



NICOLAS POUSSIN, MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS, 1626

This painting depicts a famous scene from the Bible in which King Herod orders the killing of all infant boys in Jerusalem in an attempt to get rid of the newborn Jesus who was prophesied to become a king. This image, as well as the story it was based on, was a popular one in Europe during the violent sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a time when people were preoccupied with new religious direction while warfare and bloodshed ripped at the social fabric. Many an innocent was massacred during this period of religious upheaval.

“Alone Before God”

11

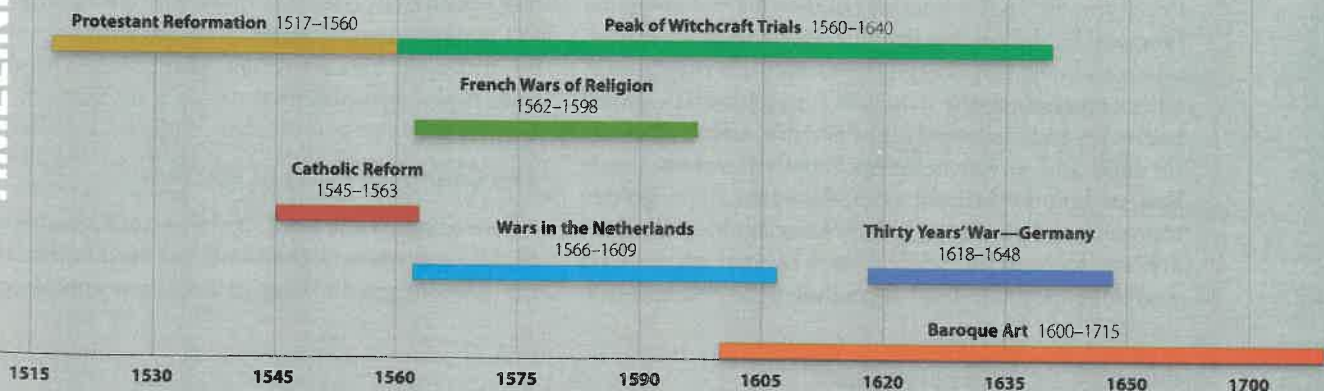
Religious Reform and Warfare, 1500–1648

“**T**hey used thumbscrews, which they cleverly made out of their pistols, to torture the peasants, as if they wanted to burn witches. . . . They put one of the captured peasants in the bake-oven and lighted a fire in it.” This horrifying description of war in Germany (by a soldier, Jakob von Grimmelshausen) characterizes a period in European history when many innocents suffered horrible deaths. Rulers launched their armies at each other in an attempt to win new territory and enhance their power, and these armies fighting with new weapons unleashed untold misery.

At the same time, new ideas about how to worship God began to spread throughout Europe—religious reformers introduced an intellectual revolution that would not only alter how people viewed their relationship with God but also redefine their ideas about society, politics, and the very nature of human beings. However, as monarchs confronted the religious diversity boiling within their countries, they increased the violence: Civil wars over religion erupted and brought this period to a bloody close.

Out of this turmoil came a reform in religion that split the Christian body into many Christian churches. In the course of this reform, many men and women who were spared the bloodshed of warfare were killed for their beliefs. This religious reform also generated more subtle changes in society—ideas of love, marriage, education, and charity were transformed as some people rethought their relationship to God. The West was irrevocably changed.

TIMELINE



PREVIEW

THE CLASH OF DYNASTIES,

1515–1555

Learn about the Habsburg-Valois Wars and the new warfare.

A TIDE OF RELIGIOUS REFORM

Study the principles of the Reformation and the reforms of Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII, and others.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

Learn how the Catholic Church responded to the critique of the Reformation.

EUROPE ERUPTS AGAIN: A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARFARE,

1559–1648

Trace the wars of religion from France to the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

LIFE AFTER THE REFORMATION

Understand how the religious ideas of the Reformation affected social and cultural life.

THE CLASH OF DYNASTIES, 1515–1555

In 1520, two of the most powerful kings in Europe met in France to hold a tournament and discuss matters of state. Francis I (r. 1515–1547) of France had invited Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) of England to his court to seek an alliance against his powerful enemy the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556). Francis hoped to impress Henry with his extravagant wealth, but the ostentatious display generated only more rivalry. Each king approached the meeting with as much state as he could muster. The kings, their followers, and even their horses wore clothing made of silver and gold thread. Silk and gold decorated the walls of the French palace and even the tents on the palace grounds that offered shade from the noonday sun. The meeting was dubbed the Field of the Cloth of Gold. All this opulence underscored the character of the sixteenth century—there was money to spend and kings thought excess bought power. However, Francis had offended Henry by outspending him, and he did not get the alliance he sought. Instead, much to Francis's dismay, Henry met with Charles V, who approached the king in a frugal and reserved manner—and received his alliance. The struggle for land and power between Francis I and the Holy Roman Emperor would not take place on a golden tournament field; instead, these kings opened a violent century by warfare, while Henry waited to see who would be left standing. The Italian city-states—too

small to compete on fields of golden cloth—became the battleground in this bitter contest.

The kings of France and England ruled strong, unified states, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century, nation-states were not necessarily the ideal political form. Indeed, kings sought to extend their reach even further and acquire multinational empires like that held by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Ignoring considerations of common culture or the difficulties of holding large empires, each king believed simply that bigger was better.

Land-Hungry Monarchs

Charles V was the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (see page 340). Thanks to the prudent dynastic marriages of his ancestors, he had inherited a sprawling, multinational empire. **Map 11.1** shows the Habsburg lands of Charles V, which included the Netherlands, Spain, and lands in Austria, and highlights all the battles to indicate how warfare dominated Charles's reign. The map also shows the extensive empire of the Ottoman Turks, which threatened Charles in the East.

As we saw in Chapter 9, events in the eastern Mediterranean had complicated western European rivalry, for the empire of the Ottoman Turks had gained strength. After the Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453, they consolidated their rule and developed a sophisticated administration and a well-trained military. Under Suleiman I the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), the Turks began to advance again, this time toward the very heart of Europe. **Map 9.5**, on page 285, shows the sixteenth-century advance of the Ottoman Empire and indicates why western Europeans felt threatened by the growing power of the Muslims.

Turkish expansion

In 1521, the Turks marched up the Danube valley and seized Belgrade and Hungary, creating a panic throughout central Europe. By 1529, they were outside the walls of Vienna, the core of the Austrian Habsburg lands. At the same time, Turkish ships proved so effective in the eastern Mediterranean that all the western rulers wondered how long they could hold on to their share of the lucrative sea trade in that area. For Charles V in particular, however, the Ottoman Empire had become a major, distracting presence in the east as he struggled to extend his empire in the west. All these monarchs had to grapple with new complexities in their seemingly endless struggles with one another, for the scale of warfare was increasing, and the old rules no longer applied.

The Changing Rules of Warfare

As we saw in Chapter 9, the mounted knights of the Middle Ages were being replaced by infantry, and by the sixteenth century, that trend was complete. The



MAP 11.1

Europe in 1526— Habsburg-Valois Wars

This map illustrates the political division of Europe in 1526 and highlights the Habsburg lands inherited by Charles V. It also shows the Ottoman Empire on Charles's borders.

Explore the Map

1. Why was Charles so concerned about the proximity of the Ottoman Empire?
2. Notice all the battles Charles fought. What might have been the impact of this warfare both on the people and on the emperor's ability to rule?

primary reason for this change was military technology. By 1500, Europeans had improved on the unreliable early guns of the Hundred Years' War. Now, guns with 50-inch-long barrels gave marksmen a good deal of power and accuracy, and soon the Spanish developed the musket, a 6-foot-long gun that could shoot lead bullets up to 200 yards. Armed with these weapons, soldiers could do a great deal more damage. As one observer noted: "Often and frequently . . . a virile brave hero is killed by some forsaken knave with a gun." Indeed, warfare was now dramatically changed, and kings had to pay the price in men and

materials for new armies. See Thinking about Science and Technology on page 326 to see how the changes in gunpowder facilitated its widespread use.

The new weapons dictated different military strategies. Now, captains arrayed their troops in a series of long, narrow lines. The infantrymen carried muskets and were backed by tight formations of pike-wielding foot soldiers. In this new kind of warfare, sheer numbers often determined a king's success, so monarchs strove to bolster the size of their armies. At the beginning of the century, most armies had fewer than 50,000 men;

Growing armies

Destruction and Amusement: The Development and Uses of Gunpowder

By the tenth century, Chinese alchemists—recall that alchemy was the early practice of chemistry—were experimenting with mixing various substances for medicinal purposes. In the process, they invented an effective gunpowder. The formula was 75 percent saltpeter (potassium nitrate), which released chemically bound oxygen to support combustion; 15 percent charcoal to supply carbon to fuel the fire; and 10 percent sulfur to lower the temperature of ignition and speed up combustion.

Europeans adopted this recipe and began to use gunpowder on the battlefield in the fourteenth century. Then, in the fifteenth century, Western powder engineers developed a technique of binding the powder into small clumps called corned powder, which was easy to transport, to keep dry, and to load efficiently into guns and cannons. Importantly, the corned powder also was more stable; the corning technology prevented accidental dust explosions and detonation from static electricity and provided a more

controlled burn rate. With the enhanced stability and transportability of the improved powder, large, mobile cannons could be brought into the battlefields, whereas previously they could only be mounted on ships and forts. From this moment on, battlefield violence increased dramatically, and foot soldiers faced devastating explosions as they charged. Gunpowder's impact would become starkly evident in the violence of the early modern wars and in the sea battles that would bring Europeans to power across the world.

People throughout history have found ways to adapt technological innovations for entertainment purposes, and this ingenuity was true for gunpowder. As early as the late fifteenth century in the West, gunpowder moved from wartime to peacetime uses as people set off gunpowder-powered fireworks to light up European night skies on special occasions. These displays were potentially hazardous, however; for example, the pyrotechnics that were lit during one of Shakespeare's productions ignited the fire that burned down the playwright's Globe Theater in 1613. Even firemasters, individuals who made gunpowder, did not know exactly how gunpowder worked, and **Figure 11.1** shows the explosive results that often accompanied their experiments. This mystery stimulated scientific investigation for years to come, helping to move science from alchemy to chemistry as researchers finally identified the oxygen hidden in the saltpeter that fed the fires of what had long been believed to be a magic powder.

Remember the struggle for mastery of the chemistry of gunpowder so that when you learn about the Scientific Revolution in Chapter 14, you might consider again the relationship between practical utility and scientific theory.

Connecting Science & Society

1. Trace how the scientific experimentation behind the development and improvement of gunpowder led to the application of gunpowder technology for various purposes.
2. Cite some instances in your lifetime where inventions of practical items or techniques have been later adapted for entertainment purposes.



FIGURE 11.1 Experimenting with Gunpowder

Charles V's forces boasted a whopping 148,000 (although they were widely dispersed through Charles's extensive lands).

To enlarge their armies, rulers had to resort to creative new ways to fill their ranks. In part, kings relied on mercenaries, hiring soldiers of fortune who offered their services to the highest bidder, but these were never sufficient. Traditionally, kings claimed the right to draft an army from among the able-bodied men of the land. Originally, these draftees were required to fight only on their home soil, but in 1544 Henry VIII sent his conscripts overseas. No one objected, and a useful precedent was set that helped kings boost their foreign armies. Sometimes men did not wait to be drafted into the growing armies, but instead volunteered. These soldiers joined up for various reasons—some wanted to escape poverty or the hardships of village life; others sought adventure. Martin Guerre, described in the Biography on page 328, was one such villager; he volunteered for the wars probably to escape the responsibilities of family life.

Not surprisingly, armies made up of poorly paid mercenaries, conscripts, and volunteers brought new problems to the art of making war. Officers repeatedly complained of soldiers' lack of discipline, and they imposed drilling and strict penalties for disobedience. Military leaders developed other strategies as well to manage their expanding forces. The Spanish evolved a complex military administration, which included the first battlefield hospitals. The Dutch introduced standardized-caliber weapons to help solve the problem of supplying larger numbers of infantrymen. Feeding and outfitting armies was still no easy matter, however. Wives, children, prostitutes, and servants trailed behind the lines to take advantage of the regular pay that the armies offered their men. These followers also needed to eat, of course, and at times they plundered the countryside through which the army moved.

Modernized warfare carried a high price. Heavy artillery was especially costly for both offensive and defensive forces. Not only did armies have to spend valuable currency to equip their armies with cannons, but rulers had to rebuild cities into massive fortresses with forts and gun emplacements to guard against opposing artillery. The new warfare also required larger navies, and ships, too, were expensive. Between 1542 and 1550, England spent more than twice its royal revenue on military campaigns. Other European powers also bankrupted themselves on these incessant wars. For example, between 1520 and 1532, Charles V borrowed an astounding 5.4 million gold coins from rich merchants to pay his troops—still, he could not compensate them completely. At his death,



FIGURE 11.2 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Cripples*, 1568

This painting shows the tragic reality of modern warfare. Many combatants lost their limbs to gunfire and were relegated to a life of poverty.

Francis I owed bankers one full year's income of all the crown lands.

Winners and Losers

Kings were seldom able to deliver a decisive victory in this seemingly endless warfare, and small victories were soon avenged. Therefore, very few combatants "won" these military contests or profited at all. However, some individuals were able to gain a huge profit. Bankers who lent money to kings recklessly supplying ever-larger armies struck it rich. Guns and ammunition manufacturers, especially in the Netherlands, also profited hugely.

Overall, however, losers vastly outnumbered winners in these wars. As armies ballooned, so did casualties. With the increasing use of bullets and gunpowder, the nature of combat injuries also changed. In the Middle Ages, battlefield surgeons had been skilled at treating sword injuries; in *Casualties of war* the sixteenth century, surgeons more often had to amputate limbs crushed by artillery shells (as happened to Martin Guerre; see the Biography). As one soldier wrote of the new guns: "Would to God that this unhappy weapon had never been invented." In Figure 11.2, a painting by the Dutch artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–1569), the wounded men's artificial limbs are depicted as particularly short. In this way, Bruegel emphasized the loss and disability that came with amputation. To survive, many legless or armless veterans resorted to begging in the towns and villages of Europe.

BIOGRAPHY

Martin Guerre

(1524–1594)

In 1538, a peasant family named Guerre contracted a promising marriage for their 14-year-old son, Martin, betrothing him to the daughter of a relatively well-to-do peasant family nearby.

