

WOMEN CONFRONT THE REFORMATION:  
KATHARINA SCHÜTZ ZELL, TERESA OF ÁVILA,  
AND RELIGIOUS REFORM IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

by

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## Abstract

This thesis seeks to situate two sixteenth-century women, Katharina Schütz Zell and Saint Teresa of Ávila, within the framework of confessionalization, currently one of the more prominent theoretical models with which to interpret the Reformation. This will be accomplished through an analysis of their conceptions of reform, their interactions with political authorities, and their interpretations of the nature of prayer, specifically the Our Father or Lord's Prayer.

The lives and religious thought of these two women challenge some of the key tenets of the confessionalization theory. First, they show that the political element of confessionalization, that is, the assumption of control over religious affairs by secular temporal authorities, was not a product or corollary of the Reformation, but rather was a process that had begun centuries earlier. Second, they contradict the model's claim that the religious life of Europe after the Reformation was organized into water-tight confessions—Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism—that dictated what their respective adherents believed and did not believe. On the contrary, Schütz Zell and Teresa evince a level of individualism in their religious thought that did not conform absolutely to confessional norms, yet was not subversive or impious, either.

The sources this thesis will use consist primarily of the works of the two women themselves, who both wrote extensively on matters of religion and spirituality. It will also draw upon the large secondary literature of confessionalization and, more broadly, the Reformation as well as late medieval and early modern Europe as a whole, in order to understand the significance of the women within their proper context.

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## Introduction

Thirty years ago, Roland Bainton directed our attention to the lives of some fifteen women from the Reformation era. Stating that these women “have not had their due,” Bainton suggests that a better understanding of women’s place in the Reformation would give us a better understanding of the period in its entirety, for without the approval of women, who formed half the population of Europe, the Protestant Reformation would have foundered.<sup>1</sup> By looking only at men, we are in effect getting only half the story of how the Reformation happened. A study of women’s role enables us to explore how the Reformation movement was able to secure the support of the populace and become a reality.

In the past thirty years, much work has been done to redress the historiographical gender imbalance.<sup>2</sup> Much work, however, still remains to be done. Three decades later,

<sup>1</sup> Roland Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of recent research into women and gender in the late medieval and early modern periods include Mary Beth Rose, ed., *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press, 1986); Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Sherrin Marshall, ed., *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989); Jean R. Brink, Maryanne C. Horowitz, and Allison P. Coudert, eds., *Playing with Gender: A Renaissance Pursuit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Craig A. Monson, ed., *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); James Grantham Turner, ed., *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Andrew Lynch and Philippa Maddern, eds., *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1995); Ronald E. Surtz, *Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis, eds., *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London: Longman, 1998); Heide Wunder, *He Is the Sun, She Is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998). Several other works, focussing specifically on women and religion, have also appeared: Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994); Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Catherine M. Mooney, *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

Bainton's suggestion that the history of women could contribute to our understanding of the Reformation remains valid, and the call for more research to be done on women and religion in medieval and early modern times has been frequently renewed since his book first appeared.<sup>3</sup>

My thesis will examine the lives of two women: Katharina Schütz Zell (1498–1562) and Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582). In so doing, it will seek to place them within one of the most influential theoretical frameworks currently being used to interpret the Reformation, namely the model of confessionalization. Their experiences have important consequences for the model, and an analysis of Schütz Zell's and Teresa's religious ideas and their political and social contexts of Strasbourg and Spain indicates that a re-evaluation of the manner in which confessionalization occurred is in order. The confessionalization model posits that Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism were essentially three parallel movements that united, and in some cases even identified, religion with the state. The model thus favours looking at the Reformations of the sixteenth century as processes that obviously varied in theological or doctrinal content, but shared great similarities in socio-political form.<sup>4</sup>

Ernst Walter Zeeden, in the course of his research into the Reformation, was one of the first to discover that the social and religious development of German territories of

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Merry E. Wiesner, "Women's Response to the Reformation," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 148–50; Kathryn Norberg, "The Counter-Reformation and Women: Religious and Lay," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John W. O'Malley (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), pp. 133–34.

<sup>4</sup> For an appraisal of the confessionalization theory and its effect on Reformation research, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 108–17, 136–40 and R. Po-chia Hsia, "The Structure of Belief: Confessionalism and Society, 1500–1600," in *Germany: A New Social and Economic History*, ed. Sheilagh Ogilvie and Bob Scribner, 3 vols. (London: Arnold, 1996), 1: 357–58.

different confessions shared much in common. One of the more prominent similarities was the promulgation of confessions—doctrinal statements of faith assembled by the ecclesiastical and theological leaders of the multiple parties into which Christianity had been split by the events of the Reformation. It is from these confessions that the terms confessional formation and confessionalization come.<sup>5</sup>

Zeeden's discoveries were built upon by later historians, most notably Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard,<sup>6</sup> who added the perspectives of social history and

<sup>5</sup> A brief list of Zeeden's research includes *Martin Luther und die Reformation: im Urteil des deutschen Luthertums; Studien zum Selbstverständnis des lutherischen Protestantismus von Luthers Tode bis zum Beginn der Goethezeit*, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1950–1952); *Kleine Reformationsgeschichte von Baden-Durlach und Kurpfalz: ein kurzgefasster Überblick über den Beginn der Reformation und die Geschehnisse der katholischen Kirche in der Markgrafschaft Baden-Durlach und der Kurpfalz* (Karlsruhe: Badenia Verlag, 1956); *Katholische Überlieferungen in den lutherischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts: Katholisches Leben und Kampfen im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* (Münster im Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1959); *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1965); *Das Zeitalter der Gegenreformation* (Freiburg: Herder, 1967); *Gegenreformation* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973); *Das Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe, 1555–1648* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973); *Hegemonialkrieg und Glaubenskämpfe, 1556–1648* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1977); *Europa von ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Westfälischen Frieden (1648)* (Stuttgart: Klett-Clotta, 1981); *Beiträge zur Erforschung des frühneuzeitlichen Visitationswesens in Europa: Spätmittelalter und frühe Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Klett-Clotta, 1984); *Konfessionsbildung: Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform* (Stuttgart: Klett-Clotta, 1985).

