

A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Third Edition

From the Renaissance to the Present



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th century, Latin remained the lan-
 gage of the elite. Machiavelli's *The Prince* was widely read and
 scholars traveled to England, they could
 find counterparts. Sir Thomas More
 reflected the influence of Re-
 naissance Latin. In his *Utopia* (1516), a satire
 of the Middle Ages, More asked readers to consider
 expanding knowledge of other soci-

Renaissance humanism across the
 northern Europe helped prepare the way
 for the Reformation. In some
 ways, the Reformation was in some
 ways what they considered to be the
 next step, who had always been concerned
 with the souls of some clerics but also some of
 the laity to be immune to criticism. They
 used the language of religiosity. Northern Renais-
 sance scholars used reason to prove
 the correctness of the medieval sys-
 tem. Church scholars used reason to prove
 the context of assumed theological
 positions. Those who were not priests could interpret
 the monopoly of Church theolo-

Church

more than any other person to the
 northern Europe. Born to unmarried
 parents, Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1469–1536)
 became a priest in 1492, he taught at
 Leuven, and then worked as a tutor in
 Paris. He may have suffered some sort of
 mental illness that was either unreciprocated or
 impulsively obsessed with cleanli-
 ness. He brought a new moral purity
 to the Church with a new moral purity

For Charles V and several other
 rulers, Erasmus's scholarly techniques of humanism
 were a shock. His *The Education of a Christian Prince*
 (1509) was a satirical survey of
 the state of a pure Christian morality shorn
 of the scholastic system. Thus, he wrote that
 rulers should not feel their duty if they reel off per-
 sonal prayers. He was greatly surprised if any god could
 be satisfied with the scholastics of the Middle Ages had,
 in fact, been rich with empty, lifeless theology.

Erasmus's attacks on those
 who believed in the curing power
 of relics (remains of saints ven-
 erated by the faithful) reflected
 his Renaissance sense of the dig-
 nity of the individual. His *Hand-
 book of the Christian Soldier*
 (1503), which called for a theol-
 ogy that de-emphasized the
 sacraments, provided a guide to
 living a moral life. The little
 book went through twenty Latin
 editions and was translated into
 ten other languages. Erasmus
 wrote at length on how a prince
 ought to be educated and how
 children should be raised. The
 most well-known intellectual
 figure of his time in Europe,
 Erasmus greatly expanded the
 knowledge and appreciation of
 the classics in northern Europe.

He and other major Northern Renaissance figures forged a Christian
 humanism focused on the early Christian past. Following his lead, north-
 ern humanists turned their skills in editing texts in Greek and Latin to the
 large body of early Christian writings.

THE ROOTS OF THE REFORMATION

In principle, the pope governed the Church in all of Western Christendom.
 But in reality, the emergence of the monarchical states of France, England,
 and the kingdoms of Spain in the late Middle Ages had eroded papal
 authority. Gradually these rulers assumed more prerogatives over the
 Church in their states. This expansion of monarchical authority itself pro-
 vided the impetus toward the development of churches that gradually took
 on a national character as monarchs bargained for authority over religious
 appointments and worked to bring ecclesiastical property under their fiscal
 control by imposing taxation.

In the Italian and German states and in Switzerland, where many smaller,
 independent states ruled by princes, urban oligarchs, or even bishops sur-
 vived, the very complexity of territorial political arrangements served to limit
 the direct authority of the pope. For in these smaller states, too, the ability of
 the pope and his appointees to manage their own affairs depended on the
 cooperation of lay rulers. Furthermore, the territorial expanse of Western



Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus by Hans Holbein the Younger.

pope's denunciation of their wealth and privileges. Furthermore, they now viewed him as temperamentally unstable, unfit to be pope. They elected another pope, Clement VII, who claimed to be pope between 1378 and 1394. He returned to set up shop in Avignon, leaving his rival, Urban VI, in Rome. The Great Schism (1378–1417) began with two men now claiming authority over the Church.

The two popes and their successors thereafter sought to win the allegiance of rulers. The Avignon popes, like their pre-Schism predecessors, were under the close scrutiny of the king of France, and the Roman pope was caught up in the morass of Italian and Roman politics. France, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland supported the Avignon popes; most of the Italian states, Portugal, the Holy Roman Empire, and England obeyed the Roman popes. In 1409, Church dignitaries gathered at the Council of Pisa to resolve the conflict, and they elected a third pope. However, neither of the other two would agree to resign. And, in the meantime, secular rulers forced the popes to make agreements that increased the authority of the former over the Church in their states. The Great Schism enabled lay rulers to construct virtual national churches at the expense of papal power.

Heretical and Spiritual Movements

The chaos of two and then three popes claiming authority over the Church, along with the ruthlessness and greed of the claimants, greatly increased dissatisfaction with the organization of the Church. From time to time, heresies (movements based on beliefs deemed contrary to the teaching of the Church) had denied the authority of the papacy and demanded reform. In the twelfth century, the Waldensians in the Alps and the Albigensians in the south of France had defied the papacy by withdrawing into strictly organized communities that, unlike monasteries and convents, recognized neither Church doctrine nor authority.

An undercurrent of mysticism persisted in Europe, based on a belief in the supremacy of individual piety in the quest for knowledge of God and eternal salvation. William of Occam (c. 1290–1349), an English monk and another critic of the papacy, rejected scholastic rationalism. Scholasticism had become increasingly linked to the theology of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who had deduced the existence of God from what he considered rational proofs that moved from one premise to the next. Occam, in contrast, posited that the gulf between God and man was so great that scholastic proofs of God's existence, such as those of Aquinas, were pointless because mankind could not understand God through reason. "Nominalists," as Occam and his followers were known, believed that individual piety should be the cornerstone of religious life. Nominalists rejected papal authority and the hierarchical structure of the Church. Their views reflected and accentuated the turn of more clergy and laymen toward the Scriptures as a guide for the individual's relationship with God, emphasizing the

importance of leading a good, simple life. The Great Schism may have increased the yearning for spirituality as well as for the institutional reform of the Church.

