** and the Pope make him Archbishop March **1556**.
- **1554: December:** Act of Supremacy revoked.

Reginald Pole (1500-1558) and Burnings

- **John Rogers** burned at Smithfield February **1555**.
- 300 more would follow
- **Cranmer** (21st March **1556**) with **Hugh Latimer** (Bishop of Worcester) and **Nicholas Ridley** (Bishop of London)
- **1557: June:** War declared on France (to assist Spain).
- **1558: January:** French seize Calais back from England. This is a disaster

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- **1558: Mary I** has another phantom pregnancy.
- **1558: Mary I** dies in October; **Cardinal Pole** in November **1558**.

Mary I's Failure

- Lack of time, money, clergy, leadership, support (exiles Protestants in Switzerland)
 - Disastrous marriage (lack of an heir)
 - Disastrous campaign against France.
 - Polemic of **Foxe** (*Acts and Monuments*)
 - Premature death.
 - **Reign of Elizabeth I.** Very successful by contrast.
- *****

INTRODUCTION TO THE REFORMATION

UNIT 6: REFORMATION AND COUNTER REFORMATION

EDWARD VI; MARY I

A. EDWARD VI (1537-1553) & THE RISE OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM

1A. Introduction

1. Orientation to Unit 6

Good morning to you ladies and gentlemen, and a very warm welcome indeed to today's teaching hour on the English Reformation. Our unit today, Unit 6: *Reformation and Counter-Reformation* spans the period from the death of **King Henry VIII** of England in **1547**, to the death of his first daughter **Mary (Tudor) I** of England in **1558**. It was a vivid and turbulent decade for the history and fortunes of the English Church. Protestant Reformation and (Roman) Catholic Counter-Reformation all within the span of a decade or so.

2. The chemistry of this course

Our teaching hour today is the second of four teaching hours given to the English Reformation within a course of eight teaching hours given to the European Reformation as a whole. Unit 1 was given to the subject of the Church on the Eve of the Reformation; Unit 2 to **Martin Luther** and the critique of the late Mediaeval Church of the Western Latin Rite; Unit 3 looked at the contribution of **Hyldrych Zwingli**, Radical Reform and Radical Impatience to the European Reformation; whilst in Unit 4 we looked at the writings, work, and Theology of **John Calvin** and something of the story of the Reformation centred around Geneva. With Unit 5 we turned our attention to **King Henry VIII** and the English Reformation, whilst in Units 7 and 8 we will look at the Via-Media, i.e.: The Elizabethan Settlement; and the Making of the Anglican Church respectively. Incidentally, we have two other courses that treat aspects of the Reformation in some detail: *Themes and Personalities of the Reformation* gives eight teaching hours to the earlier part of the European Reformation; whilst *The Elizabethan Settlement and The Establishment of the English Church* treats the Elizabethan Via Media and the period to the end of the Great Rebellion and the Restoration of the Monarchy (1660).

2A. Edward VI's (1537-1553) Succession to the English Throne

1. The reigns of Edward I and Mary I in context

With the accession of the boy king **Edward VI** to the throne of England in **1547** came a full-blown Protestant Reformation of the English Church. Within a year of him coming to the throne, England could properly be called Protestant. Nevertheless this dynamic and potent reformation was to be initially short-lived, for **Mary Tudor** his older half-sister was waiting in the wings, and when she eventually acceded to the throne, she made an attempt to return England and her Church to the Roman Catholicism.

2. Henry VIII's Will vis-à-vis Succession to the English throne

By very early **1547** it was clear that **King Henry VIII** was dying. His physicians (doctors in modern terminology) were afraid to say that he was dying, as it was a treasonable offence to

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predict the king's death. However, **Archbishop Cranmer** broke the news to him, and the king died later that January. **Edward Seymour** (the Earl of Hertford) now saw to it that the nine year old **Edward VI Tudor** was safely given the throne as monarch. **Henry VIII** had left it in his will that **Edward VI** was to succeed him. If **Edward** died with no children, he was to be succeeded by **Mary I Tudor**, and if she then died childless also, **Elizabeth I Tudor** was to succeed her. Should **Elizabeth I** die childless also, the succession to the throne was to pass to the House of Grey, and not the House of Stuart. This was because **Henry VIII** hated the Scottish House of Stuart and its monarchs as his older sister **Mary Queen of Scots** had married into the Stuart Scottish royal house which had then allied with France against him.

3. Edward VI Tudor, the boy king

Edward VI came to the throne as a boy king age just nine years old. He was precocious, and from his earliest days his mother and after her death his educators and protectors had all been protestants, and the young Edward had been reared and formed as a Protestant. Because of his junior age, **Edward Seymour**, Earl of Hertford and his mother's brother, became Lord Protector. **Edward VI** created him Duke of Somerset, hence **Edward VI** in reality was under Somerset's rule. **John Dudley**, the Earl of Northumberland was also a very influential figure. **Edward VI** and they were soon committed to a full blown English Protestant Reformation.

3A. The Edwardian Reformation to 1549

1. The beginnings of the Edwardian Reformation

Almost immediately after the accession of **Edward VI**, **Somerset** ended the ban on printing Bibles in England brought about by the bishops c.1530 during the reign of **King Henry VIII**. This was promptly followed by a repeal of the Act of Six Articles, at which we looked towards the end of Unit 5. However, whilst the Protestant Reformation proceeded apace, it was not a Radical Reformation: In the year of the issue of his Protestant **1549** Prayer Book, **Cranmer** burnt the Anabaptist **Johannes Butcher**. However, by mid-**1547** **Edward VI** had issued his *Injunctions* that were designed to put an end to all ambiguity as to what should or should not be regarded as the practice of the English Church. A Prayer Book that enshrined these principles was then prepared by **Cranmer** in **1549**. But more about that in a moment. Let's first review the text of Edward's *Injunctions*, and see for that matter how we would or would not like to be a part of his Church whether as a minister or as a member of a parish and congregation.

2. Injunctions of Edward VI to the Church of England, 1547

Here then is a summary of the main points of **Edward VI's** *Injunctions* as found in *Foxes Monuments* edited by **George Townsend** (1846) volume 5, pages 708-713, slightly abridged by me.

1. All clerics are to obey the laws against the usurped powers of the Pope.
2. All clerics are to preach quarterly against the usurped powers of Rome.
3. The king's supremacy shall be preached four times a year in every church.
4. All clerics shall not encourage pilgrimages or hold out enticements.
5. Once a quarter at least, clerics are to preach on the Scriptures, and preach against fantasies – e.g.: the adoration of idols, the merit of pilgrimages.
6. Images are to be taken down; there are to be no torches, tapers, wax images etc.; and there shall be only two lights on the Communion Table before the Sacrament.

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7. Every holy day where there is no sermon, a cleric must recite the Paternoster, Creed, and Commandments in English to the parishoners.
8. All parents, masters, and governors are to have care for the religious upbringing of the young.
9. The Sacraments are to be properly administered.
10. All clerics shall provide as needed within three months of these *Injunctions* a Bible in English, and within twelve months **Erasmus's** Greek New Testament; and ensure free access to the Books.
11. No clergy are to haunt pubs, taverns etc., no clergy are to play dice and gambling games.
12. In Lent the cleric shall ask all at Confession if they know the Paternoster, Creed, and Commandments and urge them to do so if otherwise.
13. All preachers are to be competent and licensed.
14. If there are any images, idols, or pilgrimages previously advised to the parishioners, parishoners are to recant and reprove them.
15. Hinderers of worship and supporters of Rome are to be detected and reported.
16. A parish register is to be kept and record weddings, christenings, and burials, and to be weekly updated in the presence of the wardens of the Church.
17. Non-resident clergy with a benefice of more than twenty pound are to distribute 1/40th part to the poor etc.
18. Every benefice of one Hundred pound or more is to fund a scholar at a University.
19. Manses, churches, chapels etc. are to be repaired with 1/5th of their benefice until repairs are completed.
20. Once a year shall be read all injunctions made to parishoners.
21. Tithes must be paid.
22. No change is to be made to the manner of fasting days, common prayer, or other services.
23. Churchmen are to have the New Testament in Latin and English, along with **Erasmus's** paraphrase; Bishops are to ensure that this is done and that time is spent on reading the same, services in English and readings from the New Testament are to be made, including comfort for the sick and despairing.
24. Holy days are to be that with a religious overtone; not on drinking etc. But people may labour in times of need; e.g.: harvest time.
25. Proper and diligent preparation (state of mind and grace) is to be made for taking Communion.
26. All Deans, Archdeacons, and Masters, Prebendaries, etc. being priests/ministers are to preach by himself at least twice a year.
27. Qualifications on ceremonies, ringing bells, candles etc., intercessions are banned if their intention is to imply discharge of the burden of sin.
28. Clerics are to remove and destroy all images, and monuments that are accessories to idolatry. They should encourage parishoners to do the same.
29. Clerics are to provide a strong chest for the collection of alms, with instructions on who and how to disburse monies.
30. Minister are not bound to visit women in childbirth, or attend on any deceased before the corpse is brought to the churchyard.
31. Simonical sale or purchase of a benefice is prohibited.
32. A cleric shall read the provided homilies when there is no sermon.
33. Use of primers: All graces at meals shall be in English.
34. Chantry priests are to teach reading and writing to youths.
35. The prime and hours should be omitted from any sermon or homily.

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Pardon me a remark, but one wonders how some Church of England clergy today would ever function faced with these!

3. Archbishop Cranmer's *First Book of Homilies*

In **1547** **Archbishop Cranmer** immediately brings out his *First Book of Homilies*, which were a collection of teaching sermons including a sermon (homily) on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, and on Predestination. This was very Lutheran. During the **1520s** and **1530s** **Cranmer** had grasped that the way to Salvation was expressed in the Lutheran Doctrine of Justification by Faith, but that this alone was not enough – **Erasmus's** philology and emphasis on Scripture as Authority and hence its study, was also needed. **Cranmer** throughout the **1530s** had kept his counsel on many matters, but was heavily influenced by **Luther, Erasmus**, and of course **Saint Paul** and his *New Testament* Epistles. In the text of the *Homilies*, simple faith is given Theological priority over good works in the exposition of the Doctrine of Salvation. Here of course, **Cranmer** was in conflict with the consensus that had emerged from the Henrician Reformation as Henry's National Catholic tradition. Now of course that **Henry VIII** was dead, **Cranmer** could write – and write he did!

4. The essence of Cranmer's Protestant Theology as found in *Homilies*

Cranmer emphasised three things in *Homilies*: The Grace of God; Justification for the Christian is by faith alone; and that **Jesus Christ** fulfilled the requirements of God's law by offering His will at the cross, this expressed through his shedding of his blood. Hence: **Cranmer** now openly preaches that the Christian Faith that a Christian lives and exercises is not 'ours', it is God working in and through us by His Grace.

5. Reactions to Cranmer's *Homilies*

Whilst Protestants welcomed **Cranmer's** work; not all reactions to *Homilies* were favourable. The more traditional Catholic bishops of the English Church were hostile, indeed, **Bishop Stephen Gardner**, Diocesan of Winchester said that **Luther** was an heretic.

