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Raymond J. Jirran

A. *Introduction*

Students are all aware of the lasting nature of the topic, Protestantism, which was actually a revolt rather than a reformation. The course goal is **to evaluate the impact of Protestantism on the history of Western civilization** according to a criteria of the people, places, and times involved and the degree of certitude warranted.

B. *Culture*

The Renaissance and the Reformation broke up the Hellenic and Judeo-Christian synthesis in the cultural heritage of Europe. The extreme champions of each rejected the delicate compromise between reason and faith, sense enjoyment and spiritual cultivation that had been accepted by the thinkers and artists of the High Middle Ages.

On the one hand, the Protestant reformers set out to achieve a radical sanctification of all human activity before God. In fact, after the lapse of a couple of generations, they provoked in parts of Europe such a disciplined application to the business of business, as the world had scarcely seen before. On the other hand, the Catholic Jesuits, who set out to win souls for Christ under the direction of the Pope, found the pagan learning of the humanists one of their most effective tools of education. The Jesuits are a religious order of priests and brothers, like the Franciscans and Carmelites. The Jesuits led the Catholic counter-attack against the Protestant revolt.

C. *Doctrinal Differences*

Modern Catholics and Protestants have more in common with themselves than they do with their Reformation counterparts. The contemporary emphasis in theology stresses the personal character of the relationship between God revealing and people accepting the revelation. This, however, has a foundation in the basic Sixteenth Century doctrines of various church groups. Without pretending to become overly sophisticated, some of the major differences between some of the major religious groups are outlined below.¹

With regard to the most important of the sacraments, the Lord's Supper: Catholics held to transubstantiation, which meant that what looked like bread and wine was really the body and blood of Jesus, sacrificed in an unbloody mystical sense. Anglicans held the same, except that they denied the idea of sacrifice. Calvinists, from whom Presbyterians come, held it was a simple memorial in honor of what had once happened. Lutherans said it was a mixture, with both the bread and wine and the body and blood of Jesus being present. The Anabaptists, being a many-splintered group, from whom Baptists can be traced in a long tortured history, held basically to their own different interpretations. According to one scholar, "Anabaptism appealed for the most part to the poor, the weak, the disaffected, and resentful."² Anabaptists gave more of a spiritual meaning to the Lord's Supper, saying that flesh and blood were not changed into bread and wine.

With regard to the sacraments in general: Catholics held that there were seven. Anglicans agreed. Calvinists reduced the sacraments to two: Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Lutherans started out by including penance, but finally also only accepted the two. Anabaptists, on the other hand, simply emphasized the need for baptism as adults when individual responsibility

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could take place. Other than that, the Anabaptists held divided positions relative to the sacraments.

The classical definition of a sacrament is "an outward sign instituted by Christ to give grace." This means that the sacraments are the ordinary way in which grace reaches souls. In the standard view, the sacraments are designed to help individuals cope with the major turning points of life: Baptism at birth; Penance or Confession or Reconciliation at the age of reason; the Lord's Supper or Communion at the age of reason; Confirmation at puberty; Marriage and Holy Orders (priesthood) at adulthood; Extreme Unction or Last Rites at death.

Misunderstanding abounds. For example, a 1983 Presbyterian survey found that half the membership and nearly two-thirds of the pastors defined marriage as a sacrament.³ Protestantism actually demoted the marriage bond from the list of sacraments, at the same time Protestantism made marriage a more acceptable state. Protestantism placed less value on celibacy than did Catholicism.

A study of lower class British marriages from 1600 to the present turns up a wife sold at a cattle market, with a halter around her neck. This degradation symbolized the painful relationship society condoned between men and women and husbands and wives. From the Sixteenth Century, the majority of both men and women, but particularly women, depended emotionally and economically on their families and friends, rather than on their spouses.⁴

Lack of time prevents further development of the chart. Reaction to the upheaval in the Catholic Church resulted in the Council of Trent and a general reform throughout the world. The Anglicans built a strong base in England; the Calvinists in Geneva, Switzerland; and the Lutherans in the Germanies. The Anabaptists, on the other hand, were scattered to the four corners of the earth, though settling mainly in North America.⁵

Careful consideration enables one to see that the Anabaptists held the values which the U. S. most accepts today: a responsibility for accepting the sacraments and working out one's own salvation; separation of church and state with freedom of worship; a tolerance for error within reason; and, with modern theology of all stripes, a personal intimate relationship between God and people, rather than an impersonal authoritarian one.⁶ The student may profit from knowing that Dr. Jirran lectures as a Roman Catholic.

