

Catechisms and Cataclysms: Communication in the Reformation

By

Christine A. McEvilly

Submitted to the History Section,
School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Bachelor of Science

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

June 2007

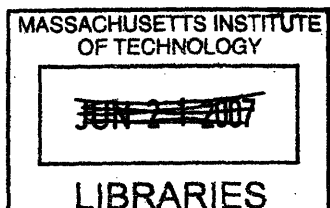
© 2007 Christine Ann McEvilly
All rights reserved

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to
distribute publicly paper and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in part
in any medium now known or hereafter created.

Signature of Author.....
History Section, School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences

Certified by.....
Anne E. C. McCants
Professor, and Head, History Section
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by.....
Anne E. C. McCants
Professor, and Head, History Section



ARCHIVES

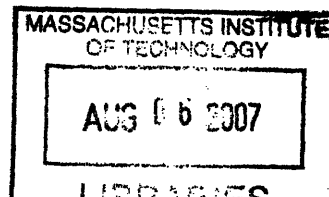


Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....Page 3

Chapter One: Introduction.....Page 4

Chapter Two: Architecture and Art in the Reformation.....Page 13

Chapter Three: Education in the Reformation.....Page 28

Chapter Four: Community Definition and Discipline.....Page 41

Chapter Five: The Reformation and Modernity.....Page 68

Figures.....Page 73

Works Cited.....Page 87

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I must give a large thank you to Professor Anne McCants. She has guided me through not only the thesis process, but also through graduate school applications, and frankly, through life @MIT.edu.

Another thanks must go to Professor David Ciarlo, who not only sits on my thesis committee, but also was my first history advisor. Thank you for helping me gain confidence in life and as a historian.

Thank you, Professor Ravel, for putting up with my thesis disorganization, and for the headaches I gave you in your position as Undergraduate History Officer. And more importantly, thank you for all the wonderful advice you have given me.

Thank you to all the Professors in the History department who have guided me, taught me, and put up with my garrulous chat in all your classes.

Thanks to Mabel Chin and Margo Collett, for providing a home away from home in the History Office.

Thank you to my friends, you know who you are. You kept me sane, and made everything I have done so much more worthwhile that it would have been without you there. I love you all and look forward to sharing more fun with you in the future.

And last, but far from least, I must give the biggest thank you possible to my parents. Mama and Papa, you have loved and supported me through all. You have helped me grow to be the person I am today, and helped teach me to always continue growing. I love you very much.

Chapter One

Introduction

How does belief shape lived experience? This is a central question of existence that all people confront, be they philosophers or farmers. It is not simply a matter of religious belief but a problem that stems from the very core of what it means to be human. Who could decide how to spend their lives without defining priorities? Yet such profound choices are necessarily based on implicit beliefs, valuations of worth and existence.

The Reformation period in early modern Europe shines a particularly bright light upon these fundamental questions. Once Martin Luther nailed his Thesis to the church door in Wittenberg in 1517, and in the religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that followed, no one could avoid considering basic questions about their faith, even if only to defend what had been the status quo. Furthermore, the personal beliefs of Martin Luther and his German princes became a subject that could change the political course of nations. It was in Martin Luther's crucible of religious turmoil that personal belief and government began to shape each other in drastic and visible ways, an interaction which not only emphasizes the importance of belief, but also highlights the problem of popular beliefs, which are difficult to discern in times of religious quietude.

But why examine belief? Are there not other more visible expressions of historical change? Ultimately, history is about individuals. One can examine the great political and economic trends of nations, but they only have meaning as they relate to individual existence. What is a modern nation state, if not a collection of its citizens and of how they live, work, interact, and think? Examining the religious beliefs of a society allows one to look at thought

and actions in those who were far removed from “high” intellectual culture; for the thoughts of those who composed the massive majority of European society cannot be ignored simply because they were not always expressed in easily retrieved written discourses. Luckily, since theologians, politicians, and activists tried to influence popular belief, their records can be examined. The methods used to influence belief and practice, suggest not only what was in fact believed, but also what topics were of central concern to society’s dialogue on religious change. Belief can have power over forces and institutions far larger than any single believing individual. Indeed, the very idea that religion is an issue of concern to individuals and not defined at the level of a city or nation was a novel one in the early modern era. Not surprisingly, and such a fundamental change in the concept of the individual had widespread consequences.

This work examines the transmission of reformation ideas from scholars and theologians to lay parishioners in both the Protestant and Catholic traditions. It considers how large scale revolutions in religious thought affected the lives, piety, and religious practice of ordinary individuals.

Yet the examination of this theme of transmission and communication is ultimately just a small part of one of the questions that historians have debated: Can the Reformation period be seen as offering up a true division into two different religions, or should it be seen as a moment during which both Catholic and Protestant traditions modernized in parallel to each other? Of course, both views contain some elements of truth; both churches managed to modernize, but nevertheless had fundamental differences in both theology and practice. However, an equally vital question is, perhaps, whether the churches’ interactions with society were characterized by the differences between them or by the similar, modern forms

both churches shared. This work ultimately suggests that the differences that had developed between Catholic and Protestant traditions by the mid seventeenth century are dwarfed by the changes in both that converted medieval practice to a more modern system. These modern religious traditions would come to co-exist with modern nation states, evolving economic practice, re-defined communities, and the secularization of Europe. Similarities in Protestant and Catholic communication of new theology and reformed practice can be identified and traced, lending support to the theory of parallel reform with similar outcomes, particularly in terms of community and state, even if their respective theologies contained real differences.

Communication provides a useful lens for examining this question of difference and modernization since it involves many elements of the two reformed traditions. The choice of what information was to be transmitted, suggests which new theologies the churches thought significant and which were important to the contentious dialogues of the period. The forms of communication speak to the regular functioning of the church as an organization, and suggest how authority figures interacted with their laity. The composition of the audience suggests the new community definitions of each church.

This essay will examine three mediums for communicating the agenda of reform in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: architecture and visual art, education, and discipline and charity, insofar as they defined community. The Catholic and Protestant churches used the same forms for communication, often to transmit very similar, although undeniably different, messages on the same topics. Since the reformed churches were similar, any real change came from the modernization which re-defined old forms of communication and set forth the topics of the new discourse. The centrally important forms of communication were derived from those important in pre-Reformation tradition, only they

were part of a conversation on new topics; they spoke from new perspectives. Despite the social upheaval and intellectual ferment associated with the Reformation, neither church actually challenged the prevailing assumptions about how to communicate.

One form of communication was in its most important respects new: printing. The printing press was used to disseminate everything from the writings of theologians to persuasive pamphlets for more general consumption. However, much of the impact of the printing press relied upon generalized literacy. Literacy was spreading during this period, but was still far from widespread, as the necessity for oral instruction in the catechism, even in Calvin's model Geneva, shows.¹ Printed texts could not directly reach many in rural areas, where literacy rates were likely to be especially low. Furthermore, issues of translation arose; most popular texts were not printed in the variety of vernacular languages which would have been necessary to reach those who were only literate in their local language. While printing was vital to the overall progress of the reformation, the printed word was not effective for directly reaching all the "people." Community leaders read new texts, and spread information to their parishioners, by using other forms of communication. However, printed images could be appreciated by all helping printing reach the illiterate. This growing collection of satirical woodcuts and other cartoons spread not only information, but encouraged visceral loyalties. Yet they were only one aspect of visual communication that blossomed in the form of artwork and architecture as well.

The question of difference and modernization in the Protestant Reformation has a long history of debate. Long before Weber, the historical debate started with the underlying historical assumption that the protestant churches were very new and modernizing, while the

¹ Thomas F. Torrance, trans. and ed; *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Church*; New York: Harper & Publishers, 1959, 4-5.

Catholic Church was reactionary and bogged down in its tradition. This view was nuanced and supported by Max Weber's canonical *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, written in 1904-5. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he examined the differences between the various protestant confessions and ultimately saw Calvinism as a vital modernizing force.² Weber argued that the Protestant denominations de-sanctified poverty while sanctifying hard work. While the poor could be among the elect, God could favor his chosen individuals with prosperity. Further, the idea that believers could be called to all walks of life suggested that they should attack secular pursuits with spiritual fervor, and use the gains for the benefit of others. Weber contends that those who did not work enthusiastically could be seen as lacking this spiritual calling, and therefore of not being among the elect. While theologically, there was no way to determine who was among the elect, he contends that individuals would strive to follow their secular calling by challenging themselves to succeed in business and to use success to re-invest in their economic endeavors and in the church community. Ultimately, these Protestants created modern western capitalist society. As for Catholics, "the greater other-worldliness of Catholicism, the ascetic character of its highest ideas, must have brought up its adherent to a greater indifference toward the good things of this world."³

While many of Weber's points provide a useful view of the reformation, his argument certainly can be faulted. There is no doubt that the Reformation de-sanctified poverty; begging was outlawed, and the poor were classified strictly by whether or not they deserved to be helped or by whether they were able-bodied and their poverty was the result of laziness. Yet the Catholic Church also adjusted its view of poverty and begging. The church

² Gianfranco Poggi; *Weber: A Short Introduction*; Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006, 70.

³ Max Weber; *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*; Trans. Talcott Parsons; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958, 40.

recognized the social instability inherent in wandering beggars. Even mendicant preachers were suspect, not only because they begged but also because they criticized, inherently by their very existence, the wealth of the church. Furthermore they could not be monitored by traditional diocesan hierarchy. This Catholic response suggests that Weber's protestant ethic is not so much protestant as it is simply modern. The universal de-sanctification of poverty was not, therefore, rooted simply in Protestantism; its origins must be sought elsewhere.

Certainly Weber's conception of European society has some merit. A tradition which held that all had a secular, but sacred, calling would likely conflict with notions that the aristocracy should not work at base trade but only in the military, priesthood, or as landowners. Such characteristics were often ascribed to seventeenth century Spanish society. However, sloth often was seen as undesirable in both Protestant and Catholic circles, even if some Catholic countries held particular professions as base. And, even if one concedes Spain, most Catholic countries did not idolize sloth. Catholic Italy's aristocracy was comprised of its merchant class oligarchs, men whose families began in trade and banking. Mostly Catholic France would develop a professional class in the early modern era which would ultimately become a Catholic bourgeoisie. Clearly, their enterprise was backed by neither a pure protestant ethic nor a capitalist spirit.

Weber cogently suggests that Calvinist communities attempted to exclude those who sinned as they considered sinners unlikely to be among the elect. These communities passed judgment upon their sinners, despite the fact that official Reformed theology declared that no person could know the state of another's soul. Certainly the regular judgment of the community would encourage individuals to act as they expected the elect to act. In Calvinist societies, this often meant succeeding in capitalist entrepreneurship. Yet the idea of self-

monitoring communities has implications far beyond simple economics. These communities instilled discipline and defined themselves by watchfulness.

However, many historians have taken different views from those suggested by Weber, particularly in regards to the Protestant impetus for change. Instead, they see both Protestant and Catholic community ethics changing in similar ways that all contributed to the growth of modernity, in politics as well as in economics. Perhaps one of the most compelling arguments in favor of characterizing the period by its change from traditional to modern, and of minimizing the differences between catholic and Protestant is that of John Bossy in his *Christianity in the West 1400-1700*. He examines Christianity as it might have been described by late medieval and early modern parishioners throughout Europe: as a set of traditions that bound and defined the community. He proceeds to examine the many ways in which these traditions changed or shifted their symbolic meanings. Bossy describes a revolution that limited the definition of community. In traditional, medieval Christianity, the community encompassed all people, from local neighbors to itinerant poor vagabonds. Yet by the end of Bossy's study, a vision of a new post-Reformation community has emerged, one limited to people who actively choose to enter into a community of profession in a world without a universal community of faith. Bossy's work suggests a world of splintered allegiances where religious and political identities divide the Christian community. His conclusions support the idea that this radical change was a vital part of the growth of modern nation states.

Three forms of this communication used in the splintered communities of Bossy are of particular interest in this work: architecture, education, and community. But how do these forms of communication relate to the transition from traditional religious culture to

modernity? Why do similarities that may seem incidental carry real significance?

Importantly, these forms of communication were well established in pre-reformation society, so the changes in these traditional forms would have been marked, indicating new doctrine will be clearly identifiable. Communication itself is important. It speaks of the form of the church, what the church thinks is important, and of inter- and intra-church relationships.

Consider community. Community is in many ways the motif that draws together the major themes of this essay. So much of what the churches accomplished through architecture, education, or changes in the sacraments, redefined not only who was an acceptable member, but also what those members were supposed to think. Elaborate but simply designed renaissance cathedrals suggest that while the church was moving away from ostentation, spirituality and the inspiration of awe remained the most direct paths to belief, and perhaps even to salvation. In protestant cathedrals, where all interior portraits and statues were removed, the absence was meant to inspire awe and fear of God through His now-emphasized word (through logos). Neither tradition could remove the value of architecture that had been a central medieval tool for communication, but frankly neither tried. The Protestants, for all their austerity, which was fundamentally different from Catholic Renaissance restrained, classical simplicity, and clean lines, still placed huge value upon surroundings that would allow for the contemplation of the Word. Architecture could train believers to distrust the idolatry associated with the older veneration of the Saints. The Catholic Church maintained its traditional extravagance in artwork, but contested accusations of wastefulness through simple, elegant architecture. The two traditions did use education differently to define membership. Simply, the Catholics included those who could be preached to and the Protestants included those who learned the appropriate catechistic forms.

Yet, both traditions reveal a pattern by which the education was not about the church in isolation, but about the church in the world. For all their renown for preaching to “heathens,” most Jesuit schools taught middle class students who could afford primary instruction before they arrived. These students were then expected to go out into the community and become leaders, in part through Jesuit Marian societies and in part by pursuing their trades. Similarly in protestant communities, ideally at least, parents were to teach their children to read and inculcate the catechism. The focus was upon household learning, not upon formalized ceremonies. Further learning served as a form of initiation in both churches. In protestant traditions, children needed to recite catechisms publicly, in front of church leaders to be admitted for communion. The Catholic Jesuits and the Tridentine decrees worked to educate priests, using literacy and rhetoric to allow priests to combat the “heretics.” And what is common in these communities? They became selective. In some protestant traditions (particularly the Calvinist) the church was a spiritual body of the elect, or as near as possible. In Catholic communities, all were included regardless of position in the afterlife, but the church ceased performing many of its geographical community binding functions, slightly disenfranchised the poor, and carefully regulated the morals of its members, effectively defining what kind of person they should be.

