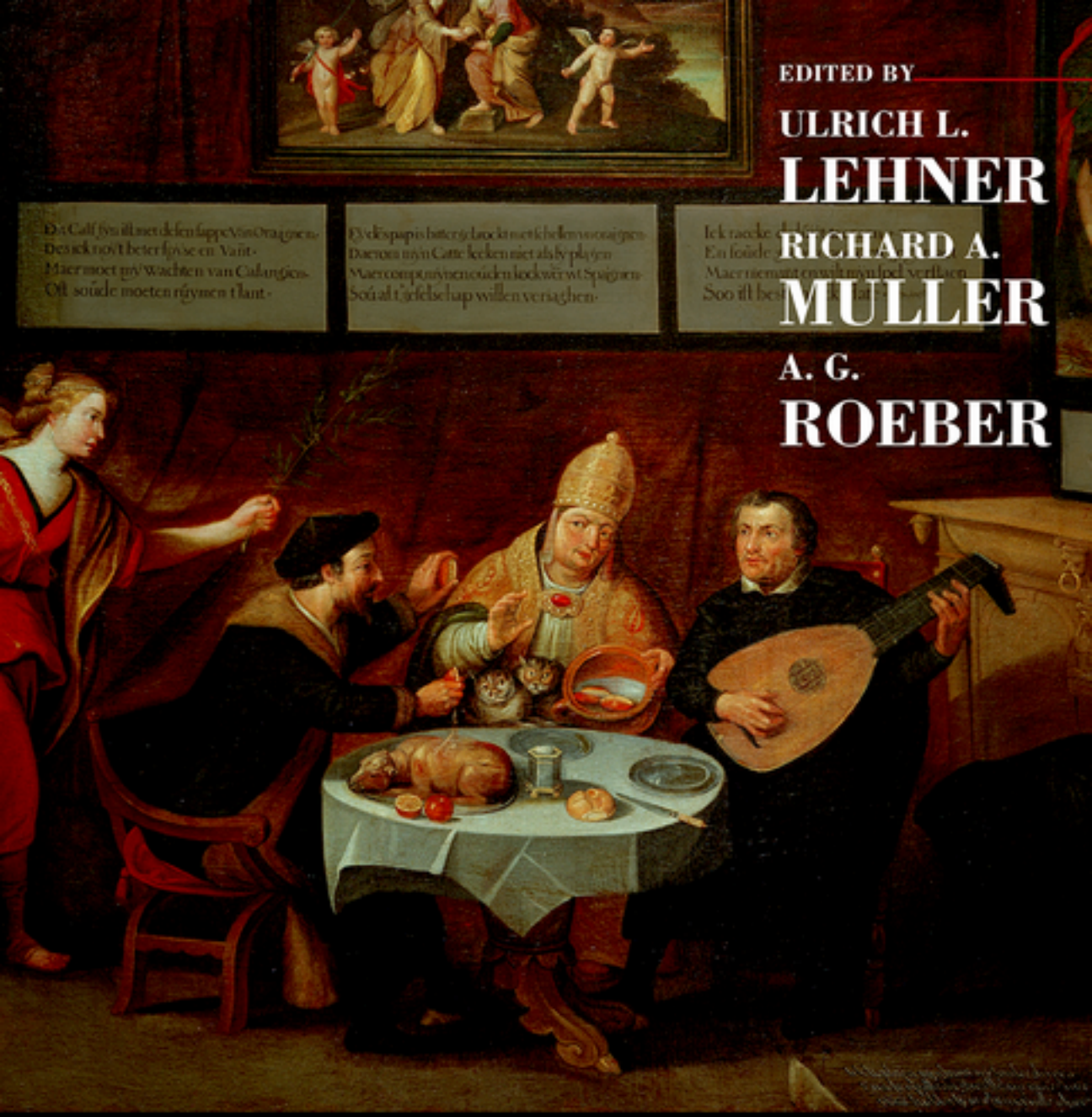

EDITED BY

ULRICH L. LEHNER

RICHARD A. MULLER

A. G. ROEBER

The Oxford Handbook *of* EARLY MODERN THEOLOGY, 1600–1800

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

EARLY MODERN THEOLOGY, 1600–1800

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

EARLY MODERN THEOLOGY, 1600–1800

Edited by

ULRICH L. LEHNER, RICHARD A. MULLER

and

A. G. ROEBER

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Lehner, Ulrich L., 1976– editor.
Title: The Oxford handbook of early modern theology, 1600–1800 /
edited by Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A.G. Roeber.
Description: New York City : Oxford University Press, 2016. | Includes index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016010008 (print) | LCCN 2016029560 (ebook) |
ISBN 9780199937943 (cloth : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780199937950 (updf) |
ISBN 9780190632489 (epub)
Subjects: LCSH: Theology—History—17th century. | Theology—History—18th century.
Classification: LCC BR118 .O94 2016 (print) | LCC BR118 (ebook) | DDC 230.09/032—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016010008

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2
Printed by Edwards Brothers Malloy, United States of America

Contents

Acknowledgments ix
Contributors xi

Introduction 1
Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A. G. Roeber

PART I THEOLOGY—CONTEXT AND FORM

1. Theological Developments in the Non-European World, 1500–1800 11
Ronnie Po-chia Hsia

2. Sources, Methods, and Forms of Early Modern Theology 25
Ulrich G. Leinsle

3. Theology and the Development of the European Confessional State 43
Paul Shore

PART II THEOLOGICAL TOPICS

Catholic Theologies

4. Mysticism and Reform in Catholic Theology between 1600 and 1800 63
Ulrich L. Lehner and William P. O'Brien, SJ

5. The History of Catholic Exegesis, 1600–1800 75
Marius Reiser

6. Providence, Predestination, and Grace in Early Modern Catholic Theology 89
Thomas Marschler

7. Baroque Catholic Theologies of Christ and Mary 104
Trent Pomplun

8. Catholic Moral Theology, 1550–1800 119
Jean-Louis Quantin

9. Catholic Sacramental Theology in the Baroque Age 135
Trent Pomplun

10. Ecclesiology/Church-State Relationship in Early Modern Catholicism 150
Stefania Tutino

Reformed Theologies

11. Reformed Theology between 1600 and 1800 167
Richard A. Muller

12. Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology 179
Carl R. Trueman

13. God, Creation, and Providence in Post-Reformation Reformed Theology 195
Andreas J. Beck

14. Christ, Predestination, and Covenant in Post-Reformation Reformed Theology 213
Willem J. van Asselt

15. Sin, Grace, and Free Choice in Post-Reformation Reformed Theology 228
Stephen Hampton

16. Church and Church/State Relations in the Post-Reformation Reformed Tradition 242
Ian Hazlett

17. Early Modern Reformed Eschatology 259
Crawford Gribben

Lutheran Theologies

18. Early Modern Lutheranism 275
A. G. Roeber

19. Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Lutheranism 283
Benjamin T. G. Mayes

20. God, Creation, and Providence in Early Modern Lutheranism 298
Robert Kolb

21. Forensic Justification and Mysticism in Early Modern Lutheranism 311
Risto Saarinen

22. Early Modern Lutheran Ecclesiology 326
Ola Tjørhom

23. Sacraments in Lutheranism, 1600–1800 341
John R. Stephenson

Other Christian Theologies and Awakening Movements

24. Early Modern Socinianism and Unitarianism 361
Sarah Mortimer

25. Early Modern Anabaptist Theologies 373
Jeff Bach

26. Arminian, Remonstrant, and Early Methodist Theologies 387
Keith D. Stanglin

27. Early Modern Pietism 402
Jonathan Strom and Hartmut Lehmann

28. Early Modern Jansenism 436
Ephraim Radner

29. Early Modern Moravianism 451
Craig D. Atwood

PART III THEOLOGY AND THE OTHERS

Western Christian Theologies and Other Religions or Churches

30. Western Theologies and Judaism in the Early Modern World 469
Stephen G. Burnett

31. Western Theologies and Islam in the Early Modern World 482
Emanuele Colombo

32. The Churches of the East and the Enlightenment 499
DIMITRIOS MOSCHOS

33. Orthodox Influences on Early Modern Western Theologies 517
A. G. ROEBER

Western Christian Theologies and Philosophies

34. Descartes, Cartesianism, and Early Modern Theology 533
AZA GOUDRIAAN

35. Leibniz, Wolff, and Early Modern Theology 550
URSULA GOLDENBAUM

36. The Challenges of Empirical Understanding in Early Modern Theology 564
STEPHEN GAUKROGER

37. Spinoza and Early Modern Theology 577
JONATHAN I. ISRAEL

38. The Anti-Theological Theology of Jean-Jacques Rousseau 594
CAROLINA ARMENTEROS

39. Kant's Philosophical and Theological Commitments 601
PETER YONG AND ERIC WATKINS

40. Early Modern Theology and Science 608
JOHN HENRY

41. The Rise of Natural Law in the Early Modern Period 625
ROBERT VON FRIEDEBURG

42. Eighteenth-Century Neology 642
ERIC CARLSSON

Index 651

Acknowledgments

We are indebted to the meticulous work of those who aided us in the completion of this volume. We especially thank David Bodin for his work both as a research assistant and for preparing the index. We wish to thank Theo Calderara, Marcela Maxfield, Alison Britton, Kathrin Immanuel, and Janish Ashwin and the entire staff at Oxford University Press who responded to our questions and suggestions for the volume. We also wish to thank our spouses, Angela Lehner, Gloria A. Muller and Patricia A. Stutzman-Roeber for their support and encouragement.

Contributors

Carolina Armenteros is an intellectual historian specializing in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. She has published a monograph and three coedited collections on Joseph de Maistre, as well as articles and chapters on Rousseau and counter-revolutionary thought.

Willem J. van Asselt († 2014) was Professor of Historical Theology at the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Louvain, Belgium, and Emeritus Associate Professor of Church History at the Faculty of Humanities (Department of Religious Studies and Theology), Utrecht University, the Netherlands. He wrote numerous articles and edited several volumes on Reformed theology, including *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise* (2001), *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669)* (2001), *Reformed Thought on Freedom: The Concept of Free Choice in Early Modern Reformed Theology* (2010), and *Introduction to Reformed Scholasticism* (2011).

Craig D. Atwood holds the Charles D. Couch Chair in Moravian Theology and Ministry at the Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. He is also Director of the Center for Moravian Studies at Moravian College and Theological Seminary. He is the author of *Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius* (2009), *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* (2005), and is on the editorial board of the *Journal of Moravian History* and the series *Pietist, Moravian, and Anabaptist Studies*.

Jeff Bach is the Director of the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies at Elizabethtown College, Pennsylvania, where he teaches courses on the history of Anabaptist and Pietist groups.

Andreas J. Beck is Professor of Historical Theology and Academic Dean at the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Leuven, Belgium, and the Director of the Institute of Post-Reformation Studies at the same institution. His research focuses on late medieval and early modern theology and philosophy.

Stephen G. Burnett is Professor of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. His research focuses on Christian Hebraism, Jewish printing, and Jewish–Christian relations in early modern Europe.

Eric Carlsson is Lecturer in the Department of History and the Religious Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. His research focuses on the theological Enlightenment and the intellectual history of Christianity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Emanuele Colombo is Associate Professor of Catholic Studies in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at DePaul University.

Robert von Friedeburg is Professor of History at Erasmus University, Rotterdam. His work combines social and political history with the history of political thought, without denying the indigenous dynamics of each of these approaches. His most recent book is *Luther's Legacy: The Thirty Years' War and the Modern Notion of "State" in the Empire, 1530s–1790s* (2015).

Stephen Gaukroger is Professor of History of Philosophy and History of Science at the University of Sydney. Since 1995, he has been working on a long-term project on the emergence of a scientific culture in the West. To date, two volumes (of a projected five) have appeared: *The Emergence of a Scientific Culture: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1210–1685* (2006) and *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Sensibility: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1680–1760* (2010). He is presently at work on a third volume, *The Naturalization of the Human and the Humanization of Nature: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1750–1830*.

Ursula Goldenbaum has served as Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy at Emory University since 2004. Professor Goldenbaum has published a monograph on the philosophy of Baruch Spinoza (1995), two volumes on the public debates of the German Enlightenment (2004), and coedited (with Douglas Jesseph) *Infinitesimal Differences: Controversies between Leibniz and his Contemporaries* (2008).

Aza Goudriaan is Associate Professor of Historical Theology at the University of Amsterdam.

Crawford Gribben is Professor of Early Modern British History at Queen's University Belfast, and is the author of several recent studies of the history of Reformed and Evangelical eschatology.

Stephen Hampton is a priest of the Church of England. He served as Chaplain of Exeter College, Oxford, where he also studied for his doctorate under Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch. He then served as Senior Tutor at St. John's College, Durham. In 2007, he became Dean of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Ian Hazlett is Honorary Professorial Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, where he had been Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Principal of Trinity College. His research interests focus on Reformation history, especially Bucer studies and the Reformation in Scotland. He is editor of *Renaissance & Reformation Review*.

John Henry is Professor of History of Science, and Director of the Science Studies Unit at the University of Edinburgh. He has published widely on the history of science from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and has a special interest in the historical relations between science and religion. He has recently published a collection of his essays: *Religion, Magic, and the Origins of Science in Early Modern England* (2012).

Ronnie Po-chia Hsia is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of History at Pennsylvania State University. His research has focused on the history of the Protestant Reformation, Catholic renewal, anti-Semitism, and the encounter between Europe and Asia.

Jonathan I. Israel is Andrew Mellon Professor of Modern History at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study and author of many books on early modern history, including his trilogy on the Enlightenment: *Radical Enlightenment* (2001), *Enlightenment Contested* (2006), and *Democratic Enlightenment* (2011).

Robert Kolb is Professor Emeritus of Systematic Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri; coeditor of the English translation of *The Book of Concord* (2000) and author of, among other works, *Luther and the Stories of God* (2012) and *Martin Luther, Confessor of the Faith* (2009).

Hartmut Lehmann became full Professor of Modern History at the University of Kiel in 1969. From 1987 to 1993, he was the founding director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC, and from 1993 to 2004 he served as Director of the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen. He has published widely on topics ranging from Luther and the Reformation, Pietism, Max Weber, and the globalization of Christianity. Among his current research interests are commemorations of Luther in the last two centuries.

Ulrich L. Lehner is Professor of Religious History and Historical Theology at Marquette University. He is the author and editor of several books about early modern religious history, including *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (2016).

Ulrich G. Leinsle is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy in the Theology Department of the University of Regensburg in Germany. His work focuses on early modern philosophy and theology.

Thomas Marschler is Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Augsburg in Germany. His main research interests focus on the history of Catholic theology (especially medieval and early modern scholasticism), Christology, and eschatology.

Benjamin T. G. Mayes is an editor at Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri, where he serves as the general editor for *Johann Gerhard's Theological Commonplaces* and as managing editor for the extension of *Luther's Works: American Edition*.

Sarah Mortimer is University Lecturer and Official Student and Tutor in Modern History at Christ Church, Oxford. Her research focuses on the relationship between political thought and religion in the early modern period.

Dimitrios Moschos is Assistant Professor of Church History in the Faculty of Theology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and private lecturer (Privatdozent) at the Theological Faculty of Rostock University in Germany. His

research interests focus on the interrelation between broader religious and cultural currents, like asceticism or Greek philosophy and institutional and social transformations within the Christian church (especially the Orthodox Church).

Richard A. Muller is P. J. Zondervan Professor of Historical Theology at Calvin Theological Seminary.

William P. O'Brien, SJ is Assistant Professor of Modern Christianity in the Department of Theological Studies at St. Louis University.

Trent Pomplun is the author of *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Tibet* (2010) and coeditor of *The Blackwell Companion to Catholicism* (2007). His articles have appeared in *The Journal of Religion, Modern Theology*, and *History of Religions* (among others), and his interests include baroque theology, missions history, and Indo-Tibetan religion and culture.

Jean-Louis Quantin is Professor of the History of Early Modern Scholarship at the École pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sorbonne, Paris). He has published extensively on Jansenism and rigorism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He is currently researching the relationship between Gallican culture and the papacy, in the light of the archives of the Roman Inquisition and Index.

Ephraim Radner is Professor of Historical Theology at Wycliffe College, Toronto, an evangelical seminary of the Anglican tradition at the University of Toronto. He is the author and editor of several books on ecclesiology and the Bible, including *The End of the Church, Spirit and Nature, Hope Among the Fragments, Leviticus*, and *The World in the Shadow of God*. A former church worker in Burundi, he has been active in the affairs of the global Anglican Communion.

Marius Reiser was from 1991 to 2009 Professor for New Testament Exegesis at the University of Mainz, Germany. He then surrendered his chair in protest against the Bologna Process, an educational reform of the European Union. Since then he has been a private scholar specializing in philology, the Hellenistic world of the New Testament, and the history of exegesis.