D. Conclusion

By studying Protestantism: Introduction, Culture, and Doctrinal Differences, students have been able to evaluate the impact of Protestantism on the history of Western civilization. Students are reminded to read, study, and think and to reflect on the impact of Protestantism on their own personal histories. Students are also reminded to prepare a comment.

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Supplement

E. Introduction

Space and mainstream academic interests largely determine what goes into the main lecture and what into the supplement. The main lecture is expected to be known, the supplement, like Chambers, read. The interest in feminism and women's history shown in these lectures is not present in mainstream history. Dr. Jirran off-sets that lack of interest by his own concern. Thomas Nelson Community College students tend to be more than half female. Accepting sexism unquestioned is not in the best interests of Thomas Nelson Community College students. Dr. Jirran, therefore, does what he can to meet the gender needs of the student body. The course goal throughout this topic remains to evaluate the impact of the Protestantism on the history of Western civilization.

F. New Interpretations

This section, F. New Interpretations, was in the main lecture proper of the November 5, 1989 edition of this topic. That lecture seemed to be getting ahead of the students, so, more explanation there has forced the more sophisticated interpretations here. Traditional Western Reformation and Marxist interpretations have emphasized the roles of the rulers and the peasants. As of July 1978, the emphasis had shifted to the urban setting. Only in the cities were the intellectual, social, and religious prerequisites needed for the Reformation.

Dr. Jirran has a semantic problem. The term, reformation, serves to confuse more than to clarify. Reformation refers to the Protestant Revolt, rather than to the true reform which Catholics undertook. Historic convention uses Reformation to refer to Protestants and Counter-reformation to refer to Catholics. Dr. Jirran yields to that conventional use of language in much of the rest of this supplement.

Contemporary studies are placing the development of theological discourse into close relationships with societal forces. This approach does not fully explain what happened. Neither did the traditional approach which separated ideas from their social context fully explain what happened.⁷ By 1985, scholars were shifting back toward an increased emphasis on the leadership qualities of thinkers.⁸

Luther, the person, does cause some difficulties with regard to his reaction to the Peasants' Revolt, his attitude to political authority, and his statements about the Jews.⁹ Despite this and the fact that he married a nun, the holiness of his life is realistic. Luther is properly regarded as a committed Christian. Protestantism, in the final analysis was caused by an abundance of faith, and not a lack thereof.

G. Reformation Studies

The professor does reflect the influence of Reformation studies by wanting to refer to the Protestant Revolt and the Catholic Reformation. The professor developed this preference doing graduate work in medieval history. The history profession itself seems to be leaning toward a change in name from Protestant Reformation to Protestant Revolt; from Catholic Counter Reformation to Catholic Reformation. The traditional conventions, however, still remain. Some of

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this material is currently treated in the June 20, 1992 rendition of Topic Thirty-seven, Modern Europe, H. Protestantism.

In conventional traditional Reformation studies, there was a tendency to emphasize differences relative to differences between right and wrong. In the new Reformation studies, there is more of a tendency to see similarities than differences. Just the same, a comment on the different approaches may help the student understand how what is already known fits in with what is here offered.

Few historians are convinced, any more, that history justifies any confident generalizations. Few historians think that it helps students to be told that the meaning of events becomes clear in the historical retrospect or that people are in control of the events which they set in motion. There is a difference between historical truth and authorial voice. Reformation studies epitomize the need to approach the subject matter gingerly.¹⁰

How is the professor presenting the material? Certainly the professor, the Black historian with light colored skin, is schooled in treating history gingerly. The professor, the Catholic, respects scholarship of whatever stripe. The professor has been wrong so often, and has seen respected scholars just as wrong very often, that the professor hesitates to make generalizations, but does not deny that such generalizations may be possible. The professor thinks that a mind which is always open and never finds closure is like a sieve--it will not hold anything. That is why part of the course goal for every topic includes at least an implicit evaluation of the certitude warranted by the evidence available and presented.