The Protestant and Catholic churches were different in their particulars, but not in their shared move towards modernity, nor in their new definitions of what constituted a select community. They used similar forms of communication, to transmit similar messages, which created these newly limited communities of belief and practice. This process allowed states to appropriate individuals’ loyalty by creating limited communities of their own upon religious or geographical lines. States could to use religion to strengthen national pride, or

define state enemies. Protestants and Catholics used the same forms, and similar messages, that often were not as distinct as much as they were variations on a theme. The churches were revolutionary by the fact of their difference, rather than by any fundamental differences in their approach to establishing authority, educating their congregants, or identifying their membership.

Chapter Two

Architecture and Art in the Reformation

When people build great buildings, to honor their God or to glorify their own achievements, they put much more into them than just stone and mortar; they embed their very beliefs into them. Thus, religious architecture proves an excellent source for the examination of historical values. Not only are monumental structures highly durable, they are repositories of the beliefs cherished at the time of their construction. They provide lasting sources for historians to mine, preserving beliefs, which are otherwise so transitory and fleeting. The many churches and cathedrals which were built, or substantially modified, in response to the religious upheavals of the Reformation are an obvious source to examine first in the search for answers about the nature of popular religious belief in the early modern period. Churches and cathedrals provided Reformation spiritual authorities with an opportunity to concretize amorphous beliefs on everything from earthly wealth to spiritual community. Yet, how did churches communicate new theology? How did cathedrals describe the traditions they represented? How did architecture convey power? How did it control worshipers? Architecture certainly spoke of economic power. Whether building new imposing structures or stripping down traditional community landmarks, churches asserted their temporal power. Architecture and art provided continual reminders of God and a Christian's duty to the church in the pre-reformation time period, and these influences would persist through the Reformation.

Consider the importance of art and architecture to an illiterate believer sitting in a church and listening to a Latin mass he cannot understand. How might he respond? Chatting

amongst the congregation was popular, and the church authorities could not prevent nor control this activity. So art could serve to remind believers of the sanctity of the mass. Traditionally, congregations even chatted through the sermons. It was the Eucharistic liturgy that was the sacred, quiet high point of mass.⁴ Of course in Catholic churches (both before and after the Reformation) no one could understand what the priest was saying. Art provided a sacred reminder of God in people's minds while they quietly listened to the Eucharistic sacrament. Likewise, saint's statues provided a focus for thought while reciting prayers that were learned by rote; certainly a society that was mostly illiterate would not be expected to meditate upon diction while praying. The statues were elaborate, rich, and golden to attract attention to their separation from the base earthly lives of parishioners. The statues could inspire respect, encouraging congregants to behave decorously under their watchful stare. Ultimately, these motives lead the pre-Reformation church to instill as much meaning into art and architecture as possible.

In a pre-literate society, how else could theology be taught and remembered? Oral education and training was useful, but these methods involved much effort upon the part of the preacher and the student, and they relied upon a pool of literate teachers. However, visual messages could be easy to recall and once created could teach for centuries. If particular meanings were attached to pictorial elements, anyone who could remember the picture could remember the associated lesson. Certain themes were imbued with meaning and used repeatedly in different works of art. For example, blue paint was associated with wealth, as it required expensive materials, namely lapis lazuli. This would encourage viewers to examine closely or even revere paintings with blue and the blue-clad individuals within the painting. The presence of blue would remind all that the patron church had money

⁴ John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700*; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, 68.

and economic clout. Furthermore, art and architecture could inspire emotions and suggest simple ideas that did not need to be taught. The triagonal symmetry of most religious and secular paintings subtly suggests the tripartite God. No one needs to be told that the Church thinks God is great and worthy of praise if his home edifice is a huge, overpoweringly majestic cathedral. Awe can be felt and humility can be inspired without vocally or explicitly encouraging humbleness before God.

During the Catholic reformation, the Church retained many of these uses of art, but struggled to suggest that its artwork and ornamentation were neither wasteful nor a form of sinful ostentation. Consequently, architecture in cathedrals and churches began to emphasize clean lines and a renaissance inspired simplicity, suggestive of austerity, but also punctuated by discrete elements of extravagant art work. Furthermore, religious art began to turn from a reliance on gold and expensive paint towards a focus upon deep emotionalism. Paintings emphasized the nobility of saints through austere but realistic portrays which encouraged believers to project the saintliness of the images on the clergy and hierarchy of the church. The Catholic Church used architecture to suggest it was still rich and powerful, even if it chose to suggest reformed economy through increased simplicity within the churches.

Since the Protestant churches were in their very essence predicated upon personal reflection on the Scripture, and thus had to encourage literacy, the Reformed churches removed many of the architectural elements that served as aids for the illiterate. Reformed churches were also concerned about idolatry that Catholic practices could easily seem to sanction. Prayer was to be a time for single minded focus upon God. Praying in front of a saint's statue would not only confuse the unlearned who might confuse the statue with the saint, but also distract from interior reflection. The words of a prayer and the underlying

theology were essential. To prevent idolatry, reformed practice turned to sanctifying words, whether spoken or written, and expressly not images. Believers began to describe themselves as going to “sermon,” not to services or to mass.⁵ The liturgy of the word became the central element of Sabbath worship. The sermon and the messages it carried were to provoke self discipline and introspection. Since services were held in the vernacular, the congregation could simply listen and understand. In a less symbolic way, the Reformed churches asserted their authority by removing art from existing churches and cathedrals. The Reformed tradition illustrated its temporal power over the old Catholic church, while it illustrated the supremacy of direct contact with God and verbal literacy over prayer through the saints and visual literacy.

Churches and cathedrals may seem to function only as buildings where a congregation collects weekly, and again on holidays. This is certainly a central part of their role, but both traditions, whether explicitly or not used these edifices to speak of theology, morality and of earthly power. The wealth that went into constructing churches, and the ability to commission art and architecture, spoke of temporal power. Allegory served to instruct visitors on essential theology. Even in those protestant traditions that banned most art and sculpture, buildings held power, speaking thorough their bare walls. Pre-reformation traditions considered the building of Gothic cathedrals as an important spiritual activity; and reformers could not change the fact that meeting places were in and of themselves important to believers. They could however, change the nature and meanings of that significance.

The tradition of infusing churches and cathedrals with meaning was well established by the Reformation, and is well illustrated by examining the Gothic cathedrals built in the

⁵ Pilip S Gorski; *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003, 35.

High Middle Ages. Consider, for example the role of cathedrals along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain. Not only did they speak of theology in their form, but the pilgrimage route which they defined by their placement provided a tangible way for even the poorest of the faithful, those of extremely low social status, to interact with magnificent architecture. The tradition of the pilgrimage which survived well into the Catholic reformation period had strong allegorical meanings similar to those associated with Cathedral architecture. Centrally, the pilgrimage mimicked the “journey” of human life. Struggle and hardship brought the believer to salvation, and cleansed him of his sins. Similarly, gothic cathedrals mimicked the world order. They were “Biblia Pauperum” and taught through their basic structure.⁶ Theology was not simply expressed via artwork, but through the larger canvas of the entire edifice.

The Cathedral of Leon provides a beautiful example of theology written in stone. Its windows illustrate the Christian hierarchy of universal existence. (See Figures 1-3) The lowest level of leaded stain glass windows shows plant, or vegetable, life. Below these windows are small decorative arch-shaped bands, suggestive of windows overlooking rock.⁷ The next tier of windows illustrates a series of heraldic crests, suggesting the superiority of humanity to the physical world of rock and plant. Above them are depictions of humans, kings and clergy, who have authority over the temporal and spiritual world on earth. The highest windows and those to the front and back of the nave, which are surrounded by sculpture, represent the angels and saints in their heavenly abodes. At either end of the nave, windows dedicated to the annunciation and, more generally, to Mary and her Son, show

⁶ Christian Norberg-Schulz; *Meaning in Western Architecture*; Trans. Anna Maria Norberg-Schulz; New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975, 221.

⁷ Rosa M. Sánchez; *Leon Cathedral*; S.A.: Editorial Escudo de Oro, 30, lower photograph.

pictures of their lives, or are shaped into rose windows, often symbolic of Mary.⁸ As the arches draw the gaze of a visitor upward and forward, he or she receives an education on the order of the world while admiring beauty and skilled workmanship.

Pilgrims, however, did more than just visit cathedrals. They also assisted in the construction of the cathedrals along the route. The cathedral of Burgos was under construction (or nearly continual renovations) from 1221 to about 1700, providing many pilgrims with the opportunity to perform penance. On their way to Santiago de Compostela from France or eastern Spain, pilgrims were expected to pause their journey to work on the cathedral for several days. While this work was more symbolic than genuinely useful towards the completion of the building, it illustrates the importance of cathedral building as a sacred duty. Pilgrims built as part of their penance, and by extension, construction can be viewed as a form of sacred sacrifice on behalf of the entire community. Therefore, cathedrals not only spoke of the financial prowess of the church; they also reflected the universal nature of the Christian community. The Burgos Cathedral belonged to pilgrims from throughout Europe as much as it belonged to the diocese of Burgos. Reformation cathedrals lacked this universality both in their more ordered construction (often guided by well known architects acting as both designers and craftsmen) and in their abandonment of the extensive allegory characteristic of medieval churches.

The cathedral of Santiago de Compostela itself illustrates the emotional potential of traditional religious buildings. After a dangerous and long journey in search of salvation and forgiveness, a pilgrim would reach the cathedral and kneel to physically embrace Santiago's statue at the entrance to the nave. Years of wear can still be seen in the worn away handprints that mark the statue. The devout pilgrims found the cathedral at the end of their

⁸ Fernando Llamazares; *La Catedral De Leon: Claustro y Museo*; Madrid: Ediciones Lancia, 2001, 26-36.

physical journey as they believed they found salvation at the end of their spiritual journey of penance. (See figure 4)

Both Catholic and Protestant traditions included parishioners who held the conception that buildings were imbued with meaning. Buildings indicated a commitment to reform, through their permanence, and they could build good will in a community. Through construction and destruction, cathedrals persuaded congregations of the power of the Protestant and Catholic churches, and reminded them of the control these churches had over the community. While Catholic and Protestant churches had fundamentally different appearances, their purposes were the same. Even the differences in the messages that each building conveyed, cannot mask the basic similarity in the manner in which each edifice exerted power over those who worshiped within its confines. Each tradition was bound by the traditional forms of architectural expression.

Catholic reformation buildings suggest just how important architecture could be in redefining the reformed Catholic community. The Cathedral of Granada is just such a building. Built at the height of the Spanish reformation between 1528 and 1664, the Cathedral, while laid over a gothic floor-plan, is a perfect example of renaissance architecture with baroque decorative elements.

The Granada Cathedral, or the Cathedral of the Annunciation, as it is formally known, was initially designed by Diego de Siloe in 1528. He guided early construction, until his death in 1563, designing a cathedral in the Spanish Renaissance style.⁹ The cathedral's architecture parallels the simplification of Catholic extravagance, with an unwavering attention to saints and allegory in art.

⁹ F. J. Martí Medina, M. Seeano Ruiz, E. Caro Rodríguez, eds.; *Alonso Cano y la Catedral De Granada*; Granada: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural CajaSur, 2002, 139-40.

The cathedral has four rows of columns down its central nave, a gothic element, yet the columns themselves are anything but gothic.¹⁰ They are evenly fluted and end in square Corinthian cornices and friezes before beginning their vaults.¹¹ On either side of the nave near the altar, the inner rows of columns connect to form a support for the church organ. These archways further illustrate the renaissance nature of the cathedral.¹² The rounded cylindrical arches with rectangularly paneled vaults hearken to classical architecture, and form a clear break with traditional, soaring, pointed gothic arches.

While gothic architecture often focused on allegory, the Granada cathedral seems composed of simple, straight lines; its decorations are geometric. The cathedral manages to impress its majesty upon a visitor, but through simplicity rather than ornateness. While the artwork in the cathedral is elaborate, and indeed baroque, the architecture shows the Catholic Church temporarily retreating from the elaborate, expensive design and sculpture for which it was criticized. While retaining decorative elements to suggest only a partial retreat, the church created an outward symbol of reform and austerity.

However, the Catholic hierarchy did not fully retreat on issues of art and allegory, using baroque art in their churches. In many ways the simplicity of renaissance architecture allowed future growth of baroque design, and in late renaissance churches, such as Granada, architectural simplicity increases the impact of the baroque art. (See Figures 5-6) In fact, the continuous focus on saints in renaissance and baroque architecture illustrates how the Catholic Church, in so many ways, willingly conformed to the protestant definition of itself. While architecture was simplified, this trend only lasted for a time, and one of the

¹⁰ Rafael Hierro Calleja; *Granada and the Alhambra*; Trans. Nicola Jane Graham; Granada: Ediciones Miguel Sánchez, 2005, 133

¹¹ IMG_4964.jpg, photo by author.

¹² IMG_4938.jpg; photo by author.

fundamental protestant arguments against art in churches and other architectural elaborations, the idolatry of saints, remained present throughout the period. This is not to say that the Catholic Church did not change the role of saints in the reformation era, but that in its much criticized art, the saints and the Virgin still played a central role, despite reform. The Church reduced the number of saint feast days on the calendar, and it emphasized that saints should not be considered “friends” or “guardian angels” but as people who could intercede on behalf of those who asked for help.¹³ Yet while the Church adjusted its attitudes, the allegorical portrayals of saints remained.

