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in Verbindung mit

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66



The Reformation as Christianization

Essays on Scott Hendrix's
Christianization Thesis

Edited by

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Mohr Siebeck

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Abbreviations

- CB *Concilium Basiliense: Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Concils von Basel*, ed. Johannes Haller et al., 8 vols. Basel, 1896–1936; reprint, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1976.
- CC Nicholas of Cusa. *The Catholic Concordance*. Edited and translated by Paul E. Sigmund. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- COD *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*. Edited by Giuseppe Alberigo. Basel: Herder, 1962.
- CWTM *The Collected Works of Thomas Müntzer*. Translated and edited by Peter Matheson. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988.
- GR Nicholas of Cusa, *A General Reform of the Church*. In *Writings on Church and Reform*. Translated by Thomas M. Izbicki. The *I Tatti* Renaissance Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- LW Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works*. American Edition. 55 vols. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald, and Helmut T. Lehmann. Saint Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press, 1955–86.
- MC *Monumenta conciliorum generalium seculi decimi quinti*. Edited by Frantisek Palacky et al. 4 vols. Vienna and Basel: Typis C.R. Officinae typographicae aulae et status, 1857–1935.
- NRSV The Bible. New Revised Standard Version.
- StA Luther, Martin. *Studienausgabe*. 6 vols. Edited by Hans-Ulrich Delius. Berlin, later Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987–1999.
- TRE *Theologische Real Enzyklopädie*. 36 vols. Edited by Gerhard Kraus and Gerhard Müller. Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1976–2007.
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. 77 vols. Edited by J. F. K. Knaake et al. Weimar: Herman Böhlau, 1883–2003.
- WABr *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Briefwechsel. 18 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1930–1948.
- WATr *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Tischreden. 6 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1912–21.
- WADB *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Deutsche Bibel. 12 vols. Weimar: Böhlau, 1906–1961.

Lutheran Confessions

- BSLK *Bekennnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. 10th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- AC Augsburg Confession (1530)

Ap.	Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531)
FC	Formula of Concord (1577)
LC	Large Catechism (1529)
SC	Small Catechism (1529)
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord (1577)
Tr.	Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope (1537)

Introduction

Anna Marie Johnson and John A. Maxfield

Scott H. Hendrix's *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization*¹ presented a provocative thesis. Arguing against a decades-long trend that emphasized diversity and particularity among sixteenth-century reform movements, Hendrix instead highlighted the coherence he saw at the center of the various movements. Where Reformation historians had focused on theological differences and the formation of distinct confessional groups, Hendrix instead focused on a common desire and goal to re-Christianize Europe. Lutheran, Reformed, Radical, and Catholic reformers all thought that the Christianity of their time was an inadequate form of Christian faith and life, and they sought to cultivate a more authentic Christianity in their communities and churches. The goal all reformers shared, according to Hendrix, can be summarized by the term Christianization.

A unified goal, however, does not imply unified convictions or outcomes. Hendrix notes that “the diversification of Christianity was already under way prior to the Reformation,”² and he accounts for the division of Reformation movements into confessional churches as he describes the agendas of various reformers and movements in the chapters of the book. But his thesis is that the era is not defined primarily by the diversity, disagreements, and even the religious divisions that resulted from the various reform movements of the sixteenth century, but rather by the intensity of efforts to realize the common goal of Christianization and the outcomes that resulted, even if unintentionally, from that goal. Protestant reformers (including Radical reformers) viewed the religious culture they inherited as riddled with idolatry, while Catholic reformers sought the more limited goal of reforming the existing, divinely instituted structures and institutions of the Roman church. Yet all participated in the “restructuring of Christianity and the redrawing of the religious and political map of Europe”³ that defines the Reformation as a distinct historical epoch with significant cultural impact in the history of Western civilization. In Hendrix's

¹ (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004).

² *Ibid.*, 160.