Conventional Reformation studies could block the Catholic-Protestant differences along the earlier iconoclastic differences in Byzantium. Catholics liked statues, Protestants did not. Taken one step further, Catholics liked devotion to Mary and the Saints; some Protestants considered that idolatry.

New Reformation studies tend to regard the Protestant Revolt not primarily as an original creation of the genius of Luther and the other Reformers, but as a product of traditional choices, long embedded in the Church. Erasmus died a Catholic, something not thought possible until about 1960 when evidence was presented that that is exactly what happened. Erasmus objected to Catholic ostentation. St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) objected to ostentation long before either the Protestants or Erasmus. The seventh edition of Chambers indexes Bernard on pages 267-268 (on the Crusades) and 286 (on simplicity).¹¹

John Calvin serves as another case in point. Calvin "celebrated the paradoxes and mystery at the heart of existence" over intelligibility and order. In this way, Calvin possessed "a considerable tolerance for individual freedom."¹² Calvin and the professor share this view of reality and tolerance.

H. Anabaptists

Many Thomas Nelson Community College students are Baptists. Mennonites are also in the area. While Baptists are not direct descendants of the Anabaptists, the professor does see many

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similarities. Some scholars regard Mennonites as direct descendants of the Anabaptists.¹³ The professor sees a great deal of Americana in the relationship with the Anabaptists. That makes the Anabaptists important.

Dr. Jirran maintains that the Anabaptists are important not only in the subjective order, but objectively as well. The professor thinks that were history to be written in the Judeo-Christian format, history would be focused on the life of grace in souls, much in the spirit of the early Anabaptists. Grace is that gift of spirit by which the human soul becomes God-like. The charismatic movement is based on such grace and joins with many of the students in its distrust of the institutional church.

As one scholar put it: "The charismatic emphasis on the centrality of human experience conflicts with Luther's insistence on the centrality of the forgiving Word of God."¹⁴ The point is not about the compatibility of charisma with Lutheranism, but upon direction toward a more meaningful Judeo-Christian history. It seems to the professor that it is the secular universities which, with their scholarship, are bringing the religious universities, with weakening resistance, back to the point of looking for the life of grace in the human experience.

The great Peasants' War of 1525 is not indexed in the seventh edition of Chambers. The index locates the great Peasants' War of 1525 as Peasantry . . . uprisings . . . in Swabia (1524), 444-445. That is an error. Swabia is explained on pages 443-444, part of the reading assigned for this topic.

Backlash from the Peasants' War of 1525 helped start the Anabaptist movement. The effort was to strive all the more to live the gospel mandates in communal living. People doing the striving were the unenfranchised: peasants, village artisans, and small burghers. This was part of the "Reformation social gospel of the 1520s" the Peasants' War of 1525 amounted to "war on the common man."¹⁵

The Anabaptist movement was a direct result of the 1525 uprising in Swabia. The Anabaptists lived a community life which, except for the Marxists, has only been taken seriously by others in the latter quarter of the Twentieth Century. Scholarship tends to connect Anabaptist religiosity with Protestantism, ignoring the possibility of a relationship with pre-Reformation ascetic traditions.¹⁶

I. Marriage

On page two, the lecture proper states, "Protestantism actually demoted the marriage bond from the list of sacraments, at the same time Protestantism made marriage a more acceptable state." One scholar claims that forty percent of all women were single before the Reformation. The Reformation introduced a new appreciation and elevation of family life.¹⁷

The detailed record of references to marriage is found in Topic 28, Medieval France (October 28, 1999), Section G. Marriage. What happens when European, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and West African marriage patterns are examined? In that case, the turning point occurs in Rome about 300 AD After that two distinct patterns develop.¹⁸

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The Original Testament, more widely known as the Old Testament, had no prohibition against cousins marrying. Roman Emperors could not make up their minds. Bishops, however, had no problem with the matter. For them and their followers, marriage between first cousins was wrong. Shortly after 300 AD, the bishops became strong enough to enforce their opinions beyond fully Christians.