Peasant,

Soldier, and

Reluctant

Family Man

Martin and his new bride, Bertrande, spent their wedding night in the Guerre household, where neighbor women gave them a heavily seasoned drink designed to stimulate their ardor and fertility. The potion failed. Martin remained impotent for eight years, while the village discussed whether

he was under a spell and teased him mercilessly for not fulfilling his duty. Finally, an old woman told the young couple how to lift the spell through special prayers and cakes. The marriage was consummated, and Bertrande became pregnant and bore a son. Martin, however, was not a happy young man. After quarreling with his father one day in 1548, the 24-year-old fled the village and was not heard from for years.

Martin traveled to Spain, where he served in the Spanish army in Flanders and France. During the fighting, he was shot in the leg; the limb then had to

be amputated. Still, he sent no word to his village. In his absence, his parents died. Bertrande remained under the care of Martin's uncle Pierre as she raised their son and awaited the return of her husband.

Then, in 1556, a man strolled into the village and claimed to be Martin Guerre. He was actually an impostor, Arnaud du Tilh, who had left his own French village after a dissolute youth and joined the Spanish army fighting in Flanders.

The village welcomed Arnaud as the lost Martin, and Bertrande took him in as her husband. If she had doubts about the newly passionate "Martin," she apparently set them aside. The couple harmoniously lived together for three

years, during which Bertrande gave birth to two daughters.

Arnaud and Martin's uncle increasingly began to quarrel over land and ideas, which caused Pierre to question Arnaud's identity. Finally, Pierre had Arnaud arrested and charged him with impersonating his nephew. At Arnaud's trial, hundreds of villagers testified for both sides. Some were certain that Arnaud was the real Martin; others felt equally convinced that he was not. Most of them simply could not decide. The case went to appellate court, where the legal tide seemed about to turn in Arnaud's favor. However, one day during the appeal proceedings, the real Martin Guerre, outfitted with crutches and a peg leg, suddenly limped into the courtroom to reclaim his identity and his family.

The impostor was condemned to death, and Bertrande was judged an innocent victim of Arnaud's duplicity and returned to her husband. Over the coming years, Martin and Bertrande had two more sons. The historical records reveal nothing about Bertrande's response to Martin's return. In 1594, Martin died.

This extraordinary case was recorded by a contemporary witness, Jean de Coras, who was fascinated by the motivations of the various parties. **Figure** is an illustration from one account of this strange story of mistaken identity, which has remained popular for centuries. In the twentieth century the story of Martin Guerre was made into a movie and even a musical theater performance.

Connecting People & Society

1. What does this biography tell you about how foreign wars disrupted families?
2. How does this life demonstrate the continuing belief in magic?



FIGURE 11.3 This illustration, from Alexandre Dumas's *Les crimes celebres*, shows Martin Guerre returning to find that an impostor has taken his place.

The wars of this period also contributed to inflation and ruined harvests, both of which tormented even non-combatants. Horrified contemporary witnesses repeatedly described the legions of poor, starving civilians who wandered the landscape in search of food and died along the way. One French writer told of "some thousands of poor people, . . . subdued like skeletons, the majority leaning on crutches and dragging themselves along as best they could to ask for a piece of bread." People weakened by hunger and traveling through the countryside also fell prey to all manner of diseases. In the sixteenth century, outbreaks of plague, typhoid fever, typhus, smallpox, and influenza took a terrible toll.

The Habsburg-Valois Wars, 1521–1544

All these costs of making war still did not deter kings from their drive for land and power, and the city-states of Italy—where both Francis I and Charles V had dynastic claims—became the battlefield. Thus began the Habsburg-Valois Wars, named after the ruling houses of Austria and France. These wars were fought sporadically for about twenty-five years.

The wars devastated the Italian city-states, demonstrating that only large states could successfully field large-enough armies for the new warfare.

Wearied imperialists

Charles also learned a hazard in using mercenary troops, for in 1527 the emperor was unable to pay them, and his enraged armies stormed Rome in search of booty to cover their pay.

Neither Charles nor Francis could win a decisive victory, so the two men finally negotiated a peace in 1544, and by its terms, Francis agreed to renounce his claim on Italy. Charles, too, wearied by all his problems, and in ill health, troubled by gout, decided to give up his imperial ambitions. He abdicated his various thrones between 1555 and 1556 and split his extensive holdings. He bestowed his Austrian and German lands on his brother Ferdinand I (r. 1558–1564) and the Low Countries, Spain, and Naples on his son Philip II (r. 1556–1598). Worn and disheartened, the ailing Charles V retired to a palace in Spain, where he died two years later. From this point on, these two branches of the Habsburg family went their separate ways.

During the wars, the kings had been willing to ally with unlikely partners. Sometimes Francis sought help from the Turks against Charles, and at times both Catholic kings courted critics of the church—"Lutherans"—to help against the other's Catholic forces. However, the treaty that ended the war attempted to present the Catholic kings as a united front against religious diversity that had flourished in their lands. Charles and Francis agreed to focus their energies on defeating "Muslims and Lutherans" who were threatening the Christian world. The Muslims had been a traditional enemy, but who were these Lutherans who

appeared in the sixteenth century and who by 1544 seemed such a threat to the Christian kings?

A TIDE OF RELIGIOUS REFORM

The powerful medieval Christian church had called itself "Catholic," which meant "universal." In the hands of reformers, however, "Catholic" began to mean the traditional church, which even in the Middle Ages had come under criticism. Medieval critics had questioned some of the beliefs and practices of the church—its power, its wealth, and its insistence on obedience to the pope as necessary for spiritual salvation. The last point was central, because from the beginning, Christians had focused on salvation—everything from the best way to worship God to getting into heaven after death. As the sixteenth century opened, criticism began to intensify and many people wondered if their salvation was in good hands.

The Best Path to Salvation?

The church had promised Christians that the path to salvation lay in the hierarchy of the church and its sacramental system, which offered grace to the faithful through the seven sacraments. To further confirm this, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 (described in Chapter 8) had declared that there was no salvation outside the church. Churchmen also promised that the faithful would be supported by the community of Christians, including the Virgin Mary, all the saints, and the congregations on earth. No Catholic believer, the church claimed, would have to face God alone in the afterlife.

A new popular piety and personal mysticism, along with the spread of Renaissance ideas of individualism, began to raise questions about this path to salvation. Catholicism had emphasized the need for an ordained priest—a "father confessor"—to hear one's confession and offer absolution. This new sensibility of popular piety allowed individuals seeking God to seek Him directly through prayer, breaking the chain of mediators that had marked the Catholic Church. Many men and women who called themselves the Brethren of the Common Life tried to create a devout personal relationship between themselves and Christ, to supplement the complex Catholic theology. This style of popular religion was called the *devotio moderna* (modern devotion), and it influenced many subsequent believers.

One pious follower of the *devotio moderna*, Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), is reputed to be the author of the best articulation of their ideas, in *The Imitation of Christ* (1425). In this profoundly influential text, Thomas argued that personal piety and ethics were as important as religious dogma. In Thomas's view, individuals could work toward salvation by focusing on their own spiritual growth, and many agreed passionately with

Thomas's assertion "Blessed is the soul which hears the Lord speak within it and receives consolation from his mouth." Many longed for this kind of personal contact with God that, as Thomas pointed out, would make society as a whole more spiritual. As devoted Christians began to experiment with new forms of a Christian life, intellectuals began to contemplate some of the more complicated aspects of Christian thought.

Desiderius Erasmus: "Prince of Humanists"

As humanism spread to northern Europe, scholars applied the techniques of humanist education to Christian thought. The greatest Christian humanist was Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), who became known as the "Prince of the Humanists." Erasmus knew firsthand that some elements of the church needed reform, because he was born in Holland as the illegitimate son of a supposedly celibate priest. He studied at a school that was the center of the Brethren of the Common Life and grew up imbued with the new devotion that called for people to approach God directly in their hearts. Erasmus became a priest and went to study in a traditional university in Paris, which he hated. He dropped out of school, complaining that the university offered "theology as stale as their eggs."

The young priest then went to England, where his intellect was awakened by the humanists in Henry VIII's London. Erasmus became great friends with Thomas More and began a course of study based on a humanist curriculum. His interests remained religious, however, and he turned the humanist emphasis on original texts to biblical studies. He learned Greek so he could immerse himself in the mental world of the New Testament, and like the Italian humanists, he insisted that language study had to be the starting point for any education: "Our first care must be to learn the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for it is plain that the mystery of all scripture is revealed in them." In this statement, we can see the literary work of the humanists applied to the highest Christian purpose.

Erasmus's greatest contribution to the intellectual life of the West was his critical edition of the New Testament. To approach this, Erasmus rejected the officially accepted version of the Bible—Jerome's (ca. 340–420) Latin translation, called the Vulgate—and returned to the Greek and Hebrew texts to create a new rendition. Erasmus even corrected portions of the Vulgate, and his edition became the basis for later translations of the Bible.

The humanist also criticized corruption in the church in many writings. For example, he wrote a satire, *Julius Excluded from Heaven* (1517), in which he showed the famous Renaissance warrior-pope Julius II (see Chapter 10) unable to enter heaven, even though

Religious satires

popes had always claimed to hold its keys. His most famous satire,

however, was *The Praise of Folly* (1511), in which he used his sharp wit to promote a greater spirituality in religion. In this book, his character, Folly, catalogs vices and in the process makes fun of the author himself, his friends, and the follies of everyday life. His attacks also probed deeply into many of the religious practices of the day, and as readers laughed at his attacks on people who "worshiped" the Virgin Mary over her son and popes who did not live like Jesus, their ideas on worship itself began to change.

Perhaps even more than his disappointment at church corruption, it was his humanist love of education that led him to propose a radically different approach to Christian life. Erasmus argued that Christians should read the Bible directly, rather than relying on priests to interpret it for them: "I would that even the lowliest women read the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. And I would that they were translated into all languages." A scholar to the core, Erasmus did not advocate separation from the church, but a contemporary of his recognized the long-term impact of the humanist's thought, saying that "Erasmus laid the egg Luther hatched." Revolution in religious thinking had been planted, and the letters in Document 11.1 reveal the anger that served as fertile ground.

Luther's Revolution

Martin Luther (1483–1546), the intelligent son of an upwardly mobile family in Germany, was an improbable revolutionary. His father, a successful mine owner, expected him to further the family fortune by becoming a lawyer, but young Luther's life took a dramatically different turn. During a fierce thunderstorm, Luther was struck to the ground by a bolt of lightning. Frightened, Luther cried out to Saint Anne (the Virgin Mary's mother): "Help me and I will become a monk." He survived the storm and fulfilled his vow (much to his father's initial disapproval). Luther threw himself into his new calling—becoming a monk, priest, and doctor of theology—but he remained plagued with a deep sense of sin and a deep fear of damnation. He even believed he actually saw the devil during the torments of his conscience.

For all Luther's study, prayer, and attempts to live a Christian life, he still did not believe he could ever be worthy of salvation. Even the church's promise of grace in the sacraments and "good works" of the church brought him no comfort. Finally, he found peace in the Bible, especially its statement that the "just shall live by his faith" (Rom. 1:17). Luther interpreted this statement as meaning that people were saved only through God's mercy, not through their own efforts to live as good Christians. Faith alone—not ritual—would save their souls. For Luther, Christ's sacrifice had been complete and for all time, so humans did not have to do anything else for their own salvation. This central point of Luther's belief is called "justification by faith."

DOCUMENT 11.1

Germans Rage Against Papal Exploitation

These two documents, written in 1480 and 1503, reveal that some in Germany raged against what they saw as exploitation of Germans by a distant pope. These documents show that Luther's critique launched in 1517 would find fertile soil.

1. Critique of Church Wealth, ca. 1480. Author anonymous.

It is as clear as day that by means of smooth and crafty words the clergy have deprived us of our rightful possessions. For they blinded the eyes of our forefathers, and persuaded them to buy the kingdom of heaven with their lands and possessions. If you priests give the poor and the chosen children of God their paternal inheritance, which before God you owe them, God will perhaps grant you such grace that you will know yourselves. But so long as you spend your money on your dear harlots and profligates, instead of upon the children of God, you may be sure that God will reward you according to your merits. For

you have angered and overburdened all the people of the empire. The time is coming when your possessions will be seized and divided as if they were the possessions of an enemy. As you have oppressed the people, they will rise up against you so that you will not know where to find a place to stay.

2. Against Abuses in Indulgences, Myconius, 1512

Anno 1512. Tetzl gained by his preaching in Germany an immense sum of money which he sent to Rome. A very large sum was collected at the new mining works at St. Annaberg, where I heard him for two years. It is incredible what this ignorant and impudent monk used to say. . . . He declared that if they contributed readily and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St. Annaberg would become pure massive silver. Also, that, as soon as the coin clinked in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid would go straight

to heaven. . . . The indulgence was so highly prized that when the agent came to a city the bull was carried on a satin or gold cloth, and all the priests and monks, the town council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, girls and children went out in procession to meet it with banners, candles, and songs. All the bells were rung and organs played. He was conducted into the church, a red cross was erected in the center of the church, and the pope's banner displayed. . . .

FROM: Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediaeval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 336–340.

Analyze the Source

1. What are the main criticisms of the church expressed in these documents?
2. How will the angry rhetorical style of the documents contribute to the coming of the Reformation? Does the rhetoric make it increasingly difficult to compromise? Explain.

Inflamed by his newfound belief, Luther challenged church doctrine over the issue of **indulgences**. Through the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church had developed a complex understanding of how people are forgiven for their sins, including confession, penance, and absolution.

Attack on indulgences

As part of this process, churchmen claimed that people had to perform certain "works"—like prayers, fastings, pilgrimages, or similar activities—to receive forgiveness for their sins. If people died before completing full repentance for their transgressions, they could expect to suffer for them in **purgatory** before they could enter heaven, and late-medieval people had come to believe it would be virtually impossible for anyone to do full penance for their sins before death.

In the Middle Ages, the pope had begun to alleviate some people's fears by offering an "indulgence," a remission of the need to do penance for sins. The pope claimed to control a "treasury of merit"—an infinite supply of good works that had been done by the saints and the Virgin Mary from which he could draw to remit sins. These remissions came in the form of "indulgences," documents that popes gave people in return for certain pious acts. Dating from the

fourteenth century, a pious act might be a contribution of money to the church.

In 1517, Pope Leo X had issued a special indulgence to finance the construction of a new St. Peter's Church in Rome that would replace an old, smaller one. Johann Tetzl, a well-known Dominican friar, appeared to sell these indulgences to rich and poor alike in Germany and sent the money to Leo. Tetzl was reputed to have used the crude words: "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs." Luther, horrified by this apparent trafficking in God's grace, wrote a series of statements decrying the selling of these indulgences and protesting the flow of money from Germany to Rome.