A. G. Roeber is Professor of History and Religious Studies at The Pennsylvania State University and Co-Director of the Max Kade German-American Research Institute. His main area of interest is the history of the law and Christianity. He is the author of (among others) *Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (1993); *Changing Churches: An Orthodox, Catholic and Lutheran Theological Conversation* (with Mickey L. Mattox) (2012); and *Hopes for Better Spouses: Marriage and Protestant Church Renewal in Early Modern Europe, India and North America* (2013).

Risto Saarinen is Professor of Ecumenics at the University of Helsinki and Guest Professor at the Catholic University of Leuven. He is the author of *Weakness of Will in Renaissance and Reformation Thought* (2011).

Paul Shore is Adjunct Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Regina. His publications include *Narratives of Adversity: Jesuits on the Eastern Periphery of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)* and *The Eagle and the Cross: Jesuits in Late Baroque Prague*.

Keith D. Stanglin is Associate Professor of Historical Theology at Austin Graduate School of Theology in Austin, Texas. His research focuses on Reformation and post-Reformation theology, the history of biblical interpretation, and Arminianism.

John R. Stephenson is an ordained pastor of Lutheran Church–Canada, Professor of Historical Theology at Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary, and author of *The Lord's Supper and Eschatology* in the series *Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics*.

Jonathan Strom has taught at Emory University since 1997, and is currently Associate Professor of Church History and Director of International Initiatives. His work focuses on Christianity in Germany, especially the late Reformation and Pietism. His current research focuses on conversion in German Pietism.

Ola Tjørhom has served as Professor of Dogmatics and Ecumenical Theology at the School of Mission and Theology in Stavanger; Research Professor at the Institute of Ecumenical Research in Strasbourg; Director of the Nordic Ecumenical Institute in Uppsala; and as of January 1, 2016, Professor at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The chief topics of his research are ecumenical theology and ecclesial diversity, ecclesiology, and sacramentality.

Carl R. Trueman is Paul Woolley Professor of Church History at Westminster Theological Seminary, Pennsylvania. He is the author of a number of books and articles, including *John Owen: Reformed Catholic, Renaissance Man* (2007).

Stefania Tutino is Professor of History at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research focuses on the cultural, intellectual, and political aspects of post-Reformation Catholicism.

Eric Watkins is Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, San Diego. He has published widely on Kant's philosophy, including *Kant and the Metaphysics of Causality* (2005) and "Kant on the Hiddenness of God" (2009).

Peter Yong is a PhD candidate at the University of California, San Diego. His dissertation investigates the role of givenness in Hegel's philosophical system. He also researches and writes on Kant, German idealism, phenomenology, and the philosophy of mind.

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

EARLY MODERN THEOLOGY, 1600–1800

INTRODUCTION

ULRICH L. LEHNER, RICHARD A. MULLER, AND A. G. ROEBER

1 Intention and Scope

The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800, comprising essays by a wide array of European and North American scholars, offers a comprehensive introduction to Christian theological literature originating in Western Europe, from roughly the end of the French Wars of Religion (1598) to the Congress of Vienna (1815). The time between 1600 and 1800 has been undeservedly neglected, despite the fact that important and ingenious theological work was done in these centuries. This was the time in which the ideas of the Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation were synthesized, systematized, and widely disseminated. Generations of Protestants after Luther (1483–1546) and Calvin (1509–64) created a new technical and terminologically precise theology. Likewise, Catholics took up the ideas of the Council of Trent and implemented them in their systems of thought. Spiritual theologies—whether of Catholic mystics, Quietists, or Protestant Pietists—took on new forms, and theologies of all confessionalities encountered the challenge of the Enlightenment. Philosophies from empiricism, to Descartes (1596–1650), to Kant (1724–1804), influenced theology or were themselves shaped by theological reflection. Despite such colorful diversity, until now no one has taken up the challenge of bringing scholars together to give readers an insightful introduction to this world of ideas.

The essays in this volume review major forms of early modern theology (including scholasticism, Cartesian scholasticism, various schools of the Enlightenment, early Romanticism, and so forth); present main theological topics and their development; introduce the principal practitioners of each kind of theology and delineate their contributions, both positive and polemical, as well as problems they confronted. Taken together, the essays present a comprehensive, accessible survey of the main features of early modern theology and serve as the basis for more specialized research.

2 Boundaries of the Volume

The practice of examining history by century, pioneered in the sixteenth century by the *Magdeburg Centuries* and maintained into the beginnings of critical historiography by Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755), has long since given way to attempts to begin and end "periods" with epochal events—more recently the attempt to define clear periods has also been ruled out as ultimately unsatisfactory, given the large-scale continuities of history and the unlikelihood of any particular seemingly epochal event having consequences for each and every aspect of the historical narrative. Strict periodization has given way to a retention of traditional terms for historical eras—Middle Ages, Renaissance, Reformation, post-Reformation, Enlightenment—that at the same time recognize vagueness of transitions, ongoing conversation and debate, continuities as well as discontinuities. Beyond this approach, there have been scholarly calls to abandon even the terms referencing eras or periods, either using them only for pedagogical purposes (Hamm 2004 and 2014) or jettisoning them entirely (Schorn-Schütte 2006); in both cases, largely because of the implications resident in the terms of direction, purpose, and meaning in history as such. One might respond to these last objections by pointing out that the changes in historiographical approaches from centuries to strict periods or epochs, to vaguely identified eras, to the denial of all periodization itself indicates periods, eras, and epochs: the objection to all periodization itself implies a teleology based on the assumption that finally, a proper view of history has been offered. One might also respond that a measured or generalized identification of eras that recognizes the vagueness of transitions is not merely a useful pedagogical device, and that without any implied teleology, actually does more justice to the materials and provides a better understanding of the past than the removal of a sense of eras or periods.

Still, the problem of periodization is particularly acute for what might be called post-Reformation or early modern intellectual history. It would not be utterly outlandish to declare that nothing significant has ever happened in years that end in two zeros. More to the issue of early modernity, just as there was no sudden passage from the Middle Ages and Renaissance into the era of Reformation, there is also no abrupt transition from Reformation to post-Reformation, from post-Reformation to Enlightenment, from Enlightenment to the modernity of the nineteenth century. The element of legitimacy in the call for removal of all periodization is that, on a day-to-day, week-to-week, or even month-to-month basis, neither living persons nor the evidences that they leave behind indicate a great sense of transition from one era to another.

Even the terms Reformation and Enlightenment have been subjected to critique and subdivision: we now recognize various "Reformations" and several patterns of "Enlightenment" (Israel 2001; Sorkin 2009; Lindberg 2010). Nor is it particularly useful, in this context, to follow one presently stylish approach to the problem and speak of "long centuries"—where one "century" expands to include several extra decades,

presumably at the expense of a preceding or following "short century." We retain the somewhat impractical rubric of a two-century span, while recognizing that the chronological boundaries of the essays that follow are not precisely 1600 and 1800: some necessarily examine issues and materials from before 1600, and all extend into the eighteenth century, but seldom past 1800.

Nonetheless, there is something to be said for such vaguely stated boundaries. A person living in the late sixteenth century might never register anything like epochal change between, say, 1570 and 1590—but such a person transplanted suddenly into 1770 or 1790 would be shocked by a world of change. Various upheavals—theological, philosophical, scientific, social, or political; the interrelated alterations of thought and method brought about by economic and political changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—identify an era of Reformation, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Radical. So too do debates over scholastic and humanistic methods and the reception of a wide array of ancient philosophical alternatives to Aristotle, as well as the increasing recognition of differences between the original Aristotelian corpus and medieval interpretations, taken together with the ecclesial unrest that brought on the Reformation. These developments also serve to identify a subsequent era, somewhat vaguely or broadly defined, in which many of the issues related to the diverse but interrelated phenomena of the institutionalized Reformation—the defining of distinct confessionalities, the shifts in society, trade, and nationhood, and significant alterations in philosophical and scientific understanding—coalesced into a very different intellectual milieu than that of the early sixteenth century. Specifically, after the establishment and confessional solidification of the various religious and theological trajectories of Protestantism, the parallel solidification of post-Tridentine Catholicism, and the rise of theological, intellectual, and sociopolitical confessionalization in the latter half of the sixteenth century, a fairly distinct era in intellectual history can be identified (Holzem 2015).

Even so, many of the more inherited patterns of thought characteristic of the beginning of the era either were diminished or utterly disappeared by its end. By way of example, in the wake of the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic Reformations, early modernity evidences an initial solidification of confessionalities and an institutionalization of Lutheranism and Calvinism in political, social, and cultural as well as theological patterns. At the same time, there was both considerable cross-fertilization and, in many states and localities, a plurality of confessional positions represented (Safley 2011). These patterns were altered in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; yielding, particularly among the Reformed or Calvinist groups but also in the other confessionalities, a deconfessionalization that marks the beginnings of modern religious pluralism and secularism. In short, this broadly defined era that includes late sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and various eighteenth-century developments, evidences the alterations of thought and culture that led to what we today (somewhat redolent of attitudes of the fifteenth century!) have called "modernity."

3 Why "Early Modern"?

One of the decisions made by the editors in designing the present volume was to identify it as a handbook of "early modern theology" rather than "post-Reformation theology" or "post-Reformation and Enlightenment Theology." There are several reasons for this choice, which relate to the issues broached in the initial section of this introduction. The term post-Reformation, although quite functional for the late sixteenth and much of the seventeenth century, does have a tendency to yield a sense of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an aftermath, and to give the impression like that once held of the later Middle Ages, that there was both a discontinuity and a significant decline in the vitality of thought. That view of the later Middle Ages is no longer accepted by a majority of the scholarly community—and the parallel view of seventeenth-century thought should also be set aside. Post-Reformation would also tend to limit the study to the seventeenth century or part of it, not recognizing either the ongoing debate or conversation that did not cease circa 1660 or 1700, and thereby artificially severing seventeenth-century developments from the Enlightenment. A similar problem arises when characterizing the era from an eighteenth-century perspective and attempting to distinguish "early Enlightenment" from "post-Reformation" on one side and "Enlightenment" on the other. The term "early modern" offers a broader and more generalized meaning, as well as providing a salutary chronological vagueness and a less value-charged identification of the era or period.

4 Approaching Theology in the Early Modern Context: Patterns of Analysis

Analysis of theological developments in the early modern era has itself become a more complicated exercise than it was even half a century ago. The same scholarship that disabused us of neat periodizations has also pressed the issues of continuities, if not in the precise repetition of ideas and issues, certainly in ongoing debates and conversations. Parallel developments in late medieval and Renaissance thought not only are recognized as continuing into the era of the Reformation, but also past it into early modernity. For example, even as Catholicism was experiencing its "second scholasticism," the institutional theologies of the magisterial Reformation were experiencing what can be called their "first scholasticism," with both of these scholasticisms being developments in a long tradition of academic discourse. Similarly, the Renaissance revivals of a series of non- or even anti-Aristotelian philosophies, perhaps most notably Epicureanism, were instrumental in creating the intellectual foment of early modernity that both stimulated the scientific revolution and radically altered the philosophical underpinnings of theology.

Intellectual historians of the era have also learned from social history to move the discipline past what has been identified as "confessional historiography." Specifically, the history of theology in the Reformation and post-Reformation eras, although it continues (quite necessarily) to observe the confessional boundaries of the era, no longer takes as its primary motive the justification of the teachings of particular confessional groups. Even so, "orthodoxy" in the present volume indicates the intention of writers belonging to various confessionalities to teach "right doctrine" and to define the means, whether biblical, traditionary, or philosophical, by which to arrive at that right teaching. The orthodoxies, moreover, not only are recognized as holding much in common, whether theological or philosophical, but as each contending for possession not only of doctrinal truth and right religion but also of what each took to be the better part of the tradition. Much of the analysis of the thought of the era, therefore, also includes both reception history and observation of ongoing conversation and debate that often crossed over the confessional boundaries. Inclusion of the churches of the East in the discussion raises the issues of the contributions of Eastern thought in the West after 1453, of developments in the Eastern church brought on by confessional divisions in the West, and of Western use of Eastern thought, whether positive or polemical.

The movement away from confessional historiography has also led to broader recognition among scholars of the significance of dissident and "radical" groups to the development of theology in the early modern era: notably, the Arminian or Remonstrant, Anabaptist, and Socinian-Unitarian theologies; and in England, the variant theologies of the Baptist and other dissenting groups. In the cases of Remonstrant and Socinian-Unitarian theologies in particular, we have evidence—clearer than among the orthodox confessionalities—not only of the impact of the new rational philosophies and the critical reading of scripture, but also of active contribution to those developments and their theological impact.

5 Organization of the Volume

The handbook divides into three main parts: "I. Theology—Content and Form"; "II. Theological Topics"; and "III. Theology and Others." Part I is foundational and sets the stage for what follows. In this and subsequent sections, the authors understand "theology" as a principled reflection on the revelation conveyed in scripture, which also engages issues current in philosophy, society, church, and state. Individual chapters dealing with theological developments beyond Europe; sources, methods, and forms of early modern theology in general; and the relationship of early modern theology to the confessional state will introduce the main kinds of theologizing found in these centuries and give an overview of the ecclesial and societal contexts.

Part II addresses theological issues and topics such as the Trinity, Christ, grace, moral theology, the theological virtues, the Eucharist and other sacraments, and the church. Principal developments on these topics are outlined, as well as the main disagreements

among the confessional groups. Between 1600 and 1800, theological reflection was exercised in great variety, and across a spectrum of religious denominations. In order to categorize this immense variety, the coverage of theological topics is divided into four sections that indicate the main lines of theological direction. The first three sections deal, respectively, with Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran theology. Anglican theology in the line of the Thirty-Nine Articles is included under the broad rubric of "Reformed," albeit allowing for Arminian and latitudinarian developments (Atkinson 1997; Hampton 2008). A fourth section deals with other Christian theologies that cannot be subsumed under these categories, such as Socinianism and Unitarianism, and Anabaptist, Arminian, Moravian, Jansenist, and Pietist theologies. These dissenting or dissident groups had significant impact both on the character of early modern thought as it emerged into the Enlightenment and on the orthodoxies of the day. Beyond the broadly confessional categorization, the essays therefore also emphasize common characteristics of main forms and themes of theological work and the tensions among theologians of various groups.

Part III is divided into two sections. The first section examines Western early modern theology and its practitioners in engagement with various others, especially the churches of the East, but also Islam and Judaism. The Eastern-rite Catholic and Orthodox churches are examined particularly in terms of their interaction with Western Christendom. A chapter on Islam focuses on Western engagement, both positive and negative, while a chapter on Judaism examines the interrelationships of various early modern Christian theologies with Jewish thought. The second section offers a series of perspectives on the engagement of theology with trends in early modern philosophy, with chapters that focus on the rise of Cartesian philosophy, natural law theory, the impact of empiricism, early modern science, and Spinoza (1632–77); and also look to the somewhat later impact of Rousseau (1712–78), Kant, and the rise of neology. This final section serves to round out the volume by describing the intellectual forces—ranging chronologically from Bacon (1561–1626) and Descartes to Kant—that so radically altered the substance of early modern theology and prepared the way for the further alteration of theological thought in the nineteenth century.

Our definition of theology as a principled reflection on the revelation conveyed in scripture also explains what is excluded from this volume, namely authors and groups with nontheological aims. It desires to provide a multilayered orientation to Christian theological literature of the post-Reformation era; and accordingly, Islam and Judaism, as well as those who placed themselves outside the ecclesial groups, and developments of Christian thought in non-European countries, are referenced in terms of Christian theologians' use of their works and ideas, and to mention possible interactions and influences in their contributions. The handbook offers, then, an approach to early modern theology that is both transconfessional and transnational.

Bibliography

Atkinson, Nigel. 1997. *Richard Hooker and the Authority of Scripture, Tradition, and Reason: Reformed Theologian of the Church of England?* Carlisle: Paternoster.

Hamm, Berndt. 2004. "Farewell to Epochs in Reformation History: A Plea." *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 16 (3): 211–245.

Hamm, Berndt. 2014. *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*. Edited by Robert J. Bast. Leiden: Brill.

Hampton, Stephen. 2008. *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holzem, Andreas. 2015. *Christentum in Deutschland 1550–1850: Konfessionalisierung—Aufklärung—Pluralisierung*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.

Israel, Jonathan. 2001. *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lindberg, Carter. 2010. *The European Reformations*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

Safley, Thomas Max, ed. 2011. *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World*. Leiden: Brill.

Schorn-Schütte, Luise. 2006. "Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung—wozu? Eine Standortbestimmung." In *Historie und Leben: Der Historiker als Wissenschaftler und Zeitgenosse*, edited by Dieter Hein, et al. Munich: Oldenbourg.

