The English Reformation: 1536-1662

The reformation in England is to a different tune. The European Reformation lies in the background. It will be much more complex, governed by political and religious issues. There are both Catholic and protestant elements. The theology changes with the monarchs =many times, back and forth

The focus is on books rather than theologians

- **Book of Common Prayer**
- **The English Bible**
- **Book of Homilies**

3 fundamental questions

1. How popular was this reformation? Was a movement of the people or imposed?
2. How unique?Third way, Middle way or seen as part of another reformation?
3. What is relationship of 16C phenomenism to Anglicanism.?

Various schools of thought – that the reformation will be the triumph of the English! (James Antony).That Anglicanism emerges as a distinctive understanding

Or as a counter revolution – a new Church of England broken from protestant roots.

New school of thought - Neo recusant – those who maintain the old religion against the reformation?

4 perspectives:

Position of Crown – reformation as act of King and parliament.

Contributions of **Erasmians**

Protestant party at Univ of Cambridge

People vs popular

Wars of Roses cause weakening and financial strain on Monarchy – poor as Henry VII takes throne. **(Bosworth Field 1445).** Monarchy seeks to establish stability. Henry VIII goes against Luther in defense of seven sacraments. This pleases Rome, Henry dubbed **Defender of the Faith.** Luther is not popular in England and so Lutheranism has little impact.

Praemenurie [1415- law forbidding any religious case to be heard outside England] is used by Henry in 1520's in his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. She is related to Charles V Holy Roman Emperor and thus any annulment by Rome is awkward for Pope. Series of parliamentary acts that distance from Rome. **Restraint of Appeals 1533.** Finally Henry dubs himself an Emperor as England is an Empire and in **1534 – Act of Supremacy** – he exerts his authority over the Church.

This results in no immediate change of theology or practice. Few actions like revoking shrine of Thomas Becket and **dissolution of monasteries** are mostly to establish control and seize wealth of Church. Funds are distributed to loyal gentry – now they have a vested interest in keeping the lands and wealth. Mary could not reverse this.

Theology is Erasmian – emphasizes new testament – his commentary is required to be in all Churches.

English adiaphora – Starkey 1530- Some things scripture demands, others condemned many things indifferent. Suffers from lack of definition, what is essential? Tied not to scripture but to Royal supremacy.

Wm. Tyndale – translation of Bible into English [will underpin 70% of KJV]. His theology influenced by Luther and earlier version stresses "law condemns, gospel liberates', his translation reflects this theology which others dislike. 1540 version changed to obedience of the law as a part of Christian life.

The Preface to the Great Bible 1540 stresses the fundamental relationship between God and scripture.

Wittenberg Articles – 1539 – Theology now in debate partly in dialogue with Lutherans– 6 articles which reflect a very conservation theology.

1. Is bread and wine really the Body of Christ? *(my notes are unclear hear – check yours and let me know.*
2. Is the eucharist necessary for salvation?
3. Priests may not marry.
4. Vow of chastity must be observed.
5. Private masses should be held

Through 1540-50 there are two major groups : English Catholic – **Stephen Gardiner** Bp Winchester and by stealth, evangelical group associated with **Abp Cranmer [1489-1556].**Cranmer not an attractive personality – vacillated but held loyalty to monarch and wrote well!
1557 – Death of Henry – Edward VI described as new Josiah as Catholic influence is waning.

BCP 1549: 1548 society formed for new prayer book. 1549 retains much of the old **Sarum rite,** prayers for departed, medieval canon of the mass. Distinctive change is confession of sin and prayer of Humble access before HC which should only be celebrated if there is more than just priest. 1549 book unpopular with both camps.

Bucer issues complaints in Censura:too many traditional elements e.g vestments and references to the old mass, doctrine of Eucharistic presence.
Gardiner replies that is acceptable to Catholics: words of distribution; fraction;medieval teaching;consecration confirms presence, epiclesis, prayer for state of Church and prayer of humble access.

1552 BCP – very different. Changes include, title – Mass is gone, vestments,movable table, mony offered – no bread and wine, no adoration, no manual action, no amen. Presence is in heart with thanksgiving, no HC unless 20 people present.