<sup>6</sup> See Wolfgang Reinhard, ed., *Bekennnis und Geschichte: die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang; Ringvorlesung der Universität Augsburg im Jubiläumjahr 1980* (München: Vögel, 1981); Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–77; Heinz Schilling, ed., *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland: das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation": Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte (1985)* (Gutersloh: G. Mohn, 1986); Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1–45; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550–1750* (London: Routledge, 1989); Heinz Schilling, ed., *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden, 1557–1620*, 2 vols. (Köln: Bohlmann, 1989–1992); Heinz Schilling, *Am Anfang waren Luther, Loyola und Calvin: ein religionssoziologisch-entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (Berlin: Präsidentin der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1993); Hans-Christoph Rublack, "Lutherische Beichte und Sozialdisziplinierung," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 84 (1993): 127–55; Heinz Schilling, "Luther, Loyola, Calvin und die europäische Neuzeit," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 85 (1994): 5–31; Heinz Schilling, *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa: mit einer Auswahlbibliographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994); Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung: Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte (1993)* (Gutersloh: Gutersloh Verlagshaus, 1995); Heinz Schilling, *Die Neue Zeit: vom Christenheitseuropa zum Europa der Staaten, 1250 bis 1750* (Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1999); Heinz Schilling, *Institutionen, Instrumente und Akteure sozialer Kontrolle und Disziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1999).

applied Max Weber and Gerhard Oestreich's sociological model of social disciplining. Research operating within this theoretical framework uncovered the close relationship between church and state that came to exist at this time, especially in the Holy Roman Empire after the Peace of Augsburg (1555) allowed the ruler of each territory to determine its religion. The early modern state, in pursuit of its own ideal of a uniform and tractable populace, promoted the new confessional churches' attempts to bring about doctrinal unity and moral compliance. The process was not necessarily a wholly conscious one, as both the political and religious modes of control arose themselves from the shared intellectual, social, cultural, political, and economic *milieu*.

My thesis will apply the features of confessionalization to Katharina Schütz Zell and Teresa of Ávila, and their respective societies of Strasbourg and Spain. I have selected these two women for several reasons, all of them with an eye towards including as broad a range of experiences as possible while still focussing on a limited number of people in a limited number of environments. First, the two women were of different generations, born almost twenty years apart: Schütz Zell was undergoing her adult conversion to evangelicalism while Teresa was still a small child. Second, as confessionalization is a process that is supposed to have parallel effects within the various confessions, Schütz Zell, a Protestant and the wife of a prominent reformer—Matthis Zell (1477–1548)—and Teresa, a Catholic nun and a renowned saint of the Counter Reformation, provide an ideal contrast. Lastly, the linguistic and geographical differences between the German Schütz Zell and the Spanish Teresa would serve to press the spatial limits of the model as well.<sup>7</sup>

My thesis will specifically test two of the aspects of confessionalization: the

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<sup>7</sup> The model of confessionalization has already begun to be applied outside of its traditional confines of the Holy Roman Empire. See, for example, Oscar Di Simplicio, "Confessionalizzazione e identità collettiva—Il caso italiano: Siena, 1575–1800," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 380–411.

relationship between the church and the state, and the formation of confessionalized identities. Its first section will show, through an analysis of the political and religious situations in Strasbourg and Spain during the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, that political control over religious life antedates the emergence of the various confessions after the Reformation. At first it may appear that this will involve a comparison of two incommensurate polities, the city of Strasbourg and the “country” of Spain, which, although it had some semblance of unity after the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, was still in reality itself a congeries of disparate territories.<sup>8</sup> This difference in scale is, however, both necessary and justifiable. First, Strasbourg, as a free imperial city, enjoyed more autonomy than a typical Spanish city, and many of the decisions affecting religion in the town were made by the town itself.<sup>9</sup> In Spain, on the other hand, such policies were generally made at the national level. Second, for the purposes of the two women in question, the difference also reflects the particular histories of Schütz Zell and Teresa. Teresa’s religious vocation took her far from her home town of Ávila and required her to journey throughout much of the Iberian peninsula, while Schütz Zell spent almost all of her life in Strasbourg; again, the focused attention on Strasbourg and the broader perspective on Spain is appropriate to the situation. The third reason for the difference in scale is historiographical in nature. Fortunately, the extensive research on the Reformation

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<sup>8</sup> For more on Spain’s complex constitution, see J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Penguin, 1963); Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), pp. 39–93; Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1991); Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> James Kittelson, “Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: The Report from Strasbourg,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982): 153–75.

in Strasbourg makes a concentrated study of that city possible.<sup>10</sup> Ávila, on the other hand, has been the subject of only one book,<sup>11</sup> and the rest of Spain also suffers from a lack of such local studies,<sup>12</sup> making the kind of concentrated focus that is possible in Strasbourg impossible for cities in Spain.

The second section of my thesis, composed of two chapters on Schütz Zell's and Teresa's ideas about reform and the Lord's Prayer, treats the formation of religious identities. It will challenge the idea that one's religious identity came to be defined by sharply-drawn confessional lines. Research into identity formation has stressed the importance of the "other." In order to feel as though one belongs to a group, one must believe that there are those who do not belong.<sup>13</sup> However, Schütz Zell and Teresa did not form their religious identities solely on the basis of a concept of "us and them," but also on their own personal understanding of their faiths.

Situating these women within the confessionalization model leads to discoveries that bear consequences for our understanding of the process of confessionalization.

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<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); William S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy: The Inception of the Reformation in Strasbourg, 1522–1524* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Lorna Jane Abrey, *The People's Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500–1598* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1995); John D. Derksen, "Reasons for Dissent among Strasbourg's Religious Nonconformists, 1536–1569," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 90 (1999): 188–210.

<sup>11</sup> Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

<sup>12</sup> Two notable exceptions are William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) and Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

<sup>13</sup> See Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); W. A. Elliott, *Us and Them: A Study of Group Consciousness* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986); Anthony D. Smith, "The Formation of National Identity," in *Identity: Essays Based on Herbert Spencer*, ed. Henry Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 129–53.

Today's leading theoretical advocates of confessionalization argue that historians of the Reformation should pay more attention to the second half of the sixteenth century, when things, they believe, *really* began to happen, once the Catholic and various Protestant churches had had the chance to delineate their doctrine in confessional statements, and princes had had the chance to adopt and implement them in their territories.<sup>14</sup> The establishment of this union of state and church furthermore engendered confessional identities by clearly separating those who were within the religious and territorial community from those who were outside it.<sup>15</sup> However, far from it taking until the late 1500s for political authorities to begin to regulate religion within their territories, the process had already begun in the Middle Ages, and can be traced through the first decades of the sixteenth century. Research into Schütz Zell and Teresa also demonstrates that they had religious feelings and insights that were not merely manifestations of their identity *vis-à-vis* a confessional "other."