4A The 1549 Prayer Book and the Theology of Thomas Cranmer

1. The Service of Holy Communion

In **1549** Cranmer introduced his new Prayer Book. The **1549** Prayer Book broke fresh ground when it stipulated that the laity of England were to receive the Sacrament in both kinds, i.e.: they were to receive both the bread and the wine. In the late Mediaeval Church of the Western Latin Rite, it was the practice that only the priest partook of the wine (the precious blood), but all faithful partook of the bread (host). This was related to the Theology of absolution of sin by a priest after an act of confession – the priest alone could dispense the atoning power of the precious blood to the penitent faithful. Protestant devotion had no truck with such Theology. Hence, in the **1549** Prayer Book what had previously been understood as the 'Sacrifice of the Mass' became instead the 'Holy Communion of the people of England.' The new liturgy retained the old structure but had a range of prayers, many of which incorporated new Lutheran doctrine.

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2. The content and axis of the 1549 Prayer Book

The **1549** Prayer Book was to be a Prayer Book for the people. It was produced in pocket-size so that anyone who wanted to own and use one could. **Cranmer** kept some old practices and discarded others. As a Prayer Book, the **1549** prayer Book was the first example of the English Via-Media which **Elizabeth I** and **Archbishop Parker** were eventually to make the touchstone of the worship and ministry of the English Church. As a Prayer Book, **1549** had well-structured liturgical services of worship. It was to be the communal book for the common people to use in every English Church. Morning and Evening Prayer, derivatives from the monastic offices of matins and others, were included for daily use in the parish and other (e.g.: collegiate) churches of the English Church. As a Prayer Book the **1549** book was easy to print, and very effective. Included in it also were the services of Holy Matrimony (i.e.: Marriage); the ordinal for each of the three offices of deacon, priest (i.e.: presbyter), and bishop; the order of service for the burial of the dead; a service of Holy Baptism for both those who cannot answer for themselves and those who were of riper years and able to answer for themselves; and a service of confirmation. Included in each service were the necessary Canticles for that service, and a translation of the Book of Psalms was also provided as part of the prayer Book. To encourage clergy and laity alike to engage with their Bible on a daily basis, daily bible readings for Morning and Evening prayer were provided in a table. As with the later **1662** Prayer Book, these enabled a person, if adhered to, to read through the Old Testament once, and most parts of the New Testament twice in a liturgical year.

3. Reaction to the 1549 Prayer Book: Cornish riots, Oxford and Norfolk rebellion

(a) The Cornish riots

For some people yet more change but now under **Edward VI**, and at that this time to the Sunday services as well, was all too much. There were riots in Cornwall against the **1549** Prayer Book. The Cornish wanted their services in Latin and not in English. As it happens, they spoke neither, but had become used to the former, and wished to have little to do with the latter. Cornish was to be their vernacular if they could not have the Latin. The Cornish rioters sieged Exeter and its (and their) cathedral, and they were eventually dispersed by Italian and German mercenaries who were in the area for reasons of the English military. Many of the protestors were hanged.

(b) The Oxford and Norfolk rebellions

The **1549** Prayer Book also provoked a minor rebellion in Oxford. It was soon quieted and a few clergy were hung. The Norfolk rebellion was more serious. These people were Protestants for whom ecclesiastical reforms were not going far enough, and for whom monetary and land reforms had gone too far: enclosure of common land in the wake of the dissolution of the Monasteries was of great concern to them. **Robert Kett** led 12,000 rebels. Discontent increased, especially against **Edward Seymour** Duke of Somerset, and his high-handedness. So other of the Privy-Councillors worked against Somerset. As a precaution, **Seymour** took **Edward VI** off to Windsor Castle. However, other of the Privy Councillors eventually persuaded **Edward** to put **Somerset** in the Tower of London later that year. **Seymour** (Somerset) never found power again. He was convicted of fraudulent dealings as Chancellor of the Exchequer in **1551** but allowed to live.

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4. Reaction to the 1549 Prayer Book and the production of the 1552 Prayer Book

For others the **1549** Prayer Book was not Catholic; however, for very many it was not Protestant enough. People reacted in various ways, and **Cranmer**'s production produced unwanted but sporadic iconoclasm during late **1549**. The general feeling appears to have been that whilst **Cranmer** did a good job, his Prayer Book was not Protestant enough. Hence in **1552** **Cranmer** published a revised edition. **Cranmer** invited continental reformers over to help with this task including the great Scottish reformer to be **John Knox**, back from Switzerland, who helped draft much of its Liturgy. The **1552** Prayer Book got rid of the 'dregs of popery' and was legally adopted in that same year.

5. The 1553 Forty Two Articles

In **1553** **Edward VI** published and legalised the Forty Two Articles. These were influenced by the Second General Reforms of **Zwingli** and **John Calvin**. They were short through by an emphasis on pre-destination. Incidentally, these forty two articles turned out in the event to be important for Anglican historical development: A further version of them was produced by **Elizabeth I** in **1559** immediately following the death of her older half-sister, the Roman Catholic **Mary I Tudor**. Their **1559** version formed the basis of the **1563** *Thirty Nine Articles* of **Elizabeth I**'s reign, which were then incorporated almost unchanged into the **1662** *Book of Common Prayer* as its *Thirty Nine Articles*.

6. The Cranmer Prayer Books listed

Here for your convenience is a list of **Cranmer**'s Prayer Books and publications.

- **1549** Book of Common prayer by **Cranmer** not Protestant enough.
- **1552** *Book of Common Prayer*.
- **1553** *Forty Two Articles*. (These formed the basis for **1563** *Thirty Nine Articles* of **Elizabeth I**'s reign, which are in the **1662** *Book of Common Prayer*).
- (**1559** *Book of Common Prayer* 3: **Elizabeth I** bases this on **Cranmer**'s previous Prayer Books.)

7. Death of King Edward VI

In **1553** **Edward VI** contracted tuberculosis and died on July 6th. He was to be succeeded under the terms of **King Henry VIII**'s will by his older half sister **Mary Tudor**. **Mary** had but two things in mind: Marriage, and a return of the English Church to the supremacy of the See of Rome. Whither now the English Reformation?

B. MARY I (TUDOR) (1516/1517-1558) & THE RETURN TO ROME

1B. Introduction

1. Mary, and Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon her mother

Mary Tudor was **Henry VIII**'s daughter by his first wife **Catherine of Aragon**. When their divorce was granted in **1533** largely through the work of **Thomas Cromwell** and **Archbishop Thomas Cranmer**, **Mary** took their divorce very hard. Worse; **King Henry VIII** insisted that she

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acknowledge that his marriage to her mother was invalid. This she did, and because she did it she was granted a household again by **Henry VIII** in **1537**. She was initially removed from the succession to the crown, but restored to it in **1543** well before **Henry's** death and named in his will as successor to **Edward VI** if **Edward** died childless, which in the event, he did. However, **Mary's** accession was not quite so straightforward.

2. The Duke of Northumberland, and the promotion of Lady Jane Grey as heir

To the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland who had enjoyed power under the Protestant King **Edward VI**, **Mary's** accession to the English throne was not a welcome prospect. Hence, when **Northumberland** realised in **1553** that **Edward VI** was dying, he induced **Edward VI** to exclude **Mary** and **Elizabeth** from his succession and pass the succession instead through the **Seymour** line to and name **Lady Jane Grey** his successor. This **Edward** did, and so on the death of **Edward**, **Northumberland** proclaimed **Lady Jane Grey** as Queen. To support her, **Northumberland** mobilised Norfolk to march on London. However: The Privy Council did not take kindly to what they considered to be a thoroughly intrusive and self-seeking act by the Dukes of Northumberland and Somerset, and denounced Northumberland, supporting **Mary Tudor** instead as the rightful successor to the crown. Musters were organised, and with the blessing of the Privy Council **Mary I** marched on London. She found the support of its population. **Northumberland** and **Somerset** were arrested, and **Lady Jane Grey** was sent to the Tower of London for permanent imprisonment. In the event the attempt to make **Lady Jane Grey** queen turned out to be short lived, and although both had declared themselves to be queen, **Mary I Tudor** was queen by 7th August **1553**.

2B. Mary's objectives and initial counter-reforms

1. Mary I's Two Objectives

As we noted just now, **Mary I** had two main objectives as English monarch: (1) To restore the Catholic (Roman) Christian Faith in England; and (2) To negotiate a marriage to secure the succession after her. Neither of these in the event turned out to be easy for her, but the second was easier than the first. That said, change was not easy. Ecclesiastical changes needed parliamentary rulings but by Autumn **1553** her mother's marriage was declared legal again and much of **Edward VI's** legislation is repealed.

2. Some initial counter-reforms

Mary I immediately restored **Stephen Gardner** as Bishop of Winchester, and in addition made him Lord Chancellor. **Henry VIII** and **Edward VI** had had **Cranmer** as their Theologian. **Mary** thought otherwise and opted for whatever Theology **Stephen Gardner** may produce. The Duke of **Northumberland** was another matter. Most of his confederates in the **Lady Jane Grey** succession affair escaped. However, **Mary I** disliked **Northumberland**, as did most of the English people.

3. Mary I's reception

Now: Whilst **Mary I** had the support of the English people, they did not necessarily support her two cherished aims. Their support for her simply stemmed from the fact that they wanted on their throne the legitimate heir to **Edward VI**. A monarch was on the English throne by the Will of

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God, and it was hence important that the correct successor be monarch. The people were not particularly looking for a Roman Queen. **Mary I** of course, wanted to secure the Roman Catholic Christian Faith in England and to marry.

4. Some initial legislation

She declared her marriage to her mother legal again in **1553**, and then immediately moved Parliament to repeal any legislation of **Edward VI** regarding the Church, hence restoring the English Church to its state of **1547** on the death of **King Henry VIII**.

3B. The repair of the breach with Rome and restoration of Papal supremacy

1. The 1554 Marian legislation vis-à-vis the Church

Mary I now moved to tackle **Henry VIII**'s breach with Rome, to repair it, and to repeal **Henry** her father's Act of Royal Supremacy. Hence in **1554** she persuaded Parliament to repeal both of these. The Pope was given supreme authority in the land of England once more. **Mary I** moved to reassure Parliament. Seemingly unaware of much of what **Henry** had spent on military action against France, **Mary** declared that the money looted by the crown from the Dissolution of the Monasteries would remain untouched. Hence on November 28th **1554** Parliament and monarch combined to surrender the crown of England to the Pope at Rome by the sending of the following document

2. Text of *Surrender of the Crown of England to Rome*, 28th November 1554

Here then is the text of the **Mary's** and Parliament's surrender.

'We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled – and representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominion, of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means to be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal pole, legate, sent especially hither from our most holy father pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome – do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinance, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking what might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by, this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the utmost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordnance, in this present parliament, as well as ourselves, as for the whole body we represent.

Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, has made subject to your majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may in

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unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties, as the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen.'

3. Difficulties with implementing the Romanisation of the English Church

However, petitioning Rome was one thing, implementing the 'counter-reforms' was quite another. There were practical difficulties with **Mary's** policies and plans. For one thing the English Church now had a massive lack of suitable clergy. Worse, the monasteries that could be expected to help out by providing monks as priests in such a crisis were no longer even in existence. To make matters worse they could not now easily be reconstituted, because the proceeds from their dissolution were largely spent by **Henry** on war. Many English Catholic clergy had fled abroad when **Edward VI** came to the throne. Furthermore: Many were happy with the social consequences of the emerging Protestant status quo, not least many of the nobility. However, a rather darker and far more foreboding cloud was now on **Mary's** horizon: her planned marriage was generally not liked, and opposed politically.