Sorkin, David. 2009. *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna*. Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton.

PART I

THEOLOGY— CONTEXT AND FORM

CHAPTER 1

THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NON-EUROPEAN WORLD, 1500–1800

RONNIE PO-CHIA HSIA

In the age of European expansion, the first Christian missions were undertaken during the late fifteenth century by the Portuguese in West Africa. Despite reports of a massive number of baptisms in the Kingdom of Kongo, these early conversions resulted more from political alliances between African chieftains and Portuguese traders, and reflected only superficial efforts at evangelization. The Spanish conquest of the Americas in the sixteenth century brought about a much deeper engagement between Christianity and the native peoples; but despite native voices, there was little impact on theological developments in Christianity itself. In the major Mesoamerican civilizations (Aztec, Maya, and Inca), Spaniards encountered human sacrifice, which provoked a profound sense of disgust and rejection. The result was repression, due to the Catholic clergy's wholesale rejection of native American religious practices and beliefs. The term "spiritual conquest," coined by Robert Ricard in 1933 to describe the evangelization of sixteenth-century Mexico by the mendicant orders, is thus an accurate description of the coercive and colonial nature of the conversion effort (Ricard 1974). Even if Catholic theology remained unchallenged, evangelization among native Americans necessitated the examination of cultural approaches: should Christianity be conveyed in Spanish or in Mesoamerican languages; and if in the latter, how would divine names and key theological terms be rendered? To what extent can indigenous cultural practices be incorporated into Christian worship and converts recruited and trained for the clergy? To what degree, therefore, was the Mesoamerican church an extension of European civilization—or alternatively, in what ways did Christianity undergo a process of indigenization with the success of conversion? All these questions would also be raised when Catholic missionaries encountered the civilizations of India, Japan, and

China. Before turning to this aspect, we need to examine the theological controversy surrounding the very idea of the mission itself as a result of the Protestant Reformation.

1 Protestant Skepticism concerning Overseas Missions

In the decades following 1517, when the Protestant Reformation snatched the allegiance of a great part of Christian Europe away from Rome, one of the few bright spots for Catholicism shone from the distant horizon. Writing from Cologne in 1534, the Carthusian monk Theodor Loher (n.d.–1554) lamented the damage to the Catholic Church inflicted by followers of various heretical teachings, the most recent being the Anabaptists who had taken over the nearby city of Münster in Westphalia and proclaimed it the apocalyptical site of the Second Coming of Christ. His only consolation was the knowledge that various peoples called by God had fallen away by disobedience in the past—the Jews, the Greeks, and now his own people—but the true church has always flourished. That consolation came in the voyages of discovery by Spain and Portugal, and the conversions made among peoples hitherto ignorant of the Gospels. These new converts to Roman Catholicism would eventually more than match the souls lost to the heretical teachings of Luther (1483–1546), Zwingli (1484–1531), and other heresiarchs; so the monk reasoned.

This confidence was not misplaced. After the Council of Trent, Catholic overseas mission assumed a clear polemical and confessional tone. In 1585, Johann Mayer, publisher for the Jesuit College in Dillingen, brought out a German translation of selected Jesuit missionary letters from Japan covering the years between 1577 and 1581. Mayer dedicated the book, *Historischer Bericht . . . in Beköhrung der gewaltigen landschafft und insel Jappon*, to Bishop Marquardt of Augsburg (1528–91), a staunch enemy of the Protestants in his diocese, with these words:

> the Almighty God, in the place of so many thousands of souls in Upper and Lower Germany, who have been miserably seduced by those stubborn persons inspired by the Evil Enemy, and through countless new and inconstant teachings, particularly by the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zwinglian heretical preachers, has chosen another people in another part of the world, who has hitherto known nothing about Christ and his holy faith. (Hsia 1995, 158)

Religious polemic was not far from the minds of some missionaries, even as they labored in faraway lands. One example was that of Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–77), a Portuguese Jesuit missionary in China, whose discourse on Buddhist converts to Christianity led unexpectedly to a fierce denunciation of Jewish conversos in his native Portugal. Nor was anti-Judaism confined to the Portuguese; Magalhães's colleague, the French Jesuit André Grelon (1618–96), also advocated a restrictive policy on admitting Buddhist

converts to Christianity: they had to break their vegetarian fast before admission to baptism. Turning to Jewish converts in comparison, Grelon asked rhetorically: would any Jewish converso dare to ask the Inquisition to be exempted from eating pork? (Hsia 2009, 272–73). A third example is provided by the Belgian Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88), who wrote to his confreres in Europe in 1678 to ask for donations and missionary recruits. In this famous letter, Verbiest recounts an event that took place in 1658, when the ship carrying him and his fellow missionaries encountered an English vessel at the Bay of Gibraltar. A Protestant chaplain engaged him in conversation. Learning they were missionaries to China who were receiving no salary from the pope, the Englishman scoffed at their foolishness. From this, Verbiest quipped, "one knows that the heretic was inspired not by missionary but by mercenary zeal" (Verbiest 1938, 238–39).

How did Protestants react to this Jesuit polemic? Orthodox Lutherans tended to hold a negative view on the dispatch of missionaries overseas. Many regarded Catholic missions as motivated by economic greed and political ambition. The fact that the Society of Jesus was a driving force both in Catholic overseas missions and anti-Protestant polemic hardened this stance, and missions retained a negative connotation in Lutheran orthodoxy. Typical of this attitude is that of Jesper Brochmand (1585–1652), Bishop of Zealand and Professor of Theology at Copenhagen. "Brochmand claimed that the apostolic call only applied to the first apostles, that they had preached to all the world, and that the 'heathens' themselves had rejected salvation, even though it had been preached to them three times. 'We Lutherans do not,' Brochmand writes, 'as does the Pope, arrogate any right towards all the people of the world. Therefore, it is not up to Lutherans, but to papists "ex officio" to convert heathens to the Gospel' " (Glebe-Møller 2006, 98–99).

With the rise of Pietism in the late seventeenth century, the theological debate concerning overseas missions flared up once more in the Lutheran Church. The spiritual renewal that animated Phillip Jakob Spener (1635–1705) and other Pietists nourished a clear millenarian vision, and with it a strong sense of mission among Jews and "heathens" in eschatological preparation.

Pietism influenced King Frederik IV of Denmark (1671–1730) to call two German students from Halle, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1679–1752), who became in 1706 the first missionaries of the Danish-Halle mission at Tranquebar in India, despite strong opposition from the orthodox establishment. Bishop Henrik Bornemann failed the two Halle students in their first ordination examination, until royal pressure changed his stance. The anti-Pietist theologian Johann Georg Neumann (1661–1709) denigrated the motive behind the mission as purely making money; Morten Caspar Wolfburg (1686–1729), professor of theology and bishop of Viborg, dismissed the two Pietists' first reports from India as "a pack of lies"—and these words came from one of the supporters of the royal India mission!

Arguments against overseas missions within Lutheran orthodoxy were more sustained and vehement. One of the most articulate opponents was the theologian Hans Bartholin (1665–1738). In his controversial pamphlet, *Sententia de hodierna indorum conversione*, Bartholin shared eleven "weighty observations" with his readers:

First, the Jews represent a natural branch of the Christian tree but the heathens are not. Even if St. Paul was teacher and apostle to the heathen, we do not read that he has accompanied the heathen as willingly and devotedly as with the Jews.

Second, the Gospel has been preached to the whole world by the apostles and we are not obliged to proclaim the law again.

Third, the proclamation of the Gospel was more solemn than that of the law.

Fourth, we are no more under an obligation to send out missionaries to convert the heathen.

Fifth, nowhere in the Old Testament does one read that the prophets attempted to make proselytes by sea and by land.

Sixth, there is no trace in the Scriptures of the apostles having given their successors instruction to go out into the whole world but rather the opposite. It is not the duty for the ministers of the Church to preach everywhere outside their own stalls; neither are they entitled to preach the Gospel in lands that are under the control of another sovereign.

Seven, Catholic missionaries mix up invented worship with that of Christ's pure teachings. All who are sent out ought to be orthodox.

Eighth, if papists criticize that Lutherans are not true Christians because they do not convert heathens, then, the conversion of heathens is not our duty but theirs.

Ninth, Pietists draw the conclusion that the millennium is drawing near because the Gospel is now finally being proclaimed to the whole world.

Tenth, should special prayers also be said for the conversion of the heathen without any particularly pressing necessity?

Eleventh, skepticism as to the possibility of doing missionary work in the Finnmark.

Despite the objections of Bartholin and other orthodox theologians, the Danish-Halle mission continued thanks to princely support. Secular authority, in fact, provided a major impetus for Protestant missions, its interests in foreign lands inspired by mercantilist interests. Such was the case with the Dutch West and East India Companies as well, which furnished some support for missionary work. Calvin himself had written that "God desires all men to be saved"; consequently, the obligation to preach the Gospel to "foreign peoples" (Glebe-Møller 2006, 91). We will have occasion now to see how the Christian missions of the different churches performed in the actual mission fields of Asia and the Americas.

2 The Names of God: Language and Conversion

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "conversion" was used interchangeably with "conversation" in Middle English. Indeed, words—conversations, speech-acts, and texts—were the indispensible tools of the missionary. Christianity itself

can be understood as a speech-act: the Gospels as the Word of God, *Verbum Dei*, Christ as the sign made flesh. Words indeed, but in what language(s)? Must one preach the faith using the languages of the scriptures (Protestants) or that of the church (Catholics), or should one resort to the European common languages—Spanish in the New World and Portuguese in Asia? Or must one learn the languages of the nonbelievers and bring Christianity to them in their own idiom and metaphors? And if so, which non-European languages? Should one use Mandarin (written and spoken) in China versus the many regional and mutually incomprehensible dialects? In China, the Jesuits mostly resorted to the first, while the mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, preferred the second; an approach also favored by Protestant missionaries in the early nineteenth century. Should one employ the imperial languages of the Mesoamerican empires even after their destruction by Spanish conquest to spread the faith of the Spaniards, using Nahuatl, Quechua, and Guarini as *linguae francae* in the complex multiethnic and multilingual societies of colonial America; or would it be more expedient to reduce native converts to Spanish speakers and Spanish subjects? The question of language in the missionary enterprise was simultaneously a destructive, deconstructive, and constructive act: thus Spanish friars destroyed Nahua and Mayan codices in Mesoamerica, while a French Jesuit created the modern Vietnamese written language using the Latin alphabet, and Dutch Calvinist preachers in Taiwan recorded the first traces of aboriginal culture by giving textual form in catechisms to the Austronesian languages spoken by the aborigines in mid-seventeenth century Taiwan.

Whatever language is chosen in the propagation of Christianity, there is the problem of translating the name of God: the question of whether to adopt a native term, thereby risking misidentification, or to use a strange-sounding and alien term of transliteration. Upon arriving in Japan in 1542, Francis Xavier (1506–52) naively used the name *Dainichi* (Great Sun) to denote the Christian God, ignorant of the fact that *Dainichi*, a Buddhist term, was itself translated from the Sanskrit denoting *Mahavairocana*, the all-encompassing cosmic Buddha. Discovering his mistake, the Jesuit missionary resorted to reproducing the sound of the Christian term, *Deus*, in Japanese and came up with the neologism *Daiusu*. Avoiding any more embarrassments, other terms borrowed from Buddhism were retranslated according to the principle of representing Latin terms by the Japanese alphabets of Hiragana and Katakana.

The same principle of nomenclature applied in Spanish colonial America: the Spanish term for God, *Dios*, was imposed on native American converts, although terms for supreme deities were not lacking in Quechua, Aymara, and other Andean languages. While conceding that pre-conquest Andeans acknowledged a supreme deity, the Jesuit José da Acosta (1540–1615) argued that native appellations, divine names such as *Viracocha* and *Pachacamac*, were improper. In his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, Acosta writes: "If we shall seek into the Indian tongue for a word to answer to this name of God, as in Latin, *Deus*, in Greek, *Theos*, in Hebrew, *El*, in Arabic, *Alla*; but we shall not find any in the Cuzcan [i.e. Inca] or Mexican tongues. So as such as preach or write to the Indians use our Spanish name Dios, fitting it to the accent or pronunciation of the Indian tongues" (Kim 2004, 92).

This reasoning, however, was strongly opposed by native American converts. A Quechua speaker and one of the first Christian Peruvian writers, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (ca. 1535–1616) argued that Quechua speakers had an equivalent term to Dios, namely Runa Camac, whom they acknowledged as the supreme deity. It was counter-productive to impose a foreign loan word on Peruvian converts, Ayala continued, whose ancestors already believed in an omnipotent single God, whose name should continue to inspire the piety of Christian neophytes.

This sentiment was entirely shared by the Inca writer Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), who explains that the Quechuan term *Pachacamac* is a composite term meaning *pacha*, the whole world, and *camac*, the present participle of the verb *cama*, to animate. A well-educated Christian convert of the Inca elite, Garcilaso was proud of his cultural heritage, and wrote "The Inca kings and their *amautas*, who were the philosophers, perceived by the light of nature the true supreme God our Lord, the maker of heaven and earth, as we shall see from the arguments and phrases some of them applied to the Divine Majesty, whom they called *Pachacamac*" (Kim 2004, 96–97).

What philology provided, in the arguments of Ayala and Garcilaso, was a cultural antidote to Spanish colonialism: Christianity, although brought to the Americas by Spanish missionaries, was not necessarily a Spanish religion, for the Christian Divinity had revealed itself in different historical epochs to many peoples of the world.

Adapting Christian evangelizing to non-European ways, indeed, was the key to success in the early Jesuit mission to late sixteenth-century China. Here, we see the opposite process in the naming of the Christian God. Instead of using Portuguese, Spanish, or Latin loan words, Jesuit missionaries chose equivalent terms from ancient Chinese texts or used neologisms. A spirit of experimentation animated the early Jesuits: the term *Shangdi* (God-on-High), which appeared in the oracle bones inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–1046 BC) and the ancient Confucian Classics (notably in the *Book of History*), was used until the 1630s before it was discarded, although the term still appeared in the writings of Chinese Christians; the name *Tianzhu* (Lord of Heaven), a neologism, was adopted by Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the first Jesuit missionaries, from an invented term by one of their first converts, and to this day this appellation denotes Roman Catholicism. Interestingly, the discarded term *Shangdi*, God-on-High, came to be adopted by Protestant missionaries in nineteenth-century China as the major appellation for the Christian God (Lai 2010, 311).

3 Protestant Missions and Native Languages

Problems of translation aside, theological concepts and ecclesiastical terms needed to be rendered into non-European languages for the use of the new Christian communities. Facing common problems of translation, Catholic and Protestant missionaries

produced catechisms, prayer books, and liturgical texts; but they differed in one major question: translating the Bible. Three case studies illustrate the differences and similarities in the question of language and conversion: the Calvinist mission in Taiwan, the Lutheran mission in India, and the Catholic mission in China.

Between 1624 and 1662, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) made Port Hollandia (today part of Tainan) in southern Taiwan its entrepôt in East Asia. Building fortifications, draining channels, and attracting Chinese settlers from the mainland, the VOC also pursued a policy of pacifying the aboriginal populations. Conversion to Christianity was very much part of that strategy. In 1627, the predikant Georg Candidius (1597–1647) was sent from Batavia, followed two years later by a second missionary, Robert Junius (1606–55). By 1636, the VOC had sent four predikants; a school was set up for the Sinckan tribe who lived closest to the Dutch settlement, and by the end of this year 106 Sinckan households agreed to abandon their ancestral rituals and join the Reformed Church. In Janaury 1637, the first reformed service was performed. By 1638, the VOC estimated the total number of aboriginal converts to be between four and five thousand. The year 1641 represented a turning point: aboriginal converts were admitted to the Eucharist and the decision was made to train native religious personnel. By 1643, Dutch preachers had trained nearly fifty native catechists, who were crucial in compiling catechetical material in native languages.

In the short time of evangelization in Taiwan, the Dutch Reformed Church produced an impressive number of religious texts in different Austronesian languages. While texts in Sirayan and other aboriginal languages are lost, there is still a substantial extant corpus of texts in Sinckan and Favorlang. Candidius was the pioneer in compiling a grammar for Sinckan, while his successor Junius translated into Sinckan three catechisms, two collections of prayers, three sermons, and seven hymns. The 1640s saw the greatest effort in further translations, also into Sirayan and Favorlang. In addition to prayers and catechisms, the Lord's Prayer, the Credo, the Ten Commandments, the *Heidelberg Catechism*, as well as two Gospels (Mark and John) were translated into aboriginal languages (Hsin 2011, 72–73, 82, 177–79, 203–5).