The English cleric and scholar John Wyclif (c. 1328–1384) also questioned the pope's authority and claimed that an unworthy pope did not have to be obeyed, views that drew papal censorship. For Wyclif, the Church consisted of the body of those God had chosen to be saved, and no more. Stressing the role of faith in reaching eternal salvation, he insisted that reading the Scriptures formed the basis of faith and the individual's relationship with God. Wyclif also put himself at odds with Church theology by rejecting transubstantiation (the doctrine that holds that during Mass the priest transforms ordinary bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ).

Wyclif's de-emphasis of rituals and his advocacy of a religion based on faith suggested the significantly reduced importance of the Church as intermediary between man and God. Wyclif, who had powerful English noble and clerical protectors, called for Church reform. But the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 in England, in which wealthy churchmen were targets of popular wrath, gave even Wyclif's powerful protectors pause by raising the specter of future social unrest. An English Church synod condemned Wyclif, but he was allowed to live out his remaining years in a monastery. Some of his English followers, poor folk known as the Lollards, carried on Wyclif's work after his death. They criticized the Church's landed wealth and espoused a simpler religion. Led by gentry known as "Lollard knights," the Lollards rose up in rebellion in 1414, but were brutally crushed by King Henry V.

In Bohemia in Central Europe, Jan Hus (c. 1369–1415), a theologian, had learned of Wyclif's teaching. He, too, loudly criticized the worldliness of some clerics, and called for a return to a more unadorned religion. Rejecting the authority of the papacy and denouncing popes as "anti-Christ," Hus held that ordinary people could reform the Church.

The Challenge of Conciliarism to Papal Authority

The doctrine of conciliarism arose not only in response to the Great Schism but also to growing demands from many churchmen that the Church must undertake reform. The Council of Constance (1414–1418) was called to resolve the Great Schism and to undertake a reform of the Church. Many of the ecclesiastical dignitaries who attended also wanted to limit and define the authority of the papacy.

There were at least four significant parties to conciliarism: the popes themselves; bishops who supported councils as a way of resolving Church problems; secular rulers, particularly French kings, but also Holy Roman emperors, intervening in the Great Schism; and heretics condemned at Constance, who were far more radical than the mainstream conciliarists in their challenge to papal authority.

The Council of Constance gave safe-conduct pass given to him at the Council of Constance in 1411. Hus refused to recant Wyclif's teachings, like the priest saying the Church's rite of unity, in 1418. Hus was condemned, turning him into a martyr. He was burned at the stake as a heretic. Hus was one of the century dissidents within the Church who finally won special papal dispensation for both bread and wine; their "Utraque" in 1620.

The Council of Constance challenged papal authority by deposing two popes and electing the third. In 1417, the Council ended the Great Schism. But the Great Schism, with its serious attempts at reform, had shown that councils of Church bishops could challenge papal authority.

Convoked by the pope, at the Council of Constance, leading ecclesiastical dignitaries deliberated on matters of faith and Church reform. But some councils challenged papal authority. Those holding a "conciliarist" view believed that councils of bishops could challenge papal authority.

Jan Hus being burned at the stake.



The Council of Constance first turned its attention to Jan Hus. Holding a safe-conduct pass given to him by the king of Bohemia, Hus travelled to the Council of Constance in 1414 but was arrested and put on trial for heresy. Hus refused to recant Wyclif's views, defending his own belief that the faithful, like the priest saying Mass, ought to be able to receive communion, the Church's rite of unity, in the two forms of bread and wine. The council condemned Hus, turning him over to the Holy Roman emperor, who ordered him burned at the stake as a heretic. The Hussites, the only major fifteenth-century dissidents within the Church, fought off several papal armies. They finally won special papal dispensation for the faithful to take communion in both bread and wine; their "Utraquist" ("in both kinds") church lasted until 1620.

The Council of Constance resolved the ongoing conflicting claims to papal authority by deposing two of the claimants and accepting the resignation of the third. In 1417, the council elected Martin V (pope 1417–1431). But the Great Schism, with its multiple papal claimants, by delaying any serious attempts at reform, had reinforced the insistence of some prelates that councils of Church bishops ought to have more authority than the pope.

Convoked by the pope, at least in principle, councils brought together leading ecclesiastical dignitaries from throughout Europe. These councils deliberated on matters of faith, as well as on the organization of the Church. But some councils began to come together in defiance of papal authority. Those holding a "conciliar" view of the Church conceived of it as

Jan Hus being burned at the stake as a heretic.



a corporation of cardinals that could override the pope. William of Occam had argued a century earlier that, when confronted by a heretical pope, a general council of the Church could stand as the repository of truth and authority. Some reformers wanted to impose a written constitution on the Church. At the Council of Basel, which began in 1431, exponents of unlimited papal authority and their counterparts favoring conciliarist positions both presented their views. In 1437, the pope ordered the council moved to Ferrara, and then the next year to Florence. Some participants, mostly conciliarists, continued to meet in Basel until 1445, although the pope declared that council schismatic. Fifteen years later, Pope Pius II (pope 1458–1464) declared the conciliar movement to be a heresy.

Clerical Abuses and Indulgences

The assertion by some churchmen that councils had authority over the papacy merged easily with those who called for the reform of blatant abuses within the Church. Some monasteries were mocked as hypocritical institutions no more saintly than the supposedly profane world monks and nuns sought to leave behind. Several new religious orders had been founded at least partially out of impatience with, if not disgust with, ecclesiastical worldliness.