While in the West, widows could remarry, the wealthy ones were more likely to establish monasteries. Concubines were definitely outlawed by the Church, which wanted family wealth focused on legitimate children. The former concubine was called a witch. Witchcraft became a specifically female sin only in the Carolingian age, starting in the Seventh Century under Pepin of Heristal in 687. Pepin of Heristal is noted in the seventh edition of Chambers on page 184.¹⁹ Except for vowed-celibate clergy, lineage through the male, i.e. agnatic lineage, came to be recognized on the European Continent. The Church wanted to prevent the illegitimate children of the clergy from receiving inheritance.

The Church substituted the German physical for the Roman contractual manner of determining blood relationships, or consanguinity. The Church also prohibited marriages based on affinity and spiritual kinship. Affinity is relationship through marriage rather than blood.

In the Merovingian kingdom, women were married under two different sets of laws. Polygyny (more than one female mate) was practiced at least among the Merovingian royalty. The German custom was to offer both an early bridegift and a later "thank-you ma'am" morning gift after the night of the wedding. The family of the bride only contributed the movables which she needed to set up a household. Sometimes she would make a gift of weapons and a horse to her husband.

When the bride was of Roman origin, she also had claim to family inheritance. Were she German, she only inherited if she had no brothers. This meant that the German widow needed a dower which could not be alienated from the estate of her husband.

The Church also shifted the responsibility for marriage from the father to the individuals directly involved. The couple itself had to consent to the marriage for validity. The basis for the bond of marriage moved toward personal affection and away from economic considerations. The effect of this shift meant that less property stayed within families and more was left to the Church. In the East a different development was taking place.

Muslim families were endogamous; Christian exogamous. Frequently, the Muslim father would marry his niece. The reason was to retain the wife and children as property of the father and to keep the patrimony intact. The Western taboo against incest, requiring ecclesiastical dispensation, did not exist in Muslim lands. In Christian lands, for example, uncle and niece or first cousins, could not obtain a license to marry.

Because there is a church named for Saint Bede (673-735) in Williamsburg, his documentation of marriage practices holds particular interest. The sixth edition of Chambers indexes Bede the

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Venerable on pages 232-233, 244, 247.²⁰ The Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People, mentioned on page 197,²¹ includes a letter of Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590-604). This letter prohibits the marriage of "a son and daughter of a brother or sister." The reason for the prohibition is that the children would not be healthy. The effect of this shift meant that marriage to a stepmother and to a sister-in-law was also forbidden.

A major intellectual and spiritual shift occurred in the Latin West between 400 and 600, a shift away from ancient political values toward new Christian values, epitomized by Pope Gregory. Under Gregory little truck was given to "the innocent vestiges of ancient non-Christian culture,"²² as had been the case with thinkers such as Augustine.

Under Christianity, divorce was forbidden until the Protestant Revolt. Adoption was likewise forbidden until modern times. From the latter half of the Ninth Century until the latter half of the Twelfth, the Church was unable to control what kings and princes did about marriage and divorce. There was, nonetheless, a movement from brideprice to dowry in Mediterranean Europe.

Under Protestantism in England, monasteries were forbidden from owning property. In the Germanies, church lands were divided up among the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Marriages between cousins were again permitted. The professor suspects a relationship between decreeing that monks could now own property and decreeing that husbands could not own wives as property.

Before 1945 there were few histories of the nobility. Between 1945 and 1985 there were about five hundred studies, studies made after the nobility had become practically powerless. The studies were made country-by-country, rather than over all of Europe. Marriage privileges were so common that no mention was made of them among the principal privileges of the nobility:²³

. . . exemption from taxes and other fiscal immunities; the right of political participation through estates and parliaments; the exclusive or nearly exclusive tenure of high offices; honorific rights such as titles, special forms of address, exclusive membership in military and chivalric orders and the like; freedom from certain judicial and service obligations imposed by the sovereign or by private landlords; the exclusive right to land ownership and commercial and trading concessions; and a monopoly on hunting.

Whether or not companionate and egalitarian marriages developed among peasants, paupers, and skilled or unskilled workers, after Protestantism took hold, is disputed.²⁴ Marriage was a political event, meaning power and status for the husband. Large weddings by which housekeeping was set up highlighted the dependence of the couple upon the community. Because families could not survive without the extended family, lower class couples married as late as possible.