Black Rubric:- John Knox = no real presence therefore kneeling is not veneration but worthiness. Eucharistic Prayer order changes – hacked about between 1549 and 1552. Protestantism is moving in – Ordinal prayers are no longer separate, no masses for dead. Chantries are suppressed.

Cranmer's shifts" 1530 Romqn, 1540, Luther, 1552 Radical. His own theology was maybe reflected in his changed appearance and dress.

Book of Homiles issued
Articles of Religion (42) published 1553

1553 – Edward dies; Mary Tudor succeeds. Attempts to revive Old religion but doomed. Lives only 4 years. Marries **Philip of Spain**; no children, campaign of persecution Bloody Mary – leads to association of RC with persecution and foreign husband threat to English nationalism. **Foxe's "Book of Martyrs".** Remnant of protestants go to Rhineland.

Knox and Cox their debate centers on prayer book reforms – Coxians urge caution - need to wait for Elizabeth to continue reform,

1558 Elizabeth succeeds.

Elizabeth could not accept Catholicism because it made her illegitimate. She needed to establish some sense of stability quickly, and arrive at some sort of religious consensus. Parliament still loaded with Mary Tudor's Bishops, so she faces a tough task politically. She modifies Supreme head of Church to **Supreme Governor** and makes small changes. Her concern was uniformity and stability

1559 BCP: The 1552 prayer book was modified, reclaiming much of 1549; vestments, and **ornament rubric** changed, **presence of Christ and the memorial are put together,** making it possible to accept from both Catholic and protestant perspectives,

The Elizabethan Compromise, includes the above and the protestant articles of religion.
1. Couples protestant theology and catholic practice.
2. **Orthopraxis:** cf orthodoxy – unity in what we do as opposzed to orthodoxy – unity in what we believe.
3. Affirmation of **English adiaphorism;** rejection of Rome means that the State has authority in matters of religion. This is contrasted to the strong scriptural authority of the European reformation.

This is important as the reformist has hoped that reform would continue in steps – here we have a counter reformation movement. But Elizabeth is concerned that the Episcopate continue and so Bishops consecrated under Henry consecrate Matthew Parker. This is well documented to **defend from Rome.**

John Jewel – exile from Mary Bp of Salisbury raises the issue that unity is not enough. What is the Cof E united too? **Apology for the Church of England** makes a positive statement about the faith of the English Church and defends the Elizabethan settlement vs Catholic criticisms.. He asserts the old practice, episcopacy reasserted but that Rome has departed from the scriptures - but if Rome is wrong why are we in a compromise of Protestantism and Catholicism?

Rising protestant objections to Elizabethan Compromise: Issues are:
Vestments – **vesterian controversy** – both in church and outside- too popish and unnecessary

The old religion- practices like antiphonal chanting of psalms, why? Unnecessary – no edification
Issues of governance

Criticisms of BCP: Both laity and clergy lobby for Prayer Book change. Puritans cite that CofE should follow European model. Purify it of unnecessary practices and compromises. Focus on edification.

Emergence of Puritanism: issues:
Experiential predestination
Increased role of law and discipline
Covenant – Tyndale – divine relationship

What began as specific issues in 1570 – now become the challenge of what it means to be a Christian and what the Church ought to be?

Puritanism and rise of Anglicanism:
1590's puritan emphases:
Experiential predestination
Use of scripture
Covenant between church, individual and nation.

Theodore Beza:
Limited atonement – Christ died only for the elect shifts issues from theoretical (Calvin) to existential. How do I know I am in right relationship. Puritan look for saving grace within selves and lives.Spiritual implications: embraces Apostles Creed and baptism, but will look for God's work in lives.

- **Visible sainthood,** who is a true member of church.
- **Testimonies of saving grace**
- **Interiority** and journal keeping
- Will you be damned for God's glory – sign. Emphasis on transformation through grace
- Obedience to God's law and **Sabbatarianism** – keeping Sabbath holy – no sports etc., just Chapel.
- Allowed to read religious works "Life of Christ"
- Covenant with God, law must be kept

Presbyterians: Not all are puritans are Presbyterians but all Presbyterians are puritans.
Key concept of polity

Iconoclasm – no graven images – removal of stained glass etc. Elizabethan settlement says nothing sinful – just artful
Walter Travers will argue for puritan model on Genevan Churches.