Critics of the papacy attacked with particular energy ecclesiastical financial and moral abuses. They claimed that the papacy had become an investment trust run by the priests who administered the papacy's temporal affairs. No clerical financial abuse was more attacked than indulgences, which were based on the idea of transferable merit. Through granting indulgences, the Church supposedly reduced the time a soul would have to suffer punishment in Purgatory (that halfway house between Hell and Heaven that had emerged in Church belief early in the Middle Ages) for sins committed on earth. The practice of selling indulgences began during the Crusades as a means of raising revenue for churches and hospitals. Those seeking the salvation of their souls did not purchase God's forgiveness (which could only be received in the confessional) but rather cancelled or reduced the temporal punishment (such as the obligation to undertake pilgrimages, or give charity, or say so many prayers) required to atone for their sins. In 1457, the pope had announced that indulgences could be applied to the souls of family members or friends suffering in Purgatory. Some people had the impression that purchasing indulgences rather than offering real repentance brought immediate entry to Heaven for oneself or one's relatives. "The moment the money tinkles in the collecting box, a soul flies out of Purgatory," went one ditty. The implication was that wealthy families had a greater chance of opening the doors of Heaven for their loved ones than poor people. One papal critic interpreted all of this to mean that "the Lord desireth not the death of a sinner but rather that he may live and pay."

Another clerical practice Church offices, known as *simony*, was practiced in—and benefited from—the appointment of Italians as popes (who, by accumulating great wealth and jurisdiction) they rarely if ever required the Church to provide lucrative offices but that required little or no money. The appointment of unqualified priests to important offices was also common.

Many priests charged exorbitant fees for sacraments, particularly in the case of marriage. Some were removed from civil justice and paid no taxes. Some, on Leo's death in 1521, one couldn't even have the [Last] rites.

The papacy also came under attack in Trent in the early sixteenth century. Nepotism, the awarding of offices to relatives, was a reign supreme. In the fifteenth century, "happy father," not revered as a father, looked after his own church. Pope Sixtus IV (pope 1471–1484) made his nepotism even more obvious by giving his nephews sinecure hats far bigger than the pope's.

The sacrament of penance was administered to the clergy. Since 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council had instructed the clergy at least once a year to a priest. The instruction to encourage good behavior became the priest's interrogation, in which the confessor sought to determine one of the sixteen standard sins for sinners to repent seemed to have received ecclesiastical abuses.

Given a boost by the conciliar movement, the papacy became louder. The Estates-General of France in 1577, the Augsburg Diet, and the Holy Roman Empire, refused to grant money to the pope unless he first ordered an end to the papacy's interference in the Imperial Assembly (Reichstag) had issued resolutions against the papacy. In 1527, the pope had backed up his territorial claims with the goal of reasserting the papacy's control over the monastic houses of his realm. From 1512 to 1517, urged more by the need to reform some monastic financial abuse

Another clerical practice that was much criticized was that of the sale of Church offices, known as simony. More than ever before, those who participated in—and benefited from—this practice were Italian clerics. Most popes appointed Italians as cardinals, many of whom lived in Rome while accumulating great wealth from ecclesiastical sees (areas of a bishops' jurisdiction) they rarely if ever visited. Some prominent families looked to the Church to provide lucrative sinecures—offices that generated income but that required little or no work—for their children. Reformers decried the appointment of unqualified bishops who had purchased their offices.

Many priests charged exorbitant fees for burial. Resentment also mounted, particularly in the German states, because clerics were immune from civil justice and paid no taxes. Indulgences and pardons, swapped for gold or services, had since 1300 become a papal monopoly. Commenting on Leo's death in 1521, one wag remarked, "His last moments come, he couldn't even have the [Last] Sacrament. By God, he's sold it!"

The papacy also came under attack for moral abuses. In the diocese of Trent in the early sixteenth century, about a fifth of all priests kept concubines. Nepotism, the awarding of posts to relatives or friends, seemed to reign supreme. In the fifteenth century, Pope Paul II was mocked as the "happy father," not revered as the Holy Father. Alexander VI (pope 1492–1503) looked after his own children with the care of any other father. Paul III (pope 1534–1549) made two of his grandsons cardinals, their expensive hats far bigger than the young heads upon which they rested.

The sacrament of penance also generated popular resentment against the clergy. Since 1215, the faithful were required to confess their sins at least once a year to a priest. This sacrament originated in the context of instruction to encourage good behavior. But for many people, penance had become the priest's interrogation of the faithful in the confessional, during which the confessor sought out details of misdeeds in order to determine one of the sixteen stated degrees of transgression. The Church's call for sinners to repent seemed particularly ironic in view of popularly perceived ecclesiastical abuses.

Given a boost by the conciliar movement, calls for reform echoed louder and louder. The representatives of the clergy who had gathered at the Estates-General of France in 1484 criticized the sale of Church offices. In 1510, the Augsburg Diet, an imperial institution of the Holy Roman Empire, refused to grant money to the pope for war against the Turks unless he first ordered an end to financial abuses. The imperial representative Assembly (Reichstag) had increasingly served as a forum for denunciations against the papacy. In 1511, King Louis XII of France, whose armies had backed up his territorial ambitions in northern Italy, called a council with the goal of reasserting the conciliar doctrine and ordered reforms in the monastic houses of his realm. The Fifth Lateran Council, which met from 1512 to 1517, urged more education for the clergy, sought to end some monastic financial abuses, and insisted that occupants of religious

houses uphold their vows of chastity. The council also suggested missions to carry the Church's influence into the Americas. Pope Leo X, however, emphatically insisted that he alone could convoke Church councils, and the Fifth Lateran Council itself forbade sermons denouncing the moral state of the Church.

Martin Luther

Martin Luther (1483–1546) was born in the small town of Eisleben in central Germany. He was the son of a miner whose family had been prosperous peasants. His peasant background could be seen in the coarseness of his language, song, and humor. The stocky, pious, and determined Luther began his studies in 1501 at the University of Erfurt, where he took courses in philosophy and then began the study of law.