Finally, before we proceed to our analysis, a brief outline of the women's lives and discussion of their writings is in order. Katharina Schütz was born into a devout Strasbourg family.<sup>16</sup> Her father was a successful woodworker, and though the family was not among the city's elite, it was established and respectable. They at least had the financial resources to provide Katharina with a solid education. She learned to read and write German fluently, but did not pursue the Latin humanist studies valued by the city's

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<sup>14</sup> Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture, and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 205–207.

<sup>15</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 399–400.

<sup>16</sup> Biographical information for Katharina Schütz Zell can be found in Bainton, *Women of the Reformation*, pp. 55–76 and Elsie Anne McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), vol. 1, *The Life and Thought of a Sixteenth-Century Reformer*.

ruling class. Her professional training consisted of learning the trade of tapestry weaving, a skill which she, growing up in a pious family, likely put to use in the creation of works of a religious theme. Throughout her childhood, she devoted much of her time to the study of her faith. By the age of ten, she had already made a commitment to remain unmarried and to spend her life performing good works in the service of the Church, not as a nun, but as a laywoman living in the world. These plans changed, however, with the coming of the Reformation. When one of the town's priests, Matthis Zell, began preaching reformed sermons in 1521, Katharina, convinced of the truth of the new message she was hearing, converted to the evangelical faith. She eventually married Zell in 1523 and became, as he called her, his helpmate in living out the Gospel. She remained his partner in faith for twenty-five years, until his death in 1548 left her to carry out their work alone until her own death in 1562.

Teresa of Ávila, like Schütz Zell, was remarkably devout as a child.<sup>17</sup> She, too, determined at a young age to remain a virgin for the greater good of the Church. Unlike Schütz Zell, she lived out her childhood plans, and entered a Carmelite convent at the age of twenty-one. There she remained, leading a relatively uneventful life, until she experienced at the age of forty a conversion to a deeper spirituality, characterized by a desire to spend her life in solemn contemplation. It was at this time that she devised her idea to leave her original, overcrowded convent and found a new, smaller and quieter one where she could devote more time to prayer. Before her death, this one convent of St. Joseph's in Ávila would spawn several other sister houses and lead to a division within

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<sup>17</sup> Several biographies of Teresa of Ávila exist, including E. Allison Peers, *Mother of Carmel: A Portrait of St. Teresa of Jesus* (New York: Morehouse, 1946); Stephen Clissold, *St. Teresa of Avila* (London: Sheldon Press, 1979); Victoria Lincoln, *Teresa: A Woman—A Biography of Teresa of Avila* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); Cathleen Medwick, *Teresa of Avila: The Progress of a Soul* (New York: Image, 1999).

the Carmelites between the old mitigated order of which Teresa was originally a member, and the new order of discalced Carmelites into which the houses she founded were organized. Teresa proceeded to found over a dozen convents, and even a few friaries for men, before her death in 1582.

Any analysis of the thought of Katharina Schütz Zell and Teresa of Ávila will have to be grounded in the two women's writings. The main source for Schütz Zell's reformed ideology is her *Letter to the Whole Population of the Town of Strasbourg*,<sup>18</sup> an apologetic statement of her belief. This thesis will also be examining her *Our Father with Its Explanation*, a meditation upon the Lord's Prayer.<sup>19</sup> Both of these works have recently been published in their original German.<sup>20</sup> Teresa also wrote many works of religion and devotion, and is perhaps best known for recording her experiences of mysticism. This thesis, however, is concerned more with the writings that highlight her less mystical and more practical thought regarding religious practice and reform. Foremost among this family of her writings are *The Foundations*, an historical account of the founding of her reformed houses, and *The Way of Perfection*, a type of guidebook to the religious life that includes her meditation on the Lord's Prayer. Unlike Schütz Zell's works, several

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<sup>18</sup> *Ein Brieff an die gantze Burgerschafft der Statt Stassburg/ von Katharina Zellin/ dessen jetz säligen Matthei Zellen/ dess alten und ersten Predigers des Evangelij diser Statt/ nachgelassne Ehefraw/ Betreffend Herr Ludwigen Rabus/ jetz ein Prediger der Statt Ulm/ sampt zweyen brieffen jr und sein/ die mag mengklich lesen und urtheilen on gunst und hass/ sonder allein der war heit warnemen. Dabey auch ein sanffte antwort/ auff jeden Artickel/ seines brieffs* (1557).

<sup>19</sup> *Den Psalmen Miserere/ mit dem Khünig David bedacht/ gebettet/ und paraphrasirt von Katharina Zellin M. Matthei Zellen seligen nachgelassne Ehefraw/ sampt dem Vatter unser mit seiner erklärungs/ zugeschickt dem Christlichen mann Juncker Felix Armbruster/ zum trost in seiner kranckheit/ und andern angefochtenen hertzen und Concientzen/ der sünd halben betrübt &c. in truck lassen kommen* (1558).

<sup>20</sup> Elsie Anne McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), vol. 2, *The Writings: A Critical Edition*.

translations of Teresa's complete corpus into English are available,<sup>21</sup> and I will be using the most recent and, in my opinion, best of them for the quotations given in this thesis.<sup>22</sup> Teresa's correspondence also provides an important source of insight into her thought, one not often utilized by Teresian scholars, but one upon which this thesis will draw, supplemented by the information given in her autobiographical *Life*.

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<sup>21</sup> For years, the standard English translation of Teresa's collected works was *The Complete Works of St. Teresa of Jesus*, trans. E. Allison Peers, 3 vols. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1973). Editions of several of her individual books have also appeared, such as J. M. Cohen's translation of *The Life of Saint Teresa of Ávila by Herself* (London: Penguin, 1957) and Benedict Zimmerman's translation of *The Interior Castle* (London: Fount, 1995). Teresa's works in the original Spanish can be found in *Santa Teresa de Jesus: Obras Completas*, ed. Luis Santullano (Madrid: Aguilar, 1966).

<sup>22</sup> *The Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1976–1987).