This criticism starts to rouse a defense of Anglicanism is the 1590s – **Richard Hooker**:Asserts Fanaticism on both sides. Argues from standpoint of law – brilliant debator. Says there are many laws eternal, natural, angels, reason, divine. Puritan error is that the only law God gives us is scripture.

Relation between Reason and Scripture:
Law of reason and Divine law are known to us in revelation. Role of individual to choose how these laws work. Postive Anglicanism: cf Calvin Can't know anything about God except through revelation. Hooker argues that experience of humanity is the voice of God. Doctrine of nature – God gave us thought, we discover by natural experience..
Also argues against the restoration of primitive church – must learn from history and adapt to time and place.Attacks Puritanism as having no grounds of reason – circular, will just keep coming back on itself. No simple faith, because we don't have a simple Bible.
Different view to **Field and Cox** who assert the sole authority of scripture and if you don't follow it you are in rebellion. When Hooker talks of reason and scripture he means how we read scripture tied to historical time and place.

Hooker establishes a systematic approach. He asserts that there are some things in scripture that we cannot be sure about, we can't know it all. When we don't we can accept that. What truths are necessary?

His argument vs Rome and Puritans assertion that Rome is antichrist therefore no compromise.– Hooker argues that Rome is a true Church like Israel – although not perfect it is a vessel of God. Hooker's issue is that Rome added to scripture – not cut away. Same errors in Rome and Presb and Puritans – Rome made the church everything, Presbyterians made the Church nothing.

Elizabethan Compromise is via media – elements of both. Hooker now asserts not just a political compromise but that there are positive things about Anglicanism.

Place of Worship: Ceremony and worship reflects the voice of God and is the edification of the church through action. Edification not just in instruction but when we are moved. Worship moves the heart. How are we changed, through the eye and the ear, scripture and picture.Puritan view, sermon explains scripture/ Hooker do not need 3 hour sermon, but regular saving worship habits. We grow in virtue inculcating holy habits.

Role of externals: Puritan transformation of heart with signs of spirit, inner transformation/ Hooker asserts that by praying and doing good works we are transformed.
Church as school of virtue and habits; Christianization by doing become and become by doing. Hooker says orthopraxis is thus important.

Rise of Anglicanism:

De jure divino episcopacy: Beza and Puritan no episcopacy but church polity. – Presbyterianism. Luther rejects papacy on basis of Lombard that there is no distinction between priest and bishop. States there is one order of ministry but different functions. Elizabethan settlement reestablished episcopacy for stability and continuity. By 1590's threefold order is being asserted in CofE by Bancroft Bp of London **St Paul's Cross sermon. Jeremy Taylor** asserts the Apostolic succession through episcopacy. Taylor in **"Episcopacy Asserted"** appeals to early church, not to uphold tradition like Jewel and puritan did, but to assert unique relation to early church of Anglican

Church. Draws on Ignatius of Antioch to assert true apostolic sucession of Anglican church through episcopacy. By divine right – **De jure divino.** [not a clue what this really proves or means!]

Beauty of Holiness: shift away from adiaphora – of back of Hooker. Reverence in places and practices of worship. Care of practical things , orthopraxis, what we do is important!
Canons of 1604: E.g. canon 81, care of font etc laws of orthopraxis asserted.

Lancelot Andrewes puts into action things that have fallen away e.g blessing of parts of church, mixing of chalice, use of incense etc. reverence and beauty reasserted.
George Herbert: beauty makes the church beautiful – rome overdone, Geneva too plain.

Holiness: holiness in 3C was about objects – Puritans – spiritual holiness, table is not holy just for feeding then putting hat upon. In 17C holiness is important, role of external helps shape internal.

Sacramental Arminianism: Against idea of predestination- humans have free will. 2 types of Arminianism rational and sacramental.

Rational: - human tool for response to God is reason [cf Hooker]. By end of 18C this ends up as Unitarianism. Not Anglican – who assert that the tool we have is grace, through religious practice. Orthopraxis. Exercise freedom in doing so and thus inculcate habits of grace.

Sacramental: base of peity the way we work our spiritual life and our call to do so. Emphasis is on doing and acts of peity. Acts of grace through life of Church not predestination.