In July 1505, Luther was engulfed in a violent storm as he returned to Erfurt after a visit home. As a bolt of lightning struck not far from where he stood in terror, the young student cried out to the patron saint of travelers, "Help me, Saint Anne, I will become a monk." Returning safely to Erfurt, he gathered his friends together and told them, "Today you see me, henceforth, never more." They escorted him to the nearby monastery of the Augustinian monks, which he entered against his father's wishes. Luther prayed, fasted, and, outside the monastery, begged for charity. In 1507, he was ordained a priest and soon became a doctor of theology, administrator of eleven Augustinian monasteries, and dean of the theological seminary in the town of Wittenberg.

Luther had, for some time, been wracked with gnawing doubt concerning his personal unworthiness. Was he not a sinner? He had been saved from the storm, but would he be saved from damnation on Judgment Day? Was there really any connection between good works effected on earth and salvation? If mankind was so corrupted by sin, how could charity, fasting, or constant prayer and self-flagellation in the monastery earn one entry to Heaven? He later recalled, "I tried hard . . . to be contrite, and make a list of my sins. I confessed them again and again. I scrupulously carried out the penances that were allotted to me. And yet my conscience kept telling me: 'You fell short there.' 'You were not sorry enough.' 'You left that sin off your list.' I was trying to cure the doubts and scruples of the conscience with human remedies. . . . The more I tried these remedies, the more troubled and uneasy my conscience grew."

Luther's lonely study of theology in the tower library of the monastery did not resolve his doubts. Like other Augustinians, he had been influenced by the nominalism of William of Occam, which emphasized individual piety. This led Luther closer to his contention that faith, not good works, was the key to salvation. Indeed, the teachings of Saint Augustine himself also suggested to him that each person could be saved by faith alone through the grace of God. Believing man is saved "not by pieces, but in a heap," Luther

became obsessed with a phrase: "We shall live by faith." Such a phrase troubled the Church as defined by Rome, troubling Luther. He was troubled by the systematic sale of indulgences.

On October 31, 1517, Luther posted 95 theses of Wittenberg "Ninety-five Theses on the Efficacy of Indulgences." He criticized the papal granting of indulgences for distracting Christ and the saints. He criticized the region and invited those who wished to debate with him. Leo X demanded that Luther retract his small crusade. Luther refused to dispute formally the charges. The elector, Frederick III, elected Luther to the Bible as he mulled over the issue.

In April, as denunciations poured in, Luther fully defended his theses.

An allegorical painting of Luther's use of an enormous quill to write the 95 theses at the church at Wittenberg.



became obsessed with a phrase from the Bible (Romans 1:17), "The just shall live by faith." Such a conclusion broke with the accepted teachings of the Church as defined by medieval scholasticism. But more than faith was troubling Luther. He was also especially troubled by the abuse of the ecclesiastical sale of indulgences.

On October 31, 1517, Luther tacked up on the door of the castle church of Wittenberg "Ninety-five Theses or Disputations on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences." He denounced the theoretical underpinnings of the papal granting of indulgences out of the "treasury of merits" accumulated by Christ and the saints. He then had his theses printed and distributed in the region and invited those who might want to dispute his theses to present themselves to debate with him, as was the custom. In February 1518, Pope Leo X demanded that Luther's monastic superior order him to cease his small crusade. Luther refused, citing his right as a professor of theology to dispute formally the charges now leveled against him. And he found a protector, Frederick III, elector of Saxony, a religious ruler who turned to the Bible as he mulled over matters of state.

In April, as denunciations against Luther poured into Rome, he successfully defended his theses before his Augustinian superiors. Pope Leo was

An allegorical painting of the dream of Frederick the Wise wherein Martin Luther uses an enormous quill to tack his Ninety-Five Theses to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg.



trying to remain on good terms with Frederick III, a strong candidate for election as Holy Roman emperor. Instead of immediately summoning Luther to Rome, he therefore proposed that a papal legate travel to Augsburg to hear Luther out. At their meeting, the legate warned Luther to desist or face the consequences. Luther's friends, suspecting that the pope had ordered his arrest, whisked him away to safety.

Luther sought a negotiated solution. He agreed to write a treatise calling on the German people to honor the Church, and promised neither to preach nor publish anything else if his opponents would also keep silent. At this point Luther did not seek to create a new church, but merely to reform the old one. A papal representative sent to meet with Luther in Leipzig in June 1519 accused him of being a Hussite, that is, of denying the pope's authority. Luther admitted that he did not believe the pope to be infallible.

Luther crossed his Rubicon, but unlike Caesar moved not toward Rome but away from it. "Farewell, unhappy, hopeless, blasphemous Rome! The wrath of God come upon thee, as you deserve," he wrote a friend, "We have cared for Babylon and she is not healed; let us then leave her. . . ." Luther would not be silenced. "I am hot-blooded by temperament and my pen gets irritated easily," he proclaimed.

Three treatises published in 1520 marked Luther's final break with Rome. Here Luther developed his theology of reform, one that went far beyond the prohibition of indulgences and the sale of ecclesiastical offices. He argued his view that faith alone could bring salvation, that good works follow faith but do not in themselves save the soul. Nor, he argued, does the absence of good works condemn man to eternal damnation. Upon reading one of these tracts, Erasmus, loyal critic of the Church, stated emphatically, "The breach is irreparable."

Developing the theological concept of "freedom of a Christian," Luther's immediate goal was to free German communities from the strictures of religious beliefs and institutions that seemed increasingly foreign to their faith. He called on the princes of the German states to reform the Church in their states. In doing so, he argued that the Scriptures declared the Church itself to be a priestly body that was not subject to the pope's interpretation. Luther acknowledged only two of the seven sacraments, those instituted by Christ, not the papacy: baptism and communion. After first retaining penance, he dropped it, arguing that faith was sufficient to bring about a sinner's reconciliation with God. If this was true, the monastic life no longer seemed to Luther to provide any advantage in the quest for salvation. And he rejected what he called the "unnatural" demands of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

On June 15, 1520, Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther from the Church, accusing him of forty-one heresies. The papal bull of excommunication called Luther "the wild boar who has invaded the Lord's vineyard." In Wittenberg, a crowd burned papal bulls and documents. Luther defiantly tossed the writ of excommunication into the flames.

