

Reformation and Early Modern Europe

Habent sua fata libelli

SIXTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS & STUDIES SERIES

GENERAL EDITOR
MICHAEL WOLFE
ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

EDITORIAL BOARD OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS & STUDIES

ELAINE BEILIN Framingham State College	RAYMOND A. MENTZER University of Iowa
CHRISTOPHER CELENZA Johns Hopkins University	HELEN NADER University of Arizona
MIRIAM U. CHRISMAN University of Massachusetts, Emerita	CHARLES G. NAUERT University of Missouri, Emeritus
BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF Boston University	MAX REINHART University of Georgia
PAULA FINDLEN Stanford University	SHERYL E. REISS Cornell University
SCOTT H. HENDRIX Princeton Theological Seminary	ROBERT V. SCHNUCKER Truman State University, Emeritus
JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON University of Wisconsin–Madison	NICHOLAS TERPSTRA University of Toronto
ROBERT M. KINGDON University of Wisconsin, Emeritus	MARGO TODD University of Pennsylvania
RONALD LOVE University of West Georgia	JAMES TRACY University of Minnesota
MARY B. MCKINLEY University of Virginia	MERRY WIESNER–HANKS University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Reformation and Early Modern Europe

a guide to research

Edited by
DAVID M. WHITFORD

Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 79
Truman State University Press

Copyright © 2008 Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri USA
All rights reserved
tsup.truman.edu

Cover art: Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, 1533. Oil on canvas, National Gallery, London. Photo reproduced by permission of Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Cover design: Shaun Hoffeditz
Type: MinionPro is a registered copyright of Adobe Systems Inc.
Printed by: Thomson-Shore, Dexter, Michigan USA

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Reformation and early modern Europe : a guide to research / edited by David M. Whitford.

p. cm. — (Sixteenth century essays & studies ; v. 79.)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-931112-72-7 (cloth bound : alk. paper)

1. Reformation—Europe. 2. Europe—Church history—16th century. 3. Europe—Church history—17th century. I. Whitford, David M. (David Mark)

BR305.3.R42 2007

274'.06072—dc22

2007046362

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means without written permission from the publisher.

The paper in this publication meets or exceeds the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1992.

Contents

Preface: New Schools, New Tools, and New Texts		vii
PART 1 — Confessional Trends		
1 Contributors to the Lutheran Tradition	David M. Whitford	3
2 Contributors to the Reformed Tradition	Amy Nelson Burnett	25
3 Early Modern Catholicism	Robert Bireley	57
4 Radicals	R. Emmet McLaughlin	80
5 Jewish History and Thought	Matt Goldish	121
6 Confessionalization	Ute Lotz-Heumann	136
PART 2 — Regional Trends		
7 Central Europe, 1500–1700	Howard Hotson	161
8 France	Barbara Diefendorf	207
9 Italy	Nicholas Terpstra	228
10 England	Peter Marshall	250
11 The Netherlands	Christine Kooi	273
12 Spain	Allyson Poska	290
13 The Swiss	Bruce Gordon	309
PART 3 — Social and Cultural Trends		
14 Popular Religion	Kathryn Edwards	331
15 Witchcraft	H. C. Erik Midelfort	355
16 Society and the Sexes Revisited	Merry Wiesner-Hanks	396
17 Art History	Larry Silver	415
18 Books and Printing	Andrew Pettegree	428
Contributors		453

Preface

New Schools, New Tools, and New Texts

In 1982, Steven Ozment began his preface to *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* by stating, “There is no field of historical study today that is more alive with change and fresh ideas than that of Reformation Europe.” This remains very true today, but for very different reasons than when Ozment edited that first guide to research, or even in 1992 when William Maltby edited the second.¹ These reasons are new schools, new tools, and new texts. I have used the phrase “new schools, new tools, and new texts” for some time in my first lecture on the European Reformations; it is catchy enough for students to remember easily and encompassing enough to be useful. Many students already know that the Reformation was born out of a newly established school, the University of Wittenberg, and they also know that new tools such as the printing press spread the message of the Reformers and their opponents far and wide, pouring out new texts at great speeds. But there are other new schools, tools, and texts of which they might never have heard: new schools of thought in areas as diverse as painting, or music, or philosophy; new tools that made possible advances in mapmaking, navigation, philology, and painting; and new texts that were born to new audiences and presented in new and exciting ways.