4B. Mary's Marriage

1. Timing and a proposed marriage to Philip of Spain

Mary I Tudor was now thirty seven years of age, and if she was to marry, have progeny, and produce an heir to the throne, she needed to move quickly. Further: **Mary I** was aware that her half-sister **Elizabeth** had serious Protestant sympathies, and her succession to the throne would once more see Protestant reform in the ascendancy. There was not a moment to lose. Ignoring the existence of the Privy Council completely, **Mary** agreed with **Charles V** of Spain when he suggested that she marry his son and heir **Philip, Archduke of Burgundy**, and of course, a member of the Habsburg household.

2. Opposition to Mary's marriage

Both public opinion and her government were very hostile to **Mary's** marriage proposals. Parliament tried to pass laws that would prevent an eventual **Philip II** of Spain and England controlling appointments to government. Nevertheless, by November **1554** Philip had consolidated his position as King of England, and whether anyone liked it or not, in theory at any rate, England became temporarily part of the Habsburg Empire. **Philip** arrived in England in **1554** but left again in Autumn **1555**. Worse for her and all concerned, **Mary** had phantom and not real pregnancies. Using Twentieth Century medical hindsight, we may observe that she had a uterine cancer. **Philip II** although he returned to England again finally became fed up, and returned to Spain for good in **1557**.

3. Thomas Wyatt: A protest against Mary's marriage

Some parties made their protest against **Mary's** marriage more active. **Sir Thomas Wyatt** protested in **1554** and marched on London with a band of supporters. For this he had the support of the French authorities who clearly had much to lose by way of national security if England and Spain became allies or even ultimately one monarchy. England had now regained Calais and some surrounding territory, which had been held for twenty years. The French attacked Calais, and disastrously for **Mary** and her standing in the eyes of her English subjects, Calais and any French territory held by England was lost, and now for good. This was a national humiliation, and

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for the next fifteen years or so the French regarded the English as militarily incapable. **Wyatt's** objective was none other than to put the Protestant **Elizabeth** on the throne but as a consort to **Earl Courtney** of Devonshire. The French for their part had reasons instead for supporting **Lady Jane Grey**, but the immediate object of the moment, which failed, was to try and prevent the marriage. However, in the event **Mary** got the backing of the people of London, and **Wyatt** and his men had to surrender on Ludgate Hill, London in sight of Saint Paul's Cathedral. Enthusiastic participants behind the scenes were **Lady Jane Grey** and her relations, most of whom were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and who now were executed. In retaliation for this French support, **Mary** and **Philip** saw to it that England helped the Spanish House of Habsburg against the French Valois House from then on, and war against France was finally declared in **1557**. Calais was briefly taken only to be regained by the French in January **1558** – a further disaster.

5B. Marian persecutions and Mary's attempt to re-establish Catholicism in England

1. Cardinal Reginald Pole

Mary I, with **Philip II's** approval now allowed **Reginald Pole** (1500-1558), who had served under **Henry VIII** to return to England. **Mary** gave **Pole** the job of re-shaping the Prayer Book to make it Catholic once again. This was not to be as difficult as it looked. The Diocese most affected by Protestantism were Lincoln and Norwich (both in those days very wealthy on account of both woollen and agricultural trading). Winchester, under Gardner was of course stoutly Catholic. **Pole** then returned from the continent in **1554**, but was not yet priested. However, he had English royal descent, and so **Philip** had no hesitation at putting him in charge. **Pole** was not interested in the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Act of Supremacy had already been revoked in **1554**. He called a Synod in **1555** and began his work. In March **1557** he was ordained priest in the English Church, and although not initially interested, was finally consecrated as Bishop and made Archbishop of Canterbury two days later to replace **Cranmer** who had been burnt the year before (c.f.: below) – surely a 'record' (if I may be so gosh as to say this) for the English Church.

2. The Edwardian *Injunctions* of 1547 changed and revised

Pole as Archbishop of Canterbury under **Mary and Philip** found himself having to immediately train Catholic priests. How? **Pole** began by immediately re-issuing a revised and very different set of Roman Catholic *Injunctions* parodying their Edwardian predecessors, so that all clerics would know what was now being required of them. This was not as difficult as it looked, for most of the Protestant leaders had for the time in being fled abroad to Frankfurt, Geneva, Strasburg and other Protestant centres. **Pole** began to work at forming and installing celibate priests, and reconstituting the monasteries. Alas for him, it had been made a condition behind the scenes that at no point in the reconciliation with Rome was the matter of the revenues from the dissolution to be raised. The money, of course, had simply been spent or otherwise distributed by **Henry**, and **Pole's** efforts bore little fruit. So **Pole** and **Mary** turned their attention to other tactics.

3. Burnings and Persecution

In what **G.R.Elton** of Cambridge describes as a 'first rate political error,' **Mary and Pole** had also used burnings and persecution to re-establish Roman Catholicism. Unfortunately they never troubled to really work at the Spiritual dimensions of their project and so any re-establishment that in the end was achieved was weak. Anyway, in early February **1555 John Rogers** was burned at Smithfield, London, and 273 known others soon followed either over the next week, or

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in the following year, most of whom were artisans and everyday people, about thirty percent of whom were women. Oddly enough, another non-Catholic Via Media government might well have burned some of these for non-compliance. But **Mary** has always been remembered for these burnings by the English people, and to this day many hate Roman Catholicism as a result of her *in terrorem populi* of the English people. **John Foxe** published his propaganda work in **1563** *Acts and Monuments* which did much to permanently further establish and reinforce this perspective. **Mary** and **Pole** now followed the beginnings that they had made and turned their attention to the Church hierarchy: On the 21st March **1556** **Archbishop Cranmer** with **Hugh Latimer** (Bishop of Worcester) and **Nicholas Ridley** (Bishop of London) were publicly burned at Oxford. Gardner, the Bishop of Winchester withdrew from the burnings when he saw their inevitability and lack of effect. According to **Eamon Duffy** in his book *Fires of Faith* **Mary** thought of these burnings as ‘educational.’ Be that as it may, it certainly made her opponents fearful. Other burnings immediately after those at Smithfield were at Colchester, Essex, England (23), Canterbury (18). **Cranmer** wouldn’t acknowledge the now **Cardinal Pole**, and so he was summoned to appear before the curia at Rome within eighty days. Instead he stayed a short time in Oxford prison and was burnt in Broad Street, uttering the famous words, ‘**Be of comfort Master Ridley ... we shall this day light such a fire in England as shall never be put out.**’ They have since proven right. Incidentally, **Cranmer** had begun to systematically recant under torture until just before the burning, when he stood firm. The burnings achieved little: **Mary** became hated and still is by the English people. **Cardinal Pole** fell out of favour with Rome; and **Philip** had in **1557** returned to Spain.

6B. Mary I’s death and failure

1. The closing events of Mary’s life

Mary died on November 17th **1558** after another phantom pregnancy, and **Cardinal Pole** on the same day.

2. Mary I’s Failure

I may as well now state the obvious: **Mary** as a monarch was a failure. A lack of time, money, clergy, leadership, support (exiles Protestants in Switzerland) meant that **Mary**’s dream of a Roman Catholic England never happened; her marriage was disastrous, personally in lack of an heir, politically in uniting temporarily England with Spain and alienating her own people; her foreign policy and campaigns against France became a national humiliation; and her burnings and martyrdoms of Protestants have become a permanent political and religious disaster. **Mary** died prematurely. The following reign of **Elizabeth** her younger half-sister was, by contrast, very successful.

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UNIT 7: *Student Notes*

The Church established: The Elizabethan Settlement

Elizabeth I (reigned 1559-1603)

Her Accession

- **Mary Tudor** died 17th November 1558
- **Elizabeth** her half-sister succeeded to the throne, crowned 15th January 1559
- Risk of war with Catholic countries: France and Spain.
- Potential civil war in England
- Compromise with the Catholic point of view

Elizabeth's Advisers

First Religious Debate

- Gathering of clergy and professors on 31st March to dispute three propositions:
- (1) It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.
- (2) Every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.
- (3) It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is, in the Mass, offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

Act of Supremacy 1559

- Inclusion of the term 'forever'
- 'Enormities' applies to any act, word, or deed against the crown
- Almost impossible for any one of the Roman Catholic Faith or Protestant Dissenters.

Act of Supremacy 1559: An Extract

VII: And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm or any other of your majesty's dominions and countries; may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm or within any other of your majesty's dominions or countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other of your Highness's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or use whatsoever, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

VIII: And that it also may likewise please your Highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons and for reformation, order, and correction of the same and of all manner of errors, heresies,

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schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities shall forever, by authority of this present parliament be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm and that your Highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, in assign, name, and authorise, when and as often as your Highness, your heirs and successors shall think meet and convenient, and for such and for so long a time as shall please your Highness, your heirs or successors, such person or persons, being natural-born subjects to your Highness, your heirs and successors, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and pre-eminences, in any wise touching or concerning all ye spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within these your realms of England and Ireland or any other of your Highnesses dominions or countries; and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such heresies, errors, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual; or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, the conservation of peace and unity of the realm; and that such person or persons so to be named, assigned, authorised and appointed by your Highness, your heirs or successors, after the said Letters patent to him or them made and delivered as is aforesaid, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act and of the said Letters patents, under your Highness, your heirs or successors, to exercise, use and execute all the premises according to the tenor and effect of the said Letter patent; any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Act of Uniformity

- Requirements of ministers with penalties for non-compliance
- The Act is rigid and demanding: no variations whatever allowed
- Criticism of the Church and the Book of Common prayer punishable

Extract from the Uniformity Act 1559 (I Eliz. Cap.II)

II And further be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by authority of the same, **that all and singular ministers in any Cathedral or Parish Church or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the Marches of the same or other of the Queen's dominions shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist next coming be bounden to say and use Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and, all their Common and open Prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said books authorised by parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth,** with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the litany altered and corrected and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise; and that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister that ought or should sing or say Common Prayer mentioned in the said book, or shall wilfully or obstinately (standing in the same) use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the sacraments or other open prayers than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, (by) open prayer in and throughout this Act is meant that prayer which for other to come unto or hear, either in common churches or private chapels or oratories, commonly called the Service of the Church,) or shall preach, declare or say anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book or any thing therein contained or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men or by his own confession or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and

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forfeit to the Queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in one whole year next after his conviction, and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprise; and if any such person once convict of any offence concerning the premises shall after the first conviction eftsoons offend and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall be in his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year and also shall therefore be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions, and that it shall be lawful to all patrons or donors of all and singular the same spiritual promotions or any of them to present or collate to the same as though the persons so offending were dead; and that if any such person or persons after he be twice convicted in form aforesaid shall offend against and of the premises the third time and shall be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, that then the person so offending and convicting the third time shall be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions and shall also suffer imprisonment during his life; and if the person that shall offend and be convicted in form aforesaid, concerning any of the premises, shall not be beneficed nor have any spiritual promotion, that then the same person so offending and convict shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment during one whole year next after his said conviction without bail or mainprise; and if any such person not having any spiritual promotion after his first conviction, shall eftsoons offend in any thing concerning the premises and shall be in form aforesaid thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall for his second offence suffer imprisonment during his life.

Archbishop Matthew Parker (1559-1575)

Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*

First Admonition to Parliament 1572

- The Puritans presented two admonitions to Parliament
- The first presbytery established at Wandsworth, then in the County of Surrey, in 1572
- The Presbyterian leaders at this time were **Thomas Cartwright** (1535-1603) and **William Perkins** (1558-1602). The document was composed by **Cartwright, Sampson**, and others, and addressed to the Parliament of 1572

Extract from The First Admonition to Parliament 1572

An Admonition to the Parliament. A view of popish abuses yet remaining in the English church for the which Godly ministers have refused to subscribe.