After marriage, the personal relationship between husbands and wives only developed slowly. Into the Twentieth Century, upper class husbands retreated to their clubs and working class husbands

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retreated to the pub and the football match. Wives clustered around their own mothers and women friends.²⁵

While public marriages took place, so did clandestine marriages. A private ceremony in which the sacrament of marriage was performed simply by the man and woman exchanging "words of the present" and tokens was only condemned by the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent in 1563. Bigamous unions were a social practice rejected by Catholics and Protestants alike. Protestants permitted women deserted by their husbands to remarry after the passage of one year.²⁶

In the meantime, what was happening with the Jewish family during the Middle Ages? The record is sparse. In 1197, a dirge was written to commemorate the murder of a Jewish wife who lived in the German city of Worms. This poem furnished a glimpse of what Jewish family life must have been like. According to the dirge, the wife had charge of the family finances, thus freeing her husband for study and teaching. She also nourished her personal and extended families.²⁷

The Jewish wife historically was able to pass on her dowry to her heirs, including those not related to her husband. On one occasion, after ten years of childless marriage, the husband was permitted to take a second wife without divorcing the first. When the husband died, the first wife not only inherited a house, but was also permitted to will the house to sons of her brother. Jewish women seemed to be heads of households over twenty per cent of the time in the early Fifteenth Century. This means that after her husband died, the widow was the head of household, even after her sons reached maturity and themselves married.

Rabbis of the time addressed themselves to the role of sexuality in generating proper affective relationships. For the Jews, there was no obligatory link between erotic pleasure and procreation. There was more stress on sexual balance and mutuality than on the prevention of sin and avoidance of the prompting of the devil. In the blunt words of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), surprisingly not indexed at all in either the fourth, fifth, sixth, or seventh edition of Chambers: "A man should not be like a cock (rooster) with his wife . . . but should make his cohabitation into an act of mutual joy."²⁸

Dr. Jirran is surprised that Maimonides is passed over by Chambers, because Chambers does maintain a Jewish presence throughout his text. Seldom do fifty pages go by without mentioning the Jews. The given names of the co-authors also seem to reflect a Jewish proclivity: Mortimer, Raymond, David, Theodore, Isser, and even Barbara.

Maimonides wrote about the use of a cervical sponge for purposes of contraception. This device was permitted for Jews in cases of danger to the woman or, even, to preserve the beauty of the wife. Husbands were obliged to satisfy the sexual needs of their wives in a timely manner, usually weekly. Sexual activity was considered necessary, so that men could then concentrate on their studies.

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The corresponding Christian view was that artificial contraception was never permitted. Human sexuality was seen more as a temptation to sin than as a means for fulfillment. The point is that the differences between Jews and Christians were real within the context of marriage.

Medieval scholars developed their theological sense of human sexuality from the Twelfth through the Fourteenth Centuries. Theologians concluded that,

Adam and Eve could have obeyed God's injunction "to be fruitful and multiply" without the torment of lust and the burden of original sin. . . . so postlapsarian marriage had to include an additional purpose for sex beyond procreation: a remedy for concupiscence. . . . postlapsarian sexuality is a powerful force, a runaway horse that must be "bridled," "reined-in," controlled.²⁹

J. Conclusion

The course goal is to evaluate the impact of the Protestantism on the history of Western civilization. Students are to do this according to a criteria of the people, places, times, and degrees of certitude warranted. The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between faith and reason, value and fact, morality and science, each claiming to be the path to truth. There is general agreement in Western civilization that that path is to be determined by principles of truth rather than by principles of politics. That agreement sets Western civilization apart from other civilizations.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0424-0452

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page Column

Paragraph

Line

0426	1	1	5	". . . only through participation in its rituals . . ." Chambers misunderstands the theology. <i>Only</i> is too strong. How does anyone prove a negative? Chambers does not document where the Church ever said in "a standard official answer" that one had to participate in the rituals in order to be saved.
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The Church does teach that the ordinary way to receive grace is through its rituals, but not that that is the only way to receive grace. God's hands are not to be tied. Note that Chambers is referring to official teaching and not the way in which that teaching was reduced to

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pastoral practicality. One should also note that one outcome of the Protestant revolt was insistence that priests be better trained and educated.