The explosion of these new texts and new tools enabled fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists and scholars to look at themselves and their

¹Maltby’s research guide, titled *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research II*, was also published by the Center for Reformation Research. Another volume, *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research* (by John W. O’Malley), was published in 1987.

world differently. Similarly, twentieth- and twenty-first-century developments in information technology have given scholars of early modern Europe access to methods and approaches to practicing history, a sort of contemporary version of “new schools, new tools, and new texts.” When Ozment’s Reformation research guide went to press, IBM was rolling out the first IBM PC, which ran an 8088 processor at 4.77 megahertz and had 16 kilobytes of memory. When Maltby edited the second Reformation research guide in 1992, the Internet did not exist. I managed to make it through my entire higher education journey without ever emailing a professor, and when I went to Germany to do dissertation research, I handwrote letters and licked stamps to mail them home. I did use disk-based databases for bibliographic research and as a work-study student even helped transfer a card catalog to a computer catalog, but throughout my educational experience one still had to double-check the card catalog and the paper indexes. Today card catalogs are gone from nearly all libraries and most indexes are not even put on disk anymore, let alone paper.

As I write this preface, I am sitting in my home office, which is linked to my office at the university. A four-gigabyte thumb drive on my key chain automatically syncs to my hard drive; it is roughly 62,000 times the size of the 8088 PC on which I wrote my senior thesis, my master’s thesis, and at least half of my dissertation. Advances in information technology have transformed early modern historiography in dramatic and exciting ways. Traveling for archival research is becoming less and less essential, because often primary documents can come to you. It is now possible to sit in an office in the United States, and access the British Archives, search for a sea captain, and download a PDF copy of his last will and testament executed in March 1584. These texts also become part of a personal digital library of hundreds of thousands of pages of early modern texts. The ability to search full-text editions of sixteenth-century texts, such as Early English Books Online or the online edition of *Luthers Werke*, has only become available since 2000, and the implications of research that uses this technology to its fullest extent have barely been felt. These new tools have radically democratized the availability of scholarship.

There are still, of course, the haves and the have-nots; however, the gap is shrinking. Even as recently as ten to fifteen years ago, a scholar at a small teaching-intensive college with no chance for a sabbatical had very little opportunity to research archive-intensive projects. This is no longer true—archives and libraries across the globe are digitizing their collections;

the Google Books Library Project has massive numbers of books digitized and ready for download. While some must still make periodic treks to a research university to get access to subscription-based websites, many primary resources are freely available. In these ways, the new tools of Internet and online research have vastly increased the number of new schools at which one can do serious and sustained primary-source research.

These new tools have opened a wealth of new texts to scholarly investigation, making early modern historians resemble early humanists exclaiming with joy over a newly found classical text. Of all historians, Reformation scholars have perhaps the most to gain from the texts these new tools make available. For historians of the classical and medieval eras, the dependence upon hand copying limited the number and volume of potential texts to be found and examined. While unknown classical or medieval texts do crop up in old libraries and secluded monasteries, these are rare and even more rarely earthshaking. For modern historians, personal papers, memoranda, and the like remain hidden away in archives, but printed works are widely disseminated, easily found, and freely available through interlibrary loan. The early modern historian of earlier generations, in contrast, had to deal with exponentially exploding numbers of texts that are rare, valuable, and never loaned. Certainly many important texts were available in critical editions, but the editors of critical editions often distorted these texts by impressing their own perspectives on them. Today, because of the Internet, PDF versions of early modern editions make it possible to see what people read in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without editorial lenses getting in the way. Certainly, in earlier eras, texts were microfilmed or microfiched, but these copies, too, were often difficult to track down and do not nearly approach the width and breadth of texts currently available online. The availability to find, download, and analyze these newly available texts is transforming our understanding of the early modern era.