Whereas immediately after the last parliament (1571) '... the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments were called before Her Majesty's High Commissioners, and enforced to subscribe unto the articles, if they would keep their places and livings, and some for refusing to subscribe were ... removed. May it please therefore this honourable and high court of Parliament to take a view of such causes as then did withhold and now doth the foresaid ministers from subscribing and consenting unto those foresaid articles, by way of purgation to discharge themselves of all disobedience towards the Church of God and their sovereign, and by way of most humble entreaty for the removing away of all such corruptions and abuses as withheld them Albeit, right honourable and dearly beloved, we have at all times borne with that which we could not amend in this book [The Book of Common Prayer] and have used the same in our ministry, so far forth we might ... yet now being compelled by subscription to allow the same and confess it not to be

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against the word of God in any point, but tolerable, we must needs say as followeth that this book is an unperfect book culled and picked out of that popish dunghill the portuise and mass-book full of all abominations. For some and many of the contents therein be such as are against the word of God ...

Their pontifical [procedures] ... whereby they consecrate bishops, make ministers and deacons, is nothing else but a word thing for won drawn out of the Pope's pontifical ... and as the names of archbishops, archdeacons, lord bishops, chancellors, and etc. are drawn out of the Pope's shop together with their offices, so the government which they use ... is anti-Christian and devilish, and contrary to the Scriptures. And as we safely may, by the warrant of God's word, subscribe to allow the dominion of the Pope universally to rule over the word of God, as of an archbishop over a whole province, or a lord bishop over a diocese which contains many shires and parishes. For the dominion that they exercise ... is unlawful and expressly forbidden by the word of God.

What shall we speak of the archbishop's court, sith all men know it, and your wisdoms cannot but see what it is. As all other courts are subject to this by the popes prerogative, yea, and by the statute of this realm yet un-repealed, so is it the filthy quake-mire and poisoned plash of all the abominations that do infect the whole realm, ... And as for the commissaries court, that is but a petty little stinking catch that floweth out of that former great puddle, robbing Christ's Church of lawful pastors, of watchful seniors and elders, and careful deacons.

And as for the apparel, though we have been long borne in hand, and yet are, that it is for order and decency commanded, yet we know and have proved that there is neither order nor comeliness, nor obedience in using it. Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us (as they would bear the world in baud) for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but for great matters concerning a true ministry and regiment of the Church according to the word ... if it might please her Majesty, by the advice of your Right Honourable, in this High Court of Parliament, to hear us by writing or otherwise to defend ourselves, then, such is the quality of our cause that we would trust to find favour in Her Majesty's sight ... if this cannot be obtained, we will, by God's Grace, address ourselves to defend this truth by suffering and willingly lay our heads to the block, and this shall be our peace, to have quiet consciences with our God, whom we will abide for with all patience until he work our full deliverance.'

The Court of High Commission

- Created in 1559, committee of knights, counsellors, and clerics to enforce 'an Act for the uniformity of Common prayer' and an Act to restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction' [of the Church].
- Against ... all and singular heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours, tales, seditions, misbehaviours, slanderous words or shewings, published, invented or set forth or hereafter to be published invented or set forth by any person or persons against us or contrary or against the laws and statutes of this our realm, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects in any county, city, or borough.

Declaration against Non-conformists, October 1573.

- ... all archbishops and bishops ...and all other who have any authority, to put in execution the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and the administration of the Sacraments made in the first year of her gracious reign with all diligence and severity

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- And if any person in private houses or public places make assemblies and therein use other rites of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments than is prescribed in the said book, or shall maintain in their houses any persons being notoriously charged by books or preachings to attempt the alteration fo the said orders, they shall see such persons punished with all severity, according to the laws of this realm, by pains appointed in the said Act.

Liturgical Reforms

- Archbishop John Whitgift (1530-1604)
- Richard Hooker (1554-1600)

Changes in Music

- **William Byrd** (1543-1623)
- **Thomas Tallis** (1505-1585)

Foreign Policy: France

- **Charles IX** (King of France 1560-1574)

Foreign Policy: Spain

Elizabeth and Scotland

- The end of the Reformation?
- The ‘Via Media’ between Puritan and Catholic?
- 1559 Prayer Book, Acts of Uniformity, and Supremacy
- More Catholic settlement than she wished?

Legacy of the Elizabethan Settlement

- **Parker, Hooker**, and the beginnings of Anglicanism

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UNIT 7: CHURCH ESTABLISHED: ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

A. INTRODUCTION

1A. Course orientation

1. Theme and place of Unit 7

Welcome to Unit 7 of our course *Introduction to the Reformation*. Units 1-4 have focused on the continental European reformation, and in particular the life and work of three great reformers: **Martin Luther** (Unit 2), **Huldrych Zwingli** (Unit 3) and **John Calvin** (Unit 4). With Unit 5 we turned our attention to England and focused in particular on **King Henry VIII's** break with Rome; and some interpretations of it. We noted that unlike her Continental counterpart(s), the English Reformation did not produce a single great Theological pastor or scholar who was its driving force or spearhead. There were nevertheless a number of pertinent Christian personalities involved, and the course of the English Reformation was shaped in a large measure by the ruling English monarchs.

2. Units 6-8

In Unit 6 we focused on Edward VI and Mary I; and now, in this unit we come to the person who is probably the most important of all the monarchs for understanding the Church of England, and the Anglican ethos. In Unit 7 today we are studying 'The Elizabethan Settlement.' In Unit 8 we look at its outworking across the Seventeenth Century in overview. Our two units so far have been an ecclesiastically exciting study. England entered an 'All new' era when Henry VIII brought about an Ecclesiastical split with Rome that produced an English National Catholic Church. The Church of England again was existing as a separate, if widely thought schismatic, entity within the Body of Christ. In these momentous years there was a new (re-) emergence of the 'Church of England'. Strong and fresh brew! Edward VI, his only son and 'the boy Tudor king' then built on this work of his father and continued to fashion a Protestant and Reformed Church. But Edward VI died young. Mary I, Henry VIII's oldest daughter then effected a re-union of the English church with Rome. However: This was to be short-lived and is still widely regarded by English 'Hoi-polloi' today as a disaster. What now was to be done? Queen Elizabeth I soon succeeded Queen Mary I. It was Elizabeth who formed the Church of England as we know it today. Many people think that it was Henry VIII who was responsible for this – but no. Henry formed a National Catholic Church. Elizabeth by contrast produced a *via media* – The Church of England to this day hence looks Catholic but in Theology and ethos is Protestant. Once more Elizabeth separated the Church from Rome, Unit 7 today is about how and why Elizabeth did what she did, the situation to which she succeeded, and what she decided to do about it.

2A. Elizabeth I (reigned 1559-1603)

1. Elizabeth's Accession

Queen Elizabeth I was a Protestant queen who replaced a Roman Catholic one. **Mary I Tudor**, the old queen, died on the 17th November 1558. **Mary** was not liked by her subjects or her fellow politicians, and had been deserted by her much detested husband Philip of Spain. If her marriage temporarily politically united England with one of the great European Catholic powers, her

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people loathed the union. But, whilst Elizabeth's accession was a relief, it was an anxious one. **Elizabeth** was an unknown quantity when she acceded the throne. Whilst often portrayed as 'The fairy Queen' Elizabeth was in fact very shrewd, and certainly not the 'all sweetness and light' figure which C20 popular ideas of English history have made of her. **Elizabeth** was **Mary's** half-sister and was crowned on the 15th January 1559.

2. Difficulties Elizabeth faced on her accession

On her accession to the throne, **Elizabeth** knew well the difficulties that England was facing in her war with France. Her father **Henry VIII** had fought a disastrous campaign against France, and Mary I had also embroiled herself in a war that was still being fought, losing Calais. It was important to finish this, but also to keep Spain friendly – Philip II the Spanish crown prince may yet have his eyes on England. But that was not the only problem. There was a potential for civil war in England. The Puritans were unhappy with **Mary I's** restoration of the nation to the papal authority of Rome. The Catholic part of the Church would be unhappy with anything that smacked of Protestant reforming. In the event **Elizabeth** realised that what was needed was a thoroughly Protestant Church that compromised with the Catholic point of view. And this had to be brought about in a delicate manner so as not to upset the European Catholic monarchs. **Elizabeth** hence embarked on a slow and steady restoration of an English Protestant Church for which the Pope eventually excommunicated her in 1570.

3. Elizabeth's Ecclesiastical policy and actions in outline

Elizabeth restored the *Book of Common Prayer* of **Edward VI (1552)**, and soon after her accession saw to it that she became the 'Supreme Governor of the Church of England.' However she saw the wisdom of retaining the Catholic Episcopal system. The Marina bishops resigned en-masse after it became plain that **Elizabeth** was on the throne to stay. The *Book of Common Prayer* of the reign of **Edward VI** was not particularly Calvinist, and so its restoration did not please the exiles who were now returning from Switzerland and Frankfurt in the hope of living out their Faith in a truly Protestant England. As **Elizabeth's** reign to its course, Protestants and (Roman) Catholics separated from the Church of England. Many of the dissenting Protestants became Presbyterians. This was to be treated cautiously. In Scotland **John Knox** was pioneering the Reformation, with the result that Scotland became Presbyterian. **Elizabeth** hence made a compromise between Catholic and Presbyterian.

4. Elizabeth's Advisers

Elizabeth needed to exercise caution. She was a much needed symbol of change. But she was also inexperienced. Nevertheless, on her accession she had to hand a ready-made Protestant policy-making team: **William Cecil (1520-1598)** was shrewd, and interested in marrying **Elizabeth**. **Elizabeth's** succession was an issue, and **Lord Burghley** and **Robert Cecil** (William's son) were important in this respect. **Nicholas Bacon (1509-1579)** and his well-known brother **Francis** were also close aides, as was the overtly Protestant **Francis Walsingham**. Some great conservative magnates e.g.: **Marquis of Winchester** and the **Earl of Shrewsbury** were kept on the Privy Council which with the exception of **Nicholas Wotton** now had no clergy. **Jonathan Dudley** became extremely important, but although **Elizabeth** was infatuated with him, she did not marry him. We will focus in this unit on **Elizabeth's** establishment of the English Church.

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B. ELIZABETH I ESTABLISHES THE PROTESTANT VIA-MEDIA C OF E

1B. The First Religious Debate: 1559

1. The convening of the debate and its content

Immediately on her accession to the throne, **Elizabeth** worked to bring together the Professors in Divinity of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and others who had had a previous part in English Protestant Reformation. These, including sympathetic clergy, were organised to meet on **March 31st 1559** to debate three propositions as follows:

- (1) It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.
- (2) Every Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.
- (3) It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is, in the Mass, offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

2. Proceedings and results of the debate

The debate proceeded from the Protestant premise that everything Ecclesiastical that was decided both now and in the future had to be ratified from Scripture (i.e.: The Bible). The Second Proposition was debated and the decision was made to retain Episcopacy and to put matters related to the second proposition into the hands of the Bishops. In the matter of the Third Proposition, the debate went against chantries and saying prayers for the dead. The results were a *Via Media*, disappointing to the ‘wings’ of the English Church: The Zwinglian exiles from Switzerland did not get a Lord’s Supper that was simply a ‘Remembrance’; whilst the Catholic constituent did not get a Mass supported by the Theology of Transubstantiation. In other words: By all standards the First Religious Debate of **1559** produced a ‘watered down’ ‘*Via-Media*’ Church.