The chancel (the eastern arm of a church, in which the altar is placed¹⁴) of the Cathedral illustrates how clean renaissance architectural styling can provide an austere backdrop well suited to draw attention to the elaborate artwork placed within it. The altar is surrounded by a semi-circle of eight elegant Corinthian columns which each frame a painting by Alonso Cano.¹⁵ Each picture has figures standing on stone steps, to ensure that the paintings fit in the tall column “frames” without distorting the human forms.¹⁶ The central painting of the seven depicts the Annunciation, and is full of meaningful imagery (See Figures 7-8). It was the first to be created and was completed in 1652.¹⁷ Mary is bowed, reading, but not kneeling as a shaft of light shines through a gap in the clouds above her. The archangel Gabriel is kneeling before her speaking in the position of a prayerful supplicant. His realistic wings are pointed downward, brushing the ground. The light symbolizes the knowledge and gift she is being given, and suggests the common description of Christ as

¹³ Bossy, 96-7.

¹⁴ Jill Lever, and John Harris; *Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture 800-1914*; London: Faber and Faber, 1993, 9.

¹⁵ IMG_4929.jpg; photo by author.

¹⁶ Hierro Calleja, 139.

¹⁷ Medina, et. al., 34.

light. The archangel's supplicant posture is unusual, but reminds the viewer of the importance of the Virgin Mary in Catholic faith and in the Cathedral, dedicated to this moment of her life.¹⁸ While visually rather different from the allegories typical of Gothic art, the painting uses symbols in the same manner, impressing the viewer with the importance of angels, saints and the Virgin in Catholic theology, traditional or reformed.

The use of these forms of communication was not limited solely to massive expensive cathedrals; smaller, more local churches were also designed in this mannerist style. The Church of Teresa of Ávila, in Ávila, uses simple, elegant art and architecture to impress the visitor with reformed simplicity. Yet its very existence provides a constant reminder that the Catholics still valued and revered saints and their relics. The Church is attached to a Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, the reformed branch of the Carmelite order which St. Teresa founded. It was built on the site of her birthplace in 1635, thirteen years following her canonization. St. Teresa spent her life (1515-1582) founding Carmelite convents that tried to resurrect the strict observance of the early Carmelites and expounding mystic theology in her writings (She is now considered a Doctor of the Church in honor of her theological writings, but this designation was only awarded recently, in 1970). Her Discalced Carmelites emphasized the importance of absolute poverty and of contemplative prayer every day. Her reforms initially drew the ire of traditional Carmelites who encouraged the Inquisition to investigate her followers. However, before her death both the Pope and the king of Spain recognized the value of her ascetic reforms that emphasized poverty and penance, and she was allowed to establish several more convents and male cloisters which included both contemplative and preaching clergy.

¹⁸, Calleja, 144, image of *The Annunciation*; Figure 7.

The church, while richly decorated in its perpendicular naves, embodies the simplicity and emphasis on penance and contemplation which were central to Teresa's reforms. It is in a strict renaissance style with one large central nave and separated from the outer walls by two rows of arches that form small alcoves, but not elaborate side chapels, along the length of the church. (See Figures 9-10) A series of stained glass windows sit atop the painting or statues that decorate each alcove. They discuss the life of the Saint, while depicting the trials through which she reformed her order. Their simplicity stands in contrast to the glass of the Leon cathedral, and reminds the viewer that it was precisely on the dedication of people like St. Teresa that the Catholic reformation had to rely. The church artwork can thereby indicate reform through its own traditional methods; in this case, through the reform of a religious order.

The stained glass panels depict four scenes from St. Teresa's life. The use of stained glass to explicate history suggests continuity with gothic traditions. Yet the differences are striking. In Àvila, the panels are small and tucked into alcoves along the nave. They do not dominate the church and in fact are often overshadowed by the works of mannerist and baroque devotional art below each panel. They do not suggest the order of creation, but rather focus on the life of a single individual, suggesting the Renaissance growth of concepts of individual spirituality. The various panels depict St. Teresa contemplating God and receiving inspiration. (See Figure 11) They suggest the deep, personal introspection which the Reformed Catholic church encouraged from all its members.

Another illustrative example of the complex mix of traditionalism and reform in Church art can be seen in the work of El Greco. While he was born on the Isle of Crete, where he studied icon painting, Doménikos Theotokópoulos studied renaissance painting

extensively in Italy, and eventually moved to the city of Toledo where he acquired the title of El Greco, the Greek. Toledo was a center for the administration of Catholicism, and of the Catholic Reformation, which ensured that El Greco, as a religious artist would find many patrons eager to commission his work. Furthermore, he had studied in Venice and learned Venetian painting which was a favorite style of Phillip II of Spain, ensuring the popularity of his work in the capital, Madrid, and its surrounding cities, namely Toledo. While he worked in Toledo, El Greco created artworks which received mixed responses from the reforming clergy of the city. Many disapproved of his work because it did not follow the text of the Gospels strictly, as was demanded by the Council of Trent.¹⁹ (See figure 12) Yet, he received many church commissions, even after such disputes. Occasionally he was granted special permissions to depict events not strictly endorsed by the Church, as when he painted a memorial, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, which depicted an unofficial miracle.²⁰ His work typifies the Catholic Reformation blend of traditional depictions, spirituality, and reformed simplicity.

Similarly, the Church of Santo Tomé houses *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*. The Church was constructed before the twelfth century, and was rebuilt in 1300 in the Mudéjar style under the direction of the Count of Orgaz, with his patronage. However the church interior was built in the sixteenth century, in a renaissance style.²¹ Shortly after this rebuilding, in 1586, El Greco was commissioned to paint a piece on the Count's miraculous burial to decorate his grave in the church.²² (See Figure 13) While the church questioned the events, reports of the burial relate that St. Augustine and St. Steven descended from heaven

¹⁹ Fernando Marias; *El Greco in Toledo*; Trans. Gilla Evans; London: Scala Publishers, 2001, 66.

²⁰ El Greco, *The Burial of Lord Orgaz*, el Parroquia de Santo Tomé and Mons. Demetrio Fernández

²¹ José Luis Díaz Segovia, ed; *Toledo Heritage of Mankind*; Trans. Julián Y. Manley and Tonia Raquejo; Ávila: Ediciones Turimagen, 1997, 54.

²² Marias, 79.

to bury the philanthropist. El Greco's contract specified that the painting had to include a group of spectators and a depiction of divine heavens, yet despite these constraints, the completed work speaks to his particular style. El Greco painted within strict rules of renaissance composition, yet he included deformed figures and vivid cold colors. While the picture is allegorical, the pale, twisted bodies speak directly to emotion, reflecting the shifting purpose of Catholic art. While still educational, the painting provokes a personal introspection and spirituality, which suggests the renaissance spirit of individuality and encourages self-examination of the conscience. The church, as it moved away from community contemplation of sin, towards individual self-discipline, encouraged art that fostered emotion, which could inspire repentance.²³

Protestant denominations also used the physical trappings of churches to inspire individual self-discipline. Calvin's *Geneva Catechism* of 1541 succinctly describes Calvinist views on the dangers of idolatry and of praying to saints. "If...we have recourse to them [saints], putting something of our reliance on them, we fall into idolatry," states a response in the catechism.²⁴ Illuminatingly, this passage is a part of a discussion upon the propriety of asking help of God and men. God alone is to be invoked for aid, but he will often send benefits "by their [men's] hands," honoring those who do his work. However, asking a saint who has departed from the world for help dishonors God since, He has not assigned them to this spiritual role. He has assigned men to help their neighbors, and thereby approves beseeching fellows.²⁵ This theology continually reminds the worshiper that his community is bound by those who are godly upon the earth; the new definition of community does not include those who have passed into death.

²³ Marias, 20, 92

²⁴ Torrance, 41.

²⁵ Torrance, 40-1.

This sentiment translates into a desire to avoid anything suggestive of idolatry, since idolatry effectively includes inanimate objects into the sacred community. Consequently the catechism speaks not only against saints but against all forms of religious artwork. The Catechism examines each commandment, and explicates the second commandment as an injunction in which, "...He forbids us to make any image with which to represent God, or to worship Him."²⁶ The commandment not only prevents the misrepresentation of heavenly God with earthly matter, but it also, "...draw[s] us away from all superstitions, and carnal ceremonies."²⁷ A focus on the spiritual world rather than the temporal was a vital part of how both Protestant and Catholic traditions re-defined their communities. Communities were not geographically cohesive, but only existed spiritually. The Reformed Church used its rejection of material decoration to continually remind their adherents of the spiritual selectivity of their communities.

Both Catholic and Protestant traditions used architecture to communicate theological messages to their congregations. Both wished to convey temporal power, but while also acknowledging the values of simplicity promoted not only by those who encouraged the Protestant schism, but also by many figures within the Catholic church (such as St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Teresa of Ávila, and even St. Francis). The Reformed churches took over traditional power symbols, Catholic churches and cathedrals, stripping them of their artwork and appropriating the authority that went with these buildings. The Catholic Church turned to Mannerist architecture, which included a focus upon clean lines and classical forms, to throw off the accusations of wasteful extravagance. Yet these Renaissance inspired buildings were decorated with extravagant, emotional art, meant to inspire spirituality and examination

²⁶ Torrance, 27.

²⁷ Torrance, 28.

of the individual conscience. Using these same tokens of power, the protestant denominations encouraged meditation upon the words of scripture and upon the spiritual community, which was far more concrete to Calvinist theology than any form of earthly matter.

However, any such emphasis upon the Word of God, would require educating individuals to read or at least to recite catechisms. The Reformed churches, to follow through on the principles their architecture suggested, would spend much time and energy educating their members. The Catholic Church would eventually focus upon educating the laity as well, not wishing to lose control of the growing trend of secular learning. Yet, the methods of education each tradition used were just as illustrative of their reforms as was their art and architecture.

Chapter Three

Education in the Reformation

Education is a form of social interaction that not only allows for communication over social and geographical distance, but also over time. In the pre-Reformation church, education communicated information, but its reach was severely limited. There were few mendicant preaching orders and they did not demand literacy among their adherents. While, in theory, all monks were ordained, and therefore able to read Latin, in truth many monks were unlearned. Even many ordained priests were only able to recite, but without full understanding, the Latin mass. The common illiteracy of local priests was, while criticized, often accepted as most of their congregations were similarly limited.²⁸ While education had always played a role in defining status within the church, identifying those of high birth or those who could influence church policy, after the Reformation the problems of literacy and formal theological learning began to play a role in individual congregations in both the Catholic and Protestant churches.

Any examination of religious education (practically the only kind of education available in many places) during the Reformation raises many questions not only about what was taught, but also about how material was taught and what these methods suggest about the communities that used them. What was taught and who were the teachers? Who learned and how were they instructed? Who decided what would be taught? How were traditional learned authorities treated? And who became the new authorities? Why did Calvinists emphasize scripture only, and how did they balance that ethos with the need to teach the *Christian Institutes*? How could Catholics teach of the church father Augustine, without

²⁸ Bossy, 64.

suggesting the fatalism of Luther? How did the Protestant and Catholic traditions invest teachers with authority? How do you blend, or separate, secular and religious education?

But perhaps, first, why are any of these questions important? They all focus on community and communication; they are part of the set of questions surrounding the rise of a popular literature and modern conceptions of individuality and literacy. Education illustrates what a society itself (or parts thereof) values as important within its own culture. The manner of education suggests how a society allows interaction with authority figures, and can define the spread of authority. Calvin desired to have each father instruct his children in the study of the Bible, a precept which implied that all family heads should be literate. In theory, this method of education would encourage a strict hierarchy where the civil and religious authorities gained an authority not very different, save in degree, from that accorded parents in the fourth commandment: Thou shall obey thy father and mother.²⁹ In contrast, in Jesuit schools, most teaching was by fully ordained priests who had, in most cases, obtained a humanist education nearly equivalent to that of a modern undergraduate degree.³⁰ Catholic authority not only had to be learned and qualified, but also had to receive the sanction of a hierarchy.

Further consider the different nature of these two forms of education. The Jesuits were teaching those moderately wealthy to go on and become community leaders. They focused on a humanist educational plan, with studies in the sciences and classical literature. This suggests that the Jesuits saw a high level of education of secular leaders as vitally important; more important than universal literacy (in fact those who were illiterate were not

²⁹ Bossy, 116.

³⁰ John W O'Malley; *The First Jesuits*; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993, 238-41.

allowed into Jesuit schools).³¹ By contrast most organized Calvinist education was intended to teach catechisms and primary literacy to those whose parents could not or would not fulfill their educational duty to their children. I do not want to suggest, of course, that Protestants cared only about literacy, and that Jesuits or other Catholics did not care about it at all. Eventually, Catholics would come to commend private devotional reading. Similarly, Calvinists, from early in their existence, encouraged the laity to take active roles in running the church, which would require education, and most of the protestant denominations recognized their humanist roots, encouraging a specifically humanist education. Yet, the fact that Calvin busied himself with a catechism specifically for children (although it was practically used more by adults) and that the Jesuits quickly moved away from teaching reading suggests that the churches did prioritize education differently, albeit with similar goals of community control in mind.

Yet how could education be used to control a community? Education could encourage people to internalize their beliefs and to internalize the appropriate reading of scripture. Calvinists may have wanted everyone read the bible, but they were supposed to interpret it as Calvin did. It was an education beyond simply the teaching of reading that could ensure the proper interpretations. For the Catholics, those who were learned could always read the bible in the pre-reformation, as long as the church fathers were read too. The church was moving towards accepting more and more people as sufficiently learned to read the bible and its interpretations. Education could guide those who were becoming important in society via economic success in their new knowledge and power. The laity were becoming the world's leaders, running governments and trade. The Protestants may have

³¹ O'Malley, 241.

embraced this more willingly, but the Catholics came to accept it too. Consequently, learning that was once meant for scholars had to be spread to a wider audience.