Liberality of the Gospel: pyrrhonistic argument Jesuits force choice between Rome or anarchy.Fisher (Jesuit) argues that without infalliable authority no assurance of God's will. Laud argues, flexibility in faith = salvation. Many things we do not agree upon but we all agree that not all things are necessary for salvation. God wants good for us and is merciful.

Out of this a distinctive English, Anglican piety is emerging, but Hooker and Field and Wilcox have equal claims to call themselves Cof E. 1540-1604 has been about where the Church should go.

1604: James 1 – Millinary Petition to continue reformation
Hampton Court Conference: King James Bible , but this does not reconcile issues.

Charles 1 - Laud is Abp of Canterbury still uncertain. Chrales is sympathetic but is decalred and enemy of the people aand establishes personal rule in 1629. Charles pours money back into the church.1637 Charles becomes King of Scotland as well as England. Scottish Church introduces prayer book. The Scottish rebellion is successful. Parliament resolves to reform Church of England, Scotland and Wales along lines of best reformed churches. Bps are abolished. . 1640 reforms – church is Presbyterian, Calvinistic and disciplined.

Anglican Interregnum and Restoration:

1649 – Execution of Charles: during interregnum Anglicanism which would have been like Scotland, develops its own maturity.

Jeremy Taylor: writes in 1650 "Holy Living and Holy Dying", asserts that the true religion is cast aside and in grip of religious fanaticism under Cromwell. Establishes idea of prayer leading to prayer and ordered piety.

John Bramhall sees Rome as Older sister but not the Elder.

Heylyn witrites book called History of the **Cyprianius Anglicus** (Anglican Cyprian) showing connection with Cof E and North African Church. Aerius Revived [Arius Revived] story of puritans is part of the continuing battle against heresy that the Catholic Church has endured.

1658- Death of Cromwell: Reaction to his rigorous rule leads to a wish for the restoration of the monarchy.

1660 – Restoration of Charles II – Declaration of Breda – Codification of changes between 1590 and 1640 and integrity of Elizabethan compromise. Bishops restored to House of Bishops.

Savoy Conference: Ricahrd Baxter argues for a revision to prayer book that will include Presbyterians – alternative rite to BCP. All this new energy results in the 1662 Prayer Book: Changes include, standing for gospel and creed, things done reverently, bread and wine on table, offertory, oblation prayer, references to dead returned. Physical actions restored, Amen added. Consecration is taking place.Corporal; disposal of elements; Most changes are in the rubrics.

3 national prayer Days:
Nov 5th – thanks for saving from Jesuit Plot to blow up Parliament – Guy Fawkes.
Jan 30th – Martyrdom of Charles 1st who like Jesus prays for his persecutors.
May ?- Thanks for restoration of Charles II

Luther: 1483 – 1546. Believed that faith alone leads to salvation (sola fide), without the mediation of the clergy or good works. Attacked authority of the pope and priestly celibacy, and advocated individual study of the Bible (which he translated in 1525). His 95 Theses (1517) led to his excommunication in 1521 (Diet of Worms).

Luther arrived on scene after Wyclif and Huss in the late 1400s had complained about the church's wealth; had advocated a vernacular Bible; took issue with certain practices (inc. the removal of the cup from the laity); wanted the church to be more Christ-like & pastoral. Consensus among some was that the church and church law needed reform and better educated clergy; few if any believed that the problems were doctrinal or theological.

Some important points regarding Luther's theology:

Sola gratia: Grace alone. God must be initiator of grace. Source of terrified conscience creates a terrified conscience. Elevation of human freedom. Humans have free will, but Luther wrote of the bondage of free will; we don't have freedom until God gives it to us. We cannot ascribe all good to God if humans have free will. We will never be satisfied if we do not embrace sola gratia.

Sola fide: Faith alone. Sola gratia leads to this. Marked Lutheran theology. Terrified Lutheran conscience. Confusing to non-Lutherans. When Luther talks about faith, he is talking about an outward trust in God's word. Faith is absolute trust in God. Our trust is in God alone. It will not be a subjective concern, but an external trust. Faith is simply an intellectual ascent; accepting the Apostles' Creed. Sola fide is intensification of the law of God.