³ *Ibid.*, xviii.

view, this restructuring of Christianity conformed to the goal of Christianization even though none of the reformers intended the outcome of a divided, confessional Christianity. Significant to the Christianization thesis and to Hendrix's view of the Reformation, then, is that the process of confessionalization that emerged as its outcome was not the co-opting of religious institutions and values by secularizing, absolutist states but rather "was the continuation of efforts to Christianize European cities and territories."⁴ Thus Hendrix views the Reformation as a distinct epoch that continues well into the seventeenth century.

Hendrix's thesis challenges the way we imagine the Reformation. If there is a fundamental coherence to the Reformation, then narratives of reform must be reversed. Instead of beginning with difference, what happens if we begin with commonality? This experiment can be applied to everything from theologians to artisans. Hendrix's own application focused on the goals of the reformers, arguing that they began with the common goal of Christianization and diverged in the specific agendas they employed to reach that goal. So, for example, Karlstadt's radicalism was closer to Luther than is often told, for Luther also viewed the Christendom of his day as infested with idolatry that needed to be rooted out, though in a different way than Karlstadt was proposing. Luther was also more similar to the urban reformers than is often acknowledged, for he, too, was concerned not solely with justification by faith but also with the reform and improvement of Christian life and society. Various radical movements shared these assessments of and goals for Christianity in their day, even though their agendas called for a sharper break from past (and present) communities, and eventually to a "Christianization outside Christendom." Catholic reform, well underway since the early fifteenth century, became Catholic Reformation as new orders and missionary enterprises, and especially the Council of Trent, brought about a restructuring of the papal church that made early modern Roman Catholicism a particular, confessional church instead of the universal church in the West. Taking up the provocative thesis of Gerald Strauss that the Reformation tried but failed "to make people – all people – think, feel, and act as Christians,"⁵ Hendrix concluded that this was indeed the goal of Protestant and Catholic reform movements, and that they were more successful in achieving this goal than has often been granted, even though disappointments abounded.

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

⁴ Ibid., 157.

⁵ Ibid., 149, quoting Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 307.

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

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

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

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

⁶ Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard*, 174.

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

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

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

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

and agendas of various radical reformers, Stayer concludes that “intensification of religious commitment” better characterizes the goals of sixteenth-century reformers than does “Christianization.”⁷

In a section devoted to Martin Luther’s agenda, James M. Estes opens with a careful analysis of the reformer’s *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520), in addition to other works and events, to amend Hendrix’s view in *Recultivating the Vineyard* that “Luther attributed to the laity ‘as much right and obligation to reform Christendom’ as the clergy.”⁸ John A. Maxfield endorses Hendrix’s view of Luther as waging his own “war against the idols” and further develops that thesis. He argues that the bitter divisions between Luther and other reformers are best explained by different views of idolatry and their resulting contrary convictions regarding how idolatry should be weeded out of Christendom. Risto Saarinen takes up the theme of “gifts” in Luther’s theology and presents a case for viewing the Christianization of social culture as a major part of Luther’s agenda. Russell Kleckley picks up the “replanting” image in Hendrix’s view of Luther and applies it to the reformer’s theological interest in promoting natural philosophy in the University of Wittenberg’s curriculum.

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

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

⁷ See pp. 104 and 122 below.

⁸ See pp. 125–26 below.

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

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

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

⁹ See p. 322 below.

¹⁰ Hans J. Hillerbrand, *The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), x. Hillerbrand repeatedly uses the destructive term “conflagration” to describe the events ignited by Luther and engulfing European Christianity and society in the sixteenth century.

church and society. The purpose of this volume is not to reach a consensus, but instead to foster a discussion about the interpretation and significance of the Reformation. It is, as Hendrix described it in the opening lines of *Recultivating the Vineyard*, an attempt to see the forest and not just the trees. *Recultivating the Vineyard* challenged the discussion of the Reformation to move beyond the safe confines of microhistory, and the contributors here have taken up that challenge.

Christendom and Christianization in the Middle Ages
and the Reformation

The “Reformation” as a Response to the Changing World of the Sixteenth Century

Reflections on Scott Hendrix’s *Recultivating the Vineyard*

Robert Bireley, S.J.