The Jesuit order played important roles in the process of popularizing education. They were an order designed in subservience to the Pope, but became a very powerful force in the church, so much so that in the late 1700's they were disbanded. They gained influence through serving as the confessors to many political leaders and through their schools, and the attached endowments. The Jesuits strictly refused to accept any form of payment for confession.³² This endeared them to monarchs and distanced their actions from those of indulgence sellers. Yet this contrast, of an order dedicated to obedience to the pope becoming a major threat to his position, is very much a part of Catholic traditions. In fact the creation of orders that challenged the church to "reform," was an important mechanism by which the church changed over time. The Franciscans were an order which, while never disbanded like the Jesuits served to both reform and challenge the Church. Created to renounce all earthly wealth, they created a culture that praised poverty. Yet by the time of the Reformation their absolute poverty was becoming problematic. It smacked of the criticisms of the church's earthliness from the Protestants. Further, mendicancy was far more possible in a universal community with flexible local religious control than in the strict hierarchical system which was developing during the Reformation. So even while the barefoot Carmelites were being founded as Franciscan nuns (but in strongly Catholic Spain where challenges were less threatening), the Jesuits, with their emphasis on discipline, were stepping forward to become church leaders, and many mendicants were struggling for protection. This parallel should suggest (among other things) that the challenge the Jesuits

³² O'Malley, 149.

presented was acceptable for the needs of the reformation, despite the threat to the church they later presented.

What is important about the Jesuits on a local scale? One interesting sign of how the order, despite its mendicant roots adapted to new concepts of discipline and obedience lies in the controversy over corporal punishment in schools. Loyola initially banned his monks from physically punishing students, with the strongest prohibition he could demand as the order's founder. He issued his prohibition against corporal punishment "under holy obedience" as a rule that fell under the authority of the society's vow.³³ This was the strongest command any leader of the order could give, and it illustrates Loyola's fears that the community was moving away from its origins. Yet even this holy order was eventually overturned in 1558 at the Jesuits First General Congregation.³⁴ This illustrates the changing nature of how authority figures and those in positions of power convinced others of their worthiness. With the use of corporal punishment (and acceptance of endowments) the Jesuits lost some of their authority gained by virtue of a blameless life and high character. Instead they relied on the prestige of their learning, on the prestige of their knowledge.

It is also important to note that the Jesuits felt that shouldering the burden of education was beneficial to the community, but Calvinists, when they did educate outside the family, did so reluctantly. Juan Alfonso Polanco, one of the founders of the Jesuit order, highlighted this distinction eloquently, although not intentionally, in his list of "The Fifteen Benefits Conferred by the Schools."³⁵ He argued that the schools would allow parents, "...to satisfy their consciences of their obligation to educate their children."³⁶ Consider, in contrast

³³ O'Malley, 230.

³⁴ O'Malley, 230.

³⁵ O'Malley, 212.

³⁶ O'Malley, 213.

Calvin's preface to the Catechism of the Church of Geneva, of 1541. He states that in the early church (the ideal model for any modern church) people were, "enjoined to teach their families well, but it was also a public practice, to examine children in the churches on articles of faith."³⁷ Parents were to teach, and the community would test to allow the initiation and acceptance of the child.

Calvin's catechism sharply delineated the community of the Reformed church, not only through its content, but also by its existence. It served as an initiatory rite, but one which had the benefit of directly teaching children of community selectivity. This educatory purpose is discernable in the catechism's explication of the Apostles' Creed, or the Confession of Faith. Each phrase is broken down and explained by the child. The appropriate membership of the church is examined while the child expands upon the phrase, "I believe in...the holy Catholic Church." The child is asked, in catechism 93 "Minister: What is the Catholic Church?" The appropriate response is "Child: The community of the faithful which God has ordained and elected to eternal life."³⁸ This simple phrase clearly indicates that the true church is one of the saved only. The word "Catholic" in theory suggests the universality of the church, but even that universality is defined as geographical universality which includes only the elect throughout the world. The church is the invisible "fellowship of those whom He has elected to salvation which cannot be seen plainly by the eye."³⁹ Yet before one could suspect that the visible church, at least, is universal, the catechism quickly counters such notions. While describing the world-wide visible church, the child describes that Christ sanctified the church, just as he sanctifies the elect, and that the

³⁷ Torrance, 5.

³⁸ Torrance, 19.

³⁹ Torrance, 21.

church must strive to be “without blemish,” even if it cannot succeed until the last judgment.⁴⁰

The catechism also deals with the nature of the sacraments[p. The child describes that those to whom “God has revealed their iniquity” must be excluded from communion for they “dishonor and pollute the sacrament.”⁴¹ Furthermore, while the catechism recognizes that the unworthy will sometimes be admitted to sacraments, since the church cannot infallibly identify the elect, they receive no benefit from them and only confirm their damnation. Since one central benefit of communion is that of inclusion in the community of the saints, the selectivity of the community is preserved.

The post-Reformation Catholic and Protestant churches had significantly different methods of educating both children and adults, but both radically redefined the importance of theological knowledge verses that of local knowledge; of formal educational programs verses traditional practices in the congregation. Initially, this trend may seem to stand in opposition to the non-hierarchical precepts of Protestantism. Yet the concept of the priesthood of all believers only highlighted the necessity of widespread literacy. This theology declared that all who were of the faithful could ask God for forgiveness of sins directly without consulting a priest as an intermediary (however, ministers were still needed to preach and lead the community). The ability to recite catechisms defined the community of believers, and therefore of “priests.” In Catholic circles, the literacy of preachers defined the community, in theory allowing anyone who heard Catholic priests preach into the community, but also separating pastors from their parishioners.

⁴⁰Torrance, 20.

⁴¹ Torrance, 64.

Catholic churches focused on reform by increasing oversight in their traditional hierarchy, (by increasing visitation, banning absentee prelates, and using confirmation to force bishops to visit their parishes) and via the parallel hierarchies provided by religious orders. The order most closely linked to the Catholic reformation is that of the Jesuits. The Jesuit's constitution was initially confirmed by the pope in 1538 and reconfirmed with changes in 1550.⁴² The order was initially created to maintain poverty and serve the poor, but by 1550 and the decades which followed immediately, the order took on two new focuses: the "defense and propagation of the faith" and teaching members of all social classes (at least in theory) as an act of charity. When conceived the order focused on poverty and obedience to the pope, but soon the founders began to suggest that education and evangelizing were the best methods to "help souls," and revitalize the clergy. The concept of training leaders who could, in turn, help others was a fundamental element of the order from its inception. While they did temporarily consider teaching everyone, regardless of wealth, they soon accepted the idea of relying upon carefully instructed leaders.

One of the founding documents of the Society of Jesus is the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola. In this text the importance of an educated leader is central to the spiritual transformation that the exercises aim to provoke. Any person wishing to complete the exercises must be lead by another who encourages confession, guides progress, and protects the worshiper. At first the order opened small schools to train future Jesuits, but soon these schools were filled with the laity and diocesan clergy. The order, while it maintained its mystical, and spiritual "Exercises," soon bent its rules on absolute poverty to allow the order to run endowed schools.⁴³

⁴² O'Malley, 5.

⁴³ O'Malley, 239-40.

These schools did not conform to the requirements for seminaries described in Trent. The Council of Trent, in an effort to increase the level of education among the lower clergy, dictated that every diocese create a seminary school to exclusively train those aspiring to the priesthood.⁴⁴ Jesuit schools, however, quickly after their founding, drew students from a variety of social backgrounds, and with a variety of collegial studies in mind. The Jesuits quickly became known for their scholarship, particularly after they were entrusted with Rome's prestigious Vatican seminary. Their reputation grew as they set up schools throughout the mercantile centers of Italy that taught modern humanist curricula. The schools were designed to accept students regardless of their wealth, but in an effort to support themselves, and the students studying for the priesthood, many allowed middle and upper class paying borders. Over time, the initial goal of teaching all became less central to the ministries of the Jesuits themselves. Instead they trained future Jesuits and clergy and encouraged the other boys they taught to create secular societies to minister to the poor.⁴⁵

Jesuit philosophy justified this mission by focusing on how teaching instilled all students with virtue. These students, were they to become statesmen or businessmen, would carry the virtue of a classical education into all their endeavors, and thereby enrich the world with their moral acts and attitudes.⁴⁶ This philosophy, which valued education based upon classical texts in their original language and basic principles as, practically, inherently good, identifies the Jesuits as fundamentally humanist in their practice. Furthermore, their curriculums were directly derived from those suggested by the Christian humanists. They insisted on first teaching Latin and Greek, and expanding on these languages with studies of

⁴⁴ *Tridentine Decrees*, Chapter 18 (XVIII), p 187-9, session 23. Hanover Historical Texts Project; Created by Hanover College, 1995. Text: J. Waterworth, Ed. and Trans.; London: Dolman, 1848.

<http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct23.html>, accessed 5/7/2007

⁴⁵ O'Malley, 240-1.

⁴⁶ O'Malley, 212-4.

oratory and rhetoric. However, Jesuit studies had a practical purpose beyond that of an humanist education; they were important as they played a role in teaching priests how to preach. Traditional classical education always involved the study of rhetoric and oratory, which would help priests combat the arguments of the Protestants and which could facilitate missionary work overseas.

The rules of entrance to a Jesuit school exemplify the Jesuit's move away from teaching all to teaching those with some preexisting status in the community. Students had to have the ability to read and write, limiting the students to those who could afford an elementary education.⁴⁷ The idea of placing responsibility for ministry upon students in secular life, through the Marian societies, parallels the protestant efforts to involve the laity in the work of a church. The reformation falls within the larger trend of the early modern time period in which merchants and professionals outside of the clergy were taking a growing role in civil affairs, as the role of the church was decreasing. Both Protestants and Catholics accommodated this trend by empowering the laity, either in the priesthood of all believers or through Jesuit Marian societies.

Jesuits wished to contribute to the fight against Protestantism by educating those who could go forth and convert souls, but they also preached directly themselves. The reformation period was also one of European overseas expansion, and Jesuit missionaries rapidly followed explorers to save souls in Asia and the New Worlds. While in the Americas, the Jesuits preached to all, as there were few surviving native hierarchal structures. However, when in Asia, the Jesuits focused their efforts upon converting rulers and educated leaders of society. Not only did this strategy allow them to rely upon their erudite knowledge to persuade others, it mimicked their European strategy of instructing leaders who could then

⁴⁷ O'Malley, 219.

aid less fortunate community members. These overseas missions were seen as an extension of European teaching. In fact, the Jesuits initiated a practice of “countryside” missions to small rural European towns. The Jesuit father would visit for several days teaching the catechism, hearing confessions, setting up fraternal societies, and designating catechism instructors among the literate adults in the community.⁴⁸ Teaching and saving souls were inseparable activities for the Jesuits, and this attitude framed their international missions.

The Jesuits defined the souls they were helping as those who could be preached to from their (or the church’s) model. Congregational knowledge was secondary, as the order’s shift from universal education to the education of the wealthy showed. Priests had to speak effectively to their congregations, and had to be learned men who could influence others by their erudite knowledge. However, formal learning, whether in oratory, theology, or science was the path to influencing congregations. No longer could a priest gain the respect of his community by his role in the town. Traditionally, the mendicant Friar, who lived a life of poverty, was respected by virtue of the holiness of his life. He lived a life of far more hardship than that which he asked of others. Even the local parish priest could draw upon his kinship with his neighbors and, above all, upon his knowledge of local life and circumstance. When the Jesuits abandoned their strict poverty vows and their peripatetic lifestyle for stationary scholarship, they sacrificed some of this traditional authority for the prestige of academic knowledge.

Protestants similarly reduced the value of un-formalized knowledge, but did so in a way that required literacy and education of the entire community. Despite its name, Calvin’s *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva* of 1541, was intended to be used not only in Geneva, but as a catechism for older children throughout Christendom. While it is far longer

⁴⁸ O’Malley , 126-7.

and more complex than later children's catechisms which were developed from it, it was intended as a form of secondary initiation into the church (after baptism) as is witnessed by the parts: minister and child. The child was expected to be able to profess his faith publicly, indicating his membership in the worldwide communion of believers. While originally written in French, soon after, in 1545, Calvin republished the Catechism in Latin, hoping to reach a wider audience of scholars who could learn and teach the catechism or translate it into vernaculars other than French.⁴⁹

Calvin's desire to spread not only his theology, but also his principles for instructing and judging members, suggests an inherent conflict in Calvinism (and in many ways in most Protestant churches) that resembles a similar problem in Catholicism. In both traditions, concepts of conformity across the faith were emerging. While, in principle, theology had always been the same for all believers, it rarely played a role in daily worship. Oversight was lax, and the cult of the saints encouraged local variation in feasts and their varying associated rituals. Now, through catechisms (and oversight in the Catholic tradition), uniformity of dogma and of practice in worship defined what was Christian. This process of confessionalization and the associated uniformities in practice served to provide tangible evidence of the growing isolation of the sectional communities.

The suggested methods of teaching the catechism are also illustrative. In theory, the catechism was to be taught by parents, particularly fathers, to their children before they regularly participated in the sacrament of communion. While in practice, catechisms were largely taught in schools and church, the suggestion of necessary universal literacy further illustrates how education communicated reform. As parents were given the task of educating their children, the basic unit of religious community shrunk from a parish to a family. Not

⁴⁹ Torrance, 4.

only did this change suggest a degree of isolation (suggestive of the rise of the concept of individual spirituality), it suggested that literacy was one of the defining elements of community. Community itself was a form of communication both churches used, as it allowed each church to define itself, but education was only one aspect community creation. The churches would come to use formal discipline, to change the nature of the sacraments, and to encourage personal introspection—all to define their communities.