**Chapter One:**  
**The Relationship between Religion and Politics**  
**in Strasbourg and Spain**

Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard have themselves acknowledged that there are medieval roots to the politico-religious power matrix they find in the late sixteenth century,<sup>23</sup> and at least two studies have attempted to analyze political “confessionalization” before the emergence of religious “confessionalism” in the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup> However, as R. Po-chia Hsia has stated, the continuities in the history of medieval and early modern politics receive relatively little attention from historians.<sup>25</sup> This chapter will contribute to this new direction in the study of confessionalization by arguing that one of the key components of confessionalization, the control of religion by secular authorities, was not unique to the second half of the sixteenth century following the Reformation, but in fact originated much earlier. While it may be possible to argue that this phenomenon has its ultimate roots in the conversion of Constantine and the prominent position occupied within Christendom by subsequent emperors, this chapter will not attempt to delve that far back in time. Rather, it will treat the immediate medieval antecedents of the political and religious developments of the sixteenth century, and will show that both the ideological and structural underpinnings allowing the temporal power

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<sup>23</sup> Reinhard, “Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State,” p. 389; Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture, and the Emergence of Early Modern Society*, pp. 208–209.

<sup>24</sup> Winfried Eberhard, *Konfessionsbildung und Stände in Böhmen* (München: Oldenbourg, 1981); Peter Dykema, “The Reforms of Count Eberhard of Württemberg: ‘Confessionalization’ in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470–1630*, ed. Beat Kümin (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 39–56.

<sup>25</sup> R. Po-chia Hsia, “The German Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Modern History* 66 (1994): 726–36.

to exercise its authority over the religious sphere were firmly in place by the late Middle Ages in Spain and Strasbourg.

The Reformation may be said to have come to Strasbourg with the reformed preaching of Matthis Zell in the early 1520s. When Zell began to preach the Gospel from his pulpit, he exposed a fissure within Strasbourgeois society between the men and women who welcomed the new message and the ecclesiastical authorities who wanted to suppress it. Caught in the middle was the town council, which was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the city. As the course of reform advanced, events forced the council to abandon any pretense of neutrality and to claim more and more direct authority over the city's religious life. This was not the direct result of the coming of the Reformation alone, however, and the town council was in a position to assume such authority formally only because the developments of the preceding centuries had placed it in that position.

The relationship between Strasbourg's clergy and its lay government had been tense long before the crisis of the Reformation emerged. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the bishop of Strasbourg governed the city directly. From 1200 onwards, he did so with the assistance of two lay assemblies that he created and to whom he delegated some of his authority in order to make the increasingly complex governance of the city more manageable. The *Rat*, composed of twelve men selected from among Strasbourg's nobles and burghers, aided the bishop in the formulation and execution of law within the city. A second, larger, council called the *Schöffen*, which was elected by universal male suffrage, regulated the city's business affairs, such as commercial

transactions and the settlement of debts.<sup>26</sup>

In 1205, Philip of Swabia made Strasbourg a free imperial city in return for the townspeople's support of the Holy Roman Emperor in his conflict with the pope. In 1219, Frederick II granted Strasbourg's lay government broader authority over judicial and financial matters. The city's increasing autonomy rankled with the bishop, and in 1260 the rivalry between him and the lay government erupted into civil war. Eventually, the city's military forces decisively defeated those of the bishop at the battle of Hausbergen in 1262. The treaty drafted the following year drastically curtailed the bishop's power, and he was subsequently required to reside outside of the city walls.<sup>27</sup>

Because he enjoyed so little political power after 1263, subsequent developments in Strasbourg's legal and constitutional history did not profoundly affect the bishop directly; however, they are important in that they set the ideological stage upon which the events of the sixteenth century were to play out. The bishop was not the only person who grew jealous of the increasingly overbearing authority of the *Rat*, and in 1332 the city's artisans rebelled. The result was greater political representation for the guilds, as a representative from each one was admitted to a seat on the *Rat*. The *Ratsherren* were now divided between those drawn from the nobility and those drawn from the working class.<sup>28</sup>

The friction between the two groups continued for almost a century, culminating in 1422, when several nobles renounced their citizenship and left the city in protest against laws restricting the special status of the nobility that had been proposed by the guildsmen on the *Rat*. Hoping to impress Strasbourg's citizenry with this display, the

<sup>26</sup> Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, p. 16; William S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 108–109.

<sup>28</sup> Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, pp. 17–18.

nobles' action instead appeared to be irresponsible and self-serving. When the nobles finally returned, they did so on the burghers' terms: the constitution of the *Rat* was again altered to ensure that its membership would number at least twice as many guildsmen as nobles.<sup>29</sup>

Strasbourg's nobility thus lost both their legal and their moral authority to govern the city. An urban patriciate comprising the city's commercial and bureaucratic elite rose to take the nobles' place as the political leaders of Strasbourg.<sup>30</sup> Unlike the nobility, whose wealth was derived from their rural estates, the patricians made their money in the city, and were highly urbanized in both origin and outlook. When humanist thought reached Strasbourg in the later fifteenth century, the patriciate came into contact with the classical ideal of the city. Influenced by the political values of ancient Rome and the Greek city-states, the patrician elite developed a strong sense of civic pride. They constructed an identity for themselves that was based on their Strasbourgeois citizenship, and made a virtue out of civic unity, culminating in the emergence of a cult of the community and of the "common good" (*gemein Nutz*).<sup>31</sup> There were additional Christian, as well as classical, components to this concept. By the fifteenth century, many imperial cities had evolved an idea of the city as a "sacred society"—a miniature *corpus christianum* within wider Christendom.<sup>32</sup> The upshot of this stream of thought was a heightened sense on the part of the *Ratsherren* that the city was a single body for which

<sup>29</sup> Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>30</sup> Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519–1530* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1996), p. 181; Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 13–14.