Charles V had been elected emperor in 1519. He had previously been excommunicated within the influence of Frederick III, the German town of Worms (assembly).

Before the Diet, Luther of treatises and books replied: "I am bound by the Word of God, captive to the Word of God. It is neither safe nor right for me here I stand, may God help me." Charles V, in agreement, agreed in May 1521, placing Luther under the protection of the Diet, Luther's protector, Emperor Charles V.

By declaring Luther a heretic, the Holy Roman Empire, the issue of state. But Luther's influence had not altered. They had now discovered that

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION IN THE GERMAN STATES

Challenging the ways people lived for centuries, the movement in the German states. During Luther's reform convinced religious beliefs and to rest unrest, perhaps encouraged the central and southern German lords. This uprising, although that the Reformation would

Urban Centers of Reform

At first the Reformation was in the German states and then Switzerland. The Holy Roman Emperor's government aided the movement in the northern German states. The leader of the Hanseatic League, the German states. Each German

Charles V had been elected Holy Roman emperor following his father's death in 1519. He had promised before his election that no one would be excommunicated within the empire without a proper hearing. Through the influence of Frederick III of Saxony, Charles summoned Luther to the German town of Worms in April 1521 to confront the imperial Diet (assembly).

Before the Diet, Luther was asked if he had written the imposing number of treatises and books placed on the table. Acknowledging them all, Luther replied: "I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not retract anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. I cannot do otherwise, here I stand, may God help me. Amen." The Diet condemned Luther's beliefs. Charles V, in agreement with the pope, signed the Edict of Worms in May 1521, placing Luther under the "ban of the empire." This forbade him from preaching and declared him a heretic. Several men loyal to Frederick III, Luther's protector, escorted him to safety.

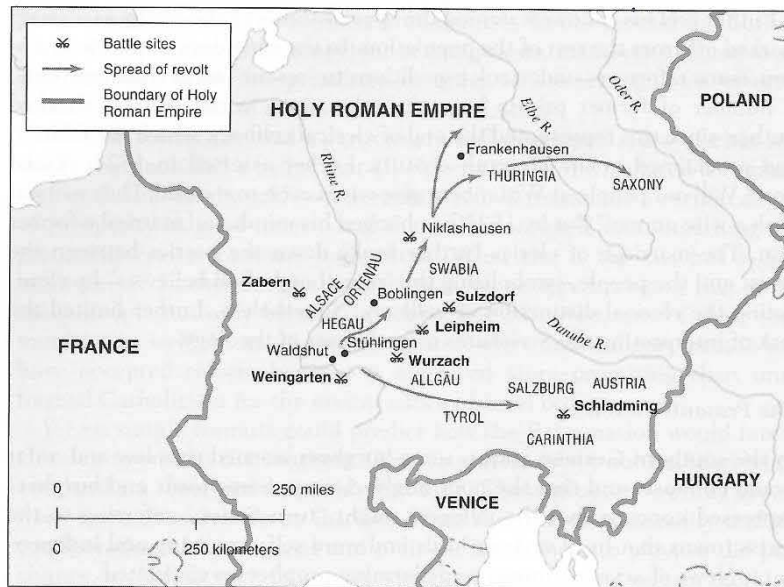
By declaring Luther an outlaw and forbidding any changes in religion in the Holy Roman Empire, the Edict of Worms made religious reform an issue of state. But Luther could not have survived the ban of the empire if his influence had not already spread, convincing many that through Luther they had now discovered the true Gospel.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION IN THE GERMAN STATES

Challenging the ways people in Central Europe had thought about religion for centuries, the movement for reform, spread by preachers, found converts in the German states. During the early 1520s, the proponents of Martin Luther's reform convinced many clergy and lay people to reconsider their religious beliefs and to restructure their communities. Social and political unrest, perhaps encouraged by the quest for religious reform, began to stir in the central and southern German states as peasants rose up against their lords. This uprising, although roundly condemned by Luther, left no doubt that the Reformation would shake the foundations of the German states.

Urban Centers of Reform

At first the Reformation was overwhelmingly an urban phenomenon in the German states and then Switzerland. The decentralized political structure of the Holy Roman Empire and traditions of popular participation in urban government aided the movement for reform, for example in the free cities in the northern German states like the powerful Baltic trading city of Lübeck, leader of the Hanseatic League, and self-governing towns in the southern German states. Each German town had its own elite of prosperous



MAP 3.1 THE PEASANTS' REVOLT, 1525–1526 Sites of peasant uprisings in parts of the central and southern German states. The revolt began in Waldshut and Stühlingen in the southern German states and spread east to the Tyrol and Salzburg in Austria, and north to Thuringia and Saxony.

"Christian freedom," which he believed applied only to the spiritual realm, could be extended into the relationship between lord and peasant. Luther asked lords to "act rationally" and "try kindness" when confronted by peasant demands. As nobles and churchmen began to accuse him of fomenting insurrection, he denounced the peasants in extravagant language. In *Against the Murdering, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, he advised the German princes to "brandish their swords. . . . You cannot meet a rebel with reason. Your best answer is to punch him in the face until he has a bloody nose." Catholic and reformed princes put aside their differences to crush the revolt, in which more than 100,000 peasants perished. Münzer was defeated, captured, tortured, and beheaded.

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION

Because of the intertwining of religion and politics, what began as a movement for Church reform became entangled in princely rivalries in the German states. As the breach between Catholic and reformed princes widened, religion became a source of division rather than of unity.

Although Luther had never broken away from within Christianity, his followers did in the German states. The states.

Divisions within Christianity

The Augsburg Confession was presented to the Diet that gave the basis of the Lutheran Church in the reformed states and was accepted as a Consistory, of ministers.