0430 2 2 1 ***The Impact of Printing*** is also treated on page 362.

0431 2 1 3 "... the educated . . . "

Note how truth is determining politics, in this case Church politics.

Also see:

428	1	3	1-2	"... educated elite . . . "
428	1	3	6-7	"... hardly better educated . . . "
430	1	2	3-4	"... better educated . . . "
432	2	2 nd and 3 rd	last line	"... theory of education . . . "
435	1	1	9-10	"... well-designed . . . education . . . "
436	2	3	6-7	"... a good education . . . "
438	1	2		"... Luther . . . his scholarship . . . was excellent . . . "
439	1	2	11-12	"... sacraments, the basis of the Church's authority . . . "

This causes the professor a problem with his truth versus politics thesis. The basis of the Church's authority is the truth of the sacraments, not the sacraments themselves, by themselves. The function of theology is to determine whether that truth is exceeded by Church authority. Education remains the key.

442 2 2 2-3 "... spread from above . . . "

Chambers shies away from this view of authority determining truth as he leans toward the idea that truth, grasped by the common people, determines politics in Western civilization.

0446 2 1 6 "... Zwingli considered education vital . . . "

0449 2 2 5 "... Calvin regarded education as an essential . . . "

0450 1 1 4 "God had finally shown them the truth."

0450 1 1 11 "... to challenge traditional authorities . . . "

0450 1 1 5-6th last "... Geneva . . . university achieved an international reputation."

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0450 1-2 ". . . demanding broader access to education . . . "

0451 1 2 ". . . Henry sought opinions in European universities . . . "

0432 1 2 3rd last". . . governments tried to regulate . . . presses. . . "

This is an instance of politics attempting to determine truth.

0436 1 3 7-9th last lines "Erasmus . . . would never have dreamed of rejecting the traditional authority of the Church."

From what the professor has written above, the perceptive student will correctly assume that the professor has no problem with Erasmus having such a dream.

0436 2 1 2-3 ". . . not surprising . . . "

Yet on page 438 second column, second and last lines, Chambers refers to the same conflict ". . .regarded . . . as merely a monks' quarrel."

On page 436, first column, second paragraph, 2nd and 3rd lines, ". . . dissent . . . suddenly appeared."

On page 439, column 2, paragraph 1, Chambers writes, ". . . Luther's . . . appeal . . . made him, almost overnight . . . "

On page 442, column 2, paragraph 3, lines 4-5, Chambers writes, ". . . printing presses disseminated the reformer's message with breathtaking speed . . . "

Chambers used more adverbs than the professor would. Despite the Inquisition, the Church had much more tolerance before than after the Council of Trent. The charismatics, who always do things differently, are always present and in need of toleration and compassion. The professor can argue both ways, whether awareness of the dissonance between truth and politics was sudden.

0437 "Map 13.1 The Empire in the Age of Luther"

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Lake Geneva is not labeled. Lake Geneva is immediately to the left of the word *Confederation* in Swiss Confederation.

0438 2 1 3 "... Church of St. Peter in Rome."

The professor does not understand why *Church* is capitalized. The building is a basilica. No one was founding a new Church.

0438 2 1 8-9 "Indulgences released sinners from a certain period of punishment ..."

This has already been treated in Topic Twenty-eight, Medieval France, at page 371 and in Topic Thirty-two, The Renaissance, at page 416.

0439 1 2nd last "... wafer ..."

0442 1 1 3 "... wafer ..."

0442 1 1 7th last "... wafer ..."

0442 1 1 5th last "... wafer ..."

0442 1 2 1st "... wafer ..."

0442 1 2 5 "... wafer ..."

Since *wafer* in this computer age can refer to silicon, the professor would prefer using the word *bread*.

0441 1 4 8-9 "... `priesthood of all believers,' a concept totally foreign to the traditional Church ..."

The professor has a problem with the word *totally*. The priesthood of all believers is a concept not foreign to the traditional Church. Chambers is not distinguishing between official Church doctrine and unofficial Church practice.