Chapter 4

Community Definition and Discipline

Why does community matter? Why does discipline matter, and what does it have to do with community? Discipline is much more than the judiciary structures that enforce formal rules of behavior. It involves all the limits society places upon itself and its members, whether those limits are overt or implied, on behavior or on thought, or whether those limits are legally punishable or enforced by social norms. Fundamentally, discipline defines a community, not only by means of who is subject to the formal actions of disciplinary punishment, but also by who is subject to the rules discipline propounds. Those disciplined are not the only ones influenced by the institutions of discipline; the entire community subject to judgment and punishment sees the shame of those disciplined and takes warning. Furthermore, even those who, by virtue of their status or position, don't have to worry about direct repercussions serious effects of punishment directly are indirectly chastised. The rules devised for charity illustrate the potential perils of discipline clearly. In Calvinist communities, the Reformed Church almost universally controlled access to charity for its members. Any member on the charity roles could be removed by the consistory, the disciplinary board of elders, for repeated serious "sins." While those not on the charity roles could avoid the dire consequences of sin because of their wealth, they could not avoid guilt and shame as they watched their fellow community members face a loss of financial support for the same actions. Furthermore, if the well off sinner was excluded from communion, the community would understand the severity of the punishment. The exclusion would be equated with the loss of alms, if not for the somewhat arbitrary conditions which bestowed

wealth upon the part of the sinner. In fact the community could condemn the wealthy sinner more than the poor sinner as those not receiving charity escaped the earthly hardships others experienced for their errors, and endured just the spiritual hardships.

However, wealth was not considered truly arbitrary or meaningless in either the Calvinist or Catholic communities. The protestant reformers took their cue from the Christian humanists who had first proposed the concept of a secular calling; that great good could be done via civil service. Further, the concept of the priesthood of all believers suggested that the vocation of the ministers was not all that special a choice. By abolishing celibacy in the clergy, protestant churches decreased the separation between priests and parishioners. Through the attempted elimination of illiteracy in the congregation, meaningful distinctions in social status between clergy and laity shrunk even further. Theoretically Calvinist parents were to teach and educate their own children. This ideal changed the teaching role of ministers, which while still special, was just special by degree or measure, but not of a different essence. These changes in the status of vocation meant that those who were well off materially were just as likely to be following a call of God as the clergy, and in fact, far more likely to be doing so than those who were poor. Since the elect, those chosen by God to do his work on earth, would do their secular money making work better than others, they could prosper. In turn prosperity would allow them to better do the work of God through charity and through work in the church. The laity had many powerful roles in the church organization as disciplinarians, charity deacons, other forms of deacons, or as teachers of the catechism.

The Catholics were in a different position, but still had to cope with a world where secular concerns were growing. Catholics rarely encouraged the making of money

(theologically at least), and they attempted to keep the priests independent and aloof from their congregations. Yet money became no obstacle to godliness and increasingly control of dispensing charity was placed in the hands of the laity. Consider the Marian societies that the Jesuits set up; they were groups of former students (primarily) who provided charity to the needy. The Jesuits then could focus all their time on dealing with educating students for their secular vocations, as suggested by humanists. The diffuse power hierarchies of Protestants and the strict division of church work among Catholics both resulted in extremely similar laicization, particularly of charity.

Humanists firmly believed that a classical education prepared one for all careers. This suggested that any individual could work in a non-religious vocation and still fulfill the good, virtuous model life suggested by the Jesuit education. Yet despite this concession to secularism, Catholic discipline was just as central to believers as was that of Calvinists. Catholic discipline was both external, as dictated by a priest, and internal as a function of personal introspection. The Catholic Reformation encouraged regular confession which provided a form of discipline. This required continual personal examination of ones' conscience for guilt and ones' actions for sins, an imposing form of self discipline. Yet, since a priest could dictate public amends, there was always the worrying specter of public exposure and disapproval. Active discipline and even punishment were important to allowing the Catholic Church to function as a hierarchy, but also to define the community as those who confessed and took communion. The church became less of a mediator for conflicts in the public sphere (as it had been in the pre-reformation era) and more of a place for the priest to dole out sacred and temporal punishment to cleanse the individual soul. It was discipline, not mere reconciliation. Yet through this discipline the community-wide

effects of community self monitoring and individual morality, which were more explicitly prescribed in protestant discipline, were encouraged.

Non-disciplinary forms of defining community are also important in describing the changing nature of community of the period. The mere act of defining communities allows for new concepts of membership, which in turn affect how individuals define themselves. This shift is part of the broad movement of individual identity that is often seen as a part of early modern modernization. The Renaissance and the Christian humanism that came from it were important intellectual precursors of the Reformation, and humanist writers like Petrarch and Erasmus were instrumental in developing and promoting concepts of individuality. In traditional Christianity options for religious membership, and by extension membership in the human enterprise, were rather limited. One was either a Christian, a heathen, or an “enemy of man.”⁵⁰ Heathens did not functionally exist within the Christian world. Jews formed a discreet community which the church wished to “preserve” to serve as witness to the second coming, when they would be converted. Within Christianity one could be a heretic or even a witch, but that was not designated as a separate membership possibility as much as it was an expulsion from membership. You could be a part of the Christian community, or you could have a personal relationship with the devil and no community. Desperate attempts using torture were made to return the sinner to the community via confession before death. Functionally this world view implied universal human community, except for those who rejected it for the devil.

Incidentally, this concern with returning members to the community before their death, or execution, highlights the role of confession in traditional religious society. It was fundamentally a form of peace making. It did reconcile one with God, but it also effectively

⁵⁰ Bossy, 76-87.

reconciled one to the community, for there was no godliness outside the one Christian community. To effectively reconcile with the community, the penitent had to, in a real, tangible way, apologize to the community as well as to God. Therefore mere confession, contrition, and belief were not sufficient; penance was necessary. From this idea stems the torture, in public view of condemned and confessed criminals, often with their willing, if quite unhappy participation.⁵¹ To be forgiven meant access to the community. More mundanely, this community forgiveness meant repaying one's debts, or acquiring the explicit forgiveness of one wronged. Wills were filled with deathbed requests for reconciliation with neighbors.⁵² Confession facilitated this process; and moreover, the priest saw himself as facilitating mutual forgiveness. While personal and private in theory, confession was in fact very public in its practice. People confessed once a year before Easter where, theoretically Lenten humility would facilitate contrition and mutual peace. Yet after the Reformation, confession became a far more private process, if only gradually. Catholics were encouraged to confess regularly, and people of all denominations were expected to continually examine their souls and actions. Confession rituals became examinations of not just sinful acts, but of private thoughts. They became personal ponderings of self. Yet confession was not fully stripped of its community overtones. One's soul was centrally important, and it was a proper soul that made you a part of the community.

This shifting emphasis runs from physical to spiritual communities, but also parallels a similar shift from universal communities to confessional ones. Furthermore, this changing worldview, which accepted a multiplicity of communities, played a role in the creation of states and in the modernization of society and religion. I contend that traditionally,

⁵¹ Foucault, Michel; *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*; Trans. Alan Sheridan; New York: Vintage Books of Random House, Inc, 1995, 43-4.

⁵² Bossy, 46.

communities were functionally limited by geography, but universal in their essence. One could sin, but you were still a Christian. Community necessarily included all those you dealt with in commerce and the occasional mendicant preacher; the community, while insular and possibly hostile to outsiders, included everyone baptized and not consorting with the devil. The very nature of creating new religious offshoots began to break down this universality. One could be a member of any of the plurality of confessions developing. While in many states the confession was nearly universal to all citizens by order of the government, this did not change the fundamental knowledge of the new diversity. This diversity, in the religious world view at least, encouraged a sense of selectivity. The method of diversity, that is confessionalization, also encouraged a sense of one choice among many. Before the multiplicity of communities, excluding a person from the community implied not just damnation, but also a void; the expelled were thrust into a universe without community. After the Reformation, excluding someone from community may or may not have implied damnation, but it did not mean a world of no community, of void. There were other options; in fact many people had themselves been a part of a different community, the earlier “Catholic” community. In pluralistic countries, one could join another confession and even if the state only allowed one faith, the idea of other possible communities existed. Certainly those disciplined by their church rarely switched confessions; in fact there is extensive evidence of the opposite. Those excluded from communion fought hard to regain admission to their old congregations. But the idea that they had to regain admission was radically novel. Before, all were members of the community who could negotiate penance. Now, not only did any sin count as a spiritual crime against the whole community, penance was not

enough to ensure reconciliation with the community. You had to prove, over an extended period of time, your worthiness to be among the community's members.

The very creation of these communities emphasized their selectivity. Members had to publicly profess their faith. As the confessions defined themselves, they could only maintain their identity by rigorously defining what they were not. Rather than rely on theological hair-splitting, a church could describe itself as "not Catholic," and immediately renounce the abuses of the pre-Reformation Church. Communities could describe themselves as a group of the elect, or of the righteous, yet it was far simpler to define righteousness as the absence of sin rather than as a complicated set of actions. Consequently, limiting the community, even symbolically through initiatory rights, reinforced the concept that others were left out of the Church. Baptism was not a sufficient initiatory barrier, catechisms had to be learned and rules followed. Initiation was needed, and even if it was granted to all (or nearly all) the mere fact of its necessity indicates the limited nature of these confessional communities.

But why is this definition and selectivity modern? First, it allowed for the concept of religious plurality, which over centuries would develop into ideas of religious tolerance. Furthermore, if membership developed into a useful way to identify self, the state could also use the idea of membership, and encourage subjects to see themselves as members of the state. In turn, this could lead to the concept of citizenship, a relationship between the state and its residents where each party had certain rights and responsibilities. Churches had begun to create this relationship of mutual responsibility as believers owed duty to their church and expected benefits from their membership (such as support of the community in poverty crisis, or a hearing on issues of discipline). The plurality of religions allowed states

to loosen their dependence on the hierarchical Catholic Church, as any forms of authority became limited along community boundaries. As religion became something that was not universal, states had the ability to choose new confessions, an ability that existed even if they remained catholic. This arrangement allowed states to negotiate with religious powers to receive religion on their own terms. Churches would have to allow states some power in molding their communities, or risk intolerance and expulsion (as many of the radical reformation groups suffered). Some states could use religion to distinguish national enemies and thereby encourage large-scale warfare with determined resistance from subjects who were fighting for their new communities, which were all the more valuable, and seen as more fragile and dear, for their short histories.

However I am certainly not the first to consider the nature of discipline and community definition. To both reformation historians and to those who study other periods, how discipline is enforced and how it effects interactions is crucial. Consider Allen's *Nazi Seizure of Power*, a work concerning a later period. However, this book examines how discipline and community interact, and such analysis, while by no means "timeless" can enlighten our analysis of other societies. Allen discusses how through fear of informants and the consequent suppression of clubs and social interaction, the Nazis were able to isolate or atomize community members. This in turn allowed them to discipline individuals with little interference, and ultimately to punish arbitrarily. Now while atomization of individuals certainly does not apply to the Reformation, the theory suggests that tight communities, as were formed by the new confessions, could not be disciplined irrationally; that discipline would have to be part of a community process and consensus. Therefore, the churches needed to laicize the disciplinary procedures, particularly in the protestant communities that

emphasized their tight communities via exclusiveness. Catholic discipline was different, however. Catholics also excluded people from their communities (most frequently for heresy), but ultimately they were catholic or universal, including those who would be damned or saved, not a community of the elect. Consequently discipline could come from the hierarchy above, yet was tightly bound to the community where it was visible to all who were subject to it. The Spanish Inquisition offers a good example of this phenomenon.

While originally created to find and punish recalcitrant conversos, during this time period it turned to overseeing its own church members. Yet it still maintained the pretence of public punishment in the Auto de Fe, where those convicted of crimes by the Inquisition had their sentences publicly read in a ceremony in which the penitents walked through the town in distinctive clothing proclaiming their crimes. The “guilty” were watched by the town as they preformed acts of pious penance, faced physical punishment, or were executed. This publicity suggests that the new communities needed at least the illusion of transparency.

Tight communities wanted some control or assurance of fair judgment in disciplinary cases involving their own members, as suggested above, so if the catholic hierarchy kept discipline power in its hands, it still needed to prove that it acted fairly and non-arbitrarily.

Many other historians, who study diverse time periods, have addressed the questions of communal interaction and discipline. Foucault in *Discipline and Punishment* deals with the limits of language; how languages, and language itself, imposed discipline. He also examines how discipline is influenced by visibility. His discussions of early modern discipline focus on the mutual “visibility” of the punished and the community. This equality of interaction, in a perverse way, empowered the punished person, by drawing them into the community, by the lack of barriers between condemned and the community, and by the

suggestions of willing physical penance. In Foucault's world-view, western society originally punished the body, insisting on a corporeal penance, but with time turned to correcting, punishing, and molding the soul. Even if the older physical penance was aimed towards saving the soul in the afterlife, and extracting confession, there was no emphasis on correction, merely upon salvation, if possible. Discipline was focused on acts, on professed and un-denied beliefs, not upon the internal longings of the soul. This dichotomy parallels some of the trends in the Reformation. The Reformation is characterized by moves from earthly to spiritual, from penance to correction, and from universal communities (of the saved and damned) to limited ones (of the elect). Foucault suggests that discipline moved from physical to soul-based, from punishment to correction, and from vision equality to one way examination (albeit one where the entire community would be both the observers and the observed).

Two of the book's most important studies illustrate this point, that of the torture of Damiens and that of the Panopticon, invented by Jeremy Bentham as a jail, with the hope that it could also be used as a school.⁵³ In the case of Damiens, who was convicted of regicide, torture was severe and long lasting. During this process his executioners and confessors were in constant contact, giving him comfort and physical contact; one even went so far as to kiss Damiens' forehead upon his request. And Damiens felt the need to forgive his executioners before they completed their act. A large crowd observed and noted that he never cursed, but instead called to God for mercy. His body was subjected to punishment for his crime, but he was not being subjected to correction. He was accepted as a person who could play a part in the process of punishment leading up to his death. Confessors were

⁵³ Foucault, 203-5.

around at each minute, to protect his soul. He suffered horribly, but publicly and physically as punishment for his crime.