In all probability, Ziegenbalg (1682–1719) in India benefited from the Christian vocabulary the Jesuit missionary Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) had created in an earlier attempt to convert the Hindu upper castes (Zupanov 1999). For example, Ziegenbalg frequently used the word *Caruvecuran* (in Sanskrit, *Sarvesvara*, the Almighty) as a term for the revealed biblical God. There are also striking resemblances to other words, such as "angel," "devil," "world," "human being," and the like, that de Nobili had used in his own works. Nobili and his Madurai Mission allowed converts to retain native attributes such as the sacred string, the tuft of hair at the back of the head (*sikha*), as well as other emblems. Despite criticisms, Nobili attached great importance to the so-called Malabar Rites and tried to defend those characteristic features as an indivisible part of the social order that had nothing to do with faith or devotion, although those features undoubtedly have soteriological implications. He thus laid stress on the purely social character of the Malabar Rites in order to manage the "pagan customs" by restricting them exclusively to the devotion of Hindu gods and goddesses. The Danish-Halle mission and

the later English-Halle mission were inspired or influenced by the writings of the early Jesuit mission in India.

An important area of work started initially by Ziegenbalg and then later taken up by Fabricius was Tamil Christian hymnody. Johann Phillip Fabricius published a collection of 335 Tamil hymns, most of them translated from German. The initial compositions by Ziegenbalg were not very well done, and when Fabricius came to Madras he had this field of work entirely to himself and gained quite a mastery over this art. Even today hymns by Fabricius are sung by Christians in South India.

4 Bible Translation

In bringing Christianity to historically non-Christian peoples, Bible translation assumed a particular importance with Protestant missionaries. Bible translation represented a collective and cumulative undertaking. Ziegenbalg was the first to work on a Tamil translation, but he read Tamil books written by Jesuit missionaries in order to familiarize himself with religious terminologies and style. Collaboration was indispensable. For his translation of the Old Testament, the Protestant missionary Benjamin Schultze in Madras relied on the native informant and convert Peter Malieappan and other Tamil scholars, even occasionally consulting a Brahmin for particularly difficult linguistic problems.

With concurrent translation efforts in Tranquebar, Cuddalore, and Madras, it was ultimately Fabricius who brought out the first printed Bible translation in an Indian language, Tamil. This work was based on the previous translation by Ziegenbalg during his stay in Madras. As Fabricius read through the translation along with his native catechist, he realized the translated text lacked clarity and style. In 1750 he began work on the New Testament, publishing first some of the Pauline letters. The New Testament that emerged from the press in 1758 was a peculiar combination; the first seven books had no sign of the influence of Fabricius, while the rest of the work was entirely his translation. At last in 1766, Fabricius could print the entire New Testament from a press that the British government made available to him. Work on the Old Testament was vastly more difficult. In 1756 a Tamil translation of the Psalms was printed. However, the final translation of the Old Testament was only published in 1798.

In China, where Catholics dominated the Christian mission until 1800, no attempts were made to translate the Bible into Chinese, in accordance with the Tridentine prohibition of vernacular editions. Stories from the Bible were transmitted in fragments—the life of the patriarchs and prophets, the work and death of Jesus—through reworkings of late medieval and sixteenth-century Catholic works. An eminent example was a book published by the Italian Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1649), entitled *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie* (Illustrated Explanation of the Lord of Heaven's Incarnation), published in 1637 in Quanzhou, with fifty-five woodcut pictures copied from a work by the sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuit Jeronimo Nadal (1507–80), *Evangelicae Historiae*

Imagines, a collection of 153 folio-size copper engravings of biblical scenes published in Antwerp in 1593. Aleni supplied short explanations in Chinese to these scenes, and this book represented the first and most important example in the visual propagation of Christianity in Chinese art.

The publishing center of Antwerp also produced the famous polyglot Plantin Bible (1568–73), which was first imported into China in 1604. Matteo Ricci, pioneer of the Jesuit mission and its superior, proudly displayed it in the Catholic Church in Beijing, in order to showcase the superiority of western book production and by extension its religious message. So impressed were his congregation that some converts asked Ricci to undertake its translation, to which the Jesuit demurred, citing the prodigious work involved and that the essence of its story has already been transmitted.

True to Tridentine injunctions, Catholic missionaries in China did not attempt any biblical translations until the eighteenth century. Jean Basset (1662–1707) of the Paris Foreign Missions (Missions Etrangères de Paris) translated most books of the New Testament from the Latin Vulgate Bible around 1700. His Jesuit colleague, Louis de Poirot (1735–1813), who reached China at the time of the Society's suppression in Europe, made a complete translation of the New Testament and a partial translation of the Old Testament. This massive work, *Guxin shengjing*, also based on the Latin Vulgate, never saw print—like Basset's earlier work, lacking ecclesiastical license. Of Basset's work only one manuscript copy has survived, and Poirot's manuscript has disappeared. However, both works served as drafts for the first Protestant translations of the Bible into Chinese during the early nineteenth century, an indebtedness that was not acknowledged for most of the period of the Protestant Chinese mission.

5 Sacraments

In Christianity's global missions, one of the main obstacles to conversion was the practice of polygamy. Established as a mark of Christian civilization in Europe during the conversion of the early Middle Ages, monogamy ran counter to deeply rooted social practices that prevailed from the native Americans to Africans, Indians, and Chinese. In some societies, polygamy ensured demographic survival; as with the Mapuche of Chile, a semi-nomadic people who struggled for survival in a harsh environment. In other societies, it reflected the status of elite men, as in the Congo or India. In China it signified the imperative of patriarchal lineage descent: the securing of sufficient male heirs for lineage survival was the most powerful rationale behind concubinage, and sanctioned in the *Code of the Great Ming*.

For Christian missionaries, polygamy was a grave challenge: it represented the nadir of sexual sin; it opposed a cornerstone of Christian civilization; it negated the authority of the Christian clergy; and it put the baptized partner in such a union in a pastorally untenable position. This last problem extended even to monogamous marriages between a convert and a non-Christian. If the wife was a Christian, her husband and

in-laws could forbid or restrict her religious exercises, and her children might be denied baptism. Letters by Catholic missionaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China report many such examples. Even ideal Christian marriages—between two converts—could infringe on Catholic prohibitions of marital consanguinity, reflecting the reality that conversions, especially in the countryside, occurred very frequently in the same extended family groups and the wide geographical dispersion of converts in the rural areas made marital consanguinity a hard thing to avoid.

Social relations posed a particular challenge to Christian missions where different gender norms called into question established sacramental practices. In addition to the problems associated with Christian marriages, Catholic missionaries in China refrained from overt contact with women converts in order to avoid scandal. This pertained especially to baptism and confession. Given the segregation of the sexes and the mores of female modesty, Jesuit missionaries debated the propriety of anointing the faces of female neophytes during baptism. They advocated hearing confessions from women in private, but with older male relatives standing at a distance to demonstrate proper behavior. For the celebration of the Mass, missionaries constructed separate chapels for men and women where possible, or held alternate services for their male and female congregations. The different relations between the sexes in the Paris of Louis XV in fact scandalized the Catholic convert John Hu, assistant to the French Jesuit Jean-François Foucquet (1665–1741), who ranted against the mixed congregations in the churches. Unjustly committed to an insane asylum by Foucquet, Hu was eventually sent home to China in 1725 to a Christianity he was more comfortable with.

In other missionary areas, a model of Christian sexuality was successfully established. Dominican missionaries from the Spanish Philippines seemed to have less scruples respecting Chinese gender rules. In their devotion to Mary and the cult of virginity, the Dominicans inspired fervent female converts to embrace life-long virginity, sometimes against the express wishes of their families, Christian or nonbelievers, to live the life of the *beata* within a traditional Chinese kinship setting.

The encounter between Christian theology and social customs in missionary countries accentuated the question of *adiaphora*: the indifferent things that pertain to aspects of Christian beliefs and practices that are not essential to soteriology and could be adapted to non-Christian rituals and practices. In the Reformation, disagreements over *adiaphora* tore deep divisions within the evangelical church, as followers of Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) and his opponents fought over Luther's legacy and the degree to which concessions could be made to the Roman church in the context of a general church council. Outside of Europe, the practical reality of the missions convinced most missionaries to adopt some flexibility. In the celebration of Catholic Mass, Mesoamerican congregations were allowed to sing hymns in their own languages, accompanied by traditional musical instruments; in seventeenth-century China, the men were allowed to keep their hats on during Mass, for baring one's head was considered a sign of disrespect, in contrast to the custom in Europe. In Protestant services, the use of native languages was universal and the liturgy simplified to its

essential elements in order to accommodate local usage and avoid a Eurocentric appearance.

Amidst this cultural accommodation, which was particularly prominent in the first two centuries of Christian missions in the early modern period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), there were nonetheless signs of cultural intransigence that cropped up in the Catholic missions. French Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries to the Levant targeted members of Eastern Christianity for their conversion effort, and insisted on the superiority and exclusivity of Roman Latin rites over Armenian, Greek, and Syrian ones. In seventeenth-century Ethiopia, instead of ecumenism, Portuguese Jesuits pushed for the replacement of Coptic Christianity by Roman Catholicism, eventually provoking an ecclesiastical and political backlash that destroyed the Catholic mission. The early success of converting Syriac St. Thomas Christians on the Fishery coast in South India during the sixteenth century gave way to an eventual schism in the new convert community, as resentment against Portuguese domination and Roman Catholic superiority led many to revert back to their ancestral rituals and allegiances.

Symptoms of a new inflexibility appeared in the first phases of the so-called Chinese Rites controversy during the seventeenth century. This controversy originated with a critique by Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans of the Jesuit accommodation to Chinese rituals in their mission; namely, the dispensation for Chinese converts to attend the annual ceremonies in honor of Confucius, the great philosopher of antiquity and the patron of all aspiring scholars, and to participate in rituals of filial piety in honor of departed parents and ancestors. Essentially, the mendicant friars accused their Chinese converts of making sacrifices to Confucius and ancestors, and condemned these practices as superstitions incompatible with Christian faith. In opposition, the Jesuits defended these practices as civic rituals, inherent and central to Chinese culture and sensibilities, things *adiaphora*, the prohibition of which would severely jeopardize the Christian mission. Pitting religion against culture, the Chinese Rites controversy provoked similar controversies in India—the eighteenth-century Malabar Rites controversy and to a lesser extent, controversy between missionaries of the Paris Foreign Mission and the Jesuits in Vietnam.

The friars and the Jesuits filed appeals to Rome in the seventeenth century; the ambiguous and contradictory rulings at the Congregation for the Propagation for the Faith reflected indecision rooted in ignorance of Chinese culture and local conditions. A war of words raged on, with the tide gradually turning against the Chinese Rites, due to a strong alliance between anti-Jesuit Catholics and Protestants in European public opinion. In 1705, the papacy sided with the opponents of Chinese Rites, and demanded obedience from all missionary orders in China. Despite several appeals from Chinese converts to Rome, the prohibition was repeated, resulting in the diplomatic break between the Qing government and the papacy and the outlawing of Christian evangelization in the Qing empire. The resulting catastrophe was manifest in the sharp decline of elite conversions, sporadic persecutions, and a mission that stagnated until the legal repeal after 1860, when China was defeated in the Second Opium War.

6 Ecclesiology

The conflict between culture and religion increasingly assumed a character of European superiority, as Christianity was equated with European civilization. Racial superiority, of course, was present at the moment of Spanish conquest and Portuguese explorations. This was clearly expressed in colonial and missionary policies over the admission of non-Europeans into the clergy. At the heart of this question was ecclesiology: if the new missionary territories were to be organized eventually into dioceses and incorporated into the universal body of the Roman Church, then the ecclesiastical hierarchy must provide for adequate pastoral care to guide the neophytes and prevent any relapses into "paganism." This imperative, therefore, ensured the domination of Europeans in the mission churches into the mid-twentieth century. Despite various attempts at incorporating native rites into global Christianity, the reluctance to admit non-European converts into the clergy (and the ecclesiastical hierarchy) formed an insurmountable barrier to indigenization.

The first two Mexican provincial church councils in 1555 and 1565 prohibited Indians, mestizos, and mulattos, together with descendants of Moors, Jews, and others sentenced by the Inquisition, from entering the clergy. The 1585, the third Mexican church council allowed for the ordination of clergy of mixed blood (mestizos and mulattos), although racial prejudice kept the numbers low and assigned the candidates to mostly rural and poorer parishes. In Peru, while the first Spanish settlers succeeded in having the crown accept their mestizo offspring for ordination, the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta wrote against the ordination of Native Americans in his 1577 work, *De procuranda Indorum salute*.

In 1650, Archbishop Juan Palafox y Mendoza (1600–59) reported he personally knew of only one full-blooded Indian Catholic priest in Mexico City. Despite occasional voices championing an indigenous clergy, the religious orders in the Americas only admitted Europeans and Creoles, yielding to prejudice in colonial society. Jesuit colleges in Spanish America and Portuguese Brazil were closed to Indians, mestizos, mulattos, and Africans. Only in 1769 did the Spanish monarchy order all prelates in their overseas dominions to establish quotas in seminaries for indigenous students.

The debate over the ordination of non-European clergy in Portuguese colonies mirrored the discussion in the Spanish Americas. A minority, far-minded and outspoken, advocated the training of African and Asian priests; the majority of colonists and clerics adamantly opposed racial equality, with the Portuguese crown showing little will to enforce any policy at all until the mid-eighteenth century reforms of the Marquis de Pombal. Where the indigenous were admitted to the priesthood, they were still excluded from the more elitist religious orders. In São Tomé and Angola, the Portuguese trained a small number of Africans and mulattos, but only for the secular clergy. Likewise, the Jesuit College in Goa, India, one of the largest Jesuit colleges outside of Europe, trained many Indians as auxiliaries to European priests, but excluded them from the more advanced courses in theology with the justification that with superior education, the

Indians would become too proud to accept the poorer benefices and posts reserved for them in a two-tier clerical system. One ostensible reason for this barrier was that proper clerical training was only to be had in Europe. But even when Mattheus de Castro (ca. 1594–1677), a Goa from the Brahmin caste, received ordination and consecration as bishop in Rome in 1625, Portuguese authorities in India still refused to recognize his credentials upon his return.

The situation was somewhat better in Japan and China, the only two countries acknowledged by sixteenth-century missionaries as equal in civilization to Europe. In Japan, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries recruited catechists mainly among former Buddhist monks. A Jesuit college was established in Funai for the training of Japanese priests, and a small number of Japanese were admitted into the Society of Jesus before the storm of persecution in early seventeenth-century Tokugawa Japan all but destroyed Christianity.

In China, initially the Jesuits relied on "the sons of Macao" in their missionary work. Either Chinese converts or mestizos, sons of Portuguese fathers and Chinese mothers, these men, accepted as brothers (spiritual *adjutores*) into the Society, had the advantage of physical appearance and linguistic ability in missionary work, which were not available to missionaries newly arrived from Europe. Nonetheless, these men were not admitted into the priestly rank. The breakthrough came only after the mid-seventeenth century, when a coalition of Italian, Belgian, and Portuguese Jesuits supported the ordination of mature Chinese scholars in the Society. During the eighteenth century, the two Jesuit missions in China (one operating under Portuguese patronage and the other under the French) both trained and admitted Chinese into priesthood of the Society. Except for a privileged few, trained in Paris or Rome, the others were educated in Macao or in the mission by experienced European missionaries.

The eighteenth century also witnessed the establishment of seminaries for the secular clergy. A college for Chinese priests, under the sponsorship of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, was opened in Naples in 1732 and trained several dozen Chinese secular priests. The Paris Foreign Missions educated their own Chinese students at a seminary in Siam. Together with the small number of Chinese Jesuits, these Chinese secular priests increasingly assumed an ever more important role in pastoral work, especially during the two waves of persecutions in 1748–52 and 1785–86, which made it more dangerous and difficult for European missionaries to enter into and operate in the Qing Empire.

7 Conclusion

Reluctant to engage in global missions in the early seventeenth century, Protestants were rapidly surpassing Catholic missionaries after 1800. Suffering a reversal of fortunes in the French Revolution, Roman Catholicism, even after its revival in 1814, would never regain its earlier energy in the global missions. The entrance of Protestant missionaries from northern Europe and North America changed dramatically the character of the

missionary fields. The emphasis on the Bible and on native liturgies gave a major push to the translation of Christian texts into non-European languages; an achievement that was partly based (and little acknowledged) on the earlier work of the Jesuit missions. In the shift away from sacerdotalism, Protestant global missions injected a new emphasis on Christian education and the formation of a native clergy. This new vision of a non-European ecclesiology would eventually challenge the Eurocentric and sacerdotal visions of global Catholicism as well.

Bibliography

Acosta, José de. 1596. *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Venice.