<sup>32</sup> Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, ed. and trans. H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), pp. 42–49.

they were responsible. Their responsibility extended to all aspects of life within the city, and they endeavoured to bring the city's economic, political, judicial, military, and—most importantly for this thesis—religious affairs under their control.<sup>33</sup>

In Strasbourg, the magistrates' communal ideology manifested itself in several ways. From around 1480 onwards, for example, the *Rat* assumed an ever-growing authority over the once largely self-governing guilds, interfering with the way the guilds were organized and regulating the manner in which they produced and sold their wares. As justification for these measures, the *Ratsherren* cited its responsibility to protect the economic good of the community at large by ensuring that manufactures were fairly priced and of adequate quality.<sup>34</sup>

In the religious sphere, their concern for the *gemein Nutz* directed their attention to the issue of clerical privilege. The medieval clergy were free from several of civil society's burdens—such as contributing to the city's defense—and enjoyed a high level of economic autonomy; they were exempt from taxation and had absolute control over the property they owned. This offended the patrician class for two basic reasons. First, it represented a breach in the city's social fabric; the clergy's insistence that they were an order apart within the greater whole violated the patricians' civic ideology. Second, by the turn of the sixteenth century, much of the land in and around Strasbourg was owned and controlled by the Church, and therefore permanently lost to the city for most legal and economic purposes. Because the *Rat* could not regulate in any way the clergy's economic

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<sup>33</sup> Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), esp. pp. 32–38; Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "In Search of the Godly City: The Domestication of Religion in the German Urban Reformation," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 14–31.

<sup>34</sup> Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, pp. 7–8; Ozment, *Reformation in the Cities*, p. 34.

activities, clerical landholders were free to manipulate the price of their grain, which affected not only other, lay, grain producers and sellers, but also all those laymen who had to purchase the grain.<sup>35</sup> The situation was similar to the one that confronted the *Rat* over the guilds; however, in this case, the *Ratsherren* were, owing to the legal rights of the clergy, powerless to take the countermeasures they felt were necessary.

What proved to be perhaps the greatest source of irritation to all lay Strasbourgeois was the clergy's immunity from civil prosecution. Several incidents of criminal behaviour on the part of clerics over the course of the fifteenth century, and the subsequent evasion of punishment by the city's court, loomed large in the public memory.<sup>36</sup> When in 1521 Matthis Zell began preaching the Gospel and expounding on the teachings of Martin Luther from his pulpit, his message that the Catholic clergy had, contrary to Christ's teaching, set themselves up as an order apart from and above lay Christians resonated with the pre-existing resentment of the clergy's economic and legal privileges. The evangelical claim that the Catholic priests had reserved to themselves the right to read, preach, and interpret scripture, which the reformers felt should be accessible to all believers, dovetailed with the popular belief that the clergy should be subject to the same laws and duties of all citizens. The evangelical assault on the clergy's special sacerdotal status formed a religious accompaniment to the *Rat*'s assault on their special legal status. The affinity between the two points of view allowed the reformers and the *Ratsherren* to form an ideological and political alliance.<sup>37</sup> Zell's conversion and subsequent dispute with his bishop provided the immediate spark that caused the long-smouldering

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<sup>35</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 110–11.

<sup>36</sup> Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform*, p. 52.

<sup>37</sup> Abray, *The People's Reformation*, pp. 34–36.

tension between the *Rat* and the clergy to ignite. Zell and the other priests who began to follow the evangelical movement realized that their only refuge from the bishop's power lay in placing themselves under the protection of the city.

In December 1523, Zell married Katharina Schütz, a decision that demonstrated, even more dramatically than did the content of his sermons, his belief that the distinctions between clergy and laity should be levelled. Zell thereby joined the number of married clergy living in Strasbourg, which included Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Capito, and Anton Firm. This was a compromising situation for the *Rat*, as it was against imperial law, promulgated as recently as March 1523 by the *Reichstag* at Nürnberg, for a priest to marry.<sup>38</sup> Strasbourg's *Ratsherren* saw themselves as the upholders of law and order within the city, and the issue of clerical marriage seemed to be forcing them to choose one over the other. To enforce the Nürnberg mandate would be to risk a popular uprising in support of the reformed preachers; however, to protect them, while pleasing their parishioners, would be to tolerate the presence of a flagrant contravention of imperial and ecclesiastical law. The *Rat* temporized, appealing to other bodies such as Strasbourg's *Schöffen* or an imperial council to make a decision, and requesting that the bishop forestall his own prosecution of the priests by his ecclesiastical tribunal. By taking a passive position, the *Rat* was, in effect, implicitly supporting the reformers: the attendance of the wives of two prominent magistrates at Firm's wedding indicated that the support was more than implicit on the part of at least some of the *Ratsherren*.<sup>39</sup>

The course of reform continued, and by the spring of 1524, the reformed clergy

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<sup>38</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, p. 151.

<sup>39</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, p. 152.

were performing the Mass in German and distributing communion in both kinds.<sup>40</sup> The parishioners of three parishes—St. Aurelien, Young St. Peter, and Old St. Peter—had deposed their Catholic pastors and had installed, respectively, Bucer, Capito, and Theobald Schwartz in their places.<sup>41</sup> The chapters associated with the affected parishes protested to the *Rat* which, citing the dangers of going against either public opinion by overturning the depositions or against the law by recognizing them, again avoided taking a definite position which, again, served merely to permit the *de facto* results of the parishioners' actions to stand.

In the final months of 1524, three events served to bring matters to a head, in the aftermath of which the *Rat* could no longer negotiate a neutral path. First, the bishop himself, apparently tired of waiting for the *Rat* to act, appealed directly to the imperial *Reichsgericht* to settle the crisis that had developed in Strasbourg. Second, a number of Strasbourg's parish canons fled the city, taking their parish's monies with them. Third, the Augustinian provincial, Conrad Treger, published a pamphlet denouncing the reformed preachers as heretics.<sup>42</sup> The public's reaction was violent. Angry mobs attacked and imprisoned Treger. The rioters then proceeded to loot and destroy several of the city's religious houses.<sup>43</sup> Many Strasbourgeois interpreted the flight of the canons as their ancestors had the flight of the nobles one hundred years previously, as a sign of disloyalty and cowardice. The Catholic clergy who remained in the city, frightened for

<sup>40</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, p. 167.

<sup>41</sup> Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands*, pp. 113–14; Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 168–71. The priest of St. Aurelien seems to have chosen to retire rather than be either required to preach in the evangelical style or forced out by his parishioners.

<sup>42</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 172–73.