Some humanists influenced Luther's writing. In the time of the classics, they admired the ancients as a source of knowledge. The excitement at the new teaching was like night with sand in his mouth. He transformed some monasteries into schools. He began in Marburg in 1527.

But as the gap between the old and new was caught in the middle, Luther was caught in the middle. He went so far enough for reform that he remained loyal to Church and State. He parted ways by 1525. For

The Augsburg Confession was



Although Luther had never intended to bring about a permanent division within Christianity, his followers gradually created a new church in many of the German states. The Reformation then spread beyond the German states.

Divisions within Christendom

The Augsburg Confession, a summary of beliefs presented by Luther's friends to the Diet that gathered in that city in 1530, became the doctrinal basis of the Lutheran Church. It was implemented by princes and prelates in the reformed states and towns, and in some places by a council, known as a Consistory, of ministers and lawyers.

Some humanists influenced by the Renaissance were attracted by Luther's writing. In the tradition of their predecessors who had rediscovered the classics, they admired Luther's return to the Scriptures as an original source of knowledge. One of Luther's converts later wrote that his own excitement at the new teaching was so great that he studied the Bible at night with sand in his mouth so that he would not fall asleep. Humanists transformed some monasteries into schools. The first reformed university began in Marburg in 1527.

But as the gap between reformers and the Church grew larger, Erasmus was caught in the middle. His own criticism of ecclesiastical abuses did not go far enough for reformers, but it went too far for churchmen. Erasmus remained loyal to Church doctrine. Similarly, Luther and the humanists parted ways by 1525. For the latter, humanistic knowledge was an end in

The Augsburg Confession read before Charles V in 1530.



itself; for the reformers, rhetoric was a method for teaching the Scriptures and for arguing in favor of ecclesiastical reform. Many reformers were less committed than humanists to the belief that man is a rational and autonomous being. Luther himself did not share the humanists' Renaissance optimism about mankind. He was not interested in rediscovering mankind but was instead preoccupied with an individual's relationship to God. Furthermore, Luther opposed attempts by philosophers to intrude in theological questions. Nonetheless, a humanist curriculum continued to influence the training of reform ministers.

Luther's followers gained their first martyrs in 1523, when two former monks were executed in Brussels for their beliefs. German princes requested from Holy Roman Emperor Charles V that a "free general council or at least a national council" consider the growing religious division within the Holy Roman Empire. The Diet of Speyer (1526) proclaimed that each German prince was "to live, govern, and bear himself as he hopes and trusts to answer to God and his imperial majesty." This truce gave reformers time to win even more converts. In 1529, German princes again gathered in Speyer. Some of them prepared a "protest" against the policies of Charles V and the Catholic princes, who had declared themselves against Luther. The followers of Luther thus became known as "Protestants."

Luther's writings, translated into Latin, then spread beyond the German states, following trade routes east and west. The reformers easily revived the anti-papal Hussite traditions of Bohemia and Moravia and that of the Waldensians in the southwestern Alps. German merchants carried reform to the Baltic states and Scandinavia. In Denmark, King Christian II adopted Lutheranism for his state. When Lutheranism was declared its official religion in 1527, Sweden and its territory of Finland had the first national reformed church.

Charles V and the Protestants

Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, the pope's most powerful potential advocate, was a pious man who first denounced Luther with passion. But extensive Habsburg imperial interests kept him fighting a war in Western Europe against King Francis I of France, which prevented him from acting against those who supported Luther. The French king, for his part, was pleased that religion was dividing the German princes, thereby weakening the imperial crown that he had coveted. Charles V was away from his German states between 1521 and 1530, for the most part in Italy, crucial years during which the Reformation spread within the Holy Roman Empire. In 1524, the first Protestant leagues were formed between states. Protestant governments dissolved convents and monasteries, turning them to secular uses, such as hospices or schools.

The Christian crusade against the Turks in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean preoccupied Charles and other Catholic princes as well. In

1526, the Turks defeat left Lutheran missionaries not care about which practiced. A subsequent to Lutheran priests (Luther's hymn "A Mighty inspire soldiers against

To be sure, not all people intolerant of other religions too few shared the tolerance reported, "There are many great devils, barbarians known them and who I lion, since it is certain that the commandment give have done to us."

For a time, Charles V In 1531, however, the people that had adopted religion Although first and foremost the league would replace political allegiance. Up until and thus toleration of Lutheranism (which had condemned the Church could be held. The Alpine town of Trent with the Protestants. More hostilities with Francis I with the Turks against wars by launching an invasion finally ready to move again in battle in 1547. He then German cities. By that definitively in much of C

The Peace of Augsburg

Charles V now tried to pull back into the Catholic moderate Catholic reform in of the reformers. But see him in a short war in 1547 man states militated against emperor gave up the idea states.

1526, the Turks defeated the Hungarian king at Mohács in Hungary. This left Lutheran missionaries an open field there, although Muslim Turks did not care about which version of Christianity their non-Muslim subjects practiced. A subsequent Turkish advance forced Charles to offer concessions to Lutheran princes in exchange for assistance against the Turks. (Luther's hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" began as a martial song to inspire soldiers against the Ottoman forces.)