Acosta, José de. [1577] 1984–1987. *De procuranda Indorum salute*. Madrid.

Aleni, Giulio. 1637. *Tianzhu jiangsheng chuxiang jingjie (Illustrated Explanation of the Lord of Heaven's Incarnation)*. Quanzhou.

Glebe-Møller, Jens. 2006. "The Realm of Grace Presupposes the Realm of Power: The Danish Debate about the Theological Legitimacy of Mission." In *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, edited by Andreas Gross, Y. V. Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau, 89–106. Halle: Franckesche Stiftungen.

Hsia, R. Po-chia. 1995. "Mission und Konfessionalisierung in Übersee." In *Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposion der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, edited by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, 158–165. Münster: Aschendorff.

Hsia, R. Po-chia. 2009. "Religion and Race: Protestant and Catholic Discourses on Jewish Conversions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler, 265–275. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hsin, Cha. 2011. "Helan gaige zongjiaohui zai shiqishiji Taiwan de fazhan (The Dutch Reformed Church in seventeenth-century Formosa)." PhD diss., National University of Taiwan.

Kim, Sangkeun. 2004. *Strange Names of God. The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's Shangti in Late Ming China, 1583–1644*. New York: Peter Lang.

Lai, John T.P. 2010. "Doctrinal Dispute within Interdenominational Missions: The Shanghai Tract Committee in the 1840s." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20 (3): 307–317.

Mayer, Johann. 1585. *Historischer Bericht . . . in Beköhrung der gewaltigen landschafft und insel Jappon*. Dillingen.

Nadal, Jeronimo. 1593. *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*. Antwerp.

Ricard, Robert. 1974. *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Verbiest, Ferdinand. 1938. *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus (1623–1688). Directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin*. Edited by H. Josson and L. Willaert. Brussels: Palais des Académies.

Zupanov, Ines G. 1999. *Disputed Mission. Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER 2

SOURCES, METHODS, AND FORMS OF EARLY MODERN THEOLOGY

ULRICH G. LEINSLE

1 Sources

With all its confessional differences, the theology of the early modern period largely draws, at least outwardly, on the same sources: above all, the Bible and the church fathers. However, significant differences appear in approach, inventory, and the weighting of these sources. In Catholic theology a system of *loci theologici* was developed, which is in itself flexible and in which the weighting of the individual authorities (scripture, fathers, magisterium, philosophical arguments, etc.) is explained (see, e.g., Melchior Cano, Dionysius Petavius).

1.1 Holy Scripture

Although Holy Scripture is the common source of all Christian theology, opinions already differed, up until the Council of Trent, on the question of the canon of the Old Testament (Hebrew canon or Septuagint), and the "canon in the canon" which decides the theological worth of the individual books of the Bible (e.g., for Luther, the writings of Paul have the highest worth), and the choice of permitted or prohibited Latin and vernacular translations (Ehses 1916, 22–37). The first steps toward humanistic textual criticism by Lorenzo Valla (ca. 1407–57), Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), and others, were obscured by confessional disputes. It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the historical biblical criticism developed in 1680 by the Catholic priest Richard Simon (1638–1712) gained an influence on theology, initially on the Protestant side (*Fragmentenstreit*). The theory of the verbal inspiration of scripture, represented in

Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxy, was superseded by the theory of accommodation (Benin 1993); namely, that in its use of language, scripture conforms itself to the audience's powers of understanding and is then amenable to historical criticism (Johann Salomo Semler [1725–91]) (Hornig 1961). In the neology influenced by Christian Wolff (1679–1754), biblical events were interpreted in the light of general human reason and natural moral law. Of interest within theology, however, is the hermeneutical approach to scripture. Is it, as in Luther's rigorous principle of *sola scriptura* and the scriptural principles of Lutheran orthodoxy the sole, clear, sufficient, and salvific source of theology, to which the development of all theological theories must be traced back? Is it, as the later Protestant orthodoxies contended, an issue of maintaining the scriptural principle while also drawing selectively on trajectories of patristic and medieval theology? Or is it, as assumed by post-Tridentine Catholic theology, just one source of revelation, albeit a preeminent one, which is to be supplemented with other *loci*, above all tradition (Schmidt-Biggemann 2002)? Is it to be interpreted by its own means because it is, thanks to divine inspiration, clear in itself (*scriptura sui ipsius interpres*), or does it need the tools of secular science and philosophy in order to unlock its secrets—if need be also borrowing from a Christianized Kabbala (Schmidt-Biggemann 2012)? What was called for in the seventeenth century was no longer the medieval fourfold sense of scripture, but rather a dogmatic, ontological, or moral interpretation that goes beyond the *sensus historicus*, to be fitted into confessional theology or scholastic Aristotelianism, including the natural sciences.

1.2 Sources of the early church

Orientation towards scripture and the initially humanistic-philological approach also determine the evaluation of the church fathers, among whom the exegetes are especially highly esteemed, above all Jerome and Origen (Fürst and Hengstermann 2012). Anglican theology develops a decidedly close connection with the fathers, particularly among the Caroline Divines—including Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645), Jeremy Taylor (1613–67), and Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672)—in their defense against Puritanism with its appeal to scripture alone (Gaßmann 1980, 383–86). As far as the creation of a system of theology and the inclusion of Aristotelian philosophy is concerned, of major significance on the Catholic side is John of Damascus, whose work *De fide orthodoxa* one Jesuit suggested should replace Aquinas's *Summa* as the basis of theological teaching (Lukács 1992, 121–27). Among the Lutherans and the Reformed, handbooks of patristic theology arose (by Abraham Scultetus [1566–1625], Amandus Polanus [1561–1610], and Johann Gerhard [1582–1637]), both for the sake positively of identifying the catholicity of the Reformation, and polemically of refuting Catholic appeals to tradition.

Of inestimable importance for all confessionalities, however, is Augustine. His significance is less as an exegete than in his doctrine of grace, which initially had a strong influence on the Reformers in their *sola gratia* teaching, and then in the post-Tridentine argument about the help of God's grace, and in Jansenism sparked off a controversy that

ran through all confessionalities (Leinsle 2010, 232–346). It was not without good reason that Jansen's *Augustinus*, as interpreted by Antoine Arnauld (1612–94), was placed alongside Descartes's *Discours de la méthode* as the new theological methodology (Lettieri 2000; Sokolovski 2012).

In addition to the church fathers, the early councils—in which, after all, the essential definitions regarding the doctrine of God and Christology were formulated—are especially important sources for the early modern theology of all confessionalities, precisely in their ongoing controversies, too. For the polemicizing theologians they are the foundation from which the respective opposing side has deviated and revived ancient heresies, or lapsed into "syncretism." For Irenicists like Georg Calixtus (1586–1656) and for the Caroline Divines, the consensus in questions of faith in the first five centuries constitutes the basis for seeking ways of reaching an understanding, even across the confessionalities (Merkt 2001). The question remains, however, of how to evaluate the further development of dogmas up to the split into confessionalities and the hardening in individual "Confessions" or Concords. Here the emphasis on the *consensus quinquesaecularis* itself in turn had the effect of creating confessionalities in that efforts were made to work out what was specific to the particular confessionality in contradistinction to the others (Merkt 2001, 176). The eighteenth century is characterized by a new turning to the church fathers, starting in France and employing the tools of historical-literary criticism. Groundbreaking here within the Catholic Church was the dispute between the Benedictine Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) and the founder of La Trappe, Armand-Jean Le Bouthilier de Rancé (1626–1700), over the justification and nature of monastic studies (Quinto 2001, 255–71). However, the Gallican theologians, too, appealed to the *auctoritas Patrum* in defending themselves against the claims of the Apostolic See and the Jesuits (Merkt 2001, 206–16).

1.3 Medieval authors

The medieval scholastics are rated in different ways in the early modern period. Humanistic theology distances itself from scholastic "barbarism" as much as the Reformation does. On the other hand, the Anglican tradition of a middle way does indeed, for example in Richard Hooker (1554–1600), draw on Thomas Aquinas, above all in questions of practical theology (Shirley 1949). Catholic theology has a different approach to the medieval authors, whose teachings it further develops in the post-Tridentine "Second Scholasticism," or in the unbroken school traditions of the religious orders in disputes with contemporaries. Here the transition from commentating Peter Lombard's *Sentences* to reading Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* is significant. The individual orders cultivated their own traditions: for the Dominicans it was a reinvigorated Thomism, for the Discalced Carmelites likewise; for the Franciscans it was Scotism; whereas for the Capuchins, Bonaventure became an important point of reference; for the Augustinian Hermits it was Aegidius Romanus; for the Servites, Henry of Ghent; and for the Carmelites of the Ancient Observance, John Bacon. They then

developed their own theology *ad mentem* of the great master and defended his *inconcussa dogmata* in shields (*clypeus theologiae thomisticae* or *scotisticae*) or in full armor (*panoplia*) against all other opinions (Leinsle 2010, 290–94).

The most influential post-Tridentine Catholic order, the Jesuits, did not possess its own theological tradition dating from the Middle Ages. Consequently they were able to create their theology, programmatically following Thomas Aquinas, by selecting tenable opinions (*delectus opinionum*), a procedure that led to fierce disputes within the order on specifics (Leinsle 1997). Thus Jesuit theologians like Francisco Suárez, Gabriel Vázquez, and others incorporate numerous Scotist elements alongside Thomistic thinking, while others like Rodrigo de Arriaga also absorb nominalist ideas, combining them into independent syntheses or critically examining what has, in their view, been prematurely synthesized. On the Protestant side, particularly following the encounter of Lutheran and Reformed writers with Bellarmine, there was a significant, albeit eclectic reception and use notably of Thomist and Scotist patterns of argumentation.

1.4 Contemporaries

Controversy with contemporaries takes up a great deal of space in the theological discussions of the early modern period. A tradition was created, so it turned out, by the stipulation of the Jesuit Order that in discussing theological opinions the rejected opinion, too, must always be accorded the probability befitting it—that is, it must not be rejected outright, let alone made to appear absurd (Lukács 1974, 500). This is why most large theological works include for every question a more or less comprehensive presentation of the opinions of contemporary authors, so that from studying one theological writer you can find out about the views of that writer's contemporaries as well, even though these are not always named but often cited as *quidam*. When heretical authors are mentioned, they are never to be praised with epithets that honor them (Reusch 1961, 523). Such epithets are then quite often blacked out or made unreadable by the censors (Leinsle 2009, 259). It is not only in controversial theology and preaching that one has to distance oneself clearly from heretical opinions; this goes for systematic theology, too.

So early modern theology also lived on disputes with contemporaries: on the one hand, with other confessionalities; on the other hand, with the other schools within confessionalities, whose sources are for the most part studied and annotated in detail. Of significance within confessionalities are the conflicts about double truth (Daniel Hofmann [1540–1611]) in Lutheranism (Frank 2003, 44–52), and the battle of the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians, Abraham Calov (1612–86) and Johann Adam Scherzer (1628–83), against Georg Calixtus's syncretism in Helmstedt (Merkt 2001, 146–53); among the Reformed, the dispute with the Remonstrants and the Covenant theology (*Föderaltheologie*) of Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), and over the inclusion of Cartesianism in theology (by, e.g., Gisbertus Voetius [1589–1676] and Samuel Maresius [1599–1673]) (Goudriaan 1999); among the Anglicans, the resistance to Puritan

doctrines and customs and the justification of a "middle way" of the Reformation since John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562) and Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593–1662, in 7 books). Contemporaries take on a particular significance in the eighteenth century, when confessional controversial theology and apologetics directed against rationalist and historical criticism change into a defense of Christianity against the claims of modern science, including philosophy (Gaßmann 1980, 390–95).

1.5 Philosophy

Philosophy in the form cultivated at the universities is not only a source of early modern theology, but also both a tool and a challenge; for without philosophy there would be no systematic, speculative theology. In the higher-learning curriculum, philosophy had to be taken as a propaedeutic before studying theology, and thus provided the methodological equipment for approaching theological problems. Here there are also striking differences to be noted in the development of the individual confessionalities. The humanists and Reformers were in general not well disposed towards medieval Aristotelianism as a foundation for theology. So as to serve the study of the Bible and the church fathers, scholastic schooling was to be replaced by a program of teaching languages and literature (Leinsle 2010, 243–50). The fewest problems with philosophy were encountered by those institutes of higher learning that lay outside the area of application of the Formula of Concord, and those Reformed Protestants who returned relatively quickly to employing a version of philosophy that was compatible with theology; this covered a spectrum reaching from Aristotle (via Plato) and a Christianized Neoplatonism, down to the encyclopedic projects of followers of Peter Ramus (Schmidt-Biggemann 2001, 392–97). Even the metaphysics so vehemently rejected by Luther found a home within the framework of Reformed theology. Around 1600, however, it also experienced a significant resurgence even in orthodox Lutheranism (Sparn 1976), which led to a clear change in the formulation of theological questions. In Lutheranism, philosophy is nevertheless always seen at a distance from theology, not within its framework: "The heterogeneousness of natural and supernatural epistemological principles did not need and was not meant to be derived from a superordinate unified science" (Sparn 2001, 477). As a discipline separate from theology, philosophy at the Lutheran universities was able to adopt a great deal from Catholic philosophy, especially from the Jesuits, since it was with them that the fiercest disputes had to be waged on questions of theology. Under the influence of Enlightenment philosophy and historical biblical criticism, Lutheran theology in the eighteenth century developed in part into "Neology," which advocated an accommodation in principle between revelation and a pristine religion of reason, and in some cases completely dispensed with the assumption of there being any revelation that went beyond this (see, e.g., Wilhelm Abraham Teller [1734–1804]).

In the Anglican tradition, the engagement with philosophy early on displayed a very high profile, especially among the Cambridge Platonists (Henry Moore [1614–87], Ralph

Cudworth [1617–88], etc.) and the Latitudinarians (Edward Stillingfleet [1635–99], John Wilkins [1614–72], etc.), both of which largely changed positive dogmatic theology into philosophy of religion. The latter was then able in the eighteenth century to grapple in depth with the Enlightenment ideas of reason and tolerance (see, e.g., John Locke [1632–1704], and Matthew Tindal [1657–1733]), in which the questions of the binding foundation of revelation, the fundamental articles of dogma, and the sufficiency of natural reason became dominant (see, e.g., Samuel Clarke [1675–1729]) (Gaßmann 1980, 386–90).

In Catholic theology, a close connection was maintained in everything with Aristotelian philosophy, as it was taught at the universities and other places of higher learning in a two- or three-year course of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. Since philosophy had a merely propaedeutic character in the *facultas artium* and was basically incomplete, many questions relating to philosophy and natural science were not dealt with until the theological course (e.g., within the framework of the dogmatic or exegetical doctrine of creation, of action theory, of the doctrine of the Eucharist) (Knebel 2000, 15–29; Roling 2008; Roling 2010). The result of this was, as a 1649 report criticizes, that among the Jesuits theology was taught philosophically, whereas philosophy was taught theologically (Hellyer 2003; Seifert 1984). A positive engagement with the new philosophies like Cartesianism and corpuscular theories, is not to be found in Catholic theology until the late seventeenth century—first in France, for example in Robert Desgabets (1610–78) (Armogathe 1977), then, under the influence of the Enlightenment (see, e.g., Christian Wolff), and in association with various attempts at academic reform, also in the German-speaking countries (Leinsle 2010, 348–53; Lehner 2011, 204–25).

2 Methods and Forms of Presentation

As in the Middle Ages, methods and forms of presentation of theology in the early modern period are so closely connected with one another that they cannot be discussed separately. For the employment of a method gives rise to a particular system of arrangement and this in turn determines the form of presentation. However, method and form of presentation in theology depend crucially on the aim and type of teaching. For post-Tridentine Catholic theology, this results in a significant change in the separation (including the institutional separation) between scholastic and positive theology (Quinto 2001, 238–95). In the Jesuits' *Ratio Studiorum*, scholastic theology is bound to the *doctrina scholastica Divi Thomae*; nevertheless, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard are still to be read until such time as the order's own textbook should be made compulsory. This was, however, never to come about. According to the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, the business of the scholastic theologian is explicitly to comment on Thomas. The method follows the thirteenth-century commentaries on the *Sentences*: explication of the text, stating its *ratio*, and after every article giving, if necessary, a more detailed explanation

of the matter through *quaestiones*. On no account was it permitted simply to list various Sentences; instead, Aquinas's teaching was, where appropriate, to be defended (Pachtler 1968, 1:25; Lukács 1986, 380). Positive theology as pastoral training, on the other hand, comprises "Council decisions, works by ecclesiastical authors, parts of Canon Law—excluding procedural law—and writings or topics with a moral content" (Theiner 1970, 106–7). Right up to the academic reforms of the eighteenth century, the historical-positive method of Dionysius Petavius was considered exemplary (Karrer 1970; Leinsle 2000, 76).