3. Results of the First Religious Debate

The House of Lord’s issued a pressed report on the proceedings in English which hence were publicly available. A communique was sent to the Pope in Rome, but there was no response in writing from either him or the Vatican authorities. The (Catholic) Bishops of Winchester and London were imprisoned in the Tower of London. However, otherwise **Elizabeth** allowed the current Bishops to keep their Diocesan sees and their lands. Parliament responded by re-enacting the legislation of **Edward VI** vis-à-vis liturgy – they re-introduced his *Book of Common Prayer* of **1552**. Hard on the heels of these actions followed more: **Elizabeth** now saw to it that Papal Supremacy over the English Church was abolished by Act of Parliament (c.f.: The Act of Supremacy below); that any Articles of Religion approved in the reign of **Mary I** were reversed, and that the older Marian and Catholic Bishops were deposed. **Elizabeth** achieved these aims through Parliament which passed the *The Act of Supremacy* in **1559**, to be closely and quickly followed in that same year by *The Act of Uniformity*.

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2B. Elizabeth I's and Parliament's Act of Supremacy of 1559

1. The effects of the 'Act of Supremacy' and the 'Act of Uniformity' of 1559'

Now that the First Religious Debate was over, **Elizabeth** moved at once to establish the Church of England as Protestant. Hence: The *Act of Supremacy* and *The Act of Uniformity* were passed by Parliament in very quick succession. Their effect was to repeal all Ecclesiastical Acts from the reign of **Queen Mary I**, to re-instate all Ecclesiastical legislation from the reign of **King Edward VI**, and to add some of **Elizabeth I**'s own reforms. In the event, only the **Bishop of Llandaff** subscribed to the 'Ecclesiastical package' that resulted from these Acts. No other Bishop would subscribe to the Act of Uniformity. Why?

2. EAMON DUFFY: The issue of the representativeness of the *Act of Uniformity*

It seems that the changes that these two Acts instigated were not representative of the outlook and desired practices to be found at that time in the ordinary parishes of the land. **Eamon Duffy** has read the available documentation from South Devon villages of the Church of England Diocese of Exeter dated to the reign of **Elizabeth I**. He consulted parish registers, records, returns, and Parochial Church Council and Churchwarden's notes. They outwardly complied with these acts, but in reality they were Mediaeval Catholics in their beliefs and practices. So what was this Act of Supremacy? .

3. A terminological note

In the next extract from the *Act of Supremacy* of 1559, the term 'enormities' applies to any act, deed, or word against the English crown i.e.: the reigning English Monarch. Please note the presence of the word 'forever,' and as you read it you will find that it would have been almost impossible for any Roman Catholic or Protestant Dissenters.

4. The *Act of Supremacy* of 1559: An Extract

Here then are the most pertinent paragraphs for our purposes from *Act of Supremacy*.

VII: And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm or any other of your majesty's dominions and countries; may it please your highness that it may be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm or within any other of your majesty's dominions or countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other of your Highness's dominions for ever; any statute, ordinance, custom, constitutions, or any other matter or use whatsoever, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

VIII: And that it also may likewise please your Highness that it may be established and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the

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ecclesiastical state and persons and for reformation, order, and correction of the same and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities shall forever, by authority of this present parliament be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm and that your Highness, your heirs and successors, kings or queens of this realm, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, in assign, name, and authorise, when and as often as your Highness, your heirs and successors shall think meet and convenient, and for such and for so long a time as shall please your Highness, your heirs or successors, such person or persons, being natural-born subjects to your Highness, your heirs and successors, all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and pre-eminences, in any wise touching or concerning all ye spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within these your realms of England and Ireland or any other of your Highnesses dominions or countries; and to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such heresies, errors, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual; or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, the conservation of peace and unity of the realm; and that such person or persons so to be named, assigned, authorised and appointed by your Highness, your heirs or successors, after the said Letters patent to him or them made and delivered as is aforesaid, shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act and of the said Letters patents, under your Highness, your heirs or successors, to exercise, use and execute all the premises according to the tenor and effect of the said Letter patent; any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

5. The political effects of the *Act of Supremacy*

This was a harsh document. **Elizabeth I** killed Catholics and Protestants in its wake. Incidentally: The word ‘enormities’ also covered foreign activity, e.g.: Actions by Spain.

3B. The *Act of Uniformity* of 1559

1. The tone of the Act

The Act lays down the penalties against ministers of the English Church for non-compliance with **Elizabeth I**’s Protestant Reforms. The Act is rigid and demanding – no variations whatever from the now laid down liturgy and practice are allowed. Indeed, criticism of the Church of England and the *Book of Common Prayer* is punishable in law.

Here then is an extract from the *Act of Uniformity*.

2. An Extract from the Uniformity Act 1559 (I Eliz. Chapter II)

II And further be it enacted by the Queen’s Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in any Cathedral or Parish Church or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the Marches of the same or other of the Queen’s dominions shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist next coming be bounden to say and use Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord’s Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and, all their Common and open Prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said books authorised by parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the

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reign of King Edward the Sixth, with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the litany altered and corrected and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise; and that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister that ought or should sing or say Common Prayer mentioned in the said book, or shall wilfully or obstinately (standing in the same) use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper openly or privily, or Matins, Evensong, administration of the sacraments or other open prayers than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, (by) open prayer in and throughout this Act is meant that prayer which for other to come unto or hear, either in common churches or private chapels or oratories, commonly called the Service of the Church,) or shall preach, declare or say anything in the derogation or depraving of the said book or any-thing therein contained or of any part thereof, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men or by his own confession or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the Queen's highness, her heirs and successors, for his first offence, the profit of all his spiritual benefices or promotions coming or arising in one whole year next after his conviction, and also that the person so convicted shall for the same offence suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprise; and if any such person once convict of any offence concerning the premises shall after the first conviction eftsoons offend and be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall be in his second offence suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year and also shall therefore be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions, and that it shall be lawful to all patrons or donors of all and singular the same spiritual promotions or any of them to present or collate to the same as though the persons so offending were dead; and that if any such person or persons after he be twice convicted in form aforesaid shall offend against and of the premises the third time and shall be thereof in form aforesaid lawfully convicted, that then the person so offending and convicting the third time shall be deprived, ipso facto, of all his spiritual promotions and shall also suffer imprisonment during his life; and if the person that shall offend and be convicted in form aforesaid, concerning any of the premises, shall not be beneficed nor have any spiritual promotion, that then the same person so offending and convict shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment during one whole year next after his said conviction without bail or mainprise; and if any such person not having any spiritual promotion after his first conviction, shall eftsoons offend in any-thing concerning the premises and shall be in form aforesaid thereof lawfully convicted, that then the same person shall for his second offence suffer imprisonment during his life." Res ipse loquitur.

4B. Archbishop Matthew Parker and his stemming of Puritan influence

1. PARKER re-edits the 1552 *Prayer Book*

Matthew Parker (1559-1575) was now appointed by Elizabeth I as Archbishop of Canterbury. Queen Elizabeth now tasked him with re-editing the 1552 English Prayer Book of King Edward VI. This Parker duly did. Archbishop Cranmer had been put to death by Mary I of course, but new bishops were appointed by Elizabeth in consultation with Parker. She made him archbishop because he was known by her to favour a 'via Media' type Church of England, i.e.: Catholic in structure but staffed by Protestants. Otherwise he wasn't known for anything in particular. Co-terminus with Parker's archbishopric, John Knox now went to Scotland, and in the words of Elizabeth I, 'restored the Presbyterian Church with a monstrous regiment of

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women.’ Although **Knox** had written against **Mary I**, **Elizabeth I** hated both him and his Presbyterianism.

2. Biographical details of PARKER

Born on 6th August 1504 in S. Saviour’s parish Norwich to **William Parker** and **Alice Parker** (nee Monins). A **John Monins** had married **Cranmer’s** sister Jane, but no definite relationship between the two archbishops has been traced. Matthew graduated from Corpus Christi College Cambridge (where he was not a contemporary with **Cecil** as is often alleged), was deaconed in 1527, and although like **Cranmer** invited by **Cardinal Wolsey** to help staff the new Cardinal’s College at Oxford, declined. By now something of a Cambridge reformer, he became **Anne Boleyn’s** chaplain, and hence a Canon of Stoke-by-Clare in 1535 (which from 1545 gave him a £400=00 a year pension on its dissolution), and a chaplain to **King Henry VIII** in 1537. **Latimer**, just before his death, wrote to him urging him not to fall short of expectations. Now with a **Doctor of Divinity (Cantab.)** degree (1538) the Bishop of Dover commented to **Thomas Cromwell** that he ‘has ever been of good judgement and set forth the Word of God after a good manner, but for this he suffers some grudge.’ In 1541 he was inducted into the second prebend of Ely Cathedral, by 1544 **Henry VIII** had made him master of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, and 1545, Vice-Chancellor of that university. As a Henrician reformation commissioner he saved all the Cambridge colleges. He married **Margaret Harlestone** daughter of a Norfolkshire squire in 1547 before such marriages had been legalized by parliament or convocation. He preached on Mousehold Hill to the rebel camp of **Keat’s** rebellion and received promotion from the Duke of Northumberland until **Northumberland’s** ill-fated march on **Mary I** when **Parker** was deprived by **Mary I** of all these preferments in 1553, and of course for being a married priest.

3. PARKER’s controversial consecration

Parker was a quiet rather than an heroic man, respectful of authority and consistent in its imposal. **Elizabeth I** wanted a moderate, so elected him not **Knox** or **Bonner** as Archbishop of Canterbury on 1st August 1559, and after some difficulty obtaining consecrators, he was consecrated by **Bishops Barlow, Scroby, Coverdale, and Hodgkins** at Lambeth, Surrey, England, on December 17th 1559; although the Jesuit **Christopher Holywood** in 1604 publicized rather that this consecration took place at the Nag’s Head tavern in Fleet Street, London. The Edwardine Ordinal repealed by **Mary I** and not yet re-enacted by parliament was used, so his consecration was entirely authorized by the royal supremacy. Except for his non-celibacy he fitted perfectly: he distrusted popular religious enthusiasm, was not an inspiring leader, wrote no liturgy, wrote nothing on Church government, and wrote against the idea that, ‘the people should be reformers of the Church.’ But although he was not a politician and was never a member of the Privy Council, he was a disciplinarian, a scholar who engaged in historical research (e.g.: his *De antiquitate ecclesiae*) and recorded his findings; was modest, moderate, and had a genuine Christian devotion, and impeccable morality.

4. Ecclesiastical politics during PARKER’s archbishopric

(a) The Queen, Parker, and Episcopal privilege

Ecclesiastical politics during his archbishopric were troublesome. Many reformers wanted no bishops, the Catholic-end the old dispensation, and **Elizabeth** seemed to begrudge episcopal

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privilege until she found it a pillar of royal supremacy. **Parker** in the event stemmed rising Puritan feeling without much support from parliament, convocation, or crown.

(b) The vestarian controversy

The bishops' *Interpretations and Further Considerations* (1560), alas for him, tolerated a lower vestiarian standard than was prescribed by the rubric of 1559; whilst his own *Advertisements* (1566), intended to check Puritan dissent, had to appear without specific royal parliamentary, or synodical sanction; likewise **Foxe's** *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, was published only with **Parker's** approval.