The previous research guides helped a generation of young scholars orient themselves to the field of sixteenth-century European history. These previous guides continue to have great value in that they track where the scholarly community was ten and twenty years ago, but like maps that must be updated with new roads and name changes, the guides must be updated to be of any practical use. This new research guide has eighteen chapters of varying lengths. There has been no attempt to duplicate information on the previous research guides; instead, we have worked to update what needs to

be revised and pointed out the ways in which the fields are continuing to evolve. Some topics are completely new and are therefore longer.

As in previous research guides, three questions have guided this volume: What is the present state of research in the field, especially the trendsetting new studies that are challenging (or perhaps trying to reassert) traditional views? What are the key issues scholars in the field are struggling with and trying to resolve? And what are the fundamental works in the field and where are the strategic collections or centers of research? In other words, where are we now, where are we going, and how do we get from here to there? Many of the essays include a discussion of the Internet's role in the field; even where the Internet and its new tools and new texts may not touch scholarship today, they will soon. The students who read this volume today will no doubt help write that story.

While the articles are organized thematically and geographically, there are places of overlap among many of the articles. This is a conscious choice—one cannot study sixteenth-century art without understanding sixteenth-century religious and political realities. This volume is designed so that one may read just one article; however, the authors hope that reading one article will raise enough questions and spark enough interest that readers will want to look at others as well.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank a few persons who helped make this project possible. Daria Schaffnit, a divinity student at United Theological Seminary, helped me convert diverse author styles into a consistent presentation. I also thank the authors in this volume who realized the importance of issuing a new research guide and who have kept before them the mission of helping new students acclimate themselves to the field of early modern studies. Members of the Society for Reformation Research stepped into the gap to take ownership of the idea behind the research guides when the Center for Reformation Research ceased to exist. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, then president of SRR, encouraged me to undertake the task when I raised it as an idea. My wife, Laurel, and daughter, Abby, who remind me of the importance of the twenty-first century even while patiently listening to me rattle on about the sixteenth. Finally, in a volume dedicated to helping students, I would like to thank two historians who taught me to love history. First and foremost, I thank my father Charles. Though he left the ranks of professional historians to become a Methodist pastor, he has

remained a historian by avocation. He worked his way through graduate school as a researcher for the Minuteman National Park Project (now the Minuteman National Historic Park) in Concord, Massachusetts. When we were growing up near Concord, my dad would take my brother and me to the Old North Bridge and tell us stories of the men who fought and died there. I still remember hiding behind a stone wall with him and my brother to get a feel for what the patriots did. My childhood was a running history lesson, and he is more responsible for my love of history than any other person. I also thank Professor Karlfried Froehlich of Princeton Seminary, who was the first to introduce me to the life of the professional historian. His simple joy in teaching and depth of scholarship inspired me to continue my studies. I cannot thank him enough for his encouragement. He will no doubt recognize in this preface echoes of a lecture on Scholasticism from many years ago.

Contributors

ROBERT BIRELEY, SJ, is professor of history at Loyola University, Chicago. He is the author most recently of *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (1999) and *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War: Kings, Courts and Confessors* (2003), and is working on a biography of Emperor Ferdinand II. He will serve as president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 2008.

AMY NELSON BURNETT is professor of history at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. She is the author of *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (2006) and *The Yoke of Christ: Martin Bucer and Church Discipline* (1994), as well as several articles and essays on the Reformation in south Germany and Switzerland. She is currently working on a cross-confessional study of sermons printed in Germany between 1518 and 1650.

BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF is professor of history at Boston University. She is the author of *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in France* (2004), *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (1991), *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: The Politics of Patrimony* (1983), and a number of articles on the social and religious history of early modern France. She is currently working on study of Catholic activism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France.

KATHRYN A. EDWARDS is associate professor of history at the University of South Carolina. She is the author of *Families and Frontiers: Re-creating Communities and Boundaries in the Early Modern Burgundies* (2002) and

editor of *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits: Folklore and Traditional Belief in Early Modern Europe* (2002). She is currently working on a history of European beliefs about ghosts, *Living with Ghosts: The Dead in European Society from the Black Death to the Enlightenment*.

MATT GOLDISH is Samuel M. and Esther Melton Professor of Jewish History and director of the Melton Center for Jewish Studies at the Ohio State University. His books include *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* (1998) and *The Sabbatean Prophets* (2004).