2.1 *Methodus* as a key to sacred scripture

If theology is, as was the case for the humanists, above all an explanation of sacred scripture, teachers and students must be offered a hermeneutical key with which they can read scripture correctly (including as it served their confessionality). In the Middle Ages, this task was initially fulfilled by reading the *Sentences* (Leinsle 2010, 126–31); from the humanist point of view, a *methodus* or short *summa* of the whole of systematic theology was to be given as well, such as that offered, for example, by Erasmus in his "Introductions" to the New Testament (Winkler 1974), and as was also demanded at the Council of Trent, but then not put into practice (Ehses 1916, 79–123). For such systematic presentations, what first suggests itself is an arrangement according to topics in which the most important elements (*loci*) are presented either according to familiar patterns like the Creed, Decalogue, Our Father, and the sacraments; or in a new systematization (Wiedenhofer 1976). Since, however, in the eyes of the humanists any interpretation of scripture requires the whole *orbis doctrinae* of the secular sciences, including philosophy, this encyclopedic education must be acquired from appropriate encyclopedias in which theology is then also included (e.g., the work of Johann Heinrich Alsted [1588–1638]), or at least from manuals such as those produced by Melanchthon's school.

2.2 Catechisms

It is significant that although the drawing up of a humanistic *methodus* was discussed at the Council of Trent—some council fathers even daring to suggest Erasmus's work—(Ehses 1916, 117–19), its place was then taken by the *Catechismus Romanus*. This met the desire to have a handy systematic presentation of doctrine for imparting it to the faithful, such as Luther had produced in the Large and Small Catechisms (1529) and the Reformed had in the Heidelberg Catechism (1563). On the Catholic side, above all the catechisms of Peter Canisius (1521–97) were very influential. Thus, from the point of view of the respective confessionality, the catechism also provides the hermeneutical key for understanding scripture. Interpreting the catechism is also part of the study of theology.

2.3 Bible commentaries

Like its medieval forerunner, early modern theology is also a text-based discipline that is expressed first and foremost in the form of commentaries. Here commentaries on individual books of the Bible or on the scriptures as a whole are found considerably more frequently in the Protestant tradition than in the Catholic. But scripture commentaries, too, are mostly also subject to systematic considerations; in Lutheranism, for example, in an orientation toward the doctrine of justification. In their rejection or repression of spiritual interpretations of scripture in favor of literalism there is, under the influence of humanism, broad agreement among confessionalities; this is not, however, the case with the scriptural principles then formulated by Lutheran orthodoxy (perspicuity, sufficiency, efficacy, and so forth) (Rothen 1990). The spiritual interpretation, in part with a new allegorization or updating of biblical situations (e.g., in Bartholomew Holzhauser's [1613–58] commentary on the Apocalypse), is separated from academic exegesis, which in the Catholic sphere is, however, mostly regarded as a merely auxiliary discipline. Thus, for example, the first large-scale post-Tridentine commentary on the New Testament by Alfonso Salmerón, SJ (1515–85), in 16 volumes (1597–1602), works only in the *Historia evangelica* as a literal commentary with occasional systematic excursuses, whereas the commentary on the Pauline epistles takes the form of a disputation, consistently setting forth the falsehood and inconsistency of Protestant positions (Leinsle 2003a). Historical-positive exegesis does not come to prominence until the Benedictine Antoine Augustin Calmet (1672–1757).

2.4 From *Sentences* to *Summa* commentaries

On the Catholic side, scholastic (i.e., speculative) theology is bound to the methods of *lectio* and *disputatio* as laid down in an exemplary fashion in the Jesuit order. The reading of the *Sentences* continued in the early modern period (mostly in the form of a commentary on *quaestiones*), above all at the non-Thomist schools; the Jesuits, on the other hand, very soon went over to commentating Thomas's *Summa Theologiae*. We distinguish between complete commentaries on the entire *Summa* and the more frequent works on individual parts, especially on the *Secunda* (with *de actibus humanis* of fundamental importance for speculative moral theology) (Mitschelich 1981). In accordance with the order's instructions for the method of teaching, the mostly extensive Jesuit commentaries on the *Summa* are often of a mixed nature. Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), for example, offers a fairly short commentary on Aquinas's individual articles in order then to follow the *quaestio* with an extremely broad discussion of the contentious matters in the form of a *disputatio*. This is divided into several *sectiones*. The commentary and 25 disputations on the first nine questions of Aquinas's *Tertia* make up one whole volume of the Vivès edition (vol. 17).

2.5 Cursus theologici

The systematic arrangement of the *Sentences* or *Summa* commentaries led to a systematic manner of presentation in the *cursus theologici*, which were organized according to treatises. Some of these were the collective works of a local school, and even codify the theology of a school in their title. To be mentioned are, for example, the *Theologia Universitatis Coloniensis* (1638), the Thomist *Theologia scholastia Salisburgensis* (1695) by Fr Paulus Metzger (1637–1702), the *Cursus theologicus S. Galli* (1670), down to the *Theologia Wirceburgensis* (1766–71). What was undoubtedly to become the most important course of a religious community was the *Cursus theologicus Salmanticensis* of the Discalced Carmelites from San Elia in Salamanca, which took almost a hundred years to complete. In the Paris edition of 1879/80 alone it comprises twenty volumes. The decision to print it (without naming its authors) was made in 1616/17; the first volume appeared in 1631; the last volume of the course, which like Thomas's *Summa* remained incomplete, was published in 1712 (Merl 1947). In the process of publication there was a tendency for the twenty-four individual treatises to take on a separate existence. Furthermore, in moral and sacramental theology the twin track of *theologia scholastica* and *theologia positiva* becomes noticeable. Fr Johannes ab Annuntiatione asks himself whether it still makes any sense at all to dispute on the sacraments in the scholastic manner, since they are in any case dealt with in the *Cursus moralis* in the way necessary for the practical formation of the confreres (Merl 1947, 49).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a change came about in the systematization and method of the theological course. The treatises on fundamental theology dealing with the *demonstratio religiosa, christiana* and *catholica* in the debate with contemporary philosophy and the "heresies" were now given markedly greater prominence (see, e.g., Benedict Stattler [1728–97]) compared to the doctrines of dogmatics, which were generally presented in a scholastic or positive manner. At the same time, the *historia litteraria* was widely included for the individual treatises (e.g., Stephan Wiest, *Institutiones theologicae* 1782–89) and a precise distinction was made between dogmatic teachings and *opiniones privatae* (including the scholastic *quaestiones*) (Leinsle 2012, 663–70).

2.6 Disputation

While the major *cursus* are intended primarily for the hand of teachers, alongside them we find a large number of smaller compendia (often in octavo) and individual dogmatic treatises that are not infrequently the immediate object of disputations. If a professor's individual treatises were defended several times a year or in several years, a more or less complete *cursus* could develop from this as well (examples at Leinsle 2010, 297). Often a treatise was also given to several respondents or defendants, who had to publish it, each with a different title page, at the expense of the person to whom it was dedicated. One

requirement for obtaining a licentiate in theology was a disputation *ex universa theologia*, the theses selected often providing an overview of the professor's complete teaching. On the other hand, in sacramental theology the influence of a positive-theological treatment is often noticeable: the *quaestiones* style is largely abandoned and instead a positive presentation of the theological doctrine is given. Particularly in the case of the theses *ex universa theologia* for the licentiate, a special literary form developed in the Catholic sphere: the graphically designed thesis page (Appuhn-Radtke 1988). The theological content of the theses, which can be omitted completely in the presentation copy, was frequently reduced to a list of propositions which were printed, often in tiny typeface, in a box or at the bottom of the page. It was not until the beginning of the Enlightenment that the disparity between the baroque packaging and the meager content of the thesis pages troubled anyone, and there was a return to the lengthier thesis or dissertation with a changed method of disputation and an independent role for the respondents (Marti 2010; Leinsle 2012).

2.7 Positive theology

The course of positive theology, often abbreviated as *theologia moralis*, dispenses with the scholastic disputation and instead teaches the *casus conscientiae*. The students were therefore referred to as *casistae* (also *casuistae*) or *positivistae*. Whereas in the *cursus maior* moral theology is developed speculatively according to the *Secunda pars* of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa*, the practical course is concerned with solving cases of conscience on the basis of general principles and their application to the individual case. Here, too, in addition to the lectures, practical exercises are offered in solving often difficult hypothetical "cases." With future pastoral work in mind, the subjects studied are: sacraments; ecclesiastical punishments; the duties of the different estates; and the Decalogue, with contracts also having to be treated under the seventh commandment. Expressly forbidden is the *apparatus scholasticus*, i.e., the usual method of disputation with its citing, if possible, of all opinions and arguments. Moral theology works with *dubitationes* and *conclusiones* are used instead. Authorities are to be employed sparingly; general laws or rules are to be exemplified with a number of individual cases (about three). Casuistic conferences as practical exercises are to be clearly distinguished from scholastic disputations. The "proof" of one's own solution takes place according to the principle of probability; even the rejected *sententia* is to be accorded a certain probability depending on the reasons and authorities adduced (Pachtler 1968, 2:322–29).

As a result of excluding the speculative parts of theology, all that remains is a theory of principles of human action as the basis for the practical treatment of the virtues, commandments, sins, sacraments, and ecclesiastical punishments. Whereas the great textbooks of Enrique Henriquez (*Summa theologiae moralis* 1591) down to Paul Layman (*Theologia moralis* 1625) or the idiosyncratic *Theologia moralis* of the Cistercian Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–82) (Armogathe 2008) do indeed display some theological

depth, theological thought withers to a commandment morality and a casuistry for confessors in individual *dubia* which can be used as a pastoral manual. One example of this is the *Medulla theologiae moralis* of Hermann Busenbaum, SJ (1600–68), which had run to more than 200 editions by 1776. Yet it was precisely this work that became the standard equipment of the pastoral clergy, who were often educated exclusively in moral theology and who then also had practical pastoral guides like Johannes Opstraet's *Pastor bonus* (1689) at their disposal (Schuchart 1972); until, as a result of the 1777 reform of theological studies in the Hapsburg territories, pastoral theology was for the first time established at the university as a subject in its own right. Not to be underestimated as far as formation in the religious orders was concerned is the influence of the *Theologia regularis* by Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1646), which took the form of commentaries on the rules of the orders (Leinsle 2008).

Above all, in the courses of study of religious orders attempts were also made to combine the two types of theology so as to impart both the necessary theoretical knowledge and the skills in moral theology and canon law required for practical pastoral work (Leinsle 2000, 97). Thus, for example, Eusebius Amort in his *Theologia eclectica moralis et scholastica* (1752) clearly builds on the humanistic way of teaching theology with reference to the church fathers (Leinsle 2010, 351–53). Methodologically, Amort commits himself to a refined scholastic method, contending that its advantage lies in precise terminology and brevity of presentation. It can inculcate the individual controversies clearly and distinctly by means of definition, division, axioms, postulates, conclusions, and proofs, and offers the reader the greatest possible assurance since it draws the individual conclusions directly from a small number of premises. Thus the individual questions then also have a very clear structure: *notanda* (presuppositions)—*dico* (conclusion)—*probatur* (proof through authority and reason)—*solvuntur objectiones* (objections and their solution).

2.8 Protestant systematic theology

Among the Protestants in so-called orthodoxy, a new systematic theology develops whose methods and forms of presentation nevertheless remain more clearly indebted to the humanistic heritage than those of the Catholics. The Formula of Concord and the more recent creedal documents of the Reformed confessionalities already display strong systematic tendencies. Nonetheless, they still require a systematic theological interpretation. Unlike Catholic scholasticism, Protestant orthodoxy cannot fall back on a well-established method but has to derive one—with a greater or lesser degree of reflection—from contemporary philosophizing, in which treatises *De methodo* are highly popular (Leinsle 2010, 299–300). The following lend themselves to this:

1. The relatively simple topics of Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) and his school, which restricted their understanding of philosophy to logic, ethics, and physics, and were thus easily assimilated into theology. This resulted in

collections of *loci* or *propositiones* (axiomatics) arranged systematically according to Melanchthon's model.

2. The dialectic of Peter Ramus (1515–72), which was adopted particularly by the Reformed. Originally rigorously antimetaphysical, in the 1572 edition Ramus places methodology at the center and develops a universal method of definition and arrangement based on conceptual logic. This often results in tabular representations of theology or of the sciences (e.g., Johann Heinrich Alsted, Johannes Scharff [1595–1660]). The reception of Ramism in the Melanchthon school led to the development of the Philippo-Ramism that was typical of the German schools before 1600, then combined with Aristotelian elements in the *methodus definitiva* of a Johannes Hülsemann (1602–61) and Johann Adam Scherzer.
3. The Aristotelian methodology and theory of science in the *Posterior Analytics*, revived most notably by Paduan Aristotelianism. Unlike the Ramist disposition, the *methodus* here is essentially deduction, argumentation, and syllogistic proof according to the rules of the *Posterior Analytics*. All theoretical sciences are bound to the synthetic-deductive method, all practical ones to the analytical (goal—means of attaining it).

The methodological and metaphysical thinking of orthodoxy is expressed in a theology that was forced by its abandonment of medieval scholasticism and by a new start as Reformers to discover its own systematic form of presentation. "*Methodus*," "*Syntagma*," or "*Systema*" are therefore frequently chosen as titles for the textbook presentation of theology in the compendia designed for students (sometimes with practical and edifying applications). For this reason—and thanks also to the Philippist or Ramist logic that had prevailed for over half a century instead of metaphysics—an awareness of methodology has an incomparably greater effect in theology, too, among the Protestants than it does in the *cursus* and the commentaries of Catholic scholasticism. The choice of method, however, depends on whether the theology is of a theoretical or practical nature. Across the confessional boundaries between Lutherans and Reformed, both synthetic and analytical ways of presentation can be observed, often also hybrid forms corresponding to the theoretical and practical nature of theology.

Methodological reflection is already displayed in the equally influential and monumental principal work of the father of Lutheran orthodoxy, Johann Gerhard, in his *Loci theologici* (1610–25). Gerhard takes his method from humanistic Aristotelianism. It combines philology and synthetic procedure with a strongly topical element, in that a nominal definition is first sought in the *Onomatologia* while the real definition is not given until the conclusion of the whole discussion of the *locus*, the *Pragmatologia*. The onomatology is treated stereotypically according to etymology, homonyms, and synonyms; the pragmatology is ordered according to patterns of topical questions: *an sit, quid sit, principia, causae, opposita*. Subdivisions are often given for teaching purposes; in between, however, a syllogistic treatment is also to be found, above all when arguing against opponents and heretics (Leinsle 2010, 302–6; Wallmann 1961).

Systematic thinking also characterizes the trained mathematician, philosopher, and theologian Abraham Calov in Wittenberg (Leinsle 2010, 306–11). The topical structure of the *Loci* is now no longer adequate, so a system of *loci* is to be devised instead. This becomes clear in the *Theologia positiva* (1682), which he created for his son Abraham. In the Protestant tradition "*theologia positiva*" denotes the simple presentation of theology in the form of theses with short proofs, dispensing with questions and controversies. It serves, completely in accordance with the humanistic *methodus*, above all as an Ariadne's thread to guide its user through the labyrinth of scriptural exegesis. Here, for example, an outline of the *Systema locorum theologicorum* (1655) is offered in 1135 paragraphs on 610 octavo pages. In principle, the structure follows the analytical method obligatory for practical sciences: the goal and the means of attaining it. In fact, though, this schema is mixed with an epistemological model that desires to explain the whole structure of theology from its purpose (goal—subject—means). After the prolegomena on theology, religion, revelation, sacred scripture, and the articles of faith, the goal of theology is introduced: God and the blessed enjoyment of God (the latter is admittedly not treated, whereas creation and providence are). The subject of theology is divided into indirect subject (angels) and direct subject (mankind), so that now *angelognosia* and *anthropologia* (including sin, works, Law, and Gospel) follow. Part 3 then deals with the causes and means of salvation—namely, the divine economy (Christology, soteriology), the church (*ecclesiometria*), the means of salvation on God's side (word and sacrament) and man's (*soteropoiia*), divine legislation (*divina nomosthesia* in the Decalogue), and eschatology. This structure shows clearly the intention to proceed reflectively and systematically—which, however, occasionally stumbles against the theological material (Leinsle 2010, 309–11). The *Theologia positiva* also shows the tendency of Protestant theology towards smaller and smaller mnemonically structured textbooks to be used for memorization and reference in school; for example, Johann Adam Scherzer's *Brevilicus theologicus* (1675), in which the whole of theology is summarized according to the *modus definitiva* in one sentence extending over 11 pages (Leinsle 2010, 312–15). In the eighteenth century these methods are largely superseded by the mathematically oriented "demonstrative-deductive" method of proof of Christian Wolff and his school.