<sup>43</sup> Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands*, pp. 114–18; Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 177–78.

their lives and for the security of the Church's property, offered to submit to taxation and the other financial duties of regular citizens, but they would not renounce their judicial immunity. This was not enough to satisfy either the *Rat* or the people, however, and in January 1525, the *Rat* commanded all clergy to purchase the *Bürgerrecht*, which gave the clergy the rights of full citizens of Strasbourg and removed their former privileges. Once the clergy were citizens, effective authority over them moved from the bishop to the *Rat*. That year the *Rat* also outlawed the celebration of the Mass in Strasbourg's churches with the exception of the four chapter churches.<sup>44</sup> Popular iconoclasm and threats of violence continued however, and in response the magistrates ordered the removal of all images and altars from the city.<sup>45</sup> The reform of worship had finally been achieved through the combined actions of preachers and magistrates.

The strength of the magistrates' new authority over the city's religious leaders and religious life can be seen through the example of their interaction, albeit limited, with Katharina Schütz Zell. Schütz Zell did not often deal with the civic government of Strasbourg. As the wife, and later widow, of a preacher, she occupied an important social, but not a largely political, function. Although, as we have seen, the very fact that a pastor had a wife had political ramifications, Schütz Zell did not particularly want to involve herself directly or personally in Strasbourg's politics. A notable exception, however, is her involvement with the operation of one of the city's hospitals.

By assuming control of the religious life of Strasbourg, the *Rat* necessarily took over the charitable functions formerly fulfilled by the Church, and established its own system for maintaining the welfare of the city's sick and indigent. One institution that

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<sup>44</sup> Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands*, pp. 143–44; Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, p. 180.

<sup>45</sup> Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands*, pp. 121–29.

was overseen by the *Rat* was the Blatterhaus, which served as a hospital as well as a home for Strasbourg's poor. In 1555, the widowed and increasingly frail Schütz Zell moved into the Blatterhaus with her disabled nephew Lux. She found the conditions there to be appalling.<sup>46</sup> Patients received neither proper medicine nor fit food. The institution was not kept up, and its interior was filthy. The married couple in charge of the Blatterhaus seemed to be spending the institution's funds on their own comfort rather than on the welfare of the inmates. For Schütz Zell, the reason for this mismanagement was obvious: the couple in charge were unchristian. She used to visit and minister to the ill in the house when she was herself still strong enough to undertake such works of charity in the 1530s and 1540s. At that time, the Blatterhaus had been run by Sebastian Erb and his wife, who were devout Christians. Naturally, they had therefore provided the proper care for those in their charge. But after Erb died in 1548, the house entered a period of decline. The succeeding house father and house mother were not particularly pious. They rarely attended church on Sunday, and instead spent the sabbath in recreation. At meal-times, the house father mumbled the prayers in such a manner as to render them inaudible. When the sick approached death, the resident couple would refuse to call for a minister who could console the dying person.

Schütz Zell wrote up these complaints and delivered them before the *Rat*. The council's committee in charge of poor relief adopted some changes based on her suggestions. They dismissed the resident couple and passed regulations concerning the administering of medicine in the future. However, they took no action to improve the pastoral care provided to the inmates.

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<sup>46</sup> Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, pp. 41–42; McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 188–193.

That Schütz Zell included a request for the spiritual reform of the Blatterhaus with her list of more practical improvements that ought to be made shows that she, and the other Strasbourgeois—mostly fellow inmates of the Blatterhaus—that testified before the *Rat* on her behalf in this matter, felt that the *Rat* should and would exercise a degree of religious leadership within the city. That the *Ratsherren* almost completely ignored the spiritual aspects of her petition shows that, while individual magistrates were certainly devout adherents of the evangelical faith, their preoccupation as a political assembly lay more with social control than with religious reform. They were worried about the mismanagement of the Blatterhaus inasmuch as it caused resources to be wasted and diseases to go uncured, but remained relatively undisturbed by the fact that the house was not providing the Christian refuge Schütz Zell so ardently believed it could.

There would thus seem to be little indication of a genuine partnership between the religious and the political in the Strasbourg of Katharina Schütz Zell. Magistrates were more concerned with extending their authority into more and more aspects of Strasbourgeois society than with co-operating with the new evangelical church. The city's long history leading up to the Reformation must be considered when examining the relationship between religion and politics after the Reformation. The city had begun wresting control of institutions such as the Blatterhaus away from the Church as soon as it had won its independence from the bishop in the thirteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Throughout the fifteenth century, the *Rat* had tried to persuade members of the clergy to purchase the *Bürgerrecht*, and hundreds had complied.<sup>48</sup> The coming of the Reformation to Strasbourg did not, therefore, inaugurate a new *modus vivendi* between church and state. Rather, it

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<sup>47</sup> Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform*, p. 275.

<sup>48</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, p. 117.

provided the secular authority with the opportunity to realize fully a partnership whose ideological and actual roots had existed for a long time. In the first few years of the sixteenth century, Strasbourg's *Rat* had one of its constitutional experts write a report on the legality and practicability of unilaterally removing the clergy's privileges, illustrating that the desire to do so pre-dated the coming of the Reformation.<sup>49</sup> What the Reformation did do was make the plan possible. It removed the bishop's hold over the loyalty of the clergy and the people of Strasbourg. It also convinced many of the clergy that their best interests would be served by abandoning their privileges, either because they were convinced by the evangelical belief that the priesthood should not be a separate caste within Christendom, or because they were terrified of the danger they might face were they to resist what was becoming an increasingly violent popular movement.

In Spain, the historical precedents that led to a confessionalized union of politics and religion also antedate the Reformation. Religion and politics had for centuries enjoyed a particularly close relationship in Spain. The country's very existence was the result of the two combining in the *Reconquista*, the reconquering of Spain from Islamic control. Because much of Spain was, since the eighth century, occupied by Muslims, foreign by both nationality and religion, the warrior princes of the *Reconquista* were simultaneously fighting for Spanish land and the Christian faith. When St. James, known in Spain as Santiago Matamoros (St. James the Moor Killer) appeared in a vision at a battle between Christians and Muslims, he did so as both a politico-military and a religious figure. Spanish kings later fostered the cult of St. James at Compostela, which linked their political legitimacy to their connection to the forces of heaven. Thus, since the Middle

<sup>49</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 111–14.