(c) Parliamentary challenge to the bishops vis-à-vis determining matters of faith

Parliament the bishops' claim to determine matters of faith: "Surely," said **Parker** to **Peter Wentworth**, "you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein." "No, by the faith I bear to God," retorted **Wentworth**, "we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list, for we will make you none." Vestarian disputes now expanded into controversy over Church government and authority generally, and **Parker** died May 17th 1575 protesting that Puritan ideas of "governance" would "in conclusion undo the Queen and all others that depended upon her."

5. POLLARD: A concluding comment

Pollard writes, 'By his personal conduct he had set an ideal example for Anglican priests, and it was not his fault that national authority failed to crush the individualistic tendencies of the Protestant Reformation.'

5B. Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*

1. *Acts and Monuments of the martyrs in these perilous times* 1559, 1563

Begun in 1554 and published in Latin in Basle, Switzerland in 1559, **John Foxe's** *Acts and Monuments of the martyrs in these perilous times* was a massive history of the Christian Faith and those who suffered for it from the time of the *New Testament* until the accession of **Queen Elizabeth I**. Translated into English in 1563, it graphically depicts the Marian English burnings, showing how steeped in the word of God the protestant martyrs of those recent years were. It was the epitome of Protestant propaganda. Its Theology held that the pope was the anti-Christ, and that his followers and churches were spawns of Satan. **John Foxe** published four English editions of it during his lifetime in 1563, 1570, 1576, 1583. Each edition developed significantly as **Foxe** incorporated new material, answered his critics, and re-crafted its polemic to the needs of the moment.

2. Influence and popularity of *Acts and Monuments*.

Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of the martyrs in these perilous times* was chained by the *Bible* on lecterns in Cathedrals, Guildhalls, and other significant parish churches. It told the English people what their religion really was, and defined what it was to be a prominent Protestant Anglican. It has inspired and influenced generations of English speaking Christians since, and is still a 'best seller' amongst the religious books in print today.

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C. FIRST ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT 1572 & THE 1573 DECLARATION

1C. Its Context and the Admonition of 1572

1. The Admonition's Context

With **Elizabeth I's** accession to the English throne in **1558**, puritan and non-conformist exiles from the Netherlands, what is now Germany, and from Switzerland (especially Geneva) began returning from their enforced exile under **Mary I**. For these the **1559 Prayer Book** that **Elizabeth** instigated was not Protestant enough. Hence in **1572** these people, having grown in numbers, courage, and strength of resolve, grouped together and presented their *First Admonition to Parliament* (first of two, that is) in **1572**.

2. The rise of English Presbyterianism

In the same year, the Presbyterians under the leadership of **Thomas Cartwright** (1535-1603) established the first presbytery and hence a Presbyterian church at Wandsworth, then in the county of Surrey, in what is now South Greater London. Other Presbyterian leaders at this time were **William Perkins** (1558-1602) and **Sampson**. It was **Cartwright** and **Sampson** in particular who composed and presented this first admonition in **1572**. Here then is an extract, giving the flavour of its Theology, and highlighting its important points.

3. Extract from The First Admonition to Parliament 1572

'An Admonition to the Parliament. A view of popish abuses yet remaining in the English church for the which Godly ministers have refused to subscribe.

Whereas immediately after the last parliament (1571) ' ... the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments were called before Her Majesty's High Commissioners, and enforced to subscribe unto the articles, if they would keep their places and livings, and some for refusing to subscribe were ... removed. May it please therefore this honourable and high court of Parliament to take a view of such causes as then did withhold and now doth the foresaid ministers from subscribing and consenting unto those foresaid articles, by way of purgation to discharge themselves of all disobedience towards the Church of God and their sovereign, and by way of most humble entreaty for the removing away of all such corruptions and abuses as withheld them Albeit, right honourable and dearly beloved, we have at all times borne with that which we could not amend in this book [The Book of Common Prayer] and have used the same in our ministry, so far forth we might ... yet now being compelled by subscription to allow the same and confess it not to be against the word of God in any point, but tolerable, we must needs say as followeth that this book is an unperfect book culled and picked out of that popish dunghill the portuise and mass-book full of all abominations. For some and many of the contents therein be such as are against the word of God ...

Their pontifical [procedures] ... whereby they consecrate bishops, make ministers and deacons, is nothing else but a word thing for won drawn out of the Pope's pontifical ... and as the names of archbishops, archdeacons, lord bishops, chancellors, and etc. are drawn out of the Pope's shop together with their offices, so the government which they use ... is anti-Christian and devilish, and contrary to the Scriptures. And as we safely may, by the

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warrant of God's word, subscribe to allow the dominion of the Pope universally to rule over the word of God, as of an archbishop over a whole province, or a lord bishop over a diocese which contains many shires and parishes. For the dominion that they exercise ... is unlawful and expressly forbidden by the word of God.

What shall we speak of the archbishop's court, sith all men know it, and your wisdoms cannot but see what it is. As all other courts are subject to this by the popes prerogative, yea, and by the statute of this realm yet un-repealed, so is it the filthy quake-mire and poisoned plash of all the abominations that do infect the whole realm, ... And as for the commissaries court, that is but a petty little stinking catch that floweth out of that former great puddle, robbing Christ's Church of lawful pastors, of watchful seniors and elders, and careful deacons.

And as for the apparel, though we have been long borne in hand, and yet are, that it is for order and decency commanded, yet we know and have proved that there is neither order nor comeliness, nor obedience in using it. Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us (as they would bear the world in baud) for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but for great matters concerning a true ministry and regiment of the Church according to the world ... if it might please her Majesty, by the advice of your Right Honourable, in this High Court of Parliament, to hear us by writing or otherwise to defend ourselves, then, such is the quality of our cause that we would trust to find favour in Her Majesty's sight ... if this cannot be obtained, we will, by God's Grace, address ourselves to defend this truth by suffering and willingly lay our heads to the block, and this shall be our peace, to have quiet consciences with our God, whom we will abide for with all patience until he work our full deliverance.'

4. The Court of High Commission

In order to enforce her reformation of matters religious, **Elizabeth I** had created the 'Court of High Commission' in **1559**. **Elizabeth** hence dealt with the perpetrators of the *Admonition* through this instrument. In essence it was a committee of knights, counsellors, and clerics tasked to enforce 'An Act for the uniformity of Common Prayer' and 'An Act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction (of the Church)' It was to enforce the authority of the crown of England, 'Against ... all and singular heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours, tales, seditions, misbehaviours, slanderous words or shewings, published, invented or set forth or hereafter to be published invented or set forth by any person or persons against us or contrary or against the laws and statutes of this our realm, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects in any county, city, or borough.' It was particularly active in the years **1565**, **1566**, **1572**, and **1601**. There were also its extensions – special time to time commissions in England and Wales. The English Reformation as whole had no one key Theologian, like for example, **Luther**, **Zwingli**, or **Calvin**; nor did it hence have any one specific key Theology beyond a repudiation of papal authority. Ultimately the Bishops of the various phases of the English Reformation and Counter-Reformation were responsible for spiritual and ecclesiastical discipline, and for re-enforcing and driving it. If there was any characteristic Theology, it would surely be that of the *Forty Two Articles* of the *Book of Common Prayer* of the reign of **Edward VI**, emended to the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the *Book of Common Prayer* by **Elizabeth I** in **1562**. For all this, however, something more was needed in the face of the rising Presbyterian current. Hence, in **October 1573**, **Elizabeth I** issued her *Declaration against Non-Conformists*.

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2C. The *Declaration against Non-conformists* October 1573

1. Introduction

By this *Declaration*, **Elizabeth I** and her English Parliament emphasised uniformity in Christian faith and allegiance to the Church of England, and declared openly that they were against dissenters, especially Presbyterians and puritans. There was now to be no Toleration Act in English history until the year **1689** when one was issued in the wake of the Glorious Revolution of **1688** when **William of Orange** and his queen **Mary** were invited by parliament to take the English throne. Here is part of the text of the *Declaration against Non-conformists*. Incidentally: 'All severity,' 'by pains appointed in the said act,' in practice meant whipping, burning, or parts of your body cut off, and it was the commission's task to do this as necessary to be effective. The bishops were to actively promote by example, discipline, and ministry the **1559** *Act of Uniformity*. Here then are two pertinent extracts which give the essence of the action called for, and the flavour of its Theology.

2. Text extracts from the 1573 *Declaration against Non-Conformists*

'... all archbishops and bishops ...and all other who have any authority, to put in execution the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and the administration of the Sacraments made in the first year of her gracious reign with all diligence and severity ... And if any person in private houses or public places make assemblies and therein use other rites of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments than is prescribed in the said book, or shall maintain in their houses any persons being notoriously charged by books or preachings to attempt the alteration of the said orders, they shall see such persons punished with all severity, according to the laws of this realm, by pains appointed in the said Act.'

D. OTHER FACTORS PERTAINING TO THE ELIZABETHAN VIA-MEDIA

1D. Liturgical Reform: Archbishop Whitgift and the thought of Richard Hooker

1. Archbishop John Whitgift (1530-1604)

John Whitgift, born in Grimsby, Lincolnshire c. **1530**, read for the B.A. Tripos at Cambridge, was deaconed in **1560**, and held the Chair in Divinity in Peterhouse College, University of Cambridge from **1567-1569**, becoming Vice-Chancellor in **1573**. Meanwhile he had been inducted as Dean of Lincoln in **1571** and was consecrated and installed Bishop of Worcester in **1577**. **Queen Elizabeth I** nominated him as Archbishop of Canterbury in **1573**. **Whitgift's** views were Calvinist – he found Puritan writings heretical, seditious, and dangerous, not least because they harmed the uniformity of the English Church. In **1586** he became a Privy Councillor and secured a decree from the Star Chamber for increased censorship which he used to attempt suppression of Puritan writings. Subsequent Puritan outcry gave rise to the Martin Marprelate controversy during **1588-1589**. In **1595** **Whitgift** founded the Whitgift School at Croydon, still today a prestigious institution. **Whitgift** attended the Queen on her deathbed in **1603**, and crowned the new king **James I** later that year. He died on February 28th **1604**.

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2. Richard Hooker (1554-1600)

(a) A biographical note

Richard Hooker, born, brought up, and educated in Exeter, Devonshire, England in **March 1554** was sent with **Bishop Jewel** as his patron, to Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford. He graduated as a Master of Arts in **1577** and became a fellow. As an Oxford University lecturer in Hebrew he took holy orders, i.e.: he was deaconed in **1581**. Hooker was Master of the Temple (i.e. Dean of the Law School) in **1585-1591**. Thereafter he lived in London and then at Boscombe, Hampshire. He died in **1600** at Bishopsbourne, in Kent, where he had become vicar.

(b) *Of the laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* 1593

Hooker's masterpiece is a long work in eight books called *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. The first four books were published together in **1593**, the fifth was published in **1597**, and the rest appeared after his death. Although the last three volumes were **Hooker's** work, they seem to have been heavily edited. The work represents one of the most distinguished examples of Elizabethan literature. **King James I** is quoted by **Izaak Walton**, **Hooker's** biographer, as saying, "**I observe there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; but a grave, comprehensive, clear manifestation of reason, and that backed with the authority of the Scriptures, the fathers and schoolmen, and with all law both sacred and civil.**" **Hooker** was effectively the first great Anglican Apologist, and his thought has defined the Anglican Church since. For further information c.f.: ICPICCJC B.A./B.D./B.TH./B.MIN Course, *The Elizabethan Settlement and the Church of England*, unit 4, pages 69-71.