Scott Hendrix has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the Reformation era with his *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization*. It represents a welcome attempt to see the forest as well as the trees, as the author puts it, when we look at the religious changes of the sixteenth century. His volume develops further a line of interpretative scholarship that emphasizes the common elements of the religious traditions that competed with one another starting in the early sixteenth century. For these traditions taken together, including the Catholic, he uses the term “Reformation,” even though he prefers to use it to designate, more traditionally, the Protestant Reformation.

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

More directly Hendrix builds on the theory of confessionalization that has its roots in the work of Ernst Walter Zeeden. Zeeden provided a new conceptual framework into which to fit the religious changes of the sixteenth century. In a seminal article of 1958 Zeeden called for the comparative study of the growth of the principal Christian churches, or confessions, that emerged in the sixteenth century. He designated the common elements in the formation of confessions as “confessionalism” (*Konfessionsbildung*). This he defined as “the organizational and intellectual hardening” of the diverging Christian confessions after the collapse of Christian unity into more or less stable church structures with their own doctrines, church orders, and religious and moral styles. It also included their active intervention in the world of the sixteenth century and

their relationship to non-ecclesiastical entities, especially the state.¹ Noteworthy here is that confessionalism can also be applied to churches or religious groups that were not affiliated with the state, that is, not state churches, such as communities of the Radical Christian tradition or the Jews. Wolfgang Reinhard subsequently listed seven procedures common to the development of a confession: the elaboration of clear theological positions or “confessions” of faith; their promulgation and implementation through institutional forms, such as papal nuntiatures, synods, visitations; their internalization through preaching and education, especially schools and seminaries; the use of media of communication, especially the printing press, to propagandize, and the use of censorship to hinder the propaganda of others; disciplinary measures, such as the visitation of parishes and excommunication; control of the nature of and access to rites; and the development of a peculiar confessional language, as, for example, the use of particular saints’ names in the baptism of infants.²

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

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

¹ Ernst Walter Zeeden, “Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 185 (1958): 251. Reprinted in *Gegenreformation*, ed. E. W. Zeeden (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), 88.

² Wolfgang Reinhard, “Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–77.

³ Wolfgang Reinhard, “Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment,” *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383–404; Winfried Schulze, “Gerhard Oestreichs Begriff ‘Sozialdisziplinierung’ in der frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 14 (1987): 265–302.

⁴ See, for example, the two volumes by Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University

What Hendrix has now done is to relate the concept of Christianization more directly to the theory of confessionalization. He intends, as he relates, more to describe than to explain. Drawing upon the terminology of John van Engen, Hendrix understands Christianization as the shaping of the culture of both high and low through Christian teachings and practices.⁵ The first Christianization of Europe began in the early medieval period and continued up to the end of the fifteenth century. In his first chapter, following the introductory one, Hendrix describes and assesses this medieval Christianization calling attention at the end to reform efforts of the late Middle Ages. The "second act" of Christianization, according to Hendrix who takes this term over from Constantine Fasolt, was the Reformation period.⁶ The next four chapters describe the way in which the four main Reformation traditions undertook to Christianize European society: the Lutheran, the urban (the Zwinglian, the Strasbourg, and the Calvinist), the Radical Christian, and the Catholic. The main thesis that Hendrix makes here is that all four traditions started out with the same goal, the Christianization of society. Its twofold goal was "to reform the rituals of late-medieval piety in conformity with sound doctrine," and "to create more sincere and intentional believers by transforming people's minds and hearts."⁷ These are the elements that are common to all of them. In this sense we can speak of a "Refashioning of Christianity" as Hendrix does, modifying the title of my book *The Refashioning of Catholicism*.⁸

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

Press, 1992); and *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁵ Scott H. Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 2.

⁶ See Constantin Fasolt, "Europäische Geschichte, zweiter Akt: Die Reformation," in *Die deutsche Reformation zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas A. Brady (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001), 231–50.