Tradition says that Luther tacked his list of arguments—the Ninety-five Theses—to the door of the church in Wittenberg, but he may well have simply sent it to his bishop. It seems that Luther merely wanted to engage a scholarly debate on the subject, but too many people were profoundly interested in this topic. The inflammatory theses were soon translated into German and circulated even more widely than if they had been publicly posted on the church

Ninety-five Theses

doors—they spread rapidly throughout Germany and beyond by way of the printing press. Their clearly drawn arguments and the passion that lay beneath them appealed to many intellectuals who criticized the church and to Germans who had begun to resent German money going to Italy. With Luther's strong words "It is foolish to think that papal indulgences . . . can absolve a man," the battle lines were drawn.

Luther's commitment to individual conscience over institutional obedience catalyzed major changes in his life that in turn shaped the emergence of the reformed church. It is somewhat ironic that within a generation, reformers would be enforcing institutional obedience with as much enthusiasm as the Catholics ever had. However, Luther himself pursued the logical consequences of his ideas. In Luther's new understanding, the monastic life made no religious sense; in the presence of God's grace, there was no need for heroic renunciations. Therefore, he left the monastery and married Katharina von Bora, a former nun, and wrote influential works on Christian marriage. He also composed moving hymns that transformed religious services. Furthermore, because he came to his understanding of religion through reading the Bible, Luther believed that it should be accessible to everyone, so he translated it into German. Indeed, this translation became his most influential legacy. Not only did it make the Bible available to an even wider group of readers; it also, through its popularity, helped shape the form of the developing German language.

Protestant Religious Ideas

Luther articulated a core of beliefs that subsequent religious groups would share, even as they departed from "Lutheranism." Christian churches (except the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox) that share these beliefs today are called **Protestant**. The word derives from the protest of some German princes at the Diet (assembly) of Speier in 1529. Over the objection of the Lutheran princes, that body decided to protect the Catholic Church's right to offer services in Lutheran lands while denying the same privilege to Lutherans in Catholic lands. The name "Protestant" remained long after the issue had been resolved.

For Luther and subsequent Protestant reformers, at the heart of religious belief lay a faith in God's mercy that transcended the need for any good works. The Protestants thus conceived of a "priesthood of all believers," in which women and men approached God directly in their search for salvation. There was no need for an ordained priesthood to convey grace to believers by performing the sacraments. Church leaders (whom Protestants called ministers, pastors, or preachers) could teach, preach, and guide Christian followers, but they could not help

Priesthood of all believers

them achieve salvation. Each person stood alone before God throughout his or her life, and on judgment day prayers to saints and to the Virgin Mary were no more helpful than prayers offered by any other Christian. When people's spiritual quests combined with the Renaissance sense of individualism, it changed even the path to God. At the heart of the Protestant search for salvation lay the principle of *sola scriptura*, a Latin phrase meaning "by Scripture alone." By that phrase, Luther meant to focus religious practice and beliefs only on things mentioned directly in the Bible, not acquired through long-standing traditions of the church. Within the context of a "priesthood of all believers," this meant that people should be encouraged to read the Bible, making translations of scriptures essential to Protestant worship. Of course, this meant that various Protestant groups might interpret scripture differently, which would lead to a good deal of diversity among reformers, but nevertheless, the reliance on scripture alone remained a hallmark of Protestant worship.

With their emphasis on the individual's relationship to God, Protestants rejected many of the elements that had characterized the medieval church. No longer were the faithful to venerate saints or the Virgin Mary, so many claimed the relics of saints and martyrs that filled the churches of Europe were worthless. Protestant faithful would not become pilgrims traveling to the great cathedrals and saints' shrines in search of blessings or miracles. Indeed, the statues of the saints and other icons seemed to many Protestants to promote idolatry, and there was periodic Protestant iconoclasm, or destroying of the sacred images in the churches. (See Figure 11.5.)

Just as Protestants downplayed the importance of the priesthood and the intercession of saints, they restricted the significance and number of the sacraments. In the Middle Ages, Catholics had identified seven sacraments important for salvation (including marriage and the last rites at death). Most (but not all) Protestant reformers accepted only two sacraments—baptism and the Eucharist (the celebration of Christ's Last Supper before his Crucifixion). Furthermore, they rejected **transubstantiation**, which said that the bread and wine offered up at mass were turned into the actual body and blood of Christ—a transformation that only an ordained priest could perform. Although Protestants may have rejected transubstantiation, they held various views on how Christ was present in the Eucharist, but because the bread and wine were not transformed, any believer could celebrate the Last Supper. As other Protestant groups branched off from Luther's initial thinking, they would emphasize some points of this theology over others. However, all of them shared the same basic principles: salvation by faith, not works; the Bible as the sole authority; and a "priesthood" made up of all believers.

Sacraments

These ideas spread rapidly in large part because they offered a simple and elegant answer to the question that had plagued so many: "How do I know I am saved?" Printing presses produced pamphlets and flyers offering these notions to the literate of towns and manors, and popular preachers told peasants in villages about Luther's challenge. Luther's seeds of revolution disseminated widely and found fertile soil.

The Reformed Church Takes Root in Germany

Luther's attack on tradition and hierarchy could not go unnoticed. In July 1519, at the Leipzig Debate, the Catholic theologian Johann Eck forced Luther to look at the logical consequences of his stand on indulgences and actually to deny the authority of popes and councils. After this turning point, Luther was more and more ready to make a full break with Rome. Finally, in 1521, Luther was called to appear before Charles V at the Diet of Worms to defend his views. Though confronted with over a thousand years of tradition, Luther nevertheless adhered to his understanding of scripture, and he reputedly made the famous reply: "To go against conscience is neither right nor safe. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise." During the Middle Ages, many men and women who had similarly stood by their beliefs had been executed for their stance. The political situation in Germany in the sixteenth century saved Luther from this fate—and turned his personal stance into a religious revolution.

Under pressure from Charles V to recant, Luther sought and received the protection of his prince, the powerful Frederick the Wise of Saxony. Figure 11.4 shows Frederick surrounded by Protestant reformers under his protection. Frederick, at the center of the image, has an imposing presence, with his gold chains and richly embroidered clothing. The reformers gather behind him, Martin Luther at the prince's right arm. This painting suggests the degree to which the Reformation drew strength from the support of powerful local leaders.

In addition to reasons of conscience, German princes had other motives for supporting Luther's ideas. The reformer's call to stop sending German money to Rome suited princes who felt the sharp sting of inflation. Princes could also benefit from confiscating wealthy Catholic properties (like churches and monasteries) in the name of religion. Luther's call for a break with Rome also appealed to a growing sense of German nationalism as distinct from the international Christendom represented by the Catholic Church. Some princes may have hoped that any weakening of the pope's authority would also diminish the power of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, whose authority derived in part from papal support. A weakened emperor meant more opportunities for the princes to bolster their own power.



FIGURE 11.4 Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Martin Luther and the Wittenberg Reformers*, sixteenth century

The Reformation in Germany was not only a product of the skill and piety of Martin Luther, shown on the left. The movement and its leaders also drew strength from the protection and patronage of the powerful Prince Frederick the Wise of Saxony, center.

Many poor, too, rallied to Luther's banner of religious reform, and this support took a particularly violent form in Germany. Spurred on by fiery preachers, peasants who **Peasants' war** suffered from hunger, inflation, and skyrocketing manorial dues made Luther's attack on religious abuses part of their revolutionary program. In 1524, German peasants circulated the Twelve Articles, in which they demanded such things as a reduction of manorial dues and services and preservation of their rights to use meadows and woods. These wants dealt directly with the peasants' concerns, but they couched their demands in references to scripture—a direct consequence of Luther's call for people to conduct their lives in accordance with their biblical readings. The

Twelve Articles claimed to "give a Christian reason for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire peasantry" and further promised "[if any of] the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God . . . we will willingly recede from [it]." This widely circulated pamphlet linked Protestant theology directly with revolution, and Germany erupted.

In 1524, a violent peasant war broke out. As the peasants took up arms and stormed manor houses, they called for support from Luther's religious reformers. However, Luther was no John Ball (the religious leader who had led the peasant revolt in England in 1381). He advocated religious reform, not social revolution, for he believed the Bible called for people to obey secular rulers. Appalled by the violence in the countryside, Luther wrote a treatise called "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants," in which he reprimanded peasants for defying legitimate government. He also urged those in power to "smite, slay and stab" rebellious peasants, but the nobility needed no urging from Luther to protect their privileges. The rebellion was brutally suppressed—more than 100,000 peasants were killed. The princes appreciated Luther's support of their repression and judged the movement perfectly consistent with their political needs. The Protestant Reformation thus found a warm welcome in the courts of many German princes.

By the time Charles V could turn his attention from the wars in Italy in the west and the Turkish threat in the east back to his German lands, the reformed church had taken firm root. At this point, Charles was in no position to uproot Lutheranism, which was supported by many of the great princes of the land. Furthermore, Charles's armies contained many Lutherans—as early as 1527, men among the rioting troops in Rome purportedly were calling for a silk rope to hang the pope. The emperor could not govern any longer without some accommodation.

Charles first tried to demand that his subjects come together under one religion. In 1530, he commanded all Lutherans to return to Catholicism or be arrested, but it was too late. Too many princes were willing to form a military alliance rather than obey. Then Charles tried compromise. In the 1540s, he encouraged talks between Lutherans and Catholics about the possibility of reconciliation, but these failed as well. By the 1550s, Lutheranism had captured about half the population of the empire.

In 1555, Charles's successor, Ferdinand, met with an alliance of German Lutheran princes to negotiate a compromise to settle the religious turmoil. The resulting Peace of Augsburg established the Lutheran Church as a legitimate alternative to Catholicism in Germany. By this treaty, each prince defined his principality as either Catholic or Lutheran. This compromise is known by the Latin phrase *cuius regio, eius religio*,

Peace of Augsburg

which means "who rules determines the religion." Residents of any principality who did not agree with their prince's religious decision were free to move to a more congenial location. The Catholic emperor Ferdinand, the pope, and many churchmen did not like this concession to Lutheranism, which split the unity of the Christian church. However, they had no choice but to accept the compromise forced by the strong German princes.

The Augsburg treaty opened the door for the Reformation to fragment Christian Europe into a complex mix of different Christian sects. In addition, other monarchs and princes besides those in Germany saw the advantage in separating from Rome. Scandinavian kings, for instance, followed the example of German princes in supporting Lutheranism. These conversions left many problems unsolved—what about groups other than Lutherans? What about dissenting voices within either Catholic or Protestant principalities? What was the relationship between the state and religion? While these questions smoldered, the fire of religious reform continued to spread through Europe.

Bringing Reform to the States in Switzerland

While Luther's call for reform was the first to gain a large audience, his was not a solitary voice. Shortly after Luther's challenge, reformers in Switzerland successfully challenged old religious ideas. Switzerland consisted of a loose confederation of states (called cantons) in which many residents were ready for change, and the very independence of the cantons facilitated acceptance of new religious ideas. In addition, many of the young men from the Swiss cantons served as mercenaries in the seemingly insatiable armies of Europe, and service generated a growing disdain for the established order. Just as in Germany, dissatisfaction and growing national spirit combined with a desire for religious reform.

The first leader of the Reformation in Switzerland was Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), who lived in the northern canton of Zurich. Zwingli had been strongly influenced by Erasmus's writings, and when he served as a chaplain with Swiss mercenaries, his longing for religious reform became joined with a desire to remove the Swiss confederation from the horrible wars.

In 1519 (a mere two years after Luther's challenge with his Ninety-five Theses), Zwingli became the priest of the main church in Zurich, and from there he began his own attack on traditional church practices. Like other Protestants, Zwingli believed Christians should practice only those things found in scripture, so his church in Zurich rejected such things as the veneration of saints, pilgrimages, purgatory, clerical celibacy, and most of the sacraments. In 1523, the city government in Zurich approved Zwingli's reforms, and Zurich became a Protestant city.

Zwingli

Zwingli and Luther shared many ideas, but would Protestants join together and form one church to oppose Catholicism? One German prince—Philip of Hesse—saw the advantages of consolidation and brought Luther and Zwingli together in 1529 at a meeting in Marburg to try to bring about an alliance. Although the two reformers agreed on virtually all points of doctrine, the meeting fell apart over their respective understanding of the nature of Christ's presence in the celebration of the Eucharist. Zwingli insisted the remembrance was symbolic, whereas Luther insisted that Christ's body was present as well as his spirit. As neither man could compromise with his conscience and his understanding of scripture, there would be no united Protestant church or state. The new reformed churches would go their separate ways.

Just as in Germany, Protestantism came to the Swiss cantons with violence. In 1529, civil wars broke out between Protestant and Catholic cantons, and Zwingli himself died on the battlefield in 1531. The cantons reached a resolution similar to that of the later Peace of Augsburg in Germany—each canton would determine its own religion. However, the fires of reform stirred in more consciences and continued to spread, bringing both more hope and more violence.

Anabaptists: The Radical Reformers

The reforms of Luther and Zwingli appealed to many people but were implemented by princes or urban governments. However, many people saw power and religion as incompatible. New groups took a more radical turn in their efforts to reform the church and to keep it untainted by politics, and these reformers seemed threatening even to Protestants like Lutherans and Swiss reformers. Most members of these sects were referred to by their opponents as Anabaptists, meaning "rebaptizers" (although many of them preferred to be called simply Baptists), because they believed baptism should be reserved for adults, who could make a conscious choice to receive the grace of the sacrament. The radical sects drew heavily from peasants and artisans, especially those suffering from poverty and the relentless warfare of the period.

Confrontation between Anabaptists and the rest of society stemmed mainly from the Anabaptists' views on the relationship between church and state. Many radical reformers advocated a complete separation of these two institutions. They even argued that the "saved" (or the "elect") should not participate in government (including serving in the armies that were vigorously recruiting in the villages). One especially pacifist form of Anabaptism emerged in the Netherlands, developed by Menno Simons (1496–1561). Simons led his followers, the Mennonites, into Germany and Poland.

While most Anabaptist groups were pacifists, others became revolutionaries fighting for what they believed was a religious cause—the ushering in of a biblically promised age of peace and prosperity during which the "meek shall inherit the earth." Some saw the horrors of war and famine in the sixteenth century as the expected biblical disasters and chose to take up arms to help fight against those who had previously oppressed the poor. In Germany in 1534, a fiery preacher named Melchior established a sect (called the Melchiorites) that gained political control of their city of Münster. They burned all books but the Bible, abolished private property, and introduced polygamy as they settled down to await the expected second coming of Christ. Lutherans and Catholics alike believed this was a threat to society, so they captured the city and massacred the Melchiorites. Thereafter, the radicals were persecuted by Catholics and other Protestants alike.