0443 1 3rd last "... Swabia ..."

Swabia is at 48.30 N 9.30 E.³⁰ Swabia does not appear on "Map 13.1 The Empire in the Age of Luther". Swabia may be located on "Map 13.2 Religious Divisions in Europe at the End of the Sixteenth Century" on page 458. Ulm is at 48.24 N 10.00 E, is slightly south and east of Swabia. Leagues of Swabian cities formed especially in 1488-1534, the era under consideration in Chambers. Ulm is one of the chief cities of the duchy of Swabia.³¹

0443 2 1 5 "... serfdom ..."

Different types of serfdom are described in the comments in Topic Twenty-four, The Middle Ages.

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0444 1 2 5-6 "... authority ..."
0444 1 3 last "... authority. . . "

The effort here is balancing the authority of truth with the authority of politics.

0447 1 3 1 **Munster**
Munster does not appear on "Map 13.1 The Empire in the Age of Luther". Munster may be located on "Map 13.2 Religious Divisions in Europe at the End of the Sixteenth Century" on page 458.

0447 2 2 11 "... Noyon, a small town in northern France . . ."
Noyon is located at 49.34 N 2.59 E.³² ??

0447 2 3 4 "... Basel. . ."
Basel is located at 47.33 N 7.35 E³³ between Bern and Ulm in latitude and between Bern and Turin (directly south of Bern) longitude on "Map 13.1 The Empire in the Age of Luther" on page 437.

0448 1 1 1 **Geneva**
Geneva is located at 46.12N 0609 E, southwest of Bern on "Map 13.1 The Empire in the Age of Luther" on page 437.

Endnotes

¹About 1962, at the beginning of my teaching career, my professors suggested composing this lecture. In the time since then, many students have found out some things which they did not know about their own faiths. If there is a need for clarification in this lecture, let me know so that we can develop whatever changes may be appropriate. To my surprise, this lecture has stood the test of time as substantively sound.

²Gerald Strauss, review of Lewis W. Spitz, The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559 in The American Historical Review 91 (April 1986): 381.

³The Associated Press, Daily Press, July 2, 1983, p. 18.

⁴Susan Groag Bell, review of Allen Horstman, Victorian Divorce, The American Historical Review, 91 (October 1985): 919. This new format is based on the fourth edition of Turabian, which the professor finally got around to November 4, 1989.

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⁵Eldon G. Ernst, review of William Henry Brackney, The Baptists [Denominations in America, Number 2.] in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 75, No. 3 (July 1989), page 468.

⁶In the Winter of 1988, students asked me if this paragraph were an opinion of mine, or fact. Somewhat dumbfounded at the question, my response is that the analysis of the Baptists was probably first made by someone else and relating that analysis to the U. S. is probably my doing. When I first put this paragraph together, it did not occur to me that anyone might doubt that this lecture, like all of the rest of my lectures, is based on my opinions of what is important and how that importance ought to be expressed.

The aim of my own work properly fits what Charles G. Nauert, Jr. writes about the work of Lewis W. Spitz, cited below: ". . . not only addressing the educated general reader but also conducting a learned discourse with his scholarly peers and stating his own considered judgments on issues of current debate."

⁷The more complete explanation is found in books like A. G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther. This section draws heavily from a book review of Dickens by Hans J. Hillerbrand found in The Catholic Historical Review 42 (July 1978): 479.

⁸For examples of this trend, see A. London Fell, review of TNCC Library # K/150/B47/1983 Harold J. Berman, Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition, The American Historical Review 80 (October 1984): 1040-1041 and Suzanne F. Wemple, review of Jack Goody, The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe, *ibid.*, pages 1050-1051. Also see Gerald Strauss, review of Lewis W. Spitz, The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559 in The American Historical Review 91 (April 1986): 381.

⁹Charles G. Nauert, Jr., review of Lewis W. Spitz, The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559, The Catholic Historical Review 42 (October 1986): 474.

¹⁰See Gerald Strauss, review of Lewis W. Spitz, The Protestant Reformation, 1517-1559 in The American Historical Review 91 (April 1986): 381.