Sola scriptura: Scripture is both self-authenticating and is its own interpreter. Scripture is its own authority; it is above the church. Luther believed that the relationship between scripture and church is like the relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist. Luther believed that not all parts of scripture are equally reflective of the Gospel, but all parts are equally inspired. (For ex., the OT is imp. because it is a prologue to the Gospel.) Luther does not say that scripture is new law; there are many things upon which the scriptures are silent; on points such as these, the church can decide for itself what it's going to do. Luther was not interested in where the scriptures came from; what defines the Bible is what is Gospel. *Adiaphora*: gives the church authority to make decisions, provided those decisions do not contradict what can be found in scripture.

Sacramental Presence. How do we treat the elements? Unique view by Lutherans: at the time of worship, Christ is present in the bread and wine, but not after the service is over. Presence of Christ sacramentally is like the word of God – the word does not have an enduring presence. Luther did not believe in transubstantiation; he thought it was combined with philosophy and was non-Biblical and Aristotelian. Aside from this, Luther had high sacramental views; sacraments are objective, part of God's promise. Luther liked the image of the Word being made visible in the Eucharist. Wanted to reduce number of sacraments to 3 (baptism, Eucharist, penance) from 7. Attacked certain

abuses that had crept into the administration of the sacraments that were non-scriptural, such as the withholding of the cup from the laity.

Zwingli: (b. circa 1485) RBM: least important of magisterial reformers because there is no Christian faith church that sees Zwingli as its founder.

Zwingli was Swiss, and an Augustinian.

Z. became concerned with issue of clerical concubines. Believed that 20-25% of all clergy in central Europe were living with women. He was concerned with practical questions; i.e., the Lenten fast (he publicly ate sausage on Ash Wednesday).

Some key dates and events:

1522: Attacked doctrine of clerical celibacy. He and nine others request right to marry. By this time, reformation in Zurich is in full swing. Also at this time Zwingli declared that scripture was the only source that could be cited in reformation debates.

1523-24: Zwingli turned his focus to the Mass. Came to believe that the Mass was a modern corruption – prayers for the dead, for the pope, etc. No historical foundation.

1525: Zwingli decides that the nature of the Mass needs to be rethought because the nature of the Mass needs to be rediscovered. Says bread is a *symbol* of the body of Christ. This idea was not of Zwingli's invention. Z. believed that Christ instituted the holy meal to be a sign of his presence because Christ would *not* be present himself. Zwingli goes on to attack any doctrine of the localized presence of Christ in the elements.

Three theories of how Christ is present, which Zwingli would refute:

1. Those who say we partake in the body and blood literally (transubstantiation – RC view);
2. Those who say we eat the body and blood after the resurrection; essentially, what we are eating is the resurrected body and blood of Christ;
3. Those who say we eat the body under the bread; for Jesus said it, it must be so. His body is with the bread. Lutheran position.

Zwingli believed that Christ is only present at the right hand of the Father. Christ instituted the bread and wine to be here because he is not; like a guy going away on an extended trip and leaving the girl his ring. Zwingli believed the bread and wine were unchanged.

Luther v. Zwingli:

Luther and Zwingli encountered each other at the Colloquy at Marburg, which Prince Philip of Hesse called in order to establish an alliance between the Germans and Swiss to oppose Charles V, the Holy Roman Emporer. They held opposing view on most things:

Zwingli believed that while we do eat the bread, the presence of Christ is in our heart, not in the host. Luther believed that Christ cannot be divided into body and spirit. If Christ is present physically, he is present spiritually. Zwingli believed that Christ is *not* present at the altar because he is in heaven. The difference between the word "is" ("This 'is' my body") became a contentious issue for Z. & L.:
Zwingli: "is" means "represent", so "This 'represents' my body;
Luther: "is" means "is the same as", so "This 'is the same as' my body.

The real question is to what degree does the spiritual convey the physical? The physical will merely be an occasion for the spiritual. Spiritual is stronger. Christ is spiritually present in all who believe. Bread and wine are merely an occasion to help that belief. (Zwingli's position)

The competing beliefs of Luther and Zwingli are in a way manifested in the words of administration in the first two BCPs:

1549: The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. (Luther)
1552: Take this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart, by faith, with thanksgiving. (Zwingli)

Heritage of Zwingli: iconoclasm and spiritualism.