Radical reformers

Calvinism and the Growing Middle Class

As we have seen, the Swiss cantons with their prosperous middle class had voiced religious longings and aspirations under the guidance of Zwingli. In the mid-sixteenth century, another voice also appealed to many of these well-to-do people in cities throughout Europe. Many people found intellectual and spiritual satisfaction in the teachings of the brilliant French scholar John Calvin (1509–1564). While preparing for a career in law, Calvin had studied many humanist writings, and in about 1533, Calvin read some of Martin Luther's works. He experienced a profound calling to Protestant theology, as he said: "God by a sudden conversion subdued and brought my mind to a teachable frame." The new reformer soon experienced pressure from royal authorities who in the reign of Francis I began a periodic suppression of reformers. Calvin had to flee France to avoid persecution and found a safe haven in the Swiss city of Geneva, where he published the first edition of his masterwork, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536).

What was the nature of Calvin's vision that appealed particularly to the hardworking and often prosperous middle classes? Calvin accepted the basic elements of Protestant belief that Luther had articulated, but he added his own emphasis. Whereas Luther had focused on salvation as the goal of human struggle, Calvin urged people to recognize the majesty, power, and justice of God. Perhaps Calvin's greatest contribution to Reformation thought was to redirect theological speculation from individual salvation to a larger question of humans' place in the universe.

When he turned to the question of salvation, Calvin again emphasized the power of God, shown in **predestination**, the belief that God preordained who would be saved

Predestination

thinking about sources

DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 11.2

Marie Dentière Defends Reformation Women's Rights

In 1539, Marie Dentière (ca. 1495–1561) wrote a letter to Queen Marguerite of Navarre in which she defends the right of women to be active participants in the reformed churches. Selections from that letter appear below. Marie had been an abbess who left her monastery in the 1520s to come to Geneva and help bring about the Calvinist reform there. Within a few years, even the reformers in Geneva suppressed Dentière's work because it was written by a woman.

My very honored lady, since the true lovers of truth desire to know and understand how they ought to live in these very dangerous times, so too we women ought to know how to flee and to avoid all errors, heresies, and false doctrines, such as those of false Christians, Turks, infidels or others suspect in doctrine, as your writings have already very well demonstrated. . . .

I have not only wished, my lady, to write this letter for you but also to give courage to other women held in captivity, so that they will not fear exile from

their countries, relatives, and friends, like I was, for the word of God. And principally I write for the poor little women, who desire to know and understand the truth; those who do not know which path, which way they ought to take, so that in the future they are not so tormented and afflicted within themselves, but rather they will rejoice, be consoled, and be moved to follow the truth, which is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And also [I write] to give courage to my little daughter, your god-daughter, to give the printers a small Hebrew grammar that she has written in French for the use and benefit of other little girls. . . . Because as you well know, the female sex is more shameful than the other, and not without reason. For until now, the scriptures have been hidden from them and no one dared say a word [about it], and it seemed that women should neither read nor hear anything of holy letters, which is the principal reason, my lady, that moved me to write to you, hoping in God that in the future women will no longer be so scorned as in the past. Because from

or damned, even before a person was born. Calvin explained that if God were *only* just, everyone would be damned, for all people were sinful. However, God tempered his justice with mercy, reaching down into the flames of damnation and plucking some souls out to share salvation. Calvin called these souls that were predestined to be saved the elect; the rest would experience eternal damnation. Many believers who, like Luther, felt that humans could do nothing to earn their salvation found comfort in the concept of predestination. Although predestination was at the core of Calvin's beliefs, he never stressed it as much as his followers in subsequent generations did.

Many people seeking new paths to God were drawn to Geneva to join the exciting religious movement there. One such spiritual seeker was an ex-nun, Marie Dentière, who with her new husband was in the forefront of the reform movement in Geneva. Document 11.2, a letter from Marie to Queen Marguerite of Navarre, reveals a tension that arose as part of the

Reformers' theology: If all were responsible for their own salvation, did that mean women could preach and be leaders in the movement? Calvin, like Luther before him, rejected the idea that women should be leaders, but Marie expressed the ideas of many women—before and after her—that they, too, should be educated and preach the word of God.

As Calvinism took hold, Geneva became a vibrant center for Calvinist missionary work. Between 1555 and 1562, Calvin dispersed 100 preachers to the far-flung corners of Europe. Calvin had impressive organizational abilities, and he laid out directions for organizing congregations that explained how believers could establish underground groups to adopt Calvinism even where civil authorities were hostile. These techniques worked. The Netherlands were particularly receptive to Calvinist thought. In addition, many French cities soon amassed substantial Calvinist minorities, called **Huguenots**. German cities, too, began attracting

day to day God changes the heart of his people for the better, which, I pray, will soon be so throughout the land. . . .

Although there has been some imperfection in all women, nevertheless men have not been exempt from it. Why is it so necessary to criticize women, seeing that a woman never sold or betrayed Jesus, but a man named Judas? Who are the ones, I ask you, who have invented and fabricated so many ceremonies, heresies, and false doctrines on earth, if not men? And the poor women have been seduced by them. Never was a woman found to be a false prophet, although they have been fooled by them. By this I do not wish to excuse the great malice of some women, which can surpass all measure, but there is no reason to make a general rule of it without any exception as some do daily. . . .

FROM: Marie Dentière, "A Very Useful Letter written and composed by a Christian woman from Tournai, sent to the Queen of Navarre, sister of the King of France, Against the Turks, Jews, Infidels, False Christians, Anabaptists, and Lutherans (Geneva, 1539)," trans. and ed. Elisabeth Wengler.

Analyze the Source

1. What does Marie say was the purpose of her writing? Notice she gives several reasons.
2. What arguments does she marshal in favor of women's studying and preaching?

Spread of Calvinism

Calvinist minorities—a problem because the Peace of Augsburg recognized only Lutheranism and Catholicism as acceptable religions. The Scot John Knox (1514–1572) was dazzled by Calvin in Geneva and returned to Scotland, where he established Calvinism as the predominant form of Protestantism. Like Knox, others from the British Isles were drawn to the exciting ideas of the reformers.

Protestant reliance on individual conscience made believers uncomfortable with much of the religious art that had dominated Christian worship in the West. In addition, many Protestants believed that religious art smacked of idol worship, drained precious resources better used on the poor, or simply distracted worshipers from focusing on the word of God. These concerns caused believers in many regions to attack religious art. Most of the Reformation leaders disapproved of such violence, but nevertheless, much religious art was destroyed in Protestant countries. This iconoclasm is reminiscent of the eighth-century conflict that had destroyed so much art in the eastern Orthodox lands. (See Chapter 6.) The engraving in Figure 11.5 shows people destroying religious art in the Netherlands. Statues are tumbled and precious windows broken while soldiers are unable (or unwilling) to stop the violence.

As a second-generation Protestant, Calvin moved the Reformation forward in important ways. In his writings and his life, he worked to establish a positive definition of Protestantism, that is, not simply as “not Catholic.” In doing so, he articulated many of the theological principles that would define all Protestant churches. The passion for individualism and religious innovation kept Calvin (and anyone else) from uniting the various protest movements, but his intellect and strong faith made him an able advocate for Protestant thought.

Henry VIII and the English Church

In England in the 1520s, men with Protestant sympathies gathered to discuss some of Luther’s writings that had been smuggled in. Perhaps even more exciting to the reformers was William Tyndale’s English translation of the New Testament, which began to circulate in England in 1526. Protestant sympathies were growing on the island, but they would bear fruit from the actions of an unlikely ally—the king himself.

Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547), the proud king who appeared in state at the Field of the Cloth of Gold,



FIGURE 11.5 Destroying Images, 1566

Calvinists believed that the images that graced the churches were idolatry. This illustration from a work published in 1568 by Franz Hogenberg shows people in the Netherlands destroying these images in a riot.

was not initially a reformer. In fact, he had written an attack against Martin Luther in 1521 called the *Defense of the Seven Sacraments*, and Pope Leo X awarded him the title Defender of the Faith for his support. (Ironically, Protestant English monarchs still retain this title.) Although many English people wanted religious reform and some felt a strong antipathy toward the pope, it did not seem as if their king would lead them in a break with Rome. But Henry’s desperate need for a male heir changed all this.

Remembering the devastating Wars of the Roses (Chapter 9) that had brought his Tudor dynasty to power, Henry believed he needed a male heir to secure the succession. His wife of eighteen years, Catherine of Aragon, had failed to produce one. Henry began to believe that God disapproved of this marriage, for he had married the widow of his brother (a practice normally forbidden) and had received special permission from the pope to do so. Henry also had fallen in love with a beautiful and bright young woman, Anne Boleyn. Anne did not want to become another of the king’s mistresses, so she held off his amorous advances, insisting on a promise of marriage; first, Henry needed an annulment from the pope to end his first marriage.

Seeking a male heir

Ordinarily, such royal annulments were easy to obtain because the popes had traditionally acquiesced to royal wishes. However, just as Charles V’s absence from Germany in the Italian Habsburg-Valois Wars allowed Lutheranism to take hold, it also facilitated religious reform in England. Henry wanted his divorce in 1527, just as Charles V’s troops were sacking Rome and

virtually holding Pope Clement VII prisoner. The pope needed the goodwill of Charles to restore order and Henry's queen, Catherine, was Charles V's aunt. The pope dragged his feet in granting Henry his annulment.

In 1533, Anne Boleyn, persuaded that the king would marry her, became pregnant. Now Henry was running out of time for his annulment, for he wanted Anne's child to be born legitimate. Henry's two principal advisors—Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell—devised a way for Henry to get his annulment. Parliament passed an act making the archbishop of Canterbury the highest ecclesiastical official in England (cutting off the pope's authority). Then Thomas Cranmer ruled that Henry's marriage to Catherine was "null and void," so Henry was free to marry Anne. He did so, and three months later, much to the king's dismay, she gave birth to a girl, the future Queen Elizabeth. (Henry finally had a male heir by his third wife, after Anne was beheaded for adultery, but the king would eventually marry six women in his quest for heirs and personal happiness.)

Henry's annulment

Henry had gotten his annulment, but the force of religious reform he had unleashed continued its momentum. Parliament passed a number of measures designed to control the Catholic clergy and finally passed the Act of Supremacy (1534) that declared the king the supreme head of the Church of England. This break with the papacy established the Church of England as a separate church (which later was also called Protestant), but not everyone in England welcomed this major reform. The most notable dissenter was the humanist Thomas More (1478–1535) (see Chapter 10), whose conscience would not allow him to obey a secular ruler in matters of faith, and he refused to swear an oath acknowledging the king's ecclesiastical supremacy. More was beheaded for his dissent, and this man of high integrity died blessing the king who had been his great friend, saying: "I die the king's good servant, but God's first."

Church of England

Henry's position toward the reformers vacillated throughout his life. He did not support all the Protestant religious ideas—for example, he reaffirmed transubstantiation, which all the Protestants rejected. In fact, he considered himself a Catholic, although not a "Roman" Catholic. However, the powerful king readily implemented Reformation ideas that enriched his coffers and weakened the power of the Catholic Church. He shared the reformers' rejection of the monastic life and dissolved all the monasteries in England, confiscating their extensive lands and wealth. The king's treasury bulged from the confiscations, and many English religious reformers were satisfied with his new policies. However, the Church of England (also called the Anglican Church) really became Protestant under the reign of Henry's son.

Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, finally bore him a son, Edward, in 1537. However, the boy was sickly when he took the throne upon Henry's death in 1547. Edward VI (r. 1547–1553) was a bright youth who was fond of Protestant theology, but he was young. Because of Edward's age, England was in fact ruled by a council of regents who wanted to solidify Protestantism in England.

Edward VI

The painting in Figure 11.6 shows the young king Edward VI at the center of the portrait, with his dying father on the left. The composition reveals the difficulties faced by the rule of a minor during these tumultuous times. The dying king, extending his right arm, transmits his blessing to rule, but the portrait includes many others with the father and son. On the right is the full Privy Council, which was to manage England during the boy king's minority. Seated next to Edward is his uncle, Edward Seymour, who served as the first Lord Protector of England. Seymour's successor, John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, is seated next to him. During Edward VI's brief six-year reign, both dukes would try to usurp power. Beneath the young king in the painting, the pope and monks are crushed by the scriptures, while outside the window, iconoclastic Protestants destroy churches and images. Indeed, during the regency of the young king, Catholicism came under attack in England.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer issued a Protestant manual of worship, *The Book of Common Prayer*, and Parliament issued the Act of Uniformity in 1549, making the prayer book's use mandatory for religious service throughout the kingdom. It seemed as if the Church of England was securely established, but the English would suffer more upheavals before religious peace reigned.

The 16-year-old Edward died without an heir, and the kingdom next went to his elder sister, Mary (r. 1553–1558), daughter of Catherine of Aragon, Henry's first wife. A staunch Catholic, Mary promptly set about undoing the Protestant reforms and returning England to the protective bosom of Rome. Although many prominent Protestants had fled to the Continent upon Mary's accession, the queen attempted to force remaining Protestants to renounce their beliefs. Bloody Mary ordered some 280 Protestants burned for "religious treason," including Archbishop Cranmer, who had originally granted Henry VIII his divorce. The English public was even more upset by her marriage to Charles V's son Philip II, the Catholic king of Spain. However, the marriage did not produce an heir who could continue her Catholic policies.

"Bloody Mary"

Upon Mary's death, the throne went to her half-sister, Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), whose rule would earn her the affectionate nickname Good Queen Bess. Elizabeth proved a brilliant



FIGURE 11.6 Anonymous, *King Edward VI (1537–53) and the Pope*, 1568–1571

This work commemorates—and tries to ensure—the successful reestablishment of the Church of England by the young king Edward VI.

politician who skillfully positioned herself at the center of a contentious court. As the portrait in **Figure 11.7** shows, she portrayed herself as a haughty, yet gracious queen who cared deeply for her subjects. She also remained unmarried (the ermine on her left arm in the painting is the symbol of virginity) and used that condition for her own diplomatic advantage by holding out

Elizabeth I

the possibility of marrying into other European royal houses. Though arrogant and vain, Elizabeth was also a shrewd and frugal ruler who well deserved her people's grateful affection.