BRUCE GORDON is professor of modern history at the University of St. Andrews. From 2008, he will be professor of Reformation history at the Yale Divinity School. He is the author of *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation* (1992) and the *Swiss Reformation* (2002). He is writing a biography of John Calvin to appear in 2009 and is leading a research project on the Protestant Latin Bibles of the Sixteenth Century funded by the Arts and Humanities Council in the United Kingdom.

HOWARD HOTSON is fellow and tutor in modern history at St. Anne's College, Oxford. His interests range over the intellectual history of early modern Europe, with a particular focus on Reformed Germany. His recent monograph, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and Its German Ramifications, 1542–1630* (2007), will be followed by a study of the diaspora of Reformed intellectuals from central Europe during the Thirty Years' War.

CHRISTINE KOOI is associate professor of history at Louisiana State University. She is the author of *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden's Reformation, 1572–1620* (2000), as well as numerous articles on the Reformation in the Low Countries. She is currently at work on a study of relations between Catholics and Calvinists in the Dutch Republic during the Golden Age.

UTE LOTZ-HEUMANN is an assistant professor at Humboldt University, Berlin. She is the author of *Die doppelte Konfessionalisierung in Irland: Konflikt und Koexistenz im 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (2000). She has also coauthored (with Stefan Ehrenpreis) an introduction to Reformation historiography for advanced students, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter, Kontroversen um die Geschichte* (2002). She is currently

working on the eighteenth century with a research project on the cultural and social history of spas in Germany.

PETER MARSHALL is professor of early modern religious history at the University of Warwick. His books include *Reformation England 1480–1642* (2003) and *Mother Leakey and the Bishop: A Ghost Story* (2007). He is currently writing a short introduction to the Reformation for Oxford University Press.

R. EMMET MCLAUGHLIN is professor of early modern history at Villanova University. He is the author of *Caspar Schwenckfeld, Reluctant Radical* (1986) and *The Freedom of the Spirit, Social Privilege, and Religious Dissent: Caspar Schwenckfeld and the Schwenckfelders* (1996), as well as articles on the Radical Reformation and the history of the clergy. His current project is a study of the concept of "Spirit" in early modern Europe.

H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT is the C. Julian Bishko Professor of History and Religious Studies at the University of Virginia. He is the author of books on the history of witchcraft, madness, and demonic possession as well as several translations of books on early modern German history. His most recent book is *Exorcism and Enlightenment: Johann Joseph Gassner and the Demons of Eighteenth-Century Germany* (2005).

ANDREW PETTEGREE is professor of modern history at the University of St. Andrews. He is the author of a number of works including *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (2002) and *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (2005). He is the founding director of the St. Andrews Reformation Studies Institute and director of the St. Andrews French Book Project.

ALLYSON POSKA is a professor of history at the University of Mary Washington. She is the author of *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (1998) and *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (2006), which won the 2006 Bainton Prize. Her scholarly work has earned her a 2007–08 American Council of Learned Societies/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship.

LARRY SILVER is the Farquhar Professor of Art History at the University of Pennsylvania. A specialist in painting and graphics of Northern Europe, he

has recently authored several books on Netherlandish and German art including *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes* (2006), *Bosch* (2006), and *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (in press).

NICHOLAS TERPSTRA is professor of history at the University of Toronto. He is the author of *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance* (2005) and *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (1995), and has edited a number of essay collections, including *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy* (2000). He is currently working on *The Art of Executing Well: Rituals of Execution in Renaissance Italy* and a study of the network of social and financial agencies developed in Renaissance Bologna to aid women in need.

DAVID WHITFORD is associate professor of the history of Christianity at United Theological Seminary. He is the author of *Tyranny and Resistance: The Lutheran Tradition and the Magdeburg Confession* (2001) as well as a number of articles on Martin Luther. He is the associate editor of the *Sixteenth Century Journal*. His book, *Luther: A Guide for the Perplexed*, is forthcoming in 2009.

MERRY WIESNER-HANKS is UWM Distinguished Professor in the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. She is the co-editor of the *Sixteenth Century Journal* and the author or editor of many books and articles that have appeared in English, German, Italian, Spanish and Chinese. These include *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789* (2006); *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (2nd ed., 2000), and *Gender in History* (2001).