Calvin:

b. 1509 in Picardy, France. After initial work in law at father's encouragement, Calvin turned to theology/religion. Ere long, Calvin goes to Geneva, where he will remain.

Calvin and Luther are not that different if one looks at the issues; they disagree principally in the doctrine of the Eucharist. But, they are fundamentally different in their structure. Luther started with the problem of the terrified conscience. Calvin started with the sovereignty of God and the concern for our response. According to Calvin, man's chief end is to glorify God. Calvin believes that the task of theology begins before Luther and continues after Luther.

For Calvin, the big picture is very important. We are created to glorify God, and we are terrible failures at that. Humans are totally depraved because we cannot do that which we are created to do. (This affects how Calvin will understand human reason.) Simply by exercising our reason, we can come to know certain things about God. Calvin believed that human reason does not have that much power.

Calvin believed that the only way we know God is by revelation (not reason). All we can know is that we are sinners; we cannot know about God by reason.

God reveals himself in and to the world through scripture. The core of scripture is Jesus. Scripture gets authority from God, not the church. It actually is the very word of God.

Catholic thinking versus Calvinist thinking regarding scripture and miracles: In catholic thinking, miracles are a manifestation of the holy nature of Christ in the world. For Calvin, we have no new miracles because we only have one Gospel. After the revelation of scripture, who needs miracles? Scripture is the great miracle. Calvin sees scripture in a much more united way than Luther, who puts the Gospel at the center. For Calvin, the OT is the manifestation of a redemptive pattern of life; he's into plenary inspiration, i.e., all scripture is equally inspired. Scripture is the final source of appeal. Baptism, according to Calvin, is the new sealing of the covenant, as circumcision was to the old.

The work of Christ: Calvin talks about Christ in the offices of prophet, priest and king. (Luther talks about Christ principally as priest.) All three extend Christian theology: Christ as prophet gives us law by which we ought to live; Christ as new Moses. Christ as king: goal of Christianity is restoration of order – new kingdom. We don't stop with Christ as priest; these will add a social dimension to the Gospel. Christ as priest: Christ who dies as sacrifice for our sins; offers himself for our sins

Predestination: bondage of the will. For Calvin, predes. is a retrospective doctrine.

Double Predestination: God has chosen those he wants to save, and those he will not. Part of divine mystery. Calvin will tie predestination to creation.

Issue of the new obedience: The new use of the law: 1. shows us our sins, mirrors our failures. 2. allows us to control our external nature 3. we may glorify God by our new obedience to the law. Obedience to God's law is a sign of our spiritual state.

Edification: the strengthening of the individual, community, and society. We are called not just to be saved, but to be edified.

Church and sacraments: Calvin will have a destructive Eucharistic theology. He will attempt to provide a middle ground between Zwingli and Luther. For Calvin, the doctrine is of real presence but not of local presence (only local in heaven?). Jet plane theology: isn't it more meet and right to receive Christ in heaven?

Question of Christ's saving work: Christ may have died for all, but only prayed for the elect. Change is to Christ dying only for the elect. If Christ did not die for me, I cannot look to him.

Later Calvinists:

Arminianism (Jacob Arminius): As a system of faith, Arminian doctrines, formally set forth in the Remonstrance of 1610, were a theological reaction against Calvinism. The Arminians insisted that the Divine sovereignty was compatible with a real human free will; that Christ died for all and not only for the elect, and that both the Supra- and

Sublapsarian views of predestination were unbiblical. Their beliefs were condemned at the Synod of Dort (1618-19) (*infra*).

Synod of Dort: Assembly of the Dutch Reformed Church called to deal with the Arminian controversy. Five sets of articles that reflect a high Calvinistic perspective were passed to combat Arminianism:

1. Total Depravity
2. Unconditional election
3. Limited atonement
4. Irresistible grace
5. Perseverance of saints

The Synod was considered a victory for Calvinist principles.

Theodore Beza: High Calvinist theologian. Usually considered to have hardened Calvin's doctrine of predestination by arguing that even the fall was a part of God's eternal plan. It followed the election of some to salvation and others to damnation, the atoning death of Christ being offered only for the former.