In the English-speaking world, which took leave of Latin at an early date, interest is focused less on systematic theology than on the practical implementation of the Reformation and securing it through the state, combined with apologetic debate with the other confessionalities. Hence it is significant that the principal work of Anglican theology by Richard Hooker is titled *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. In the *Laws* Hooker offers a system of governance (polity) not only for the church, but also a theologically based system of ordering the whole of ecclesiastical and public life in a hierarchy of legal systems of divine and human law, with reason accorded an important role as insight into natural and human law (Gaßmann 1980, 379–83). This refutes the rigorous scriptural principle of the Puritans. In addition, as a result of the attachment to the church fathers, there is an increase in the value accorded to theological tradition and natural reason as elements of theological method and parts of the one "theological instrument" (McAdoo 1965, V).

2.9 Controversial theology

For disputes with other confessionalities, early modern theology develops a special discipline: controversial theology (*theologia polemica*); which, on the Catholic side, is soon institutionally established in the universities, above all those run by the Jesuits, by being given its own chairs. Controversial theology understands itself as a dispute with the heretics on those points of doctrine that they attack. Here, too, the method is no longer the scholastic commentary but rather the positive presentation of the true doctrine and the apologetic refutation of false doctrines, among the Jesuits often combined with an explanation of the catechism. For the controversial disputation, the individual confessionalities develop their own methods and strategies (Paintner 2012). Quite frequently the professor of sacred scripture or a professor of scholastic theology will share supervision of the debates (Mancia 1985). The following became standard works of Catholic controversial theology: Johannes Eck's *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes ecclesiae* (1525) (Minnich 1988), Robert Bellarmine's *Disputationes de controversiis* (1586–93) (Dietrich 1999, 62–70) and Martin Becanus's *Manuale controversiarum huius temporis* (1625).

On the Protestant side, the *theologia polemica* became a weapon not just against the Catholics but also against any teachings that deviated from the confession in question. In the first stages of confessional polemics, Martin Chemnitz's *Examen Concilii Tridentini* (1565–73) served primarily the first purpose, and his 1578 *De Duabis Naturis in Christo* the second, becoming the basis for the eighth article of the Formula of Concord (see ch. 19 in this volume). This approach was then developed on a large scale by, above all, Abraham Calov and Johann Adam Scherzer in their polemical works. To be mentioned in particular are Scherzer's *Bibliotheca Pontificia* (1677), *Collegium Anti-Socinianum* (1672), *Anti-Bellarminus* (1681), and *Disputationes Anti-Calvinianae* (1681). On the other hand, in his *Encyclopaedia*, the influence of which reaches as far as Harvard College, the Reformed theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted stresses that controversial theology ought rightly to be termed *theologica irenica*, as its aim is church unity. He gives independent methods for pursuing this goal, which was admittedly more hindered than attained by controversial theology, and holds fast to the goal of a consensus being achievable at least on fundamentals. The guiding principles (*canones*) necessary for this are those of faith (*sola scriptura canonica*), love (edification of the weak, equity in judgment), and judiciousness (discretion in social intercourse and in teaching). For controversial theology, Alsted proposes a weaving together of historical, biblical, comparative (*parallela*), catechetical, and systematic methodology (a reduction to the *loci communes*). The easiest way is to list the deviant doctrines synoptically, adding the reasons to every page and then prescribing the appropriate antidote in each case; this results in the following sequence: *Thesis, Antithesis, Confirmatio theseos, Confirmatio antitheseos, & Antidorum* (Alsted 1992, 5:1639–60; Clouse 1963; Klein and Kramer 1988).

The Anglican tradition of controversial theology also dates back to the mid-sixteenth century (see, e.g., John Jewel [1522–71]) and was for decades to remain a

main field of activity for theologians in the later disputes with the Puritans on the one hand and the Deists, who denied positive revelation, and Enlightenment philosophers on the other. The preferred literary format here is the tract or dialogue in the vernacular. The formulation of Reformed content in the Articles of Religion (the Forty-Two Articles of 1554; the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563) gave rise to the question of "fundamental articles" common to all confessionalities, which proved insoluble due to what was in effect a failure to derive them from scripture alone (Puritans) or from scripture and the consensus of the church fathers (Caroline Divines) (Gaßmann 1980, 390–95).

Bibliography

Alsted, Johann Heinrich. 1992. *Encyclopaedia (1630)*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann–Holzboog.

Appuhn-Radtke, Sibylle. 1988. *Das Thesenblatt im Hochbarock: Studien zu einer graphischen Gattung am Beispiel der Werke Bartholomäus Kilians*. Weißenhorn: Konrad.

Armogathe, Jean Robert. 2008. "Caramuel, a Cistercian Casuist." In *Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz: The Last Scholastic Polymath*, edited by Petr Dvořák and Jacob Schmutz, 117–127. Prague: Filosofia.

Armogathe, Jean Robert. 1977. *Theologia Cartesiana: L'explication physique de l'Eucharistie chez Descartes et dom Desgabets*. Archives internationales d'histoire des idées 84. La Haye: Nijhoff.

Benin, Stephen D. 1993. *The Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Clouse, Robert Gordon. 1963. *The Influence of John Henry Alsted on English Millenarian Thought in the Seventeenth Century*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services.

Dietrich, Thomas. 1999. *Die Theologie der Kirche bei Robert Bellarmin (1542–1621): Systematische Voraussetzungen des Kontroverstheologen*. Konfessionskundliche und kontroverstheologische Studien, 69. Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag.

Ehses, Stephan, ed. 1916. *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatuum nova collectio*. Vol. 5. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

Frank, Günther. 2003. *Die Vernunft des Gottesgedankens: Religionsphilosophische Studien zur frühen Neuzeit*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann–Holzboog.

Fürst, Alfons and Hengstermann, Christian, eds. 2012. *Autonomie und Menschenwürde: Origenes in der Philosophie der Neuzeit* (Münster: Aschendorff).

Ganoczy, Alexandre, and Stefan Scheld. 1983. *Die Hermeneutik Calvins: Geistesgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen und Grundzüge*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.

Gaßmann, Günther. 1980. "Die Lehrentwicklung im Anglikanismus: Von Heinrich VIII. bis zu William Temple." In *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte*, edited by Carl Andresen, vol. 2, 353–409. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Goudriaan, Aza. 1999. *Philosophische Gotteserkenntnis bei Suárez und Descartes im Zusammenhang mit der niederländischen reformierten Theologie und Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 98. Leiden: Brill.

Hellyer, Marcus. 2003. "The Construction of the Ordinatio pro studiis superioribus of 1651." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 72: 3–43.

Hornig, Gottfried. 1961. *Die Anfänge der historisch-kritischen Theologie: Johann Salomo Semlers Schriftverständnis und seine Stellung zu Luther*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Karrer, Leo. 1970. *Die historisch-positive Methode des Theologen Dionysius Petavius*. Munich: Max Hueber.

Klein, Jürgen and Johannes Kramer, eds. 1988. *J. H. Alsted, Herborns calvinistische Theologie und Wissenschaft im Spiegel der englischen Kulturreform des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu englisch-deutschen Geistesbeziehungen in der frühen Neuzeit*. Aspekte der englischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte 16. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Knebel, Sven K. 2000. *Wille, Würfel und Wahrscheinlichkeit: Das System der moralischen Notwendigkeit in der Jesuitenscholastik, 1550–1700*. Paradeigmata 21. Hamburg: Meiner.

Lehner, Ulrich L. 2011. *Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines, 1740–1803*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2003a. "Commentarii in evangelicam Historiam et in Acta Apostolorum. Disputationes in Epistulas Divi Pauli, Alfonso Salmerón SJ." In *Lexikon der theologischen Werke*, edited by Michael Eckert, 112–113. Stuttgart: Kröner.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 1997. "Delectus opinionum: Traditionsbildung durch Auswahl in der frühen Jesuitentheologie." In *Im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Innovation: Festschrift für Joseph Kardinal Ratzinger*, edited by Georg Schmuttermayer, 159–175. Regensburg: Pustet.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2012. "Impune disceptant theologi: Der Wandel der Disputation in der Spätzeit des Hausstudiums der Prämonstratenserabtei Speinshart." In *Dichtung–Gelehrsamkeit–Disputationskultur: Festschrift für Hanspeter Marti zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Reimund Szduj et al., 650–671. Vienna: Böhlau.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2010. *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*. Translated by Michael J. Müller. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2003b. "Medulla theologiae moralis, Hermann Busenbaum SJ." In *Lexikon der theologischen Werke*, edited by Michael Eckert, 494. Stuttgart: Kröner.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2008. "Probabilismus im Kloster: Caramuels Theologia regularis." In *Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz: The Last Scholastic Polymath*, edited by Petr Dvořák and Jacob Schmutz, 99–116. Prague: Filosofia.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2000. *Studium im Kloster: Das philosophisch-theologische Hausstudium des Stiftes Schlägl, 1633–1783*. Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium 20. Averbode: Praemonstratensia.

Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried. 2009. "Wie treibt man Cardano mit Scaliger aus? Die (Nicht-) Rezeption Cardanos an der Jesuitenuniversität Dillingen." In *Spätrenaissance-Philosophie in Deutschland, 1570–1650: Entwürfe zwischen Humanismus und Konfessionalisierung, okkulten Traditionen und Schulmetaphysik*, edited by Martin Mulsow, 253–277. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Lettieri, Gaetano. 2000. *Metodo della grazia*. Rome: EDB.

Lukács, László, ed. 1974. *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*. 2, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 107. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

Lukács, László, ed. 1986. *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*. 5, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 129. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

Lukács, László, ed. 1992. *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*. 6, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 140. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

Mancia, Anita. 1985. "La controversia con i protestanti e i programmi degli studi teologici nella Compagnia di Gesù, 1547–1599." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 54: 3–43; 209–266.

Marti, Hanspeter. 2010. "Disputation und Dissertation: Kontinuität und Wandel im 18. Jahrhundert." In *Disputatio 1200–1800: Form, Funktion und Wirkung eines Leitmediums universitärer Wissenskultur*, edited by Marion Gindhart and Ursula Kundert, 63–85. Berlin: de Gruyter.

McAdoo, Henry R. 1965. *The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century*. London: Black.

Merkt, Andreas. 2001. *Das patristische Prinzip: Eine Studie zur theologischen Bedeutung der Kirchenväter*. Suplements to Vigiliae Christianae 58. Leiden: Brill.

Merl, Otho. 1947. *Theologia Salmanticensis: Untersuchung über Entstehung, Lehrrichtung und Quellen des theologischen Kurses der spanischen Karmeliten*. Regensburg: Pustet.

Minnich, Nelson H. 1988. "On the Origins of Eck's Enchiridion." In *Johannes Eck (1486–1543) im Streit der Jahrhunderte*, edited by Erwin Iserloh, 37–73. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 127. Münster: Aschendorff.

Mitschelich, Anton. 1981. *Kommentatoren zur Summa Theologiae des hl. Thomas von Aquin*. Hildesheim–New York: Georg Olms.

Pachtler, Georg Michael. 1968. *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes*. 4 vols. Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag.

Paintner, Ursula. 2012. "Zum Nutzen der akademischen Jugend. Zwei antijesuitische Gymnasialdisputationen von Johann Matthäus Meyfart." In *Dichtung–Gelehrsamkeit–Disputationskultur: Festschrift für Hanspeter Marti zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Reimund Szduj et al., 430–447. Vienna: Böhlau.

Quinto, Riccardo. 2001. *Scholastica: Storia di un concetto*. Subidia Mediaevalia Patavina 2. Padua: Il Poligrafo.

Reusch, Franz Heinrich, ed. 1961. *Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Nieuwkoop: de Graaf.

Roling, Bernd. 2010. *Drachen und Sirenen. Die Rationalisierung und Abwicklung der Mythologie an den europäischen Universitäten*. Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 42. Leiden: Brill.

Roling, Bernd. 2008. *Locutio angelica. Die Diskussion der Engelsprache als Antizipation einer Sprechakttheorie in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 97. Leiden: Brill.

Rothen, Bernhard. 1990. *Die Klarheit der Schrift*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. 2002. "Exegese und Tradition. Bellarmins biblische Hermeneutik." In *Bene scripsisti . . . Filosofie od středsověku k novověku. Sborník k sedmdesátinám Stanislava Sousedíka*, edited by Jiří et al., 109–140. Prague: Filosofia.

Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. 2012. *Geschichte der christlichen Kabbala*. Clavis Pansophiae 10/1. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt: Frommann–Holzboog.

Schmidt-Biggemann, Wilhelm. 2001. "Die Schulphilosophie in den reformierten Territorien." In *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation, Nord- und Mitteleuropa*. Vol. 4 of *Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Helmut Holzhey and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 393–474. Basel: Schwabe.

Schuchart, Alfred. 1972. *Der "Pastor bonus" des Johannes Opstraet. Zur Geschichte eines pastoraltheologischen Werkes aus der Geisteswelt des Jansenismus*. Trierer theologische Studien 26. Trier: Paulinus-Verlag.

Seifert, Arno. 1984. "Der jesuitische Bildungskanon im Lichte der zeitgenössischen Kritik." *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 47: 43–75.

Shirley, Frederick J. 1949. *Richard Hooker and Contemporary Political Ideas* London: SPCK.

Sokolovski, Richard Augustin. 2012. *Matrix omnium conclusionum: Den "Augustinus" des Jansenius lessen*. Fribourg: Reinhardt Verlag.

Sparn, Walter. 2001. "Die Schulphilosophie in den lutherischen Territorien," In *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation, Nord- und Mitteleuropa*. Vol. 4 of *Die Philosophie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Helmut Holzhey and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 475–587. Basel: Schwabe.

Sparn, Walter. 1976. *Wiederkehr der Metaphysik: Die ontologische Frage in der lutherischen Metaphysik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*. Calwer Theologische Monographien 4. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag.

Theiner, Johannes. 1970. *Die Entwicklung der Moraltheologie zur eigenständigen Disziplin*. Studien zur Geschichte der katholischen Moraltheologie 17. Regensburg: Pustet.

Wallmann, Johannes. 1961. *Der Theologiebegriff bei Johann Gerhard und Georg Calixt*. Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 30. Tübingen: Mohr.

Wiedenhofer, Stephan. 1976. *Formalstrukturen humanistischer und reformatorischer Theologie bei Philipp Melanchthon*. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 2. Bern: Lang.

Winkler, Gerhard. 1974. *Erasmus von Rotterdam und die Einleitungsschriften zum Neuen Testament: Formale Strukturen und theologischer Sinn*. Reformationsgeschichtliche und Texte 108. Münster: Aschendorff.

CHAPTER 3

THEOLOGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN CONFESSIONAL STATE

PAUL SHORE

The story of the role of theology in the formation of confessional states is in part a story of the subjective perceptions of men (and a few women) who held vast political power: how they understood the function of formal religious thinking during the period of the creation of modern European states. It is also the story of social forces driven by religious experience, emotion, and reason, which once unleashed often became more powerful than many of the temporal or ecclesiastical rulers who sought to control them. In addition, the role of confessional identities that extended across the borders of these states is an important aspect of this story. The evolution of the state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the development of national languages both influenced the dissemination of theological concepts, while these concepts themselves became reference points in the shaping of such states.

1 Theoretical Models

The term *confessionalization* was first applied by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, in a series of essays that started to appear in the 1980s, to processes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in several continental European settings in which Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist "confesssions" became churches supported by and at times integrated into the civil governments of states. The term and the model have since been applied, with modifications, to a wide range of European and even extra-European polities (Schilling 1981; Reinhard 1981). Our understanding of the role of theology in

the creation of confessional states has therefore been shaped by the documentation left behind by both of these collections of events, and especially by the way this evidence has been employed to interpret religious experience in the early modern period. The reappraisal of documentation prompted by this and other new approaches eventually impacted historiography with a challenge to the definition of confessionalization itself. Critics now point out that the initial focus on the nation state neglected other political outcomes and the complexities of relations between civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Regina Pörtner suggests that the debates regarding the nature of confessionalization have resulted in loss of conceptual precession (Pörtner 2001). Retention of the word "confession," which in its original German context was usually restricted to European Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, creates a challenge when considering the development of states such as Anglican or even Cromwellian England or of more ephemeral polities, such as those founded by Anabaptists.