Ages, and through the early modern period right up to the twentieth century, a militant Catholicism has been an inseparable part of the conception of the Spanish nation.<sup>50</sup>

The origins of many of the traits of sixteenth-century Spanish Catholicism can be found in the Middle Ages. The medieval Church in Spain enjoyed a peculiar level of independence from Rome. The Visigothic church, cut off geographically from the rest of Europe, had, for example, its own unique liturgy. Spanish Catholicism became less isolated with the expansion of Cluniac houses across the Pyrenees from France in the eleventh century, and Pope Gregory VII's (1073–1085) programme to standardize the Church across Europe and bring it under firmer control from Rome. In 1080, an ecclesiastical council in Burgos agreed to introduce the Roman liturgy to the Iberian peninsula.<sup>51</sup> The process was not completed for some time, however, and as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish bishops were still trying to root out the medieval liturgical forms.<sup>52</sup>

The sixteenth-century maxim that there was “no pope in Spain” reflects the continuation of Spanish Catholicism's medieval independence. Since the *Reconquista*, popes had granted extraordinary powers over the Church in Spain to the Spanish crown, including, what was to be a sticking point in Strasbourg, the right to tax clerical incomes and properties. In many instances, the kings of Spain claimed to know better than the popes what was good for Catholicism, and by the sixteenth century, Philip II had almost completely identified the interests of the Catholic Church with Spain's political

<sup>50</sup> Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 190.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 72–73 and *Moorish Spain* (London: Phoenix, 1992), pp. 113–15.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 93–98.

interests.<sup>53</sup>

The clearest illustration of the link between religious and political interests is provided by the example of the Spanish Inquisition, arguably the most infamous manifestation of the desire for control and social discipline in the late medieval and early modern periods. The Inquisition originated with the anxiety about the Christian orthodoxy of recently-converted Jews, or *conversos*, in the late fifteenth century. From the beginning, religious and secular concerns intertwined in the institution of the Inquisition. In 1481, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile petitioned the pope for the right to found their own court to investigate cases of religious deviance, and the Inquisition remained an office of the state until it was disbanded in the nineteenth century.

The Iberian anti-semitism that led to the creation of the Inquisition was linked to both religious intolerance and to political and economic concerns. These were so closely related that historians still cannot agree as to which was dominant. Benzion Netanyahu believes, for example, that King Ferdinand of Aragon decided to expel the Jews from Spain, perhaps the greatest single manifestation of Spanish anti-semitism, after coldly calculating the political and economic gains to be made by enacting such a measure.<sup>54</sup> Henry Kamen, on the other hand, concludes that the “decision to expel . . . appears to have been taken exclusively for religious reasons.”<sup>55</sup> It is, of course, entirely probable that in Ferdinand’s mind, the two were one and the same.

Teresa of Ávila’s greater involvement with the institutions of politics than

<sup>53</sup> H. G. Koenigsberger, “The Statecraft of Philip II,” *European Studies Review* 1 (1971): 1–21.

<sup>54</sup> Benzion Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel: Statesman and Philosopher*, 5th ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 47–49, 56–58.

<sup>55</sup> Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (London: Phoenix, 1997), pp. 19–20.

Katharina Schütz Zell's may indicate that religion and politics were even more intertwined in Spain than in Strasbourg, and that it was even harder to avoid the political implications of religious activity there. While it is true that there was not a clear distinction between religion and politics in sixteenth-century Spanish society, Teresa's involvement with politics was also due to her own particular personal circumstances.

Her interaction with the Inquisition, for example, began before she was born. Teresa's paternal grandfather, Juan Sánchez (1440–1507), was a cloth merchant in Toledo, and a recent convert to Christianity from Judaism. His brother-in-law accused him of Judaizing, or reverting to Jewish beliefs and practices, and subsequently denounced him to the Inquisition. Rather than face the expense, inconvenience, and embarrassment of a lengthy trial, Sánchez took advantage of the period of amnesty—the “period of grace”—that immediately followed the arrival of the peripatetic Inquisitorial tribunal,<sup>56</sup> and opted to denounce himself to the Inquisition. He confessed to apostasy and heresy, and in 1484 was reconciled to the Church after taking part in the penitential ritual of parading through the streets of Toledo wearing the *sambenito*, the yellow tunic of the Judaizer. Although now officially rehabilitated in the eyes of the Church, Sánchez found the social stigma attached to his humiliation to be too much to bear, and relocated his family to Ávila. To bury his past further, in 1500 he purchased an *ejecutoria*, or certificate of pure blood. He also adopted for himself the surname of his wife, Ines de Cepeda, whose family had a long-established Christian lineage, and took care to marry his children into other “Old Christian” families.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 174–75.

<sup>57</sup> Carole Slade, *St. Teresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 69–70.

Some scholars feel that the Inquisition's interest in Teresa's Jewish ancestors deeply affected her conception of her own religious identity, and that she designed her writings in such a way as to demonstrate her orthodoxy and exorcise the taint of Judaism from her psyche.<sup>58</sup> This is probably not the case. It is likely that Teresa was not even aware of her Jewish ancestry. As one of her most recent biographers points out, it seems unlikely that a family so thoroughly determined to obliterate its Jewish identity would reveal it to Teresa, when there would be absolutely no need to do so.<sup>59</sup> Her grandfather died before her birth, and her father had been raised to be perfectly Christian. Moreover, by Teresa's time the Inquisition had all but given up on its obsession with uncovering secret Jews, and, while anti-semitism certainly continued, it had declined in ferocity throughout Spanish society as a whole.<sup>60</sup>

Teresa herself rarely mentions the Inquisition in her own writings. One instance comes in the *Way of Perfection*, her manual or guide to the spiritual life for her nuns. While she was writing the work, she became aware of the Inquisition's recent decision to ban all vernacular books dealing with the subject of religion. This prompted her to compose a digression on the Lord's Prayer, which will be examined in the next chapter of this thesis. One of the only other appearances of the Inquisition in her works comes in the text of a playful debate she organized, asking some friends of hers, more versed in formal theology than she, to explain to her Jesus' words "Seek yourself in me," which she heard while at prayer one day. After they sent her their thoughts, she commented on each of their responses. One of her respondents had, out of humility, stated at the end of his

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<sup>58</sup> See, for example, Gari Laguardia, "Santa Teresa and the Problem of Desire," *Hispania* 63 (1980): 529.

<sup>59</sup> Cathleen Medwick, *Teresa of Avila: The Progress of a Soul* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), p. 14.