In matters of religion, Elizabeth did not worry about the fine points of theology. The young queen was appalled at the violence and destruction caused by the religious controversies, and she felt deeply responsible for maintaining peace in her realm while allowing people to follow their consciences. However, she was insistent on loyalty above all else, and she persecuted Catholics, who she felt had divided loyalties. She wanted to unify England around a Protestant core but also allow her loyal subjects latitude in religious practice and belief. For example, the prayer book that she instituted let people of differing convictions pray together in a national church. This moderate

approach was effective: For a while, England basked in a time of peace that fostered an intellectual flowering (see Chapter 10) and an era of international expansion (see Chapter 12).

Even as Elizabeth moved England toward moderation in religion, Scotland stood firm with the Calvinism preached by John Knox. In 1560, a Reformed Parliament gathered in Scotland and made a decisive break with *Scotland's church* Catholic France in favor of Protestant England. However, Scotland was to put its own mark on its church, which was established by the Scots Confession of 1560. Knox composed the church's liturgy, the *Book of Common Order*, which demonstrated how the Scottish church departed from the Anglican one. The Scots emphasized individual Christian conscience over ecclesiastical authority, and instead of placing bishops in authority, they established a Presbyterian form of organization that gave authority to pastors and elders of the congregations. The resulting Presbyterian congregations were more independent than the Episcopal congregations of the Anglican Church.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the old medieval notion of a Europe united under the protection



FIGURE 11.7 *Attributed to William Segan, Portrait of Elizabeth I, 1585*

The shrewd Elizabeth brought a moderate approach to religious reform that allowed England to flourish. Her portraits both advertised her accomplishments and soothed her vanity.

of a uniform Christianity had evaporated. **Map 11.2** shows the religious diversity that characterized Christian Europe at the end of the sixteenth century.

Europe divided

Lutheran and Anglican churches were accepted by princes and rulers. Calvinists formed a solid minority in many areas. Many rulers struggled to grapple with even this degree of diversity. Yet Protestantism, by its very nature, had the potential to yield even more divisions. Once the door had opened for individuals to define their own way to God, there was no limit to the paths that people might create. However, the Catholic Church could not ignore these theological controversies and cries for reform, and in the sixteenth century, Catholicism searched its own conscience.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

Even before Luther circulated his devastating criticism, many leaders in the Catholic Church were working to reform abuses and bring to Catholic worship new

insights about textual criticism of Christian humanism. Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) in Florence, for example, had urged reform of the Renaissance papacy (see Chapter 10). His was not an isolated voice, though, for even popes in the early sixteenth century called councils and promulgated decrees aimed at reform. This movement of religious reform is called the Catholic Reformation by Catholics and the Counter-Reformation by Protestants, who saw these reforms as a response to the Protestant challenge. However, many of these religious reflections grew out of a continuing Catholic discussion that followed the Great Schism, the Conciliar movement, and the rule of the politically active Renaissance popes. Popes faced a tough challenge in implementing reforms at that time, because the Habsburg-Valois Wars occupied the attention of the Catholic kings Charles V and Francis I, who in normal times would have backed the papacy. These wars also carried a high financial price for the popes—during the sack of Rome in 1527, for example, imperial troops made off with mounds of gold coins from the papal treasury. To recover their losses, the popes stepped up the sort of fund-raising that had so incited Luther. Practical reform had to wait for peace.

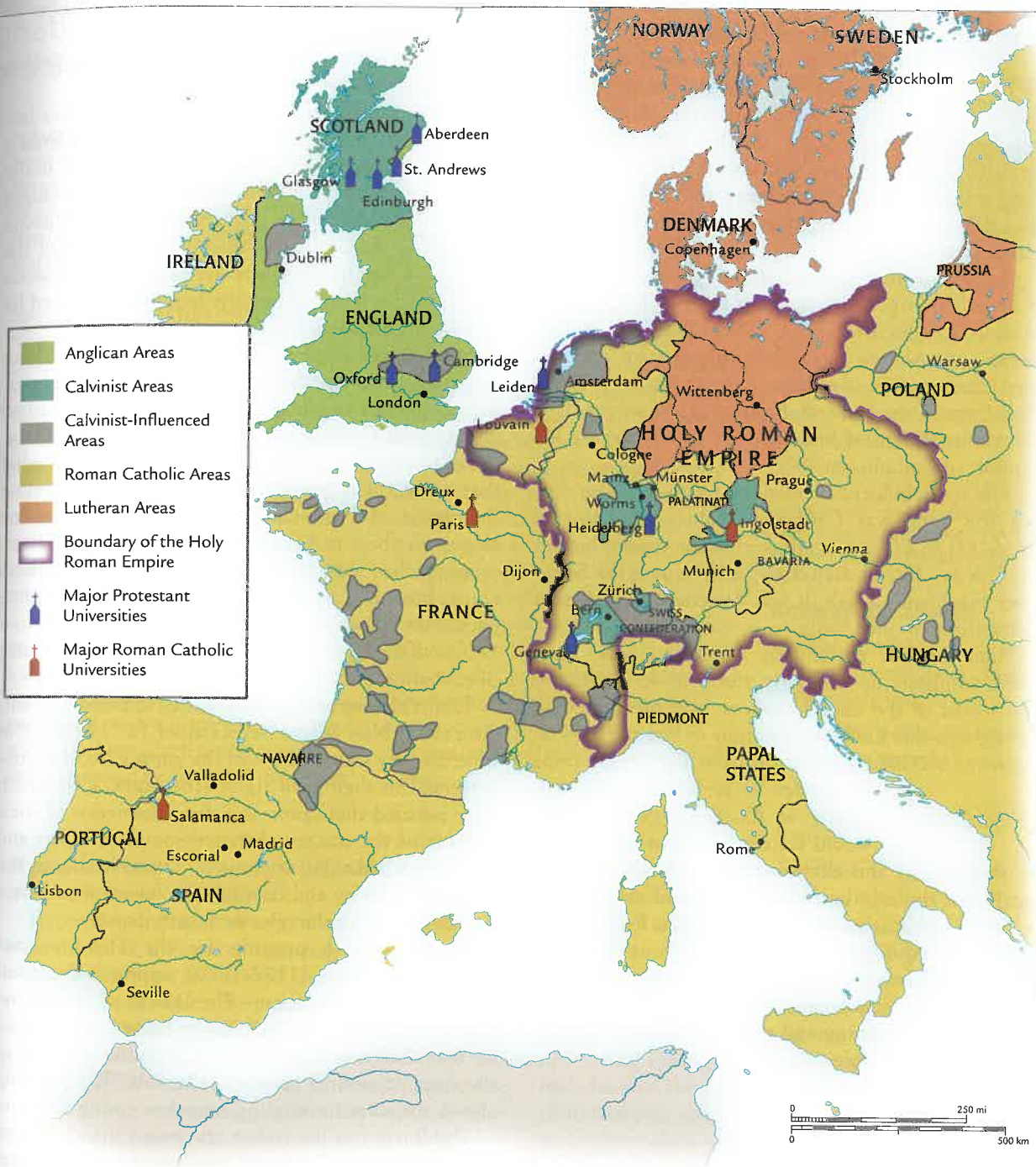
The Stirring of Reform in Spain

In the fifteenth century, Spain emerged from its medieval decentralization and became a strong, unified kingdom. In 1469, Isabella (r. 1474–1504) and Ferdinand (r. 1479–1516) married, joining the kingdoms of Leon-Castile and Aragon (see **Map 8.5**). They immediately set about reducing the power of the nobility and establishing a centralized power. As part of their consolidation of royal authority, the two monarchs obtained permission from the pope to establish their own inquisition, directed against converted Jews and former Muslims who were suspected of secretly practicing their old faith. This newly established court brought great suffering to many of Spain's loyal citizens.

Ferdinand and Isabella became known as the "Catholic monarchs," emphasizing their faith and the degree to which they believed they carried the banner of an invigorated Catholicism. As part of their goal of a centralized and religiously homogenous Spain, they resumed the reconquest of the peninsula that had dominated the history of medieval Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella

As part of their drive to unify Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella obtained permission from the pope in 1478 to establish an Inquisition to try to ensure religious homogeneity in their newly conquered territories. This court was different from the medieval Inquisition (described in Chapter 8), for it was under the control of the monarchy instead of the papacy. In Spain, the Inquisition was run by a royal council and was charged



MAP 11.2
Religions in Europe,
ca. 1600

This map shows the distribution of the major centers of Catholics and Protestants in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century. Notice that there were strong Calvinist minorities in some countries.

Explore the Map

1. Where were Protestant minorities most likely to confront religious turmoil? Why?
2. Why might Catholics have felt threatened, even though Europe remained largely Catholic?

with examining converted Muslims and Jews to see if they continued secretly to practice their old religions. Under the control of the secular authorities, these trials led to suffering and public executions.

The reconquest ended in 1492, when the monarchs besieged Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in the south of Spain. In the same year, all Jews were expelled from Spain. Some 150,000 were given four months to leave. As we will see in Chapter 12, the same crusading zeal would extend across the Atlantic. By 1492, Spain was well placed to take the lead in fostering Catholicism against the forces of Protestantism.

As part of their dynastic aims, Ferdinand and Isabella had arranged marriages for their children to the leading families of Europe. Their daughter Joanna became the wife of the Habsburg archduke, and her son Charles V became heir to both Spain and the Habsburg lands. With such pious grandparents, it is not surprising that Charles V was so vigorous in his support of Catholicism.

The most influential religious figure in Spain during this time was Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517). He was confessor to the queen, bishop of Toledo, Grand Inquisitor, and regent of Spain after Ferdinand's death. It was Ximénez who brought humanist ideas into Spain.

Ximénez was particularly impressed with Erasmus's emphasis on scholarly study of scripture and the works of the church fathers, and he wanted to strengthen this kind of education in Spain. In 1498, Ximénez received permission from the Borgia pope

Cardinal Ximénez

Alexander VI to found a new university at Alcalá de Henares that would feature humanist approaches to theological and ecclesiastical studies. The high quality of the scholarship at the school drew notice with the publication of the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (1520), an edition of the Bible written in three columns that compared the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin versions. This scholarship represented a high point in humanistic learning and new critical techniques in the study of the Bible.

The Society of Jesus

Throughout its history, the Catholic Church had been reformed by monastic and mendicant orders that infused new life and ideas into the church. This pattern continued in the sixteenth century. Several new orders emerged, but the most influential was the Society of Jesus, whose members were called **Jesuits**.

The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a soldier in the service of the Spanish monarch. In battle a cannonball shattered Loyola's legs, and he had a long and painful recovery—his legs had to be set and rebroken twice (without

anesthesia) because they were healing crookedly. During his recuperation, Loyola read stories of Christian saints and decided to dedicate himself as a soldier of Christ. Loyola trained himself for a spiritual life with the same rigor that **Jesuits established** marked his military practice. In his quest, he was influenced by Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and wrote his own book that offered a Catholic version of the personal search for God. In the widely read work, *The Spiritual Exercises*, Loyola taught how spiritual discipline could satisfy people's desire to reach up to God while obeying the orders of the Catholic Church. Here was the perfect combination of Catholic orthodoxy and the longings expressed by Protestant reformers.

In 1540, the pope established the Society of Jesus as a religious order, and the Jesuits, who vowed perfect obedience to the papacy, became the vanguard of reformed Catholicism. These men devoted themselves to education, sharing Cardinal Ximénez's belief that a Christian humanist education would combat the threat of Protestantism. Their schools became among the best in Europe, drawing even some Protestants who were willing to risk their children's conversion to Catholicism in exchange for the fine education. Document 11.3 contains a letter from Loyola that explains his recognition of the importance of education.

Jesuits also served as missionaries to bring Catholicism to the New World (see Chapter 12). However, in time the new shock troops of the papacy became controversial in their own right—the vigor with which they pursued their aims and the vehemence of their support of the papacy alienated some Catholics and Protestants alike. But there is no question that in the sixteenth century and beyond, the Jesuits would be a powerful force in the reformed Catholicism.

Figure 11.8, a painting by the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), captures the spirit of reformed Catholicism. *The Miracles of St. Ignatius* was commissioned in 1620 to be placed in the Jesuits' first church in Antwerp in 1622 on the occasion of the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola. The painting shows the saint performing miracles: easing the pain of childbirth (on the right), reviving a suicide victim long enough for the dying man to take the last rites (in the foreground), and casting out demons (on the left). The image praises traditional Catholic doctrine, showing the efficacy of saints by representing them as intermediaries between people and God. In the same way, Loyola is positioned in the vertical center of the painting. Rubens also affirms the importance of the sacrament of last rites (attacked by the Protestants) by depicting it as the occasion of a miracle. Finally, this work points out that, in less than a century, Loyola's accomplishments had earned him the status

DOCUMENT 11.3

Ignatius Loyola Argues for Education as a Solution

In August 1554, Ignatius Loyola wrote a letter in which he reveals his desire to stop the growth of Protestantism. In this letter, he advocates education as the best way to stop Catholics from embracing the Protestant theology.

Seeing the progress which the heretics have made in a short time, spreading the poison of their evil teaching throughout so many countries and peoples . . . it would seem that our Society . . . should be solicitous to prepare the proper steps, such as are quickly applied and can be widely adopted, thus exerting itself to the utmost of its powers to preserve what is still sound and to restore what has fallen sick of the plague of heresy, especially in the northern nations.

The heretics have made their false theology popular and presented it in a way that is within the capacity of the common people. They preach it to the people and teach it in the schools, and scatter booklets which can be bought and understood by many, and make their

influence felt by means of their writings when they cannot do so by their preaching. Their success is largely due to the negligence of those who should have shown some interest; and the bad example and the ignorance of Catholics, especially the clergy, have made such ravages in the vineyard of the Lord. Hence it would seem that our Society should make use of the following means to put a stop and apply a remedy to the evils which have come upon the Church through these heretics.

In the first place, the sound theology which is taught in the universities and seeks its foundation in philosophy, and therefore requires a long time to acquire is adapted only to good and alert minds. . . . It would be good to make a summary of theology to deal with topics that are important but not controversial, and with great brevity. . . . In this way theologians could be produced in a short time who could take care of the preaching and teaching in many places. . . .

The principal conclusion of this theology, in the form of a short catechism [instructional manual] could be taught to children, as the Christian doctrine is now taught, and likewise to the common people who are not too infected or too capable of subtleties. This could also be done with the younger students in the lower classes, where they could learn it by heart. . . .

Another excellent means for helping the Church in this trial would be to multiply the colleges and schools of the Society in many lands, especially where a good attendance could be expected. . . .

FROM: Ignatius Loyola, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, vol. 12 (Madrid, 1904), pp. 259–262, in Robert E. Van Voorst, *Readings in Christianity* (New York: Wadsworth Publishing, 1996), pp. 211–213.