In contrast the Panopticon prison described by Bentham has little to do with punishment of crime, and much to do with correction of the criminal's body and soul. The inmates are under constant observation, made worse by the fact that who is observing and when they are looking at any individual is unknown. The prison is constructed so that each individual is confined in one of the cells, which are arranged in a circle, where they cannot see any other inmates. In the center a control tower provides a place for guards to observe, but an arrangement of mirrors ensures that the guards cannot be seen. The goal is not to punish criminals for crimes, but to prevent misconduct by continual watchfulness. The prisoners cannot choose to commit crimes and pay for them. Their behavior is watched, and they have no communication with other inmates. They are fully cut off from all those around them.

But what does this have to do with the shift to modernity illustrated by the changing notions of community in the reformation? This same shift from earthly punishment to exclusion and spiritual reform can be seen in changing disciplinary procedures for sins and common lapses of morality. From a once yearly confession, where penitents were expected to forget grudges, to constant confessions and evaluations by ministers, all the churches insisted upon constant examination. Whether by one's own self (as in catholic confession) or by the community, which had the job of excluding those who lapsed from communion, the results were similar.

Philip S. Gorski, a sociologist of early modern Europe, examines this new culture of constant watchfulness and discipline in Calvinist communities in his book *The Disciplinary*

Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe. He describes how discipline “was not so much to punish the individual sinners as to expunge sin from the Christian community.”⁵⁴ “Each individual was not only made responsible for his or her own conduct but was charged to keep a watchful eye over other members of the congregation and to remonstrate with those who strayed from the path of righteousness.”⁵⁵ Throughout his book Gorski discusses how Calvinist communities and Calvin himself, for that matter, struggled with the conflicting ideas that a church should consist solely of the elect, yet never could so long as it was a part of earthly, fallen existence. Ultimately he concludes (among other things) that Calvinist community discipline was imposed by the willing participation of each member, a disciplinary revolution from “below.”⁵⁶

Gorski also suggests that this watchfulness of the community existed in Catholic communities. While the ethic of continual monitoring was fostered by regular introspection and confession, Gorski draws a more direct parallel to protestant communities by examining the workings of the inquisition. During the reformation the Spanish inquisition (and other inquisitions throughout southern Europe) primarily dealt with the moral sins of its members rather than with non-members. They relied not only upon visitation to determine local morals, but also on informers. These informers existed in large concentrations of over one person per 500, and were even more common in high population centers.⁵⁷ Another source of communal rather than hierarchical discipline, were the penitential and Marian societies that were established after the Council of Trent. All these communities insisted upon high moral standards for their members, and while they often lacked formal disciplinary

⁵⁴ Gorski, 21.

⁵⁵ Gorski, 21

⁵⁶ Gorski, 34.

⁵⁷ Gorski, 121.

mechanisms, the communal pressure of the confraternity membership was an effective method to control member behavior.⁵⁸

John Bossy also studies the Reformation, but from a different perspective. He examines, among other things, the modernizing trend of the Reformation, particularly in his work on popular religious history during the late middle ages and Reformation. In *Christianity in the West*, he examines traditional Christianity, and describes a world where the church and its sacraments bind together the local community while encompassing all Christians in a universal brotherhood. The sacrament of confession, and its completion in penance, is a clear example of this change, in both the Catholic and Protestant traditions. In pre-Reformation practice, confession occurred in public even while sins were kept private. The priest visibly laid his hands upon the penitent. When sins against the community or any of its members were confessed, restitution was usually required as the penance that would ensure the completion of the sacrament and grant the forgiveness that went with it.⁵⁹ Yet this penance could not disrupt the community further. For example, if a wife confessed to having a child by a man other than her husband, confessors would often require sacred penance, but insist that she not speak to her husband, to preserve the sanctity of marriage.⁶⁰ Yet such penance also protected the secrecy associated with reconciliation with God. Privacy was valued, but only when sins were of a private nature. Otherwise, believers were encouraged to ask forgiveness from those they wronged, and grant it to those who harmed them.

Yet with modernization, the concept of private reconciliation with God began to take precedence in both traditions. While many sins were addressed with public discipline, the

⁵⁸ Gorski, 122.

⁵⁹ Bossy, 45-6

⁶⁰ Bossy, 48.

purpose was to purge the communion community of impurity.⁶¹ All sins were against the community because they were against God. Consequently, pride and wrath, sins that directly hurt others in the community, did not take strong precedence as the worst of the seven sins. Rather lust, which was directly prohibited in the commandments, grew in importance. Lust was secretive, and often based upon internal thoughts, un-acted upon, so required self-discipline. Unchecked lustful thoughts, regardless of purity of action, suggested that individuals themselves were not worthy of acceptance to the select community (punishment of the individual rather than of the crime). Since now many sins soiled the community, there often could be no real way to pay the injured member of the community through an earthly penance. Earthly suffering or sacrifice became secondary. In pre-Reformation Christianity, the sinner was a member of the earthly and spiritual community, and he did penance in both. Yet in reformation Christianity, he was often exiled, in fact or symbolically from the communion of believers.⁶² By removing the requirements of earthly, human reconciliation and restitution, the role of the church as a community mediator nearly disappeared. Community harmony could only be fostered by the church in its spiritual body.

In Catholic churches, where confession to a priest remained and, in fact, became more common, the reformation era saw the popularization of the confessional.⁶³ These booths sat permanently in the churches, reminding all congregants of the new year-round place of confession in the church. They blocked vision between the priest and the penitent, and prevented the laying on of hands that traditionally sealed the forgiveness. Through this isolation, the sacrament emphasized the role of the priest as a carrier of divine forgiveness,

⁶¹ Kingdon, Robert M; "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva;" *The American Historical Review*, 76, no. 1 (Feb. 1971): 50-69.

⁶² Bossy, 145.

⁶³ Bossy, 49.

rather than his role as a member of the community, who was responsible for the wellbeing of his community.

Bossy considers many of the sacraments. His discussion suggests how the role of the sacraments in binding together an earthly, universal community reduced during the reformation as sacraments became more spiritual, less earthly, and began to define the limited spiritual, confessional community. Pre-Reformation baptisms were occasions for celebration and feasting. While priests often fought against the ostentation of these feasts and the materialism of gifts between parents and Godparents, their efforts were rather ineffectual.⁶⁴ Congregations refused to ignore the symbolic nature of a gift exchange as a sign of peace and future good will. Godparents, in theory, served as spiritual kin who could accompany the child in life after his rebirth at baptism and even into the afterlife, transitions through which blood was an insufficient bond, as “flesh and blood could not inherit the kingdom of God.”⁶⁵ However their earthly roles were central as well. Godparentage was a way to strengthen the ties of kinship and solidify the practical bonds between families already linked by marriage. Traditional baptismal forms also suggest the communal nature of the sacrament and the bonds it creates. The baptism began at the church door with a form of ritual exorcism of original sin. When this was completed, the baby would be carried into the church, where after the completion of the ritual, the priest would hand the child directly to the Godparents. In the later middle ages, the Godparents would choose the child’s name and all would process to the feast. The separate exorcism at the church door emphasized the non-initiatory and secular elements of the event. In handing the child directly to the Godparents, the priest was representing the fellowship of the Godparents and himself in the

⁶⁴ Bossy, 15, 17.

⁶⁵ Bossy, 15.

role of spiritual father. Even language emphasized the interconnectedness of all participants. Godparents were often called “co-parents” and the title “Godfather” or “Godmother” took precedence over any preexisting kinship ties.

Yet, over time, the role of Godparents changed in both traditions. In Catholicism, Trent limited the acceptable number of Godparents for a child to two (one male one female) rather than the traditional three or more.⁶⁶ While Lutheran churches tended towards baptismal rights similar to the reformed Catholic ones, Calvinists radically emphasized the role of the parents in baptism. Only birth parents could present the child, and they were considered responsible for the child’s religious education. Godparents (and often just one male Godfather) were substitutes in case of need, but the privilege of baptism came from the child’s biological birthright.⁶⁷ These changes all marked a move away from the use of baptism to create sociability and interconnectedness in a geographical community. As the sacrament withdrew to focus on the nuclear family, it pulled church practice away from the community. As it focused on sanctity, rather than this-worldly interconnectedness, the sacrament focused attention on a community where initiation and profession of the proper confessions created a tightly defined spiritual community. Other than within confessional and initiatory uniformity, community did not exist.

This concept of a spiritual community limited to those of the proper confession, or to the “elect,” can be seen vividly in the administration of poor relief and other forms of charity. The distribution of charity in several Reformation-era Calvinist nation-states is particularly well documented, and extremely illuminating. Calvinist theology tended towards an

⁶⁶ *Tridentine Decrees*, Chapter 2 (II), p 199, session 24.

⁶⁷ Bossy, 117.

elimination of personal spirituality as it focused instead on an impersonal doctrine.⁶⁸ While a growing concept of personal belief was central to the development of early modern religion, this trend in Calvinist churches was not indicative of the type of personal spirituality that was promoted in Catholic spiritualism, or even in Lutheranism. Lutherans based their faith and practice upon the personal spiritual journey of Luther himself. However, Calvinism was as much, if not more so, a particular cohesive church and community structure as it was a theology of spirituality. In the allocation of charity, Calvinist communities insisted upon controlling the charity dispensed to their members. Calvinism was, from its very inception about the proper functioning of a community. Once he completed his *Institutes*, Calvin spent most of his time building church structure and government in Geneva. In contrast, Luther preached and wrote throughout his life, while he worked with German governments who could structure local churches. Calvin built the Reformed Church in Geneva himself, and defined how it would mold government, providing a model for other communities to follow. Calvinism was always more about the proper structure for a church rather than about vigorously arguing theology. Consequently independent belief took the form of personal responsibility to the church and a personal choice of members to adhere to strict doctrine. Given this institutional outlook of the church, control of charity to and from members was a vital part of defining the church community and its select membership.

Traditionally, charity was an act of Christian brotherhood. Most considered it their duty to spend money on those they had wronged, or on their family members. Charity could and often did include paying for masses said to release family members from purgatory. While charitable penance could be fulfilled by nameless philanthropy through organizations,

⁶⁸ Michael Walzer; *The Revolutions of the Saints: A study in the Origins of Radical Politics*; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965, 22-3.

a local beggar or friar was far more likely to be a recipient.⁶⁹ The recipients could thank donors directly and pray for them, while those giving charity could be reminded, first-hand, of the plight of others. This emphasis on directly addressing the corporeal needs of individuals suggests the universality of local medieval communities. The community could include transients or kinsmen, and it required a personal intimate connection in the creation of community bonds. In contrast, after the reformation, in both Protestant and Catholic churches giving became institutionalized, allowing the churches to limit the community. The new blindness of charity, whether administered via bishops or lay committees, weakened the traditional bonds of brotherhood, to create new, impersonal confessional links. These links could in turn be controlled by a governing body of the church.

These levels of insulation served primarily to empower the church and prevent sin; the alienation of community was a necessary parallel process which contributed to the separation of church from its secular community. Organized charity served to dampen pride and regularize giving. Believers were not to give only when poverty intruded upon their lives, but regularly. Moreover, the church could, as intermediary, chastise those who did not give, and control those who received. The concept of the “deserving” poor was powerful, and this charity arraignment allowed the church to reward the deserving and punish the lazy. Individual, random charity could not formally investigate the worthiness of the recipient, and furthermore, even if it could, the church would have wanted to reserve the right to pass judgment. This judgment role of the church served not only to protect individuals from unfair punishment, but also to reaffirm its authority over the morals of its members.

While the Catholic Church had to consider the needs of its many mendicant preachers, even it chose to organize charity through bishops to strengthen their power and

⁶⁹ Bossy, 144-5.

control over their congregations.⁷⁰ The Calvinist churches, with no such internal conflict, claimed the sole right to dispense charity to their members. Parker's study of charity in Reformation Holland illustrates how the churches used charity to identify, not only members of their community, but also which of their church members were worthy of continued community support in the form of financial aid. The church used charity to enforce morals, and by extension, define not only who was among the deserving poor but also, de-facto, who was among the elect.

The church leaders vigorously encouraged prospering congregants to use their money to do the Lord's work. Each member had a responsibility to fulfill the will of Christ on earth, and inaction in the face of the suffering of poverty was sinful.⁷¹ Yet the poor were expected to conform to the Church's high standards to be worthy of the time and money the faithful were to spend upon them. The influential scholar and pastor, Arent Corneliszoon, insisted that the faithful care for the corporeal needs of "the poor member of our Lord Christ."⁷² Even while encouraging charity, the minister felt the need to classify any recipient as a member of Christ. And what were the requirements? The "pious poor" were to display godliness "by showing gratefulness for all benevolence, by being content with meager resources, and by using labor to feed themselves."⁷³ Begging was strictly prohibited, as were any acts that could pollute the communion of the faithful. Just as church members were instructed that as sinners they deserved God's wrath and could do nothing to quell it save trust in his mercy, the poor were to accept what was given as resources they did not deserve (and therefore should not beg for), but rather received out of God's mercy.

⁷⁰ Kingdon, 66.

⁷¹ Charles H. Parker; *The Reformation of Community: Social welfare and Calvinist charity in Holland, 1572-1620*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 124.

⁷² Parker, 124.

⁷³ Parker, 124.

The mechanics of poor relief varied from city to city. In some cities, such as Delft, the Reformed church managed relief for the entire city, providing the only source of aid, but servicing both members and non-members. In other locales, the church provided relief only to its own membership leaving others at the mercy of the municipal authorities. Yet there is little evidence that the consistories intentionally used poor aid to recruit new members, although some poor were thought to have joined simply to become eligible for alms.⁷⁴ Mainly aid was used to keep members in line, to express control over the community and to define communion boundaries. While the consistories could exclude anyone from communion to protect the purity of the body of the church, they could follow up such action by denying alms to these excluded members. The consistory at Delft, for example, preferred to support first those without visible sins, and only secondarily those who had committed serious infractions, and only provided aid reluctantly to former members already excluded from communion for their sins.⁷⁵ In areas where the church provided general relief they did not directly discriminate against those of other beliefs, but nonetheless some civic officials (and even some clerics) worried about the possibility of non-overt forms of discrimination and the possibilities for unfairness in the system. In Delft, the provision of general relief heavily burdened the church, but the consistory was willing to accept this burden as the cost for maintaining control of relief to its own members. The church in Delft wished to ensure its members received care, wanted to control how that care was delivered, and wanted to control the charitable donation of its members. As money troubles increased, the church still provided support for all rather than loose these powers.⁷⁶ In those towns where the system of charitable relief was split between a civic office and a diaconate, magistrates still expressed

⁷⁴ Parker, 141-2.