Phenomenological questions persist. The claim that Lutheran baptism, for example, was "a 'sociological' sacrament that identified the newly baptized person as a member of the local political community" may hinge on the contemporaneous understanding of "local" and also on our willingness to accept the records of literate and institutionally vested church employees as representative of what the broader community was experiencing. Robert Scribner's scholarship points to the possibility that what people were taught they should believe was not necessarily always what they actually believed (Scribner 1994). Scribner's solution to this problem, to study religious practices and ways of thought, is a step forward but not a complete solution: the former are no sure guide to the latter. Authorities coerced and subjects outwardly obeyed, but how the latter understood the theological implications of their modified behavior, and how this behavior came to shape belief, is not always easily discerned. Moreover, the very fact that the concept of confessionalization has called attention to how closely linked the religious and the secular were during this period, reminds us how different the a priori assumptions regarding the state and the functions of recordkeeping were during this period.

The confessionalization model is not the only one that may be applied to the European state emerging in the early modern period. A polarity of "magisterial" and "radical" models of confessional evolution has been proposed by George Williams (Williams 1995). In both of these models, the tools of theology were employed both to articulate positions and to draw upon the emotions of laypersons and clergy alike to build commitment to social organizations. The magisterial reformers received support from or collaborated with temporal authorities, with the result that their theological vocabulary quickly achieved high visibility and acceptance, sometimes entering the legal documents of the realm. The radical reformers often became proscribed outcasts, but their theology still influenced the shaping of the emerging state. In Bohemia, crypto-Protestants occupied the attention of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities for more than a century following the battle of White Mountain, arguably delaying the development of state-supported general education and adding to a climate in which great efforts were applied to the eradication of heresy. Occasionally, radical reformers would gain access

to political power at critical moments: two Fifth Monarchy Men, Thomas Harrison (1606–60) and John Carew (1622–60), were commissioners at the trial of Charles I, thus becoming arguably more "magisterial" than radical. More often the influence of radicals on the new nation state was indirect and sometimes through a literary legacy, as when Diggers such as Gerrard Winstanley (ca. 1609–77) formulated a communist creed of the earth as a "common treasury" which was cited by communitarian and pantheistic movements in later centuries (Sutherland 1990).

Within the various early modern polities affected by the power of theology in civil life were several common threads. These include the effects of increased literacy and engagement with religious texts, and a backdrop of more external factors such as poor harvests (as well as the causes for these crises that were rooted in climate change, war, etc.), which exacerbated a mood of dissatisfaction, fear, and anxiety and in turn helped shape an understanding of theology. In addition, regional variations shaped by geography, climate, urbanization, population density, and dynastic history each played important roles, with the result that the process of confessionalization and its relation to the development of the modern European state is likely to be debated by historians for some time. The unquestioned assumption of the day that civil government would take a decisive part in the religious life of the individual is another important commonality in the relationship between theology and these emerging nation states. The familiarity among laypersons with stories from the Old Testament that detailed relations between prophets and kings, and the capacity of these laypersons to identify with such characters, serve as yet another recurring link through which ideas about the relations between theology and the state were conveyed to the masses. Lastly, art, literature, and music not only reflected the drive towards confessionalization but provided the vocabulary, imagery, and emotional states through which this process was understood by ruler and subject alike.

2 Theology, States, and Regions

An overview of some of the states and regions affected by these events can shed light on the complex relationship of theology to nation building.

The final expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 presented King Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella (1451–1504) with an opportunity to forge a confessionally and dynastically unified Spain; this process advanced with the military and bureaucratic support of the now united kingdoms of Aragon and Castile (and which between 1580 and 1640 also included Portugal). The long process of expulsion and subsequent coercion applied to Muslims and Jews both intensified the sense of connection between the civil and military elements of government on the one hand, and the Catholic Church on the other. These trends also provided a clearly identifiable "enemy within" on whom secular and religious leaders could focus. The result was the earliest instance of religious territorialization in early modern Europe, accomplished through

a process that may be denominated ethno-religious cleansing overlaid with passionate commitment to theological positions. In this, the Spanish state had the support of some of the leading writers on theology of the day. While Erasmus (1466–1536) (a subject of Charles V, but not of the Spanish crown) sought a religious consensus that was not coerced, and even experienced the disapproval of the Spanish Inquisition, both he and the Habsburg rulers of Spain agreed on the importance of eschewing discord in matters theological (Estes 2007, 64). As the sixteenth century wore on and the notion of a cohesive Christendom collapsed completely, the dangers of discord seemed to grow more acute, and appeals for order were embraced by secular leaders of the Spanish state. Meanwhile the conversion of the inhabitants of Spain's vast overseas empire was another project that combined national identity and articulation of religious beliefs, with implications in both cases for the mother country. From 1568 onward, Spain's loss of the increasingly Calvinist Netherlands, and the iconoclasm associated with the earliest phase of this transition placed Spanish identity and devotion to Catholic practices in bolder opposition to the actions of Spain's enemies, intensifying the former.

Scotland exemplifies the intertwining of articulated confessional polemic and raw emotion, frequently manipulated by secular and religious leaders. The mobs that sacked the Dominican priory in Perth and the Cathedral of St. Andrews felt genuine grievances against these material symbols of Catholic authority and wealth, as well as unhappiness with what were seen as idle men and women living surrounded by others who had to struggle in a harsh environment. Simultaneously, grave doubts had been raised regarding the doctrine of transubstantiation and surviving documents make clear that this and other controversies were of real importance to many laypeople. These controversies were seen both as spiritual concerns and as matters to be resolved through action by the community, or at least within the context of Scotland, as opposed to the actions of a supranational power. The identification of Scots with the children of Israel of the Old Testament, an analogy repeated in many non-Catholic European lands, provided vocabulary and a narrative through which the local and national aspects of these debates were understood, as well as a way to envision divine covenants, punishment, and redemption. Between 1560 and 1689, church government in Scotland and its relationship to political power underwent successive radical shifts, culminating in a compromise among several Protestant positions (Murdoch, 2006, 85), while small independent confessional groups such as Quakers went their own way. Meanwhile, Catholicism survived among the clans of the Highlands, even when the Mass was outlawed; a factor that would play a role in the eighteenth-century Stuart challenges to the Hanoverian state that by then was known as the United Kingdom.

By contrast, Olaf Mörke sees confessionalization in the Dutch Republic as something experienced within diverse individual communities rather than codified through compromise at the state level (Mörke 1996). Here the state remained de facto multiconfessional while the dominant dynasty, the House of Orange, adhered to the Reformed Church and conducted its diplomacy accordingly. Catholic clergy, without state support, had to justify the survival of their lay communities on theological grounds, thereby perpetuating a gulf between confessional commitment and identification of confession

with the state. State building proceeded with an ideology tacitly supportive of toleration (within strictly understood limits), while many Dutch continued to be committed to their own confession, even while the outwardly perceived strength and cohesion of the United Provinces increased.

The principal "other" for the Dutch Republic was external: the exclusively and militantly Catholic Spanish Monarchy, from which the Netherlands had won independence. The externalization of this "other," who was defined in both national and theological terms, while it encouraged the oligarchization of urban centers, also fostered a climate in which communities of devout Calvinists resisted efforts of the civil government to provide, for example, poor relief (Parker 1998, 5). Scholars have interpreted these developments as a consequence of communal discipline, since according to Reformed teaching no amount of individual effort could increase the chances of an individual being admitted to the Elect, and most tellingly, the presence of a single unrepentant sinner could sully an entire community (Gorski 2003, 124). Awareness of these facts shaped attitudes of theologians throughout Protestant Europe who advised princes, as when Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558) warned Christian III of Denmark (1503–59) to hire only "our scholars" as preachers and teachers at Copenhagen University (Rummel 2000, 48).

Sweden progressed relatively smoothly from a late medieval feudal state to an early modern sovereign state in which, despite the spectacular conversion of Queen Christina (1626–89, reigned 1632–54) to Catholicism in 1654, Lutheranism became strongly identified with the centralizing monarchy. The experience of theologians in Sweden has been described as twofold, with an active if discreet scholarly culture existing as a "parallel world" alongside the more pragmatic context of struggles between court and gown. The Swedish example is instructive because it suggests the compartmentalization of theological versus more concrete and worldly concerns that existed elsewhere. We are reminded that confessionalization could have an interior component, and that definitions of orthodoxy that were refined during this process sometimes touched on occult practices such as astrology and on the experience of personal piety. Related to this point is the tendency of many theologians to keep their views to themselves, even when these views might not draw immediate censure. The social and especially the professional position of theologians, and the desire of theologians to preserve these positions, thus influenced the dissemination of new ideas and indirectly the impact of these ideas on the understanding of how theology might shape the state and vice versa. Simultaneously, there persisted a strain of passionately and widely held theological thought that had a negative impact on the building of any state; for example, the millennial teachings of mostly non-university trained preachers. And while legions of parish priests, even after the Council of Trent, had a practical and only faintly theological understanding of their duties, theology continued to be a high-prestige undertaking in places as varied as Paris and Prussia, with the result that the framing of theological debate was undertaken by elites who wove an understanding of their own status and relation to city and state into their discourses.

Ireland experienced a process of simultaneous dual confessionalization: the arrival of Protestant settlers and pressure from the English crown produced a

"confessionalization from above," while a Catholic "confessionalization from below" continued, often supported by traditional landed elites (Lotz-Heumann, 2005). The role of theology per se in the intense rivalry that followed is opaque. Differences between Catholic and Anglican understandings of sin and salvation were often less important to laypersons than allegiances to ritual, community, and powerful families; home-grown Catholic professional theologians were in short supply, while priests trained on the Continent filled the void created by the closing of Catholic convents and monasteries. Efforts to develop an influential native-born Anglican clerical class that could shape the populace to the new dominant models of religious thinking (and promote loyalty to the government in London) were a disappointment. The forms of religion became rallying points for sectarian quarrels that would last centuries. Yet deeply held religious belief would remain an important part of the cultural landscape far longer than in many other parts of Europe.

The continuing debate among scholars as to the progress of the Reformation in England points to the challenges inherent in interpreting the evidence of the emergence of the confessional state. Eamon Duffy has argued that earlier historiography had an anti-Catholic bias and that reform was gradual and even haphazard (Duffy 1992). Alec Ryrie proposes an even more radical idea—that scholarship has made the British Reformations look more important than (and thus quite different from) what they really were (Ryrie 2006). The prominence of the United Kingdom and its language, English, in subsequent centuries thus not only unduly magnified the importance of its early religious reformations but has also caused them on occasion to be viewed from a perspective not as theologically oriented as the points of view of the reformers. Complicating this picture further was the underdeveloped nature of the early Tudor English state, which has been described as a series of mobile concentric circles centered upon the monarch, wherein confessionalization might be enlisted to get these circles all moving in the same direction.

A coherent approach to theology undoubtedly was very important to Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), Mary Tudor (1516–58, reigned 1553–58), John Colet (1467–1519) and other key players, but it is not possible to speak of a coherent English theology during much of the sixteenth century. Among the flashpoints was purgatory, an idea denounced by many as false, downplayed by others as less worthy of attention than were clerical abuses, and defended by others, including Mary and her ecclesiastical allies, as sound—if now to be more subtly emphasized—doctrine. Related to purgatory, devotion to the saints may have declined during the latter part of Henry VIII's (1491–1547, reigned 1509–47) reign, although this surmise is based on evidence from middle-class wills and thus excludes a large segment of the population. Since many of the most often venerated late medieval saints were not English, this decline could also be interpreted as a symptom of increasing identification with Englishness, although other explanations are also possible. Later documents more readily express a national vision: the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549) and the *Thirty-Nine Articles* (1563) articulated a confessional identity that was distinctly English and which sought a *via media* between Catholicism and some Protestant sects. The linking of confessional and national identities was short-lived.

The Restoration of 1660 saw the endurance of visible, organized, and ultimately tolerated religious dissent that left its mark on British colonies, as well as on literature (e.g., *Pilgrim's Progress*, published in 1678).

France presents a different picture from its neighbors. The most populous of the regions evolving into nation states, it was also geographically sprawling and made up of highly disparate components. Theology as taught in universities, most notably Paris, retained a strongly scholastic character, as suggested in the writings of Calvin (1509–64), and also in the articles drafted by the Sorbonne between 1542 and 1563, which were taken by law to define Catholic orthodoxy. The monarchy, like those of many other polities, was sacral; but Francis I (1494–1547, reigned 1515–47) was spared the worst of the religious controversies of his age and seemed uninterested in theological debates. At the end of the sixteenth century, Henri IV (1553–1610, reigned 1589–1610) had to deal with pressures from many directions as he realigned his public confessional identity, and functioned somewhat as a bridge between the eras of sacral kingship and the rationalized politics of the mid-seventeenth century and later. Catholic devotional practices in France after the Edict of Nantes (1598) suggest not a growing spirit of toleration but the mood of a dominant confessional group in a state where a stopgap measure had been undertaken to prevent further civil discord. According to the "weak theory of confessionalization," rivalry and emulation among religious groups in France fostered solidarity within these groups; again academic theology provided the vocabulary with which the experience of solidarity might be described and remembered. By the reign of Louis XIII (1601–43, reigned 1610–43), the personal piety of the monarch, as represented in the visual and performing arts, was being linked with the confessional identity of the state (Monod 1999, 113) and with the sacral basis of royal sovereignty. These connections were continued during the reign of Louis XIV (1638–1715, reigned 1643–1715), when France was engaged in a struggle with the Habsburgs, who also made claims for the sacral basis of their sovereignty, but who neither ruled over a confessionally conformed territory, nor were able to build a cohesive state. But by this point the "Most Christian" monarch, having been raised to near-deification by poets, artists, and homilists, was merely using the confessional idea to advance the centralized power of a French state that, aside from seeking the suppression of Jansenism, cared little about theology.

Ian Hunter notes "serial waves of confessionalisation" (Hunter 2007, 32) washing over Central Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, resulting in a predominantly Lutheran Brandenburg ruled by Calvinist princes and in smaller territories where the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* functioned awkwardly, unlike Scotland where the royal government (personally linked to that of England after 1603) exercised some central authority. In Brandenburg, the struggles that ensued took on a distinctly theological character, with Lutheran congregations experiencing a shared rite of salvation that forged the identity of a group prepared to resist even minor changes in the liturgy imposed by Calvinist officials. Hunter's use of the phrase "confessionalizing states" highlights this ongoing tension, and also hints at why it is hard to point to a successful "confessional state" in the region during this period.

In the part of Hungary not controlled by Turkey, as in so many other polities, sincerely held theological convictions were at times impossible to separate from the desire to take a stand against what was seen as a foreign and unwelcome dynasty, in this case the Catholic Habsburgs. Ultimately, this dynasty achieved victory over the Ottomans not through a program of what Charles Ingrao calls "confessional absolutism" (Ingrao 2000, 1664) but by drawing consensus from its corporate estates, which included Protestants, while simultaneously relying on external (Catholic) allies. Dotted with new Catholic churches and foundations, Hungary in the early eighteenth century nevertheless saw confessionalizing forces stalled by local Protestant resistance and a loss of momentum by the order spearheading the project, the Jesuits.

A recently identified and more broadly construed "confessionalization" of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires during the same period as confessionalization was underway in Christian Europe has also been noted (Krstić 2011), in which a "learned hierarchy" of Sunni muftis had access to the Ottoman civil authorities. Within Europe itself, Jewish communities experienced confessionalization externally, when pressed by the authorities driven by their own confessionalization programs.

The solidifying of nation states possessing a confessional identity had a secondary impact on other confessional communities. Exiles, both Protestant and Catholic, who had fled their homes because of their commitment to their confession, intensified the confessional quality of the communities into which they immigrated. They simultaneously made these communities more cosmopolitan, at times producing highly visible new theological spokesmen such as John Knox (ca. 1514–72), who was briefly a prominent figure in Geneva. Conversely, the presence of conspicuous heretics, such as Michael Servetus (ca. 1511–53) in Calvinist Geneva, threw the spotlight on theology from another, "levitical" direction, where the alien functioned as the Other, against whose beliefs the faithful must rally to preserve the purity and integrity of the state.

The framing of national identity through adherence to confessional positions was often understood more through opposition to another confession or hierarchy than through adhesion to a static set of doctrines. Political and ecclesiastical leaders became at various times participants, objects, and subjects in this process. Where theology took a moral turn, judicial practice and social control both enforced application of theological standards and shaped public perceptions of what constituted orthodox beliefs. Formal schooling and lay reading were powerful shapers of belief and identity; local and Biblical heroes were celebrated while confessional doctrine was set forth (Russell 1986). The printing of books in the vernacular by both Catholic and Protestant publishers fostered local and national identities even as they promoted transnational theologies. Both groups trained political elites with the aid of emblems that expressed moral and theological ideas graphically, at times employing images of national "types." School dramas could allude more vividly to national themes expounded in books, while presenting role models of leadership and piety. Even such public rituals as executions for crimes against the official religion reinforced the connection between theology and the increasing authority of the confessionally conformed state.