Analyze the Source

1. What does Loyola argue are the main reasons for the spread of Protestant beliefs?
2. How effective do you think his solutions might be?

of sainthood and his Society of Jesus had become the army of the new Catholicism.

Rubens's painting is an example of a new style of painting (and the arts in general) called **baroque**, which also served to forward the ideas and spirit of reformed Catholicism. Baroque art was characterized by passion, drama, and awe and was designed to involve the audience. Catholic patrons, in particular, spurred this art that spoke as eloquently of Catholic doctrine and passion as a Jesuit sermon. However, before either the new art style or the energetic order of Jesuits could be effective, the church had to agree on its doctrine in response to the Protestant critique.

Baroque art

The Council of Trent, 1545–1563

With the conclusion of the Habsburg-Valois Wars, the Catholic monarchs could focus on the divisive religious questions of the day. After the treaty of

1544 that ended the wars, church leaders from all over Europe gathered in northern Italy at Trent, and the council met intermittently from 1545 to 1563. Charles wanted the council to concentrate on reforming abuses, and it confronted this thorny issue honestly, establishing stern measures to clean up clerical corruption, ignorance, and apathy. They even banned the selling of indulgences and the office of indulgence-seller. But the real work of the council took place when it confronted the theological debate that had driven the Protestants from the church. As these leaders clarified their beliefs, it became obvious that there would be no compromise with Protestant Christianity.

Reforming corruption

The Council of Trent determined that Catholics did *not* stand alone before God. Rather, it claimed, the community of the faithful, both living and dead, could help a Catholic to salvation. Thus prayers to the saints and to the Virgin Mary *did* matter. The church also affirmed the existence of purgatory and the power of

Affirming doctrine



FIGURE 11.8 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Ignatius*, 1620

Baroque artists portrayed the passions that accompanied the deep spirituality of the reformed Catholic faith. Here, Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, performs miracles as he stands as an intermediary between people and God.

prayer and even indulgences to free souls from their punishment.

These churchmen rejected Protestants by reaffirming their position that Christians needed both faith and good works to go to heaven. For Catholics, the sacraments by their very nature conveyed grace, so the council reaffirmed the existence of all seven rites. In further rejection of Protestant criticism, Catholics retained their idea of transubstantiation, by which priests presided over the transformation of the wine and host into the blood and body of Christ.

Like Rubens, the Spanish painter El Greco (the Greek) (1547–1614) was a baroque painter who reaffirmed Catholic theology. El Greco's painting *Burial*

of the Count of Orgaz (Figure 11.9) is less about the burial of one man than about the theological stance of the Council of Trent. The dead count does not face his maker alone. Instead, he is buried with the full ceremony of the church presided over by the bishop. El Greco also shows saints Augustine and Stephen miraculously appearing and helping with the burial. The count's way to heaven is paved by the prayers of the living who surround the scene and the Virgin Mary, who sits between the dead man and Jesus as an intermediary for the count's soul. The painting depicts heaven as filled with saints and the souls of other saved individuals, who also pray for the count and help him enter their community. By all these means, the picture visually reaffirms the theology established at the Council of Trent.

El Greco

While debating and refining their beliefs, the churchmen used principles that had guided previous councils and looked to two authorities—scripture and tradition. Armed with these pillars of Christian thought, they prepared to answer Luther and the other Protestants, who recognized only their own consciences and the complete authority of the Holy Book. Catholics, the Trent council argued, could draw strength from the body of practices that the faithful had accumulated over the course of a millennium. In 1557, the papacy began to publish an Index of Prohibited Books, a list of works that theologians had determined contained errors. This list was intended to protect the faithful from “incorrect” ideas in an age that was not yet used to the flurry of publications made available by the printing press. (The index was abolished in 1966.)

Scripture and tradition

With its doctrine thus established, the Catholic Church showed a new strength and confidence. Dissenters had gone to other sects, leaving a vigorous corps of dedicated believers to challenge the Protestants head-on.

With its doctrine thus established, the Catholic Church showed a new strength and confidence. Dissenters had gone to other sects, leaving a vigorous corps of dedicated believers to challenge the Protestants head-on.

Catholics on the Offense

Throughout this period, as we have seen with baroque art, many Catholics expressed their faith with more passion and mystical emotion than they had shown in centuries. Teresa of Avila, Spain (1515–1582), a sixteenth-century mystic who quickly became a saint, exemplified this newfound energy. The daughter of a converted Jew, Teresa entered a convent and experienced a series of visions. Not only a mystic, Teresa was an active reformer, establishing new convents for

women as part of her dedication to a reinvigorated Catholicism. Her mystical writing, *Way of Perfection*, ensured her influence, for it inspired the pope to declare her a Doctor of the Church (which means that her writings were worthy of study). Soon she became the patron saint of Spain, replacing Saint James (Santiago), who had held that honor throughout the Middle Ages. The example of Teresa and other mystics offered the church a strong weapon to show skeptics the deep and passionate faith that came with Catholic worship.

The church also looked to the Spanish king to champion the Catholic cause in the political and military arena. Philip II (r. 1556–1588), Charles V's

Philip II

heir to the kingdoms of Spain and the Netherlands, had an unparalleled zeal for both the Catholic religion and empire. Philip moved his capital from Toledo, a cramped medieval city, to the newly built city of Madrid, chosen because it was the geographic center of the Iberian Peninsula.

Philip faced two dire threats to the Catholic faith: the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean and the Protestants in the north. In 1571, he assembled a league that included a number of Italian city-states and set out to challenge the Turks' supremacy in the Mediterranean. The Venetians, who had a large fleet and were highly motivated by their trading interests in the eastern Mediterranean, were particularly eager to join Philip's navy. Outfitted with 208 galleys—sleek warships rowed by slaves and armed with cannons—Philip's navy confronted the Turks' 230 warships at the Battle of Lepanto, off the coast of Greece. **Figure 11.10** depicts what the scene may have looked like. In this graphic image, cannons blaze and battering rams thrust forward as the galleys draw together.

When the smoke cleared after this spectacular battle, Philip's coalition had scored a decisive victory. The Turks lost two hundred warships, the Europeans only ten. Tens of thousands of men on both sides died in the fighting, and contemporary witnesses described the sea as running red with blood. Nevertheless, the success at Lepanto raised Catholics' spirits throughout the West. The navy had proved that Turkish power in the Mediterranean was not invincible after all. Indeed, some western Catholics began toying with the idea of invading the Ottoman Empire itself. But the Catholic monarchs had other adversaries in mind. Again, the kings of Europe went to war. This time, though, they marched against the Protestants in a series of battles that would drag on for a century and tear apart the soul of Europe.



FIGURE 11.9 El Greco, *Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, ca. 1586 Reformed Catholicism disagreed with Protestant views in asserting that the dead can be helped by the prayers of the living and by the intercession of the dead themselves. The famous Spanish painter El Greco illustrated these beliefs in this scene of the burial of a count.

* = Catholic

PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC REFORMERS

ca. 1320–1384	John Wycliffe
1415	Jan Hus executed
1511	Erasmus, <i>Praise of Folly</i>
*1515–1582	Teresa of Avila
1517	Martin Luther, <i>Ninety-Five Theses</i>
1519	Zwingli's reform in Switzerland
*1520	Ximénez, <i>Complutensian Polyglot Bible</i> , Spain
1521	Luther at Diet of Worms
1534	Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy in England
1536	Calvin, <i>Institutes of Christian Religion</i>
*1540	Loyola founds Society of Jesus
*1545–1563	Council of Trent

KEY DATES



FIGURE 11.10 Anonymous, *The Battle of Lepanto*, 1571

This depiction of the famous Battle of Lepanto highlights the dramatic contrast between the old and the new warfare at sea. The Muslim ships' banks of oars are used to power the ramming of the enemy fleet, while the smoke of Spanish cannon fire from the high-hulled Spanish ships signals the naval combat of the future.

EUROPE ERUPTS AGAIN: A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARFARE,

1559–1648

The Reformation had done far more than just establish alternative Christian sects—it raised the possibility that individuals might follow their own consciences in matters of religion. In a society in which the church served as the central institution in people's lives, this radical new idea struck at the very foundation of European politics and social realities. From the time the Roman emperor Constantine supported the Catholic Church (see Chapter 5), people always assumed that there was an identity of belief between rulers and subjects. Political loyalty was considered a religious phenomenon; the Protestant Reformation questioned this assumption.

In fact, the wars of religion that scourged Europe from 1559 to 1648 involved much more than the proper way to worship God. They also centered on the question of what constituted a state—specifically, whether one state could encompass various religious

expressions. Like the peasant wars in Germany in 1524, these new hostilities involved religion, but they had significant economic, political, and social dimensions as well.

French Wars of Religion, 1562–1598

By the 1550s, Calvinism had gained a good deal of strength in France among the peasants and in the towns of the south and southwest (including villages like that of Martin Guerre in the Biography). Although the French Calvinists (Huguenots) remained a minority—only about 7 percent of the population—they were well organized. Local congregations governed by ministers sent representatives to district assemblies that in turn coordinated their efforts with a national assembly and even mustered troops from local churches. This impressive minority even began to recruit members from the nobility—possibly 40 percent of French nobles had become Huguenots. Great noble families took the lead in forwarding their religious (and in turn political) interests—the Guises led the Catholics, and

the Bourbons championed the Huguenots. By the mid-sixteenth century, French Protestantism was a force to be reckoned with and the French kings took notice.

Francis I (r. 1515–1547) and his heir, Henry II (r. 1547–1559), were both powerful kings who based their authority in part on a strong Catholic stance. However, this royal power was broken by a freak accident. King Henry was celebrating the wedding of his daughter by fighting in a joust (the war game still much beloved by the nobility), but during the last joust of the day, his opponent's lance shattered, gouging Henry's eye. Henry died of complications of this wound, leaving his widow, the Italian Catherine de' Medici, to rule as regent for her young sons from 1559 to 1589.

Catherine tried to preserve royal control, but her efforts were impeded by the struggle for power between the Guises and the Bourbons, both of whom had family ties to the monarchy and hoped to inherit the throne. Politics here intertwined with religion and the time was ripe for civil war. Fighting broke out in 1562, when the Duke of Guise massacred a Huguenot congregation, and it continued for about thirty-six years (with brief respites). The Huguenot forces, though outnumbered, were too well organized to be defeated. The most infamous point of these wars was the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which took place on August 23, 1572, just when peace seemed imminent.

A religious compromise seemed to be on the horizon with a marriage between Catherine's daughter and the Bourbon leader of the Huguenots, Henry of Navarre. However, the mutual suspicions and desire for revenge had not subsided—the Guise family persuaded the young king Charles IX (r. 1560–1574) that the Huguenot gathering for the wedding was a plot against the crown. The king then ordered his guard to kill all the Protestant leadership. On the morning of Saint Bartholomew's Day, the soldiers unleashed a massacre against Protestants.

Although the young bridegroom escaped assassination, many others did not. Thousands were murdered, and the painting shown in Figure 11.11 depicts a contemporary witness's memory of the slaughter. The massacre raged for six days, and as the image shows, it was particularly brutal. Women and infants were not spared, and the painting shows that even corpses were mutilated as religious fervor introduced a bloodbath. This violence did not end the wars, however. Civil war continued in France until King Henry III (r. 1574–1589) was assassinated, leaving no heir.

The next in line for the throne was Henry of Navarre—the Protestant bridegroom who survived the massacre. Recognizing that the overwhelmingly Catholic population would not accept a reformist king,

he converted to Catholicism, reputedly saying, "Paris is worth a mass." Sympathetic to both religions, the new king, Henry IV (r. 1589–1610), issued the Edict of Nantes (1598), which ended the religious wars and introduced religious toleration in France. However, a subsequent king (Louis XIV, discussed in Chapter 13) who believed that a nation was defined by loyalty to one religion would overturn Henry's policy. But for the time being at least, France gained a small respite from the violence of intolerance. The rest of Europe was not so lucky.

A "Council of Blood" in the Netherlands, 1566–1609

In addition to Spain, the Catholic king Philip II ruled over the Netherlands, which consisted of seventeen provinces. (Today these provinces are Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg.) Trouble began when Philip began to exert more control over the provinces—he restructured the Catholic Church to weaken the local aristocracy, he insisted on billeting troops locally, and he levied new taxes, all of which offended the Dutch.

In response, riots broke out in 1566, and Dutch Protestants, though still a tiny minority, rebelled against their Spanish, Catholic overlords. In a spasm of violence, they destroyed Catholic Church property, smashing images of saints and desecrating the host. Philip was enraged. Vowing to silence the rebels, he sent the largest land army ever assembled into the Netherlands to crush the Protestants and bring the province back under his Catholic rule. In 1572, organized revolt broke out and war officially began.

Philip's crackdown ignited a savage forty-year contest in which the Spanish general, the "iron duke of Alba," presided over a slaughter of thousands of Protestants in what he called a "Council of Troubles," but what the Protestants called the "Council of Blood." Calvinist preachers retaliated by giving their congregations complete license to kill the invaders. To protect themselves, the towns of the Netherlands even opened their dikes to flood their country rather than give in to Philip's armies. The Dutch found an able leader in William of Orange, a nobleman known for his wise counsel, who took charge in 1580. William was assassinated four years later, and the murderer was publicly tortured to death as blood continued to flow in the Netherlands.

The defiance of the Dutch cost Philip more than the loss of soldiers and huge amounts of gold to finance the wars. It also diverted his attention northward, away from his victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571. Preoccupied by events in the Netherlands, he failed to ride the wave of widespread Christian antipathy

Catholics vs.
Huguenots

Saint
Bartholomew's
Day Massacre

Peace in France

Revolt breaks out



FIGURE 11.11 Françoise Dubois, *St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre*, ca. 1576

A massacre of French Protestants began on Saint Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572) and lasted six days. Even this violence did not end the brutal struggle for religious supremacy.

toward the Turks and launch a decisive campaign against the enemy in the eastern Mediterranean.

Philip also tried to "save" England from the Protestantism that Henry VIII had introduced. Philip had married Henry's Catholic daughter, Mary (r. 1553–1558), and when she died without an heir, the Spanish king proposed matrimony to her sister, Elizabeth I. But

Armada against England

the Protestant Elizabeth refused his attentions and even dared support the Netherlands against him. Philip struck back by hurling the full force of his navy against England, sending a huge fleet across the English Channel in 1588. What happened next stood in stark contrast to Philip's triumph at Lepanto. Instead of scoring an easy victory, the Spanish Armada was wiped out by the well-armed English ships and the sudden onslaught of violent storms in the North Sea (what the English would later call a "Protestant wind").