Supralapsarianism: Strictest form of predestination wherein God, before all worlds, decides who he wants to save.

Limited Atonement: Christ's saving work. There has to be a one-to-one relationship between believer and Christ. Christ died only for the elect.

DeJure Presbyterianism: 1570s. One form of order and one form only (that being Presbyterianism). Brought to Scotland by Andrew Melville.

Right of Resistance: A theologically and revolutionary quality. It had been a heinous sin to sin to take arms against a monarch; notion that it was central to Christian morality to obey powers of this world begins to change. Calvin asserted that there was a Christian right to resist a tyrant.

Catholic Reformers:

Response to Protestant challenge – a criticism of the old order. How should Rome respond? Protestant objections are primarily in three categories:

1. Practice. Ignorant, uneducated clergy. A sense of disorder. Reformers believe the church is going to hell in a handbasket.
2. Discipline. The practice of indulgences. The church's law. (Clerical celibacy, fasting, withholding cup, etc.)
3. Theological issues. By 1530s, new theological models call into question the nature of Catholic Christianity; Calvin, Zwingli are moving in different directions.

Counter Reformation v. Catholic Reformation.

Counter: Idea that the Catholic reforms are a direct reaction to the Protestant developments.

Catholic: Better term. The movement toward reform happened decades before Luther and the 95 Theses 20 years before 1575; issues of abuse (Spanish inquisition), concern for a reform of orders, emphasis on clergy education and personal piety. Creation of new religious orders to respond to new needs.

1534: Reform reaches the papacy. Paul III, the first reforming pope, calls Council of Trent, the great reforming council of the 16th century.

First issue is whether to invite Protestants to table. They were not invited. Instead, the Council focused on reform of practices and definition of doctrine. But which to debate first? Doctrine, or practice?

The German view was "If we can get out act together, the Council might be a means for reconciliation."

The Italian view was "No. Let's define our doctrine. That'll help us to respond better to the Protestants."

Early sessions focused on doctrinal definition and the Protestant critique of Rome. Sola scriptura: Protestant position. No Roman Catholic may stand on scripture alone. Formal acclamation regarding the Vulgate (Latin): a rejection of the principle that the deeper we go into the Greek/Hebrew, the better.

Emphasis on works and our own participation in our sanctification; rejection of the picture of human sinfulness drawn by the Protestants; affirmation of role of the sacramental system in our ability to participate in the life of grace. (Zwingli: in sacraments, we receive the sign but not the reality; rejected by Council.)

Reformation of liturgy. Up to this point, there had been great global variance. Council said that there should be fundamental liturgical conformity. Mass should be the same no matter where one hears it. Tridentine principle: emphasis on conformity. Liturgy should be outward and visible sign of stability and unchanging nature of Catholic Christianity.

In later sessions of the Council, discipline and the episcopacy are addressed. New vision of bishop as the church's chief pastor emerges (*consider* Charles Bartimeo). Bartimeo, a bishop, had regard for the distinction between clergy and laity. He believed that clergy were called to a higher discipline requiring a higher sense of training. Special education = special clergy. Seminary education provides a different, more comprehensive understanding and good formation, and an association with cathedrals. Protestants believes that professional ministers needed only a college education. Also, more

attention focused on the laity, and their use of the sacraments, catechism, etc. Emergence of List of Forbidden Books (Nihil Obstats, Imprimaturs, etc.).

A new, more certain form of Catholicism emerges:

Architecture: aesthetic of rationality; massive and monumental. Church as rock. Use of light, sculpture, bronze, etc.

Church had never before been concerned with mission; a revitalization of the Catholic mission impulse occurs (principally through the Jesuits).

A subtle tension in monasticism v. mysticism emerges. Role of monks is to show Christianity is attractive; role of mystics is to show the path towards God. Catholic reformation: Christianity is about action; internal formation; going out into the world. The faithful were urged to establish a rule and live by it; the world will be attracted to Catholicism by seeing it demonstrated in so many.

Some results of the Council:

1. Roman Catholicism becomes more Roman and less German, less medieval.
2. Greater sense of defensiveness. Church had been living large during the Middle Ages; those days are gone. Church is defensive.
3. Church is far more rigid.