2D. Changes in Church Government, Liturgy, and Music

1. Roman Catholic priests and their liturgy

The **1559 Act of Uniformity** outlawed the ministry of Roman Catholic priests. Many Roman Catholic priests at this time lived in 'priest's holes' in the larger houses, small closets into which a priest could go, indeed live, so as to escape detection. Such priests conducted private masses in the houses where they resided. This practice was now outlawed. Nevertheless **William Byrd (1543-1623)** wrote music for such private Catholic masses.

2. The Presbyterian 'experiment'

By the mid-**1570s** it was becoming obvious that the Presbyterian system of Church Government had failed to capture the imagination of the English people, and the attempt to set up Presbyteries in England had failed. Presbyterianism however became a dominant force in the Scotland thanks largely to the efforts of **John Knox** the Scottish reformer.

3. Archbishop Whitgift's reforms of 1583ff.

After his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury in **1583**, **Archbishop Whitgift** lost little time in insisting that all Church of England churches throughout England have clergy and people who believe and abide by the *Thirty Nine Articles of the Book of Common Prayer*, and that they use in public worship only those orders of service prescribed by the *Book of Common Prayer*. **Whitgift** used personnel from the Court of High Commission to further clarify as necessary and enforce these demands.

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4. RICHARD HOOKER: *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* 1593

Richard Hooker has justly been dubbed, ‘the founding father of Anglican thought.’ This thought is encapsulated in his book *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* of **1594**. In brief he contended that Scripture is the rule for all things. He also argued that the Government of the Church of England as it now stood under **Elizabeth I** is that of the English Church since earliest times, but that in the pre-Reformation and Marian period the government of the English church was corrupted by the Pope.

5. Changes in Church Music: **THOMAS TALLIS; WILLIAM BYRD; vernacular**

Archbishop Whitgift now saw to it that all Christian liturgy, Church doctrine, and preaching in the English Church was to be in the vernacular, i.e.: in the English tongue as understood by the English people. The Roman Catholic situation was slightly different. The Roman Catholic Council of Trent meeting in **1562** ordered that all Roman Catholic music in all parts of Europe was to be in Italian, Latin, or English i.e.: must be easily understood. Hence the music of **Palestrina** and other polyphonists. However, **Elizabeth I**, somewhat musical herself, went further. **Elizabeth** insisted that in the English Church each syllable of every word that is sung must have at least one note of its own. A good example of this kind of composition is the anthem by **Thomas Tallis**, *If ye love me keep my commandments*, written in this period under the strictures of **Elizabeth’s** directive. Incidentally, further to what I have said above, **William Byrd** was a recusant Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, with **Thomas Tallis** he was in charge of Church Music publication in England. **Byrd** composed many works in English for use in the English and Roman Catholic Churches, but he also composed long pieces in Latin for use in the Roman Catholic Mass. Such pieces were sung in private, and there was a fine line between these. **Thomas Tallis** died in **1585**, **William Byrd** in **1623**.

3D. Foreign Policy and the Elizabethan Reformation’s *via media*

1. Foreign Policy: France

When **Elizabeth I** came to the throne in **1558**, England was still at war with France. **Mary I** her older now deceased sister had lost Calais in a fruitless extension of the military campaigns in France by her father **Henry VIII** funded by the Dissolution of the Monasteries. **Elizabeth I** regretted the loss of Calais, but conceded it as she had no available monies for further fighting. However, the situation changed and **Elizabeth I** no longer found herself ‘surrounded’. A Protestant rebellion in Scotland now replaced the pro-French regency there. Nevertheless in **1562** **Elizabeth** sent aid to the French (Protestant) Huguenots, but this quickly concluded. **Charles IX** was king of France from shortly after **Elizabeth’s** accession – i.e.: **1560** to **1574**, when he was succeeded by his younger brother **Henry III**. In the **1780s** **Elizabeth** flirted with the French **Duke of Angou**, but ‘broke it off’ in **1579**. In the meantime **Henry III** had made the Protestant **Henry of Navarre** his heir. This effectively now made France an ally with Spain. **Elizabeth’s** answer to this was to further aid the Huguenots which, although France and Spain were allies, meant that (Roman Catholic) Spain now invaded France. However, when the *Edict of Nantes* was issued in **1598**, the Spanish withdrew their forces.

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2. Foreign Policy: Spain

The Spanish had become interested in the ‘new world’ and so **Elizabeth I** quietly used and encouraged English pirateers who between them manned forty eight one hundred ton or more ships to intervene against the Spanish treasure fleets returning from the Americas. **Elizabeth** now realized more had to be done and so she built up her State Navy. Hence in **1586 Philip II** of Spain was also building up a large navy. So: In that year **Sir Francis Drake** commanded an English naval force that attacked these Spanish ships at Cadiz. Very many were destroyed. In retaliation, **Philip II** ordered the Spanish Armada (‘fleet’) to set sail and to attack England. One hundred ships left Spain on this mission. Fifty five were wrecked off the Irish and Scottish coasts before they ever came near England. Thirty more were destroyed en-route by the English navy. You can read the exciting story of the ‘Armada’s defeat by the English navy elsewhere. Suffice it to say that Spain was a Roman Catholic power and that **Mary I Tudor** had been married to the King of Spain. But: with the destruction of his Armada, **Philip II** and the Spanish threat were seen off.

3. Elizabeth I and Scotland

(a) Mary Queen of Scots

Mary, Queen of Scots (December 8, 1542 to February 8, 1587), also known as **Mary Stuart** or **Queen Mary I**, was the queen of Scotland from **December 1542** until **July 1567**. The death of Mary’s father, which occurred just days after her birth, put her on the throne as an infant. She briefly became queen consort in France before returning to Scotland. Forced to abdicate by Scottish nobles in **1567** as a result of this French connection, **Mary** sought the protection of **Elizabeth I**, who instead had her arrested. **Mary** spent the remainder of her life in captivity until her **1587** execution. However, in **1572** they tried to put **Mary** once more on the Scottish throne. This failed. Between **1581** and **1588**, twenty priests in Scotland were accused of treason. On the death of **Elizabeth**, who had no heir, her succession would pass to the Scottish monarch, - **Mary I Stuart** (otherwise known as **Mary Queen of Scots**) was the prime candidate to the English throne. In the event the succession of the English throne did indeed pass to the Scottish monarch – **James VI**, son of **Mary I Stuart** on the death of **Elizabeth I** in **1603**.

(b) John KNOX and the Scottish Reformation

John Knox arrived in Scotland in **1560**. His presence united the Dissenters. He was a fiery, non-conformist protestant. **Elizabeth** realized the danger from Scotland, and so sent troops in **1560** up to the border, and made the Treaty of Berwick.

However: at the instigation of **John Knox**, **John Keats** and many rebels called a ‘Great Council of Scotland’. They reformed the Scottish Church. They called a (non-legal) Parliament. Her French husband, the effective Scottish monarch, died in **1560**, and so in **1561 Mary I Stuart** returned to Scotland. In **1567 Mary** abdicated and made her infant son **James VI Stuart** king.

4D. The end of Elizabeth I’s reign

1. Bad harvests, poverty, and vagrancy

The years **1595-1598** brought very bad harvests. In itself this could have been coped with, but the wars of **Elizabeth I**’s reign were very costly, and so the population as a whole found the necessary taxation burdensome. There was a great deal of poverty in these years. Poverty lead to

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vagrancy, and so **Elizabeth I** passed an *Act against Vagrants* in **1598**. The high level of taxation continued to be burdensome, but **Elizabeth I** quelled Parliamentary protests against it in **1601**.

2. The end of Elizabeth's reign

In early **1602** **Elizabeth I** showed signs of ill health. Soon afterwards she fell ill and died in **March 1603**, at seventy years old.

5D. The Spiritual Legacy of Elizabeth I's reign: The Elizabethan Settlement

1. The end of the English Protestant Reformation

1603, and the death of **Elizabeth I** is usually said to be the terminal point of the English Reformation. The Reformation had begun in the late Fifteenth Century when the *Bible* became available in print in English and in various other of the European languages. However: It is worthwhile remembering that this is not quite the end of the Reformation movements in England. At **Elizabeth's** death a non-puritanic, non-Anglican, non-Roman party emerged called the Anabaptists. Also, here in England, in **1604**, early in **James I Stuart's** reign the Baptists began. Both wanted an end to the *Prayer Book* and to Episcopacy. The Baptists propagated 'believer's baptism' and hence objected to baptising the children of believers before those children could come to faith for themselves and answer about their decision for themselves. (For more information about the historical development of the Baptist Church and the eventual Baptist Union and other Baptist groups, c.f.: PICC B.A./B.D./B.TH./B.MIN *Baptist Origins*.)

2. The Elizabethan Via-Media and the Church of England's establishment

It was not the National Catholic Reformation of **Henry VIII** which brought about the establishment of the Church of England. You will remember, of course, that although **Henry VIII** brought about a Protestant 'National Catholic' Church governed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself, **Mary I Tudor** put the English Church back into the hands of Rome and the pope. **Edward VI**, the boy king, brought about a thorough going Protestant Church of England, and to this day the **1896** pronouncement by the Roman Catholic Church against the validity of Anglican orders and Rome's upholding of it is based on the content of **Edward VI's** *Prayer Book*. When **Elizabeth I** brought about her *Act of Uniformity* in **1559**, it formed a Church that was Catholic in structure but staffed by Protestants. Her **1559** *Prayer Book* was a combination of that of **1549** (**Edward VI**) and **1552** (**Mary I Tudor**). Hence, the Elizabethan Via-Media as this synthesis is known, was a via-media between the Puritan and the Catholic. The *Act of Supremacy* saw to it that from henceforward the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction over the Church in the land of England, and that the monarch was its temporal head, whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury under **Jesus Christ** was its spiritual head. In many ways this settlement was more Catholic than **Elizabeth I** would have wished. **Elizabeth** was only in favour of Episcopacy because of its political expediency. She had no strong belief that it was *the* way to govern the Church, nor the only way.

3. The essence of the Elizabethan via media: The 1559 service of Holy Communion

The Spiritual and denominational essence of the Elizabethan Anglican via-media can be summed up in the words of the Communion administration. The rubric of **1552**: '**The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for you, preserve your body and soul unto everlasting life,**' had added to it the words of the Edwardian **1549** *Prayer Book* '**Take and eat this is**

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remembrance that Christ died for you, and feed on him in your heart by faith with thanksgiving.’ Frequently, today, of course, clergy using the 1662 *Prayer Book* order of the Church of England split these words saying half to one communicant and half to the next. The 1662 *Prayer Book* was of course based on that of Elizabeth I and is the liturgical maturity of the Elizabethan English Spiritual Via-Media. Parker, and Hooker, and the Elizabethan Via-Media were the beginnings and maturity of Anglicanism as we know it. When he was restored to the throne in 1660 after the great Rebellion (1642-1659), Charles II simply re-instituted the Elizabethan *Prayer Book*, and the 1662 *Prayer Book* and its modern updates has been the Spiritual foundation document after the *Bible* for the Church of England ever since.

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O'Malley	J.W.	The First Jesuits	1993
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& Demolen	R.L. (Eds.)		