Netherlands split

Philip never succeeded in subduing the Protestants in the Netherlands; the conflict dragged on until the deaths of both Philip and Elizabeth. In 1609, the two sides finally drew up an agreement that gave the northern provinces virtual independence. The final recognition of an independent Netherlands would have to wait until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

After the final settlement, Protestants in the southern provinces moved north to escape continuing Spanish rule in the south, so the two provinces became divided along religious lines. The northern provinces became the Protestant Dutch Republic, and the southern (and French-speaking) Spanish Netherlands (which later became Belgium) remained Catholic. But this solution still could not quell the religious tensions tearing at Europe. Instead, the wars shifted east, where they culminated in the bloodiest engagement of them all.

The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

The Peace of Augsburg had only temporarily answered the question of religious diversity in the Holy Roman Empire. For fifty years after Augsburg, pressure mounted as more and more people followed their consciences and as diverse spiritual beliefs proliferated in the principalities. These tensions reached the boiling point in 1618, when a Catholic prince took over Bohemia (in the modern Czech Republic) and set out to vanquish the substantial Protestant minority in his state. Protestant Bohemian nobles responded by throwing the prince's representatives out the castle window in Prague. The hapless officials

landed unhurt in a pile of manure, but the Catholic explanation was that their fall had been broken by angels. The two sides seemed to have irreconcilable points of view.

But the Holy Roman Empire's political structure contained a unique feature that made religious tensions much harder to resolve than by merely pushing bureaucrats out of windows. The essential problem

was that Protestant and Catholic electors (princes who elected the Holy Roman Emperor) were roughly equal in number. If Bohemia went to a Protestant prince, the balance of power would shift away from the ruling Catholic Habsburgs. Fearing this possibility, the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (r. 1619–1637) went to war to reclaim Bohemia for Catholicism. His action provoked a civil war that began over the key issue of the authority of the emperor over the princes in Germany but that quickly turned international as Protestants and Catholics across the Holy Roman Empire faced each other in battle.

The first twelve years of the war were marked by the success of Emperor Ferdinand's forces, and it seemed as if the Catholic Habsburgs would be able to roll back the Protestant gains in the German lands. The powerful Catholic Maximilian of Bavaria put at Ferdinand's disposal an army that won a stunning victory over the Bohemians at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 (shown on **Map 11.3**). The Bohemian rebels were killed or exiled, and it seemed as if the war was over. However, the Protestants continued their struggle, but with few gains.

In 1624, the emperor received considerable help when a soldier of fortune came to offer his services to the Catholic cause. Albrecht von Wallenstein, a minor Bohemian nobleman, recognized that the emperor needed a new army if he was to succeed, and Wallenstein offered to raise the force if he could

billet it and raise its supplies wherever it happened to be stationed. Through these means, Wallenstein introduced a new way of funding wars. Previously, warriors had been paid largely by the losers—that is, through the victors' plunder and sacking of defeated peoples. Wallenstein's innovative requirements served as a kind of war tax levied on all princes and cities who supported the emperor. Now wars would be funded by potential winners as well as losers. This strategy not only funded a large army but also made Wallenstein one of the richest men in the empire. By 1627, Wallenstein's army had begun to conquer the northern region of the empire—the center of Protestant strength. Ferdinand grew so confident that he issued the Edict of Restitution in 1629, ordering all territories lost to Protestants since 1552 to be restored to Catholics.

By 1630, the tide and nature of the war had begun to change. With help from abroad, Protestants made gains, but the war began to shift from a religious struggle to a purely political quest—to weaken the power of the Habsburgs; for example, the Catholic French king was willing to join Protestants in support of this cause. Protestant forces found a worthy champion in the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1611–1632), who was appalled by Ferdinand's treatment of Protestants. At the same time, he feared a Habsburg threat to Swedish lands around the Baltic Sea (see **Map 11.3**).

From religion to politics

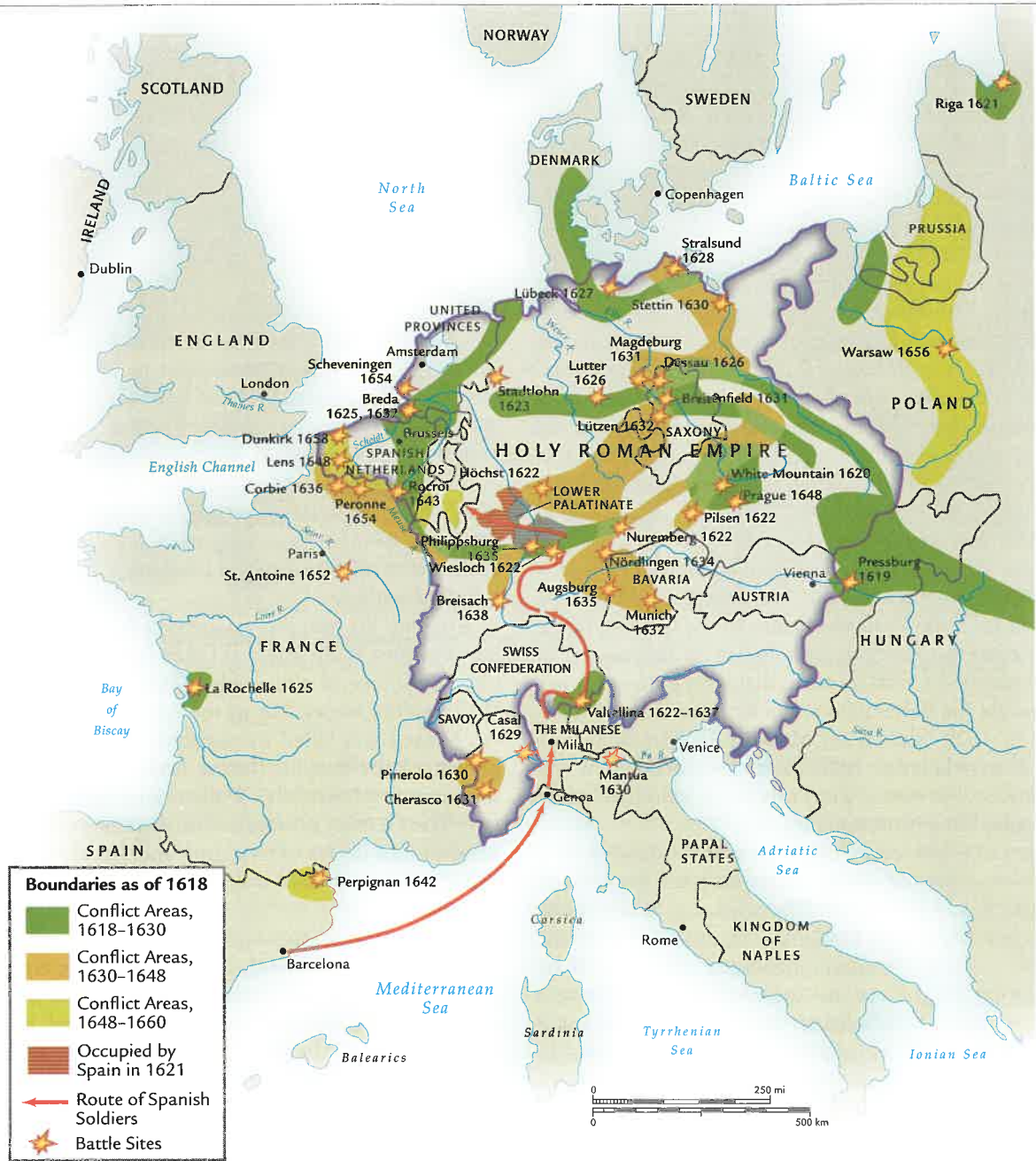
Gustavus had a clear vision of modern warfare: It would be dominated by gunpowder. He drilled his men incessantly on lining up in squares so that the front line could fire and then move backward to reload while others replaced them. This system, which required ironclad discipline, allowed for sustained firing—an essential tactic for weapons that were still inaccurate. Gustavus also introduced the idea that cannons could be used on the battlefield against men, and in doing so he created the first effective field artillery.

Arraying his new army, Gustavus fought a decisive battle against Wallenstein at Lutzen in 1632. Amid the blinding smoke of gunpowder, Gustavus's armies beat Wallenstein's forces, but in the heat of battle, Gustavus himself was killed by gunshots. The king's death prevented the Swedish forces from following up on the victory. Meanwhile, Wallenstein's loss sealed his fate: The German princes eventually compelled Ferdinand to turn on his enterprising and wealthy general, and the emperor had Wallenstein assassinated a few months later.

Gustavus's successes opened the final phase of the war (from 1632 to 1648), during which the emperor lost all his previous gains. The Protestant princes raised new armies, and by 1635, Ferdinand had to agree to suspend the Edict of Restitution and to grant amnesty to most of the Protestant princes. In return, the Protestants joined the imperial troops in driving the Swedes out of German lands. However, the Catholic French declared open war on Ferdinand in 1635, and for the next thirteen years, French and Swedish troops rampaged through the lands, causing destruction and devastation.

By the 1640s, the war had reached a stalemate. The kings and princes who had started the hostilities had all died, and their successors (as well as civilians) were exhausted. Both sides laid down their arms and took stock of their losses. This war had raged with a violence that astonished even contemporary witnesses used to sixteenth-century battle methods, for armies on both sides had swept through villages and towns

Devastation



MAP 11.3

The Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648

This map shows the major participants and the main battles of the Thirty Years' War, which took place on German territory.

Explore the Map

1. Compare this map with **Map 11.2**. Which regions set aside their religious interests and fought primarily for political reasons?
2. Notice all the battles. How devastating was this war to the German people? Explain.

and laid to waste everything in their paths. The war had exacted a staggering price: Germany's population had plummeted (although historians do not agree on the figures, some suggest a population loss as high as 30 percent). The economy, too, was damaged. Spain had gone bankrupt and would never recover its standing as a leader on the European stage. France and Sweden emerged somewhat victorious gaining some land at the expense of the exhausted German states.

Peace at Westphalia

The series of agreements that ended the Thirty Years' War are collectively known as the Peace of Westphalia, named for the region of Germany where the agreements were drafted. German princes now had the freedom to choose their own religion, but the religious desires of individuals within the states were still not accepted. However, for the first time, Calvinism was included among the tolerated faiths. The religious landmark of Europe was roughly established along north-south lines. The northwest—England, Holland, Scandinavia, and the northern German states—was Protestant, whereas the south remained Catholic.

The war had marked political overtones at the end, and the treaty accordingly addressed issues of power beyond religious choice. The peace set the political geography of Europe for the next century and established a precedent for diplomacy that would shape the way nations resolved political problems in the coming centuries.

Map 11.4 outlines the aftermath of the Peace of Westphalia. The representatives at Westphalia conducted all these negotiations with an eye toward "balance of power," a relatively new principle that emerged in fifteenth-century Italy and was now applied to European politics. They believed that they could ensure peace by making all the European powers roughly as strong as their neighbors. This strategy would dominate European diplomacy for centuries.

LIFE AFTER THE REFORMATION

The early modern wars of religion were finally over. Christians with different beliefs would now have to learn to coexist. As the storms of religious rage subsided, Europeans began noticing the dramatic changes in other aspects of everyday life and thought that the Protestant Reformation had provoked.

New Definitions of Courtship and Marriage

When the Protestants excluded marriage as a sacrament, the institution changed in ways they could not

have foreseen. After Martin Luther left the monastery and married Katharina, the couple formed a loving partnership and raised five children (along with caring for orphans). Luther explored this relationship in his writings and saw in marriage part of God's plan for humanity. Calvin, too, rejected the church fathers' "too superstitious admiration of celibacy" and extolled the benefits of conjugal partnerships. Although divorce was not easy in any of the Protestant groups, it was possible. With all these changes, the ideal of marriage shifted. Couples began to expect mutual love between man and wife, instead of simply duty that bound extended families together. The Catholic Church also was influenced by the new marital values, and in the late sixteenth century, church manuals began to use the word *love* to refer to conjugal relations.

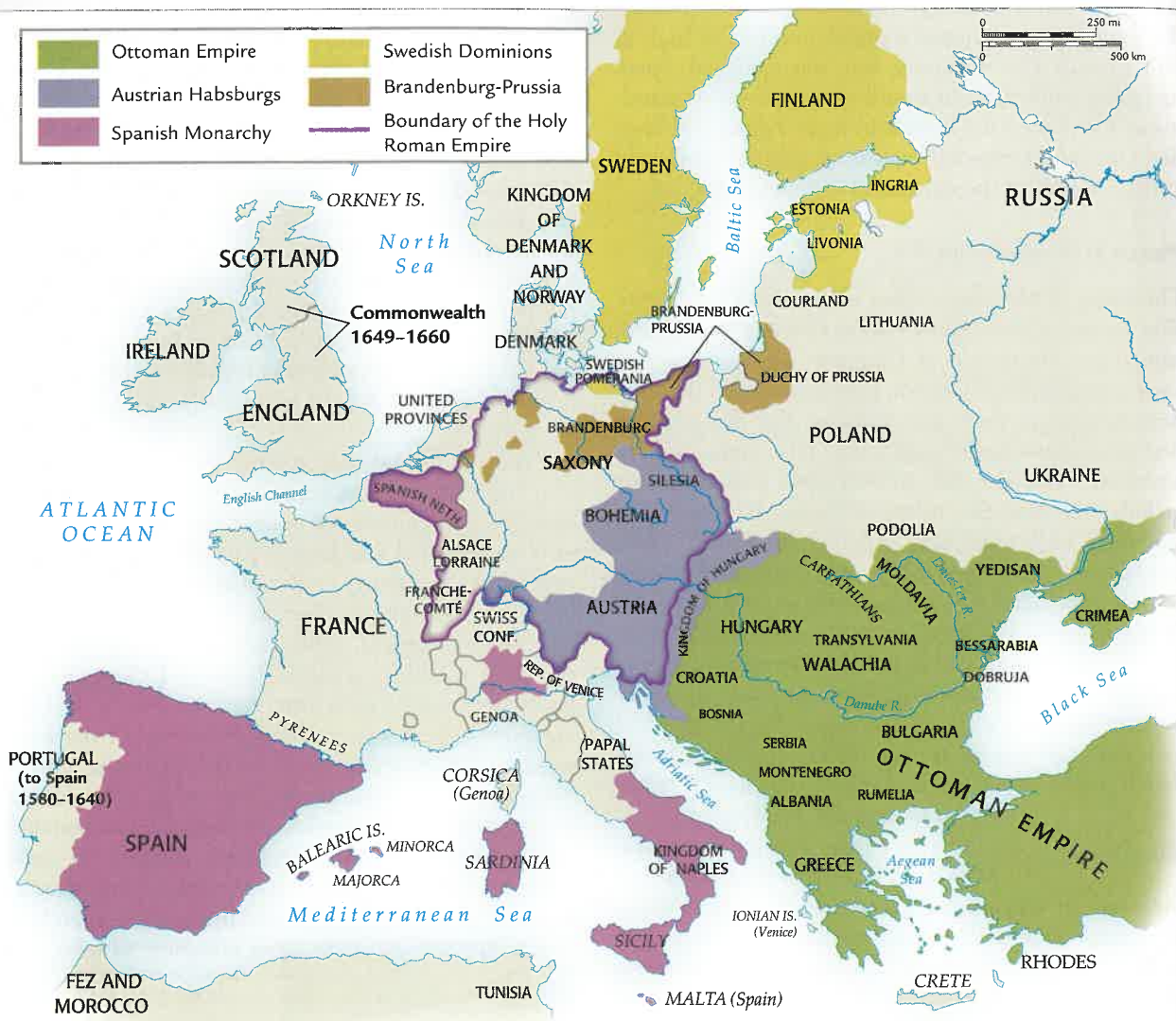
People still did not marry just for love, however; instead, families continued to arrange suitable matches between young people. Arranged marriages were an essential and logical part of a view that valued family prosperity and continuity more than an individual's happiness. Even among the less prosperous groups, people who couldn't afford to establish separate households were discouraged from marrying even if they were in love. Individuals' lives were seen as mere moments in the larger life of the family. Nevertheless, something new was going on in family relations. Although parents still negotiated a suitable match, prospective couples were allowed to consider their compatibility before marriage, and daughters had some say in vetoing disagreeable matches. Courtship customs grew more complex, as men and