¹¹The fifth edition of Chambers only indexes Bernard of Clairvaux on page 384 for preaching the Second Crusade. William J. Bouwsma, review of Carlos M. N. Eire, War Against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin in The Catholic Historical Review: 73 (December 1987): 588. Students are invited to check out the connection between the Benedictine Sisters teaching at Mount Carmel and Our Lady Star of the Sea Elementary Schools on the Peninsula and the Benedictine reform initiated by St. Bernard. The sixth edition of Chambers only indexes Bernard of Clairvaux on pages 285-286 for preaching the Second Crusade. The seventh edition of Chambers indexes Bernard on pages 267-268 (on the Crusades) and 286 (on simplicity).

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¹²William J. Bouwsma, John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait page 231 as cited by Thomas A. Brady, Jr. in his review in The American Historical Review, Vol. 94, No. 3 (October 1989), page 1057.

¹³ James D. Tracy, review of Abraham Friesen, *Erasmus, the Anabaptists, and the Great Commission* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 2 (April 1999), page 666.

¹⁴Robert Kolb, review of Carter Lindberg, The Third Reformation? Charismatic Movements and the Lutheran Tradition 89 (October 1984): 1040.

¹⁵ Kyle C. Sessions, review of James M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), page 1549.

¹⁶ Thomas A. Brady, Jr., review of James M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (April 1992), pages 299-300.

¹⁷ Claus-Peter Clasen, review of Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 5 (December 1984), pages 1296-1297.

¹⁸Suzanne F. Wemple, review of Jack Goody, The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe--(Past and Present) [The printer still does not do italics. "-- (Past and Present)" seems to be an italicized part of the original title.] in The American Historical Review: 89 (October 1984): 1050-1051. The reviewer, Wemple, closes with a final summation, "The book is marred by too many careless mistakes. This is unfortunate for the work could have been one of the great synthesizers of the Middle Ages." Besides the apparent chronological problem of having Muslims available in 300 AD, the professor is insensitive to other clear contradictions in the material as presented in the supplement. The professor anticipates student inquiries will raise his level of sensitivity and for that reason has ordered the book for the Thomas Nelson Community College Library in November 1989. Any student interested in hurrying the processing should see the professor.

¹⁹Pepin of Heristal is noted in the fifth edition of Chambers on page 236; in the sixth edition on page 167; in the seventh edition on page 184.

²⁰The fourth edition of Chambers indexed Bede on pages 228, 231, and 235. The fifth edition of Chambers indexes Bede on pages ?? 232-233, 244, 247; the sixth edition, ?? 232-233, 244, 247; the seventh edition 185 and 197.

²¹ Page 247 in the sixth edition, 197 in the seventh.

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²² Wm. D. McCready, review of R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World* in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (January 1994), pages 441-442.

²³ Jerome Blum, review of M. L. Bush, *The European Nobility. Volume 1, Noble Privilege* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), page *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 5 (December 1984), page 1293.

²⁴"Companionate marriage" is a term first used in 1927 for a proposed form of marriage in which legalized birth control would be practiced, the divorce of childless couples by mutual consent permitted, with neither party having any financial or economic claim on the other. Plainly, that is not what is meant in this passage.

²⁵Susan Groag Bell, review of Allen Horstman, Victorian Divorce, The American Historical Review Vol. 91 No. 4 (October 1986), page 919.

²⁶Natalie Zemon Davis, "???" Return of Martin Guerre ???" The American Historical Review 93 (June 1988): 590, including footnote 71.

²⁷Kenneth R. Stow, "The Jewish Family in the Rhineland in the High Middle Ages; Form and Function," The American Historical Review 92 (December 1987): 1085-1003.

²⁸Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, Hilkhhot De`ot, (Vilna, 1900) 5:4 as cited in Kenneth R. Stow, "The Jewish Family in the Rhineland in the High Middle Ages; Form and Function," The American Historical Review 92 (December 1987): 1103, footnote 88.

²⁹Joyce E. Salisbury, review of Pierre J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (October 1994), page 1298.

³⁰ *Oxford Atlas* ??

³¹ *Webster's Geography* ??, page 1165.

³² *Oxford Atlas* ??

³³ *Oxford Atlas* ??