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Jedin	H.	Crisis and closure of the Council of Trent	1967
Lane	A.N.S.	Justification by Faith in Catholic-Protestant dialogue: An Evangelical Assessment	2002
Steinmetz	D.C.	The Council of Trent in the Bagchi and Steinmetz volume mentioned above under 1J. /233-247	2004

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Boehme	J.	The Way to Christ, Classics of Western Spirituality, SCM Edition (Ed. P.Erb and W.Zeller).	
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Williams G.H. & Mengal A.M.		Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers, Library of Christian Classics 25, London: SCM Press,	1957

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Cameron	E.	The European Reformation, pages 319-338	1991
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P. Collinson,	The Birthpangs of Protestant England: religion and cultural change in the 16th and 17th centuries	1988
P. Crawford*	<i>Women and Religion in England 1500-1720</i>	1993
S. Doran & C. Durston*	<i>Princes, pastors and people: the Church and religion in England, 1500-1700</i> (Revised Edition)	2003
C. Haigh	<i>English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors</i>	1993
F. Heal**	<i>Reformation in Britain and Ireland</i>	2003
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A. Ryrie*	"Britain and Ireland", in A. Ryrie (Ed.), <i>Palgrave advances in the European Reformation</i> 2005 /124-47.	2005
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M. Todd*	"England after 1558", in A. Pettegree (Ed.), <i>The</i>	

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G. Williams**	<i>Wales and the Reformation</i>	1997

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- D. Hirst**** *England in conflict, 1603-1660: kingdom, community, commonwealth* (1999), Chapters 3-6.
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APPENDIX II: EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

The Questions hereunder are drawn from (long) past University of Oxford Examination Papers but remain useful for our purposes. The Year in which each was set is appended in brackets. Candidates have either forty five minutes or one hour per question depending upon whether their paper requires them to answer three questions or four questions, and at what level they write: Diploma (45 minutes)(4 questions); Bachelor (45 or 60 minutes depending on whether they answer three or four questions in the three hours of examination time); and Master (60 minutes)(three questions). Every examination is hence **three hours** in length. Diploma, Bachelor and Master Candidates attempt the same questions, but greater depth, discussion and breadth of knowledge is expected from a Master compared with a Bachelor, and a Bachelor when compared with a Diploma student.

- (1) 'The road to the Reformation was paved both by unprecedented ecclesiastical abuses and by a long unsatisfied religious yearning.' Discuss. (1991)
- (2) What was the state of the Western Church on the eve of the Protestant Reformation? (2004)
- (3) Assess the role of purgatory and institutions associated with the Theology of Purgatory in the life of the Pre-Reformation Western Church (2000)
- (4) 'Purgatory: One of the great success stories of Christian Theological creativity.' Discuss. (2002)
- (5) Why did the Western Church prove to be so vulnerable to the critique of the Reformers from the second decade of the Sixteenth Century? (1998)
- (6) Was Renaissance Humanism the setting sun all Europe mistook for dawn?' (2000)
- (7) In what ways did either Late Mediaeval Nominalism or the work of the humanists influence the Reformation? (1980)
- (8) In what ways did some of the humanists contribute to the doctrinal Reformation? (1984)
- (9) 'The Reformation always looked backwards.' Discuss. (1981)
- (10) Could the Sixteenth Century Reformation have happened without the preceding efforts of Late Mediaeval Reformers? (2001)
- (11) How significant was the work of Erasmus in the development of Christian Humanist ideas? (2004)
- (12) What prevented Erasmus from becoming a Protestant? (1980)
- (13) Why was Erasmus distrusted by so many of his fellow Roman Catholics? (1991).
- (14) Was Erasmus's reputation in his own day based on true achievement or self skilled publicity? (2001)
- (15) Assess the influence of Erasmus upon his age. (1981).
- (16) 'The patron saint of freelance writers.' Does this do justice to Desiderius Erasmus? (1998)
- (17) 'Renaissance Christian Humanism has been wrongly equated with the name of Erasmus.' Do you agree? (2002)

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- (18) 'Evangelistic fervour without a sense of political reality.' How far is this a fair description of the ideas and achievements of the early Sixteenth Century Christian Humanists? (2001)
- (19) For Luther the cross is not the only subject of Theology; it is the distinctive mark of all Theology.' Discuss. (1981)
- (20) 'Guided by his heart rather than his head.' Is this a true characterisation of Luther and his Theology? (2001)
- (21) Can we assert that there was one controlling idea at the centre of Luther's Theology, and if so what was it? (2000)
- (22) Was Luther a reluctant reformer? (1984)
- (23) 'He was the heroic inspirational leader who in many ways remained out of step with his contemporaries.' Is this an accurate judgement on Martin Luther? (2002)
- (24) 'Luther's Theology was always shaped by political events.' Discuss. (2004)
- (25) In what ways can Luther be said to have been the most conservative leader amongst the Magisterial Reformers? (1998)
- (26) Why and how did Zwingli and Luther disagree about the Eucharist? (2004)
- (27) Why did Luther and Zwingli fail to reach agreement at the Colloquy of Marburg? (1991)
- (28) In what ways might it be maintained that Zwingli's Sacramental teaching was more deeply influenced by humanist thought than was the Sacramental teaching of the other Reformers? (1981)
- (29) What role does the concept of community play in Zwingli's Theology? (2000)
- (30) 'Zwingli's church-building was as significant as his Theological thought.' Discuss. (2001)
- (31) 'The Spirit alone gives life; the flesh is of no avail.' Is this text the key to understanding the development of the Reformation in Zurich? (2002)
- (32) Was Zwingli's Reform in Zurich paradigmatic of the way in which the Protestant Reformation progressed through the cities of Germany and Switzerland? (2004)
- (33) 'Zwingli's main role was a preaching humanist.' Discuss. (2004)
- (34) What means did Zwingli employ to carry out a reformation in Zurich? (1984)
- (35) 'That the Swiss Reformation took the form it did was primarily due to Ulrich Zwingli.' Discuss. (1991)
- (36) 'Gutenberg was as important to the Reformation as either Wittenberg or Geneva.' Discuss. (1981)
- (37) What presuppositions or pre-occupations shaped Calvin's construction of Theology? (2001)
- (38) In what sense can Trent be claimed to have been a Council of Reform? (1981)
- (39) Did the Council of Trent stifle a Catholic Reformation? (2001)

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- (40) Did the very early appearance of the Radical Reformation after Luther's revolt reflect long felt resentment against the Mediaeval Church unconnected with Luther's Theology? (1981)
- (41) What divided the 'Radical' reformers from the Magisterial Reformation? (2001)
- (42) 'By 1564 A.D. where Protestantism had triumphed, the Church was more thoroughly controlled by the State than ever it had been by the Papacy in 1500.' Discuss. (1981)
- (43) By 1600 both Catholics and Protestants lived in 'confessional churches'. Discuss. (2001)
- (44) Did princes rather than theologians make the Continental Reformation? (2001)
- (45) What part did the Society of Jesus play in Rome's response to the Reformation? (1981)
- (46) What is the significance of the work of Martin Bucer? (1980)
- (47) Expound, showing in what ways it was important in his Theology, either Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith or Calvin's doctrine of Pre-destination (1980).
- (48) To what extent was Zwingli's Zurich a forerunner of Calvin's Geneva? (1980)
- (49) Did the Counter Reformation owe more to the Council of Trent or to the new and reformed religious orders? (1980)
- (50) 'Whereas the Magisterial Reformers saw the emergence of the papacy as the *fons et origo* of all evils, most of the radicals fathered the responsibility on the Emperor Constantine, who first brought about the unholy alliance of State and Church.' (Glanmor Williams). Analyse the divergence between the Radicals and the Magisterial reformers in the light of this comment.' (1980)
- (51) Why was the Reformation in Sweden so conservative? (1980)
- (52) Is Calvin a 'Theologian of grace and Gratitude?' (2002)
- (53) Why did the Reformed Protestant tradition develop into a much more ethnically and culturally diverse movement than Lutheranism? (2002)
- (54) How far was the Sixteenth Century renewal of that part of the Western Church which stayed loyal to the Pope 'a Reformation from below'? (2002)
- (55) How should we view religious radicals in the Reformation: as thoroughgoing followers of Erasmus, or as Bible wielding communists? (2002)
- (56) Did the Protestant Reformations amount to a confidence trick played on the people of Europe by European princes, noblemen and urban leaderships? (2002)
- (57) What part did the debate about religious imagery play in the religious upheavals of Sixteenth Century Europe? (2002)
- (58) What was Calvin trying to achieve in Geneva? (2004)
- (59) Why did the Anabaptists and other radicals engender so much hostility? (2004)
- (60) In what ways was the shaping of the 'holy household' central to the Protestant Reformers? (2004)

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- (61) 'Women lost out in the Protestant Reformation.' Discuss. (2004)
- (62) Teresa of Avila and Ignatius Loyola were the stars of the Counter Reformation. Discuss. (2004)
- (63) What did the Council of Trent achieve? (2004)
- (64) Why were there such bloody religious wars in Sixteenth Century France? (2004)
- (65) Why did Calvinism spread so widely around Europe? (2004)
- (66) Assess the contribution of either Huldrych Zwingli or Martin Bucer or Philipp Melancthon to the development of the Reformation. (1998)
- (67) 'Calvin's thought represents the *via media* in the Reformation.' Discuss. (1998)
- (68) 'There is very little that Luther said which Calvin did not repeat.' Do you agree? (1998).
- (69) Did the Counter-Reformation begin before the Reformation? (1998)
- (70) What do you understand by the concept of a 'second reformation' in late Sixteenth Century Europe? (1998)
- (71) Did the Bible bring embarrassment as well as inspiration to the magisterial reformers? (1998)
- (72) In what sense was there an alternative to the magisterial Reformation for those in Sixteenth Century Europe who rejected the Roman Church? (1998)
- (73) 'Nearly the whole of sacred doctrine consists in these two parts: Knowledge of God and of ourselves.' Do these two elements also sum up the thought of John Calvin? (2000).
- (74) Should we regard the *Consensus Tigurinus* as a major turning point for the Reformation, and if so, why? (2000)
- (75) What do you understand by the term 'confessionalisation'? (2000)
- (76) Should the Counter-Reformation be described primarily in terms of institutional reform? (2000)
- (77) Have the Inquisitions had a bad press? (2000)
- (78) What was it about the beliefs of radical reformers that made Protestants persecute them as much as did Roman Catholics? (2000)
- (79) Was the Reformation an authentically religious phenomenon, or the result of political, social and economic development? (2000)
- (80) Why did some Theologians of the Radical Reformation reject Protestant teaching on predestination? (1991)
- (81) 'Forerunners of the Reformation are... not... individual thinkers who express particular ideas which 'point beyond' themselves to a century to come, but participants in an ongoing dialogue ... that is continued in the Sixteenth Century.' (Oberman). Discuss.
- (82) Did Calvin aim at a theocracy in Geneva? (1984)
- (83) Examine Calvin's Christology. (1984)
- (84) How important for an assessment of Calvin's Theology is the fact that he was a Second Generation Reformer? (1991)
- (85) Discuss the place of the Radicals in the Reformation. (1984)
- (86) Why did the Reformers disagree over the Eucharist? (1984)

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- (87) In what ways did the Council of Trent reform the Church and why? (1984)
- (88) Did Protestant or Roman Catholic Theologians have the greater right to claim the authority of Augustine for their teaching on Grace? (1991)
- (89) Why did the Reformation succeed in some German cities and not in others? (1984)
- (90) Assess the significance of the German Peasants War for the progress of the Reformation (1991).
- (91) 'What the Council of Trent was to the renewal and discipline of Church doctrine and institutions, the Society of Jesus became to the revival and discipline of its spirituality.' Discuss. (1991)
- (92) Account for the failure of the Protestant Reformation to establish itself in Southern Europe (1991).

End.