⁷ Hendrix, *Recultivating*, 148.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 123–24.

eral issues. The first was over what more specifically constituted an abuse. Here Hendrix places the different traditions on a scale according to the degree to which they wanted to spiritualize religion. The Zwinglian/Calvinist, and it would seem the Radical too, aimed at the greatest spiritualization of religion, and so the elimination of material elements from worship as well as any intermediaries between man and God. So there followed their rejection of all images, which they considered to lead to idolatry, and to their position on the spiritual presence of the Lord in the Eucharist.⁹ The Lutherans occupied a middle ground. They retained some images and veneration of biblical saints as well as elements of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. The Catholics also sought the reform of abuses of worship, as was evident in the reform decrees of the Council of Trent, but they aimed at the elimination of the superstitions connected with many of the material elements of worship, not the end of the practices themselves. So they retained the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the veneration of the saints, indulgences, and many other pious practices. Hendrix does not use the term, but one may say that the Catholic tradition remained thoroughly incarnational.

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

Certainly Christianization constituted a major element in what has come to be called Catholic Reform or Early Modern Catholicism. John O'Malley emphasized in *The First Jesuits* that the principal goal of the Jesuits was the Christianization (*Christianitas*) of people and of society in the sense of their advancement in the Christian life, and he was disinclined to use the term "reform" for this effort. According to O'Malley, reform should be taken in a more limited, technical sense of a return to the observance of the ecclesiastical canons, which applied to the clergy and which was enacted at the Council of Trent.¹⁰ But if we take the term "reform" in its more general sense of a conversion of heart on the

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

¹⁰ John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 17–18, 87–88, 125–26, 321–27.

part of individuals or of society, its meaning comes very close to Christianization. And as Hendrix points out, the term "reformation" was often used by Catholics as well as Protestants. Furthermore, reform connotes that matters were in a bad state. But in fact, as much recent research has shown, the church was not in such a bad state on the eve of the Protestant Reformation.¹¹ Certainly, though there were abuses, matters were not continually sliding from bad to worse as was often portrayed in an older Protestant historiography. Ignatius Loyola did not see himself as a "reformer" but as a missionary.

Hendrix sees the start of the "second act" of Christianization with the sixteenth century. I would place it at the Council of Constance (1414–18) where there originated the call for "reform in faith and practice and in head and members" that echoed throughout much of the fifteenth century. The century saw a renewed emphasis on preaching, especially in the towns where the friars played a major role. One historian has written for northern France that "never before had there been so much preaching, never before had sacred orators enjoyed such popular success."¹² Standouts were the Dominicans Vincent Ferrer and Girolamo Savonarola, and the Franciscans Bernardine of Siena and John Capistrano. Cities vied to contract famous preachers for the sermons of Lent and Advent. After the invention of the printing press in the 1450s, religious books dominated the market. Bibles appeared in the vernacular languages except English, as did many helps for prayer such as missals, psalters, and books of hours. A classic was the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis. Confraternities dotted medieval Europe. These social and religious brotherhoods that were often associated with occupational groups grew in the course of the fifteenth century. Rouen with a population of roughly 40,000 counted 131 confraternities toward the end of the fifteenth century.¹³ In Italy after the start of the Italian wars, confraternities turned to dealing with those wounded or displaced. Observant branches of the Dominicans and Franciscans were formed with the intention of returning to a strict practice of the rule. Even the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 can be seen as an effort to promote the practice of the Christian life. The recent multi-volume French *Histoire du christianisme* entitles the volume for the period from 1450 to 1530 *De la Reforme à la Réformation*, so it

¹¹ John O'Malley, *Trent and All That* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 65 and n46; see, for example, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹² Hervé Martin, "Les prédications deviantes, du début du XVe siècle au début du XVIe siècle, dans les provinces septentrionales de la France," in Bernard Chevalier and Robert Sauzet, eds., *Les réformes enracinement socio-culturel: XXV colloque de Tours* (Paris: Editions de la Maisnie, 1985), 251; cited in Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; reprinted Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 10.

¹³ Francis Rapp, in *Histoire du Christianisme*, vol. 7: *De la réforme à la Réformation (1450–1530)*, ed. Marc Venard et al. (Paris: Desclée, 1994), 256.

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