⁷⁵ Parker, 137.

⁷⁶ Parker, 179.

concern about the division within the civil community that the separate church welfare system encouraged. This concern illustrates the struggle of a society working to define separate religious and civil communities; of a people struggling uncomfortably with a new conception of community which was limited in its scope of action and in the inclusiveness of its membership.⁷⁷

Charity was only one of the many ways in which Calvinist communities, or Catholic communities, defined and disciplined themselves. While the Catholic Church was able to use education and its already well established hierarchy to strictly define the required orthodoxy for membership, Calvinist communities had to develop new control mechanisms. These mechanisms had to function with limited hierarchy and allow the church body to negotiate a new relationship with state authority. Both churches became increasingly self-monitored as every member became responsible for the purity of the whole community.⁷⁸ Calvinist theology posited a theory of the church as the community of the elect upon earth. The elect were those “predestined” for salvation; that is, those upon whom God delivered his grace, enabling them to live a life subservient to God’s will. Those who did not lead an upstanding life had clearly not been “elected” by God to participate in the community of heaven, and, as a result, were not considered worthy to be members of the earthly church either.

Church ministers and elder statesmen were involved in the process of censuring or punishing members, but the entire laity was expected to report lapses. Not only did the lay community report sins committed in their sight and those which affected their own welfare,

⁷⁷ Parker, 157.

⁷⁸ Gorski, 42.

but they also often reported rumored misconduct of which they had little evidence.⁷⁹ This lead to an environment through which strong social pressure acted to encourage proper obedience to accepted moral codes. Normal gossip became more common and intense as it was, in a way, a justified part of protecting the community's purity.⁸⁰ After receiving a report, the consistory had the role of questioning the sinner and discovering personal improprieties. The consistory was a body set up to oversee all the church's activities and they had the power to temporarily deny communion, or effectively permanently excommunicate parishioners.

The severity of the crime indicated the required level of punishment. As mentioned above, the poor could be stricken from the aid roles. Others would be reprimanded, then denied communion until the consistory felt the sinner had mended his ways and was contrite. This power to deny communion was an important one, and gave the consistory influence over their entire congregation. It meant that church leaders controlled a powerful disciplinary weapon, regardless of whether or not civil authorities independently controlled charity. While in period prior to the Reformation, the populace had taken communion once a year, the Reformed Dutch Church offered communion six times a year. With the shift away from earthly community, communion grew in importance as it was one of the ways in which spiritual community could be defined. Further, re-admittance to communion was seen as proof of one's restored honor, visible not only to the sinner, but also to the entire church. Exclusion from communion implied exclusion from the community of saints and many faced with this threat wished to achieve evidence of their regained purity. While numerical

⁷⁹ Parker, 129.

⁸⁰ Gorski, 56-7.

estimates are uncertain, records suggest that members regularly petitioned their consistories and endured months or years of inquiry to re-qualify.⁸¹

Formal church discipline was reserved for members of the congregations, not simply for all church goers, although all could be denied communion. Those who belonged to reformed sects other than the Calvinist, particularly those of Baptist confession, faced discipline for moral transgressions from their own consistories. Even the Lutherans created consistory-like bodies to discipline members in pluralistic areas. The consistories had power over their members, but one's status became unclear when expelled from any confession. These struggles suggest limited, select communities with no hint of universalism. Practically, the Calvinist consistories were often an extension of government, since membership between government officials and the church elders overlapped consistently. This arrangement supports the theory of limited communities, and suggests how these new community definitions developed the ability to co-exist with local modern state government.⁸²

However, the mechanical structure of charity, which varied from region to region, affected the precise meaning of such charity. In pluralistic societies, such as most of the Netherlands, religious discipline and religious charity was often limited to confessed members of each church. Often, the Reformed church had its charitable discipline mechanisms, while everyone else separately received state support, but this state support generally mimicked that of the Reformed church. Over time, individual confessions all developed their own discipline and charity practices. Generally, because of the close practical ties between churches and the state, the state was willing to give up much of its

⁸¹ Parker, 131.

⁸² Gorski, 58-9.

control of charity since the governments could exercise tight control over the churches directly. Furthermore, the state still had control over those who were not established in any confession (and by extension were not established members of the community) and were perceived as the most dangerous members of the society. Effectively, these early interactions of church and state allowed for the growth of religious tolerance and even for the growth of a state which had identifiably different powers and responsibilities from those of the church: a part of modern separation of church and state, and of secularization.

According to Parker, in areas where the church did not fully control municipal poor relief, they nevertheless had iron control over relief to their congregations. However, when they needed the support of the government to provide for their communities, things were a bit more complicated. Occasionally, when the reformed church could not support its members itself, they had to give up disciplinary rights over some Calvinists, such as in Harlem in the 1580's. An influx of immigrants from Flanders was dealt with by the municipal authorities regardless of confession since they proved to require more support than the church could provide. Yet with time the church began to support those of the "southern" immigrants that had belonged to the reformed church in Flanders.⁸³ This temporary loss of control, therefore, only seems to emphasize the concept of a spiritual, not civic, community of the elect, who should always be under the discipline of the church. Situations, however, were different in areas where the church controlled municipal poor relief. In Dordrecht, the close relationship between the consistory and the municipal government resulted in the church providing relief for all, yet there are indications that even that system emphasized membership in the confessional community. The deacons seem to have felt ambivalent about providing to non-members, and often did not provide support equitably. The Reformed Church took on the

⁸³ Parker, 168.

burden, despite growing financial problems, as the price they had to pay to control support to and discipline over their own members.⁸⁴

Both Catholics and Protestants created communities that required explicit membership, which was not necessarily open to all, rather than communities where all were simply assumed to be members. Consequently, in pluralistic societies, confessional allegiance defined not only where you worshiped, but also where you received and gave charity. While for all practical purposes members of all confessions had the same basic codes of moral conduct, how one's conduct was interpreted, forgiven, judged, or even if it was meaningful in the afterlife, all were different across confessions. In a society faced by a growing plurality of meaningful allegiances, whether to church, nation, trade, or family, a plurality of confessions served to accelerate the emergence of the concept of the individual. The churches used sacraments, charity, discipline, catechism, and (for the Catholics) the sacrament of confession to define their confessions and keep a watchful eye upon members. This led to the disintegration of geographically coherent, religious communities; both Protestants and Catholics, however intertwined in earthly matters, were no longer spiritually unified. The new spiritual communities required strict orthodoxy from their members in order to define what behaviors and which beliefs were accepted for membership in the community. Just as the Spanish inquisition turned its gaze from "relapsed Jews" to internal church order, the Protestants turned inward with strict codes of conduct.

This process helped with the formation of states, as it made a space for multiple religious identities to exist within the polity, a situation which encouraged civil governments to step in and act as a unifying force in their communities. The churches developed ideas of group identity, which encouraged states to use similar membership definitions to unite people

⁸⁴ Parker, 177.

behind the amorphous idea of a nation, rather than simply unite them behind an individual, behind a divinely appointed king. The pre-Reformation Church was universal, and since all were members, membership had no real meaning. Inclusion in the community was an automatic, thoughtless process. With the Church schism, people became increasingly conscious of their membership in a spiritual body composed of believers throughout Europe. This concept, of redefining an institution as a body of people, could transfer neatly to the concept of the nation state as more than simply the physical domain of the king. As membership in the churches became conscious, individuals could more easily identify with proactive membership in a state. So long as the church was universal, a functional definition of the church could only describe the church hierarchy. But for the formation of modern nation-states to be successful, a nation had to consist of more than just its bureaucracy; it required an independent identity.

Chapter 5

The Reformation and Modernity

The religious upheavals of the Reformation era have been examined by many historians since they provide a window to social changes that affected all of society. Yet the changes in belief and religious structure during the time period are only a very small part of the larger trend of modernization that intensified after the reformation. If the creation of a multiplicity of religious communities was characteristic of modernization, the question of causality arises. Did “modernity,” however conceived, encourage these changes or did the changes encourage modernity? Ultimately they reinforced one another, but to examine this relationship, a definition of modernity must be chosen.

If modernity is considered to be a cohesive collection of traits that were emergent in Europe at the beginning of the modern period (late 18th century), then processes that encouraged or precipitated a majority of these traits can be considered modernizing. However, this definition still encompasses a number of pitfalls for examining early modern change. If the endpoint of a process is defined as among this “collection of traits” then the problem of circularity arises once again. For example, if growing secularism is defined as a force in modern Europe, proving that religious reforms encouraged secularism does not say anything about modernization, per say. Granted, the illustration of growing secularism might be useful in and of itself, but showing that religious reforms were related to non-religious “traits” of modernization speaks of a cohesive process. So what are some of these traits? Perhaps the clearest traits are those associated with the rise of nation states. While concepts of personal individuality and secular progress were also central to modern Europe, these are

somewhat linked to socio-religious processes. For the purposes of this paper, defining modernity as the creation of nation states provides an unambiguous, nearly undeniable, and independent measure of modernity.

So what are these characteristics? Modern nation states require a large bureaucracy that spans the territory and its communities, bringing a measure of uniformity to government interactions with all of the state's people. Furthermore, this organization must be staffed by individuals who are paid for their work, civil servants, or at least by individuals who separate their personal work from state work and are specifically designated to perform their duties by the state. The modern nation state must claim, or pretend, an ability to enforce its will all across the nation. Yet a nation state must be composed of more than these practical components. A sense of nationalism or of membership must permeate its residents. Even if the central power is widely despised, it needs to be seen as the central power. The state's populace must be a unified body, if only by virtue of a joint recognition of the state. The state's populace, in a truly modern state, must also be comprised of citizens, and expressly not mere subjects. They must owe something to the state, and expect something in return. The return certainly need not be fair or equitable, and may involve nothing more than organization of resistance to foreign powers and some level of internal stability. This concept of citizenship requires some notion of individual action, of the ability to have personal beliefs and political ideas. A modern state also involves a certain minimum level of economic development and stability, to ensure the prosperity of cities and traders who could supply the nation.

Assuming this definition of modernity, the question of causality presented above can now be addressed. Did the changes which accompanied the Reformation encourage the growth of nation states and of a modern capitalist economy, or vice versa?

The only reasonable answer is that both relationships existed. To progress, modernity needed a degree of freedom that changes in religious practice provided. The monolithic Catholic Church would have hindered this growth of statehood and self. Historically, the Church had not necessarily hindered the development of state growth; in fact the Church had traditionally played an important uniting role. But now states consciously wanted to provide the stabilization that had previously been provided by the church. Reciprocally, the reformation created modernity. The church had already been reforming before Luther, and would continue to improve its bureaucracy in much the same way that states would. If religious communities were becoming spiritually defined, governments would have to shoulder the burden of creating unified, geographically local communities. If the Catholic Church was creating new structures to provide oversight for local clergy, the state could mimic the process for their officials. If Protestants were creating “local” government, but imposing uniformity, the states could consider this mechanism, and see the benefits of uniformity.

This reciprocity of cause and effect can also be applied to economic development. Weber would say that Protestantism created modern capitalism, and was helped out by fortunate circumstances. While this particular postulate might be accepted with the qualification that reformed Catholicism be included as a modernizing force along with the protestant churches, the inverse is also true. Growing capitalism and the period’s advantageous conditions for profit would change religious belief. If enough people were

taking advantage of new economic opportunities to make money, wouldn't religious beliefs shift to make this endeavor more acceptable? And once entrepreneurship was accepted as moral, wouldn't that encourage others? The historical endeavor to trace causes and effects is not hopeless, but the far more important endeavor is discovering these positive regulation mechanisms, and identifying how they worked.

Ultimately, the Protestant and Catholic traditions each came to define themselves as independent entities. Traditional European society had no real concept of the existence of a variety of faiths. The world might have had inhabitants of many different religions, but within the "real" world, the world of European commerce and interaction, all were Christian. Local traditions were drastically different. However, any member of the European Christian community would have seen themselves as practicing the religion of Rome, had they been questioned as to what faith they followed. Yet no such question could have been truly meaningful in pre-Reformation Europe. The answer would have been the same for all. Fundamentally, the Reformation created this question, and made it meaningful. Creating new answers to it was only a secondary process. After all the reforms and upheavals, many different churches existed, but they were all similar. They communicated with their parishioners and disciplined their communities similarly. However, after the reformation many people, if asked to describe their religion, would not only understand the importance of the question, but also be able to describe their practice and the theology underlying it. But really, the central difference between pre- and post-Reformation religion lies in the fact that each religious group gained an independent identity; an identity which was recognized both by members and by those of other confessions. Protestants knew they were not Catholics;

Lutherans knew they were not Calvinists. Europeans mostly lived and behaved as before, but the question “What is your confession?” now had meaning.