Courtship

POLITICS OF THE AGE OF REFORMATION

- 1521–1544** Habsburg-Valois Wars
- 1524–1525** German peasants revolt
- 1529** Turks besiege Vienna
- 1555** Peace of Augsburg, Germany
- 1562–1598** French wars of religion
- 1566–1609** Wars in the Netherlands
- 1571** Battle of Lepanto
- 1572** Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, France
- 1588** Spanish Armada attacks England
- 1618–1648** Thirty Years' War
- 1648** Peace of Westphalia

KEY DATES



MAP 11.4

Europe, 1648

This map shows the political configuration of Europe after the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War.

Explore the Map

1. Which countries appear large and cohesive after the settlement of Westphalia?
2. Which countries control territories distant from their home center? Which of these remote areas might become centers of conflict in the future? Why?

women evaluated whether they would have a harmonious union. In Figure 11.12, a painting titled *The Suitor's Visit*, a young man calls on a woman in one of many visits intended for the couple to get to know each other. Presumably, the suitor greets the young woman's mother, who will chaperone the courtship

and approve the joining of the families that marriage still represented. The prospective bride is in the background playing her lute; young women in these years cultivated their skills at making music and clever conversation so as to beguile potential mates and convince them of their qualities as life partners.

Forging a Link Between Education and Work

The Christian humanists from Erasmus on urged everyone to learn to read. As we saw in Document 11.3, reformed Catholicism under the Jesuits also stressed education as central to a Christian life, and parochial schools and armies of nuns gave young children the rudiments of education. Protestants, too, urged study. As Luther and others

emphasized Bible study as part of essential Christian behavior and translated the Bible into

Valuing literacy

vernacular languages, the next logical step was to broaden literacy. Luther encouraged the cities and villages in Saxony to establish publicly funded schools, and many Protestants followed his call. A Bohemian reformer, Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), wrote: “All alike, boys and girls, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, in all cities and towns, villages and hamlets, should be sent to school.” This egalitarian notion would take centuries to implement, but it established a new educational goal in the West.

The painter Jan Steen’s depiction of an early-seventeenth-century classroom (shown in Figure 11.13) embodies the Protestant ideals of education. This is a village school where both boys and girls study. The strict schoolmaster slaps a boy’s hand in reprimand for the poorly done assignment on the floor, while the boy cries. The girl on the boy’s right smiles rather too gleefully at his distress. This scene must have played out repeatedly in the many small village schools that began to spring up as more children began to receive formal education.

Although education was intended primarily to help people study the Bible and learn to serve as their own spiritual guides, it also had profound implications for the way people viewed work.

Valuing work

In response to critics who complained about educating “rustics,” the

Bohemian educational reformer Comenius answered that universal education would help everyone avoid “that idleness which is so dangerous to flesh and blood.” His words hinted at a new philosophy that stressed the value of work.

In the Middle Ages, “those who work” were relegated to the bottom of the social scale. The upper crust consisted of only those who could live off the income of their land and did not need to work to survive. The bourgeoisie—the middle class—that was becoming more and more prosperous since the Renaissance began to change that view and brought a new valuing of work into the consciousness of Western society. The Protestant reformers that appealed to



FIGURE 11.12 Gerard Ter Borch, *The Suitor's Visit*, 1658

Many post-Reformation paintings captured the new courtship rituals—including conversations, letter writing, and musical performances—designed to ensure that married couples would be compatible.

many of the residents of these growing urban areas lent religious support to new ideas about work. In Luther’s writings, even women were defined by the work they did. He described the ideal wife as follows: “She likes working. . . . She girds her loins and stretches her arms, works with energy in the house.”

Calvin, too, believed that men and women were called to work and that work itself was a virtuous activity. Centuries later, the German sociologist Max Weber, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), would argue that Calvinists’ emphasis on work legitimized and therefore boosted the growth of capitalism in the West. Many Calvinists believed that hard work, efficiency, and frugality all indicated a person predestined to salvation. Not surprisingly, then, Protestants embraced what has come to be called the work ethic with fervor. Historians dispute the details of Weber’s thesis, but his argument still offers us an insight into the way religious ideas shaped modern-day views of work in the West. In the Catholic Middle Ages, people had seen work as the curse of Adam laid on the damned; in the Protestant early modern period, work became God’s gift to a saved humanity.



FIGURE 11.13 Jan Steen, *The School Master*, ca. 1655
The Reformation stimulated the spread of literacy. The intent was to help everyone to read the Bible. The modern world was born in small village schools—like the one immortalized in this painting—where children struggled under sometimes harsh teachers.

Anxiety and Spiritual Insecurity

The striking revolution in thought that the Protestant reformers introduced also prompted some spiritual anxiety and insecurity among Christians. In part, this unease stemmed from the hardship spawned by the relentless warfare of the period. The “community of the faithful” that Catholicism once represented had fragmented, and for Protestants encouraged to “stand alone before God,” the new religious individualism often felt frightening.

The new mind-set began to raise questions about charitable institutions and their relationship with religious bodies. Where once the universal church had looked after the poor and widows and orphans, now separate congregations had to care for their own.

Charitable institutions

The question of who was responsible for whom sometimes became quite murky, and a sense of individual responsibility for one’s own plight slowly replaced a collective sense of charity. For example, civic authorities began to consider ways

to help the needy, building workhouses for the poor and passing laws prohibiting begging. Such laws could never completely succeed, given the scale of need. Yet, more and more societies tried designing institutional solutions to the problems of poverty.

As communities redivided themselves along religious loyalties, many people’s sense of personal anxiety increased. The Catholic Church had also provided community support and at least the hope of miraculous cures for the sick and troubled. Men and women could themselves pray to saints or the Virgin Mary for help, and priests **Decline of “magic.”** could say prayers for members of their congregation in need. The Catholic Church even turned a blind eye to “white” magic (like that described in the village of Martin Guerre in the Biography), but Protestants rejected saints and any forms of “magic.” As village rituals split apart, it became harder to define “community.” As changing times and beliefs generated anxieties, some people began looking for scapegoats.

Searching for Scapegoats: The Hunt for Witches

Catholics and Protestants alike shared a long-standing, deeply held belief in charms and potions that could affect people. These might be as benign as healing magical cures and love potions, or as harmful as spells to bring bad weather, illness, or crop failure. Traditionally, Catholic priests offered prayers and countercharms to combat the power of people—often, but not always, called witches—who had the knowledge to cast spells. Protestant preachers argued regularly against “superstitious magical practices,” but some remained attached to charms and spells, and in England witchcraft accusations usually remained tied to spell-casting.

In the sixteenth century, especially on the Continent, some people began to link a fear of witches to diabolism, or the idea that magical powers came because of a pact with the devil. Martin Luther himself claimed to have confronted the devil several times and constantly remained alert to the presence of this evil being. Church authorities began to stress that witches were in league **Fear of the devil** with the devil and performed mysterious ceremonies in his service. To stamp out the devil’s assistants, many accused supposed witches, putting them on trial and executing them.

People in the sixteenth century were fascinated by the possibility of witchcraft. The best-known work on the subject was the *Malleus Maleficarum* (the “Hammer of Witches”), which had been written in the late fifteenth century (before the start of the Reformation) for inquisitors to try witches. However,

by 1669 it had been reissued in forty editions and had become extraordinarily popular, appealing to Protestants and Catholics alike. In France alone, 345 books about witchcraft were published between 1550 and 1650.

There is no real evidence that any of the convicted "witches" engaged in pacts with the devil. Instead, many people were forced to "confess" under torture. Others may have thought they were confessing to using simple charms only to discover that they were convicted of diabolism.

The printing press allowed accounts of trials to spread rapidly, and these pamphlets with their accompanying woodcuts provided images of witchcraft that reflected—and perpetuated—popular fears of witchcraft. Figure 11.14 is a woodcut from a pamphlet describing the trial and execution of Joan Prentis, a poor woman who lived in an almshouse in England. Joan claimed that the devil appeared to her in the form of a ferret asking for her soul. She told him her soul belonged to Jesus, but once after the ferret bit her, drawing blood, it became her servant. When she wanted him to do her bidding, she called his name "Bid, Bid, come suckle." The deluded woman was hanged along with two other women (also named Joan. They were said to have used frogs named Jack and Jill) to help kill other women. This account reveals popular fears of women and of animals, and the use of executions as attempts to keep society safe.

Catholics and Protestants alike persecuted witches, and the trials in Europe peaked between 1560 and 1640. Although precise numbers elude us, more than 100,000 people were executed for witchcraft, and 100,000 may have endured trials. Many scholars have searched for causes for this upsurge in witchcraft trials during this early modern period. Explanations range from an increase in diseases (like syphilis) that cause mental illness to the suggestion that people were poisoned by hallucinogens in moldy bread. Other explanations blame a deterioration in economic conditions partially caused by a global cooling during this period. It may be that the single-most important factor in the



FIGURE 11.14 Joan Prentis and Her Familiars, 1589
This woodcut is from a pamphlet describing the trial of Joan Prentis, a woman convicted of witchcraft and hung with two other women, Joan Cony and Joan Uping. The image shows the popular belief in the use of animal "familiars" to help a witch cast her spells.

increase of witchcraft trials was an increased litigiousness, resulting in these matters being brought to court instead of being handled in local communities.

Whatever the cause, the persecutions fell most heavily on women. Probably at least 80 percent of those tried for witchcraft were women, and most were poor and elderly, those without champions in the established communities. These horrible events are a disturbing indicator of the rampant anxiety stirred by the intellectual and social changes of the sixteenth century.

By the eighteenth century, the witchcraft panic had ebbed and the trials gradually ceased, as men and women adjusted to the religious diversity that had split their countries and their communities. However, the ideals of the Protestant Reformation—individualism, a desire for marital harmony, an emphasis on hard work, and a staunch reliance on conscience—left a permanent mark on European society.

LOOKING BACK & MOVING FORWARD

Summary

Through the sixteenth century, the monarchs of the unified states of Europe—England, France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire—struggled to snatch power, wealth, and land from one another. The wars that resulted accomplished little except to bankrupt some of the kings, leave the European countryside in ruins, and inflict misery on the people. Meanwhile, religious revolutionaries stepped up their criticism of the thousand-year history of Christian tradition. These Protestants effected a reformation that spurred century-long religious warfare and that split Christendom as people

followed their own paths to God. The religious quest had political ramifications as well—kings involved themselves in the Catholics' and Protestants' conflict in part to try to exert religious hegemony over their own lands and to gain land from their neighbors.

When the century of religious wars in Europe ended, it left a legacy of economic devastation, social and political change, and an intellectual revolution that transformed Western culture. More boys and girls in village schools began to read and write, men and women hoped to find love in marriage, and people began to take more pride in work over leisure. Nevertheless, the Protestant revolution failed to stop the competition for Christian souls. In the centuries to come, Europeans would take the battle between Protestants and Catholics across the seas, as they discovered lands that were new to them.

KEY TERMS

sacraments p.329

devotio moderna p.329

justification by faith p.330

indulgences p.331

purgatory p.331

Protestant p.332

iconoclasm p.332

transubstantiation p.332

predestination p.335

Huguenots p.336

Jesuits p.342

baroque p.343

REVIEW, ANALYZE, CONNECT TO TODAY

REVIEW THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER

Chapter 10—"A New Spirit in the West"—described the characteristics that we have come to identify with the Renaissance. In addition, Chapter 10 discussed the complex political structure of Italy that engaged popes as well as princes in power politics.

1. Which Renaissance characteristics also describe the ideas of the Protestant reformers? Consider how the Renaissance influenced the Protestant Reformation.
2. Review the policies of Renaissance popes as they strove to become political powers in Italy. How did those policies contribute to the Reformation?

ANALYZE THIS CHAPTER

Chapter 11—"Alone Before God"—follows the expansion of warfare until it engulfed all of Europe in the sixteenth century. It also looks at the new religious ideas that split the Catholic Church and brought about a change in life in the West.

1. Review the various religious beliefs of the different Protestant sects and consider the relationship of these ideas to the different social and economic groups who were attracted to them.

2. How did the differing appeal help lead to the century of religious warfare? What were the results of this warfare?
3. Review the reform movements of the Catholic Church. How did the church respond to the critique of the Protestants?
4. How did the Reformation help contribute to changing social and cultural patterns that marked seventeenth-century Europe?

CONNECT TO TODAY

Think about this chapter's discussion of the ways in which changing religious ideas led to warfare and suffering. Also consider how the new technology of warfare increased the human cost.

1. Many individuals thought that the violence of the Thirty Years' War would prevent people from fighting about religion ever again. That expectation has not been realized. In what countries or regions of the world does religious warfare continue today? Why do you think such warfare has not ended in these locations?
2. Is the technology of modern warfare further increasing the human cost? Explain. How might technology *decrease* the human toll of war?