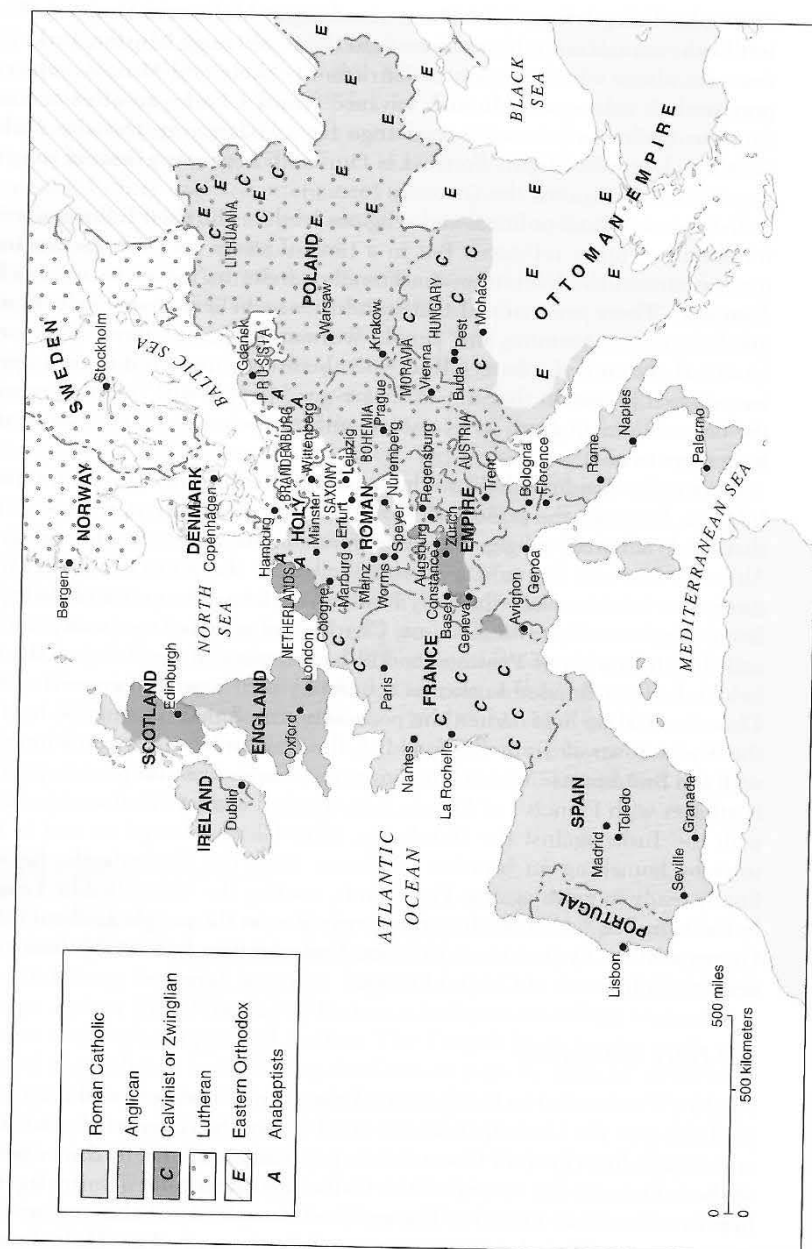
To be sure, not all political and religious leaders and their followers were intolerant of other religions. But in a time of sharp religious contention, too few shared the toleration of a French traveler to Turkey in 1652, who reported, "There are many in Christendom who believe that the Turks are great devils, barbarians, and people without faith, but those who have known them and who have talked with them have quite a different opinion, since it is certain that the Turks are good people who follow very well the commandment given us by nature, only to do to others what we would have done to us."

For a time, Charles V held out hope for conciliation with the Protestants. In 1531, however, the princes of Hesse, Saxony, and other states and cities that had adopted religious reform formed the Schmalkaldic League. Although first and foremost a defensive alliance, the princes intended that the league would replace the Holy Roman Empire as the source of their political allegiance. Up until this time, Charles had accepted temporary truces, and thus toleration of Protestants. He had suspended the Edict of Worms (which had condemned Luther as a heretic) until a general council of the Church could be held. When the pope announced that it would be held in the Alpine town of Trent (see p. 116), the stage was set for confrontation with the Protestants. Meanwhile, however, Charles was still preoccupied by hostilities with Francis I of France, who shocked many Christians by allying with the Turks against the Habsburgs. After Charles forced an end to the wars by launching an invasion of France from the Netherlands, he was finally ready to move against Protestants, routing the Schmalkaldic League in battle in 1547. He then forced reconversion on the people in about thirty German cities. By that time, however, Protestantism had established itself definitively in much of Central Europe.

The Peace of Augsburg

Charles V now tried to bring more of the German princes and their people back into the Catholic fold. He tried without success to impose moderate Catholic reform in Central Europe to answer some of the criticism of the reformers. But several of the Catholic princes took up arms against him in a short war in 1551. The political complexity of the myriad German states militated against a general settlement. The Holy Roman emperor gave up the idea of restoring Catholicism in all of the German states.

MAP 3.2 THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN EUROPE AFTER THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG, 1555 The Peace of Augsburg stipulated that the religion of the ruler of each of the Holy Roman Empire's states would be the religion of the state. The map indicates areas that were Roman Catholic, Anglican, Calvinist/Zwinglian, Lutheran, Eastern Orthodox, and Anabaptist.



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THE REFORMATION

The next stage of the Reformation was the rise of the independent city-states, where the common state, there were no reformers, then, would towns of relatively small parts of France.

Zwingli and Reform

In Zurich, then a town, preached salvation through publicly munched sausage eating meat. Zwingli insisted that the Scriptures and that as there was no eaten at any time. This iconoclasm, the stripping because nothing about the council then embraced only from the Bible, as Zwingli convinced the poor, whom he believed

The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 was a compromise. It was agreed upon by the imperial representative assembly after Charles, worn down by the complexity of imperial politics, refused to participate. It stipulated that the religion of the ruler of each of the empire's states would be the religion of the state (*cuius regio, eius religio*) (see Map 3.2). Protestants living in states with a Catholic ruler were free to emigrate, as were Catholics in the same situation. The Peace of Augsburg thus recognized that the institutions of the Holy Roman Empire could not provide a solution to what now appeared to be permanent religious divisions in Central Europe. It acknowledged that the Reformation in the German states was an accomplished fact. Thus, what had begun as a "squabble among monks" shaped the territorial and political history of Germany. Through the compromise that allowed each prince to determine the religion of his state, the Peace of Augsburg reaffirmed German particularism, the existence of many independent German states.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

The next stage of the Reformation occurred in Switzerland, land of rugged peasants, craftsmen, and mercenary soldiers. The thirteen sparsely populated, independent cantons of Switzerland (then about a million people) were loosely joined in a federal Diet, closer in organization and in spirit to the Italian city-states than to the German states. Unlike the German states, where the conversion of a powerful prince could sway an entire state, there were no such territorial rulers in Switzerland. The Swiss reformers, then, would be even more closely tied to privileged residents of towns of relatively small size. Their movement would also soon spread to parts of France.