FIGURES

Figure 1



Figure 1: Vegetable life portrayed in lowest tier of windows at the Cathedral of Leon

Photo by author

Figure 2

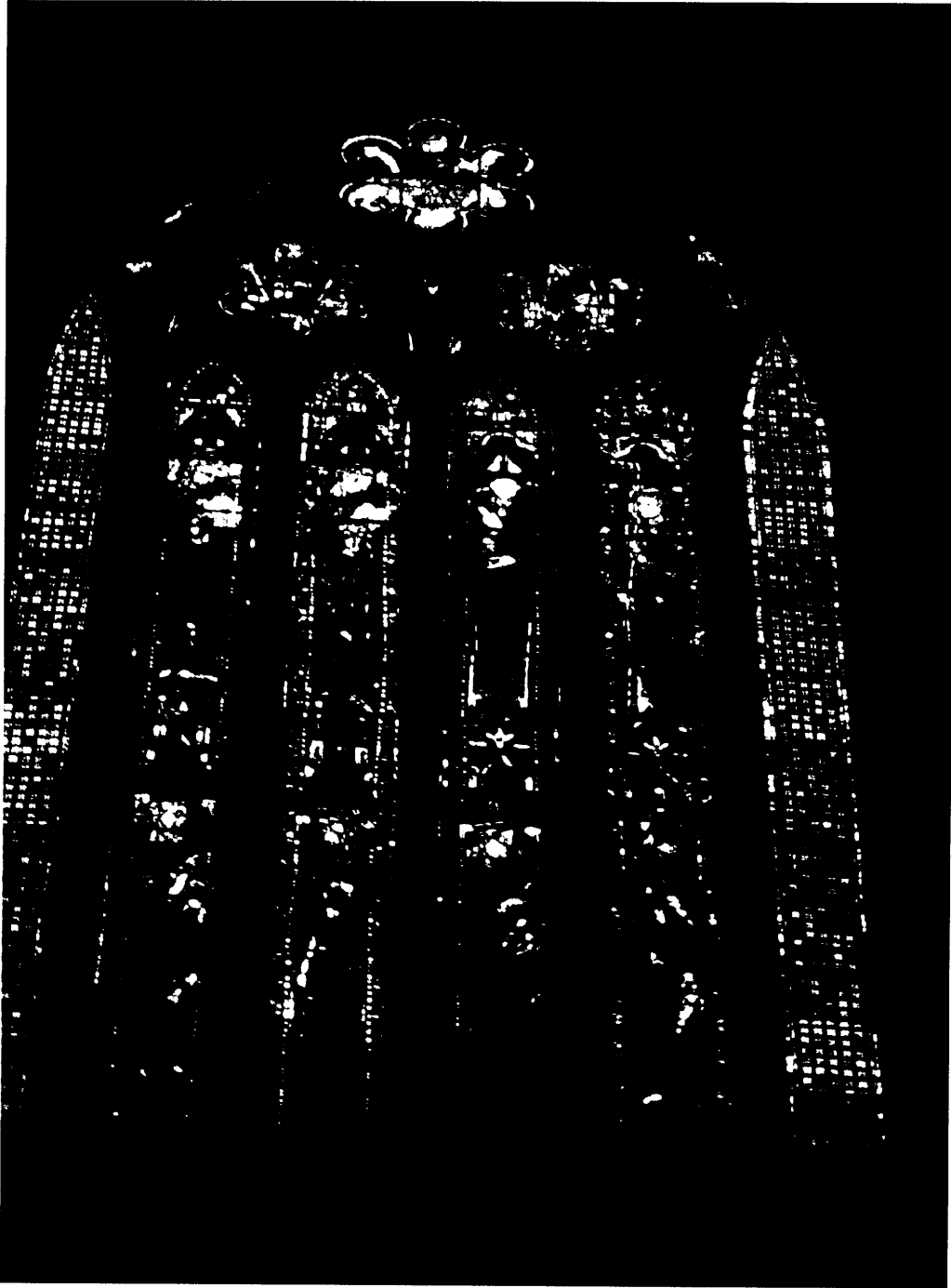


Figure 2: Saints and members of the church on a mid-level window in the Leon Cathedral

Photo by author

Figure 3

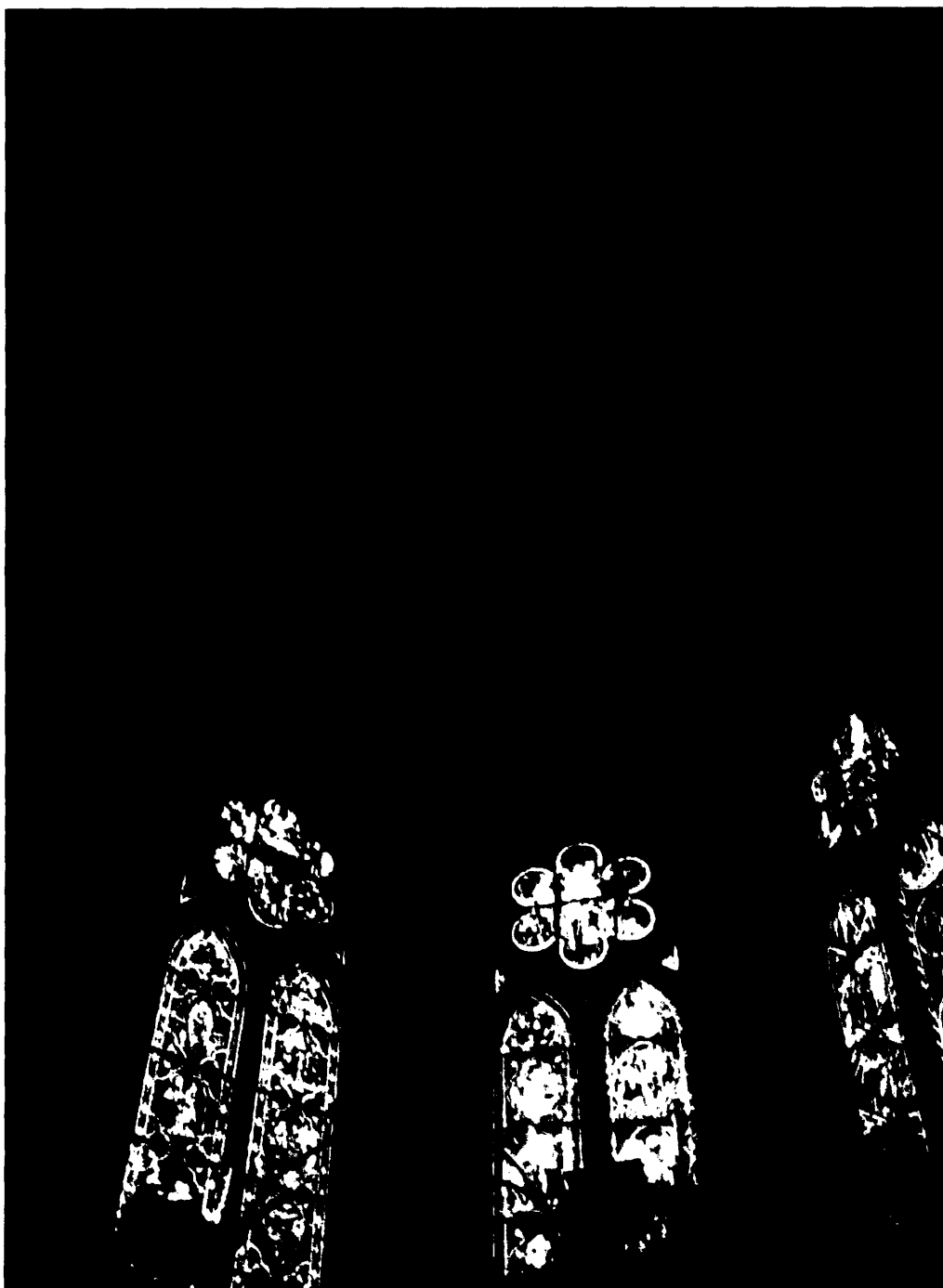


Figure 3: Biblical scenes portrayed on the uppermost windows above the altar in Leon Cathedral

Photo by author

Figure 4



Figure 4: Worn statue of Santiago de Compostela, which is embraced by pilgrims at the end of their journey

Photo by author

Figure 5



Figure 5: Granada Cathedral

Photo by author

Figure 6



Figure 6: Baroque side altar in the Granada Cathedral

Scan from Medina, et.al.

Figure 7



Figure 7: Cano's Annunciation

Scan from Scan from Medina, et.al.

Figure 8



Figure 8: Granada altar, with Cano's pictures; the annunciation is in the center
Scan from Medina, et.al.

Figure 9

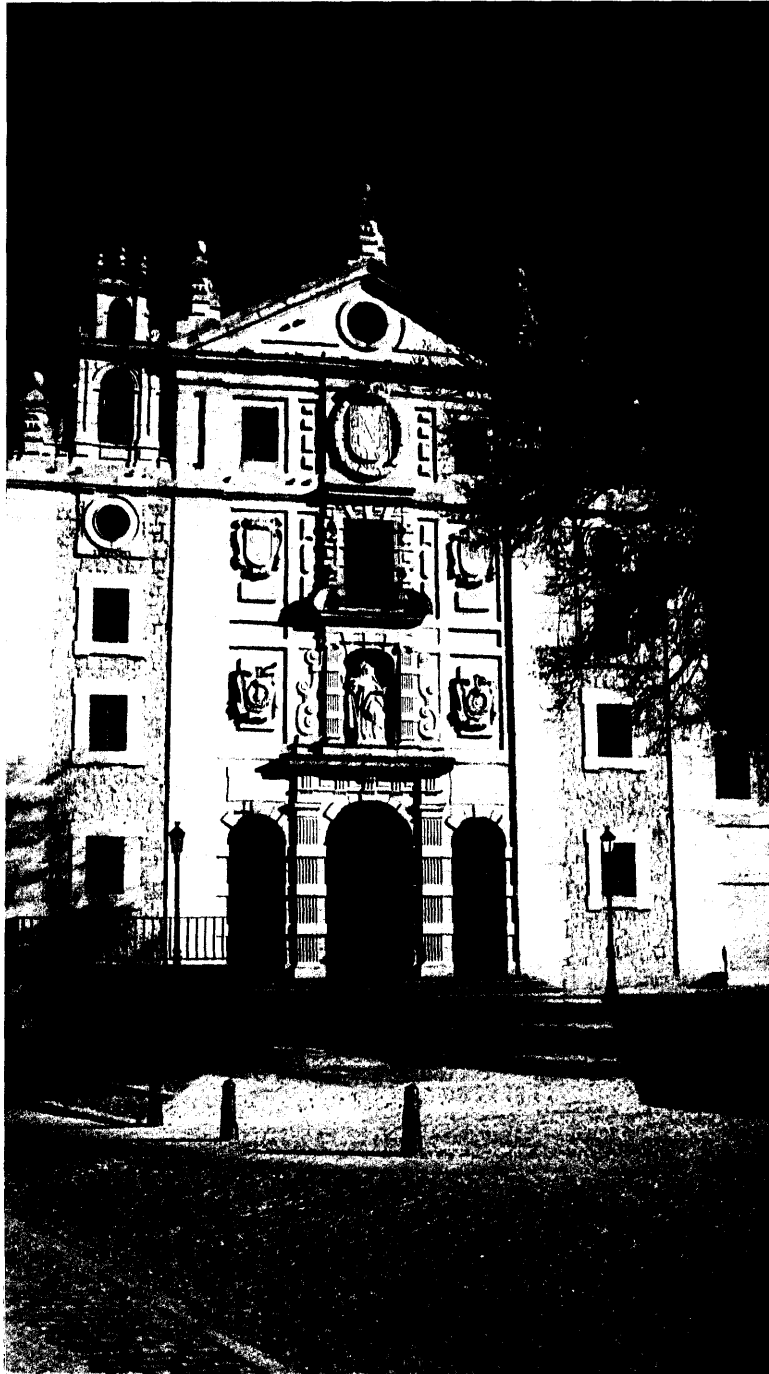


Figure 9: Mannerist façade of the Church at the Convent of St. Teresa

Scan from *Ávila: Heritage of Mankind*

Figure 10



Figure 10: Mannerist interior of the Church at the Convent of St. Teresa

Photograph by author

Figure 11



Figure 11: Stain glass panel of St. Teresa in private contemplation

Photograph by author.

Figure 12



Figure 12: In this commission for the Toledo Cathedral, El Greco violated the precepts of the Council of Trent by placing the Maries in the painting without biblical evidence and by placing helmeted heads above Christ.

Scan from Marias

Figure 13



Figure 13: El Greco, The Burial of Count Orgaz

Scan from the Parroquia de Santo Tomé

Works Cited

- Bossy, John. *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Díaz Segovia, José Luis, ed. *Toledo Heritage of Mankind*. Trans. Julián Y. Manley and Tonia Raquejo. Ávila: Ediciones Turimagen, 1997.
- El Greco. The Burial of Lord Orgaz, el Parroquia de Santo Tomé and Mons. Demetrio Fernández
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books of Random House, Inc, 1995.
- Gorski, Philip S. *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Hierro Calleja, Rafael. *Granada and the Alhambra*. Trans. Nicola Jane Graham. Granada: Ediciones Miguel Sánchez, 2005.
- Kingdon, Robert M. "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva." *The American Historical Review*, 76, no. 1 (Feb. 1971): 50-69.
- Lever, Jill and John Harris. *Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture 800-1914*. London: Faber and Faber, 1993.
- Llamazares, Fernando. *La Catedral De Leon: Claustro y Museo*. Madrid: Ediciones Lancia, 2001.
- Marias, Fernando. *El Greco in Toledo*. Trans. Gilla Evans. London: Scala Publishers, 2001.
- Medina, F. J. Martí, M. Seeano Ruiz, E. Caro Rodríguez, eds. *Alonso Cano y la Catedral De Granada*. Granada: Publicaciones Obra Social y Cultural CajaSur, 2002.
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Meaning in Western Architecture*. Trans. Anna Maria Norberg-Schulz. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.
- O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Parker, Charles H. *The Reformation of Community: Social welfare and Calvinist charity in Holland, 1572-1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Poggi, Gianfranco. *Weber: A Short Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006.
- Sánchez, Rosa M. *Leon Cathedral*. S.A.: Editorial Escudo de Oro.

Torrance, Thomas F., trans. and ed. *The School of Faith: The Catechisms of the Reformed Church*. New York: Harper & Publishers, 1959.

Tridentine Decrees, Chapter 18 (XVIII), p 187-9, session 23. Hanover Historical Texts Project. Created by Hanover College, 1995. Text: J. Waterworth, Ed. and Trans. London: Dolman, 1848. <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/ct23.html>, accessed 5/7/2007

Walzer, Michael. *The Revolutions of the Saints: A study in the Origins of Radical Politics*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.