Zwingli and Reform

In Zurich, then a town of about 6,000, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) preached salvation through faith alone. In 1522, several citizens of Zurich publicly munched sausages during Lent in defiance of the Lenten ban on eating meat. Zwingli published two tracts on their behalf in which he insisted that the Scriptures alone should be the basis of religious practice, and that as there was nothing in the Bible about sausages, they could be eaten at any time. This scriptural test also led Zwingli and his followers to iconoclasm, the stripping of images and altar decorations from churches because nothing about them could be found in the Bible. The Zurich municipal council then embraced reform. It ordered the canton's priests to preach only from the Bible, and two years later it forbade the saying of Mass. Zwingli convinced the town's magistrates that tithes should be used to aid the poor, whom he believed represented the real image of God.



THE LEGACY OF THE TWO REFORMATIONS

In 1600, more than half of Europe remained primarily Catholic, including Spain, France, and Habsburg Austria, three of the four most powerful states in Europe. The fourth was England, and it was overwhelmingly Protestant. The Dutch Netherlands, at war with its Spanish overlords, was largely Protestant as well. Unlike the case of the German states, where the religion of the princes determined the religion of the state, the Reformations in France, the Netherlands, and Scotland were to a great extent movements from below. The Reformation generated a strong missionary impulse among Protestants and Catholics alike. With the gradual opening up of the world to European commerce and colonization, the Jesuits, particularly, ranged far and wide. In the burgeoning Spanish Empire, conquest and the quest for religious conversion, which was remarkably successful, went hand in hand. More than a few missionaries, however, found martyrdom, for example in Asia.

In Central Europe, the complexity of the state system facilitated reform. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555, as we have seen, reinforced German particularism, the persistence of small, independent states. In contrast, the larger, centralized, and more powerful states like Spain and France most successfully resisted the reform movement, despite the wars of religion that lay ahead in the latter. Yet, in both states, the Catholic Church remained subordinate to the monarchy, with both the French and Spanish kings retaining considerable authority over ecclesiastical appointments.

Protestant reformers accepted a separation of functions within the community, what Luther called the "realm of the spirit" and the "realm of the world." Henceforth, the political institutions of the Protestant states remained relatively secularized. In the German states and in Scandinavia, Lutheranism was introduced as a state church, in part because reformers originally needed the protection of princes against Catholic rulers, notably Charles V, the Holy Roman emperor. In England, Anglicanism also took on the status of a state religion. Both Lutheran and Anglican reforms rigorously subordinated the church to the state, separating the spiritual and temporal realms. Whereas Zwingli had called for the complete fusion of church and state, Calvinism alone provided for the institutional separation of both; after Calvin's death the magistrates of Geneva restricted the church's autonomy. Anabaptist sectarians, in contrast, wanted their communities to have nothing at all to do with the state.

The Lutheran and Calvinist states were not necessarily any more tolerant of religious dissent than those that remained Catholic. Following the Peace of Augsburg, German princes used their control of the reformed churches to consolidate their political authority. Lutheranism remained wedded to a patriarchal structure of society, which appealed to property owners at all social levels.

In an attempt to obtain religious freedom, church attendance would be made compulsory. Not only would church attendance be punished. Nonetheless, compulsory church attendance was not guaranteed what or even if they were the thoughts of one girl who wrote through was "such a deale of bil can then sitt downe in my seat a in 1547, it was reported that "v what [he] himself hath writter straight out of the church, home

In some places, to be sure, and even shared churches. In Scotland, the decorated front part of a church which had little adornment, for the division of the church was of importance of which both sides landed in the late sixteenth century, including Catholics, could be hidden from public view. Order and religious peace that emerged in sometimes defying tyrannical rule

The Peace of Augsburg and the tension between Catholics and Protestants different Protestant denominations would, to a great extent, help delay the age of the wars of religion.

In an attempt to obtain religious adherence, some princes declared that church attendance would be mandatory and those who were absent would be punished. Nonetheless, compelling people to attend Sunday services did not guarantee what or even if they believed. One can never know how typical were the thoughts of one girl who related that the sermon she had just sat through was "such a deale of bible babble that I am weary to heare yt and I can then sitt downe in my seat and take a good napp." In one English parish in 1547, it was reported that "when the vicar goeth into the pulpit to read what [he] himself hath written, then the multitude of the parish goeth straight out of the church, home to drink."

In some places, to be sure, ordinary Protestants and Catholics coexisted and even shared churches. In Saxony, Catholics heard Mass in the lavishly decorated front part of a church and Lutherans used the end of the nave, which had little adornment, for their own services, by common accord. The division of the church was marked by a painting of the Last Supper, the importance of which both sides agreed upon. In some towns in the Netherlands in the late sixteenth century, dissenters from the Dutch Reformed religion, including Catholics, could worship in churches that were deliberately hidden from public view. Ordinary people thus greatly contributed to the religious peace that emerged in the immediate post-Reformation period, sometimes defying tyrannical rulers who insisted on religious orthodoxy.

The Peace of Augsburg and the Council of Trent did not end the rivalry between Catholics and Protestants, nor, for that matter, the rivalry between different Protestant denominations. Religious intolerance and conflict would, to a great extent, help define the first half of the seventeenth century, the age of the wars of religion.