<sup>60</sup> Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 24.

reply that what he had written was no doubt full of “stupidities.” Teresa joked that, as he had quoted much from St. Paul in his paper, he must be a heretic to call what he had written stupid, and threatened to denounce him to the Inquisition if he did not recant.<sup>61</sup>

For the most part, Teresa seems to have viewed the Inquisition as more of a source of irritation than as something to be feared. In her personal letters, in which she often used coded references, she ironically calls Inquisitors by the name of “the angels.” She was not afraid to criticize the Inquisition, as an unguarded complaint about its banning of books in the *Way of Perfection* shows. The Inquisitorial censor, when reviewing the work for publication, scribbled in the margin of the manuscript a rather benign comment: “It seems here that she is reprimanding the Inquisitors who prohibited books about prayer.” She was not punished. However, to avoid friction, she prudently left her complaint out of the final redaction of her book.<sup>62</sup>

The very slight presence of the Inquisition in Teresa’s works is telling. It did not occupy a large place in her thought. It is important to emphasize this about the Inquisition, namely that it was quite possible to ignore it. The Inquisition was not an omnipresent secret police force that terrorized the populace and put an end to free thought in Spain. Quite the contrary was the case. The Inquisition worked in most cases from the bottom up. As the example of Teresa’s grandfather shows, Inquisitors did not themselves root out heresy, but waited for people to denounce each other, or themselves. This is, indeed, how it became an effective tool of social disciplining. As Henry Kamen has shown, the Inquisition was in effect used by people in small towns or rural areas to maintain their ideal of the proper social order. If someone from a foreign place, be it

<sup>61</sup> *A Satirical Critique*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa*, 3: 357–60.

<sup>62</sup> *The Way of Perfection*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa*, 2: 120, 468 n. 8.

another region of Spain or even another country such as France, relocated to an area in which he was not welcome, he was very often quickly denounced to the Inquisition by the locals in order to encourage him to move on.<sup>63</sup> As the sixteenth century progressed, and religious minorities such as Jews or what few Protestants did arise in Spain either left the country or assimilated to the dominant culture, the Inquisition shifted much of its attention away from punishing heresy and instead spent much of its time investigating cases of bigamy or, oddly, horse thieving, again acting as an agent of social rather than religious control.<sup>64</sup> Their attempt, which angered Teresa so much, to ban vernacular books on prayer was an attempt to regain control over the intellectual life of Spain. The main targets of the ban were books that were being printed abroad, especially in Protestant countries. It was, however, largely ineffective and only sporadically enforced.<sup>65</sup> The fact that Teresa's response to the ban, which itself took the form of a book on prayer, could make it past the censors with only the one comment being written in the margin, is evidence of this.

The political figure who exerted more of an influence on Teresa than any Inquisitor did was King Philip II, to whom Teresa credited the success of her reform. Philip illustrates well the interaction between Church and crown in sixteenth-century Spain; he was deeply interested in the reform (*reformacion*) of religion in his realms. The Spanish clergy, with his sanction, were very conspicuous in the deliberations of the Council of Trent.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, when the Council had finished, Philip travelled to Catalonia,

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<sup>63</sup> Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, pp. 233–35.

<sup>64</sup> Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 255–66.

<sup>65</sup> Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, pp. 221–31.

<sup>66</sup> Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 181.

the part of Spain closest to Trent, in order to greet the delegates as soon as they crossed the border into his dominions.<sup>67</sup> He was the first European monarch to order the publication and enforcement of the council's decrees throughout his lands.<sup>68</sup> Philip also undertook several reform initiatives of his own. He ordered the reorganization of religious houses that had become either dissolute or ineffective through decline: those with small populations were closed and merged with larger ones.

When Teresa began her reform work, she appealed to Philip for help, as many of Teresa's superiors and fellow Carmelites were trying to suppress her reform movement. Philip took an active interest in the reform initiatives of Teresa, and became her most powerful advocate and patron. Teresa herself acknowledged this in a letter to Don Roque de Huerta, one of her links to Philip, when she stated that "losing the King's favour . . . would ruin our cause, for it is the King who is upholding it and defending it before the Pope."<sup>69</sup> Teresa also gave her nuns instructions "that special prayer be always offered for his majesty, as is done by us now," for without the king's help "everything would have collapsed."<sup>70</sup> Teresa's Carmelites carried out her instructions long after she had died. After Philip's death in 1598, the Carmelites claimed that their prayers, along with the heavenly intercession of Teresa, had helped the king escape the pains of purgatory after remaining there for only one week.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, p. 45.

<sup>68</sup> Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, pp. 103–104.

<sup>69</sup> *The Letters of Saint Teresa of Jesus*, trans. E. Allison Peers, 2 vols. (London: Burns & Oates, 1950), Letter 240 (256), 2: 590.

<sup>70</sup> *The Foundations*, in *The Collected Works of St. Teresa*, 3: 243, 279.

<sup>71</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 371.

In taking an active role in the reform of religion in Spain, Philip was following in the footsteps of his fifteenth-century predecessors, Ferdinand and Isabella. Isabella in particular was especially devout, and she, together with Cardinal Cisneros, attempted to enact a very similar programme to Philip's a century later. Isabella tried to rationalize the monastic system by closing smaller houses and amalgamating them with larger ones. Cisneros was an observant Franciscan, and he, with Isabella's support, tried to extend the observantist reform to all the friaries in the peninsula.<sup>72</sup> The role of the crown in supporting religious reform was thus a tradition in Spain, and was not simply a product of the Counter-Reformation or the emergence of confessionalized Catholicism in the sixteenth century.

In both Strasbourg and Spain, there was a marked continuity between the relationship of religion to politics from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries. It is therefore perhaps incorrect to emphasize too strongly the links between this relationship and the emergence of confessionalism after the Reformation. In Strasbourg, the Reformation allowed an ideology that had existed for some time to be realized politically, but this process began in the 1520s, well before the Peace of Augsburg and the second Reformation were to mark the age of confessionalization. Spain also experienced the same process, perhaps centuries earlier, but without the emergence of various confessions within its borders. Adrian Hastings has suggested that 1555 does not mark a new period of co-operation between church and state at all, but is rather the end date of a struggle that had been fought between the two throughout the Middle Ages, and which resulted, as

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<sup>72</sup> Kamen, *Spain, 1469–1714*, pp. 45–48.

enshrined in the Peace of Augsburg, with the triumph of the state over the church.<sup>73</sup>

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation did not represent a radical discontinuity in the relationship of religion to politics between the medieval and early modern periods. The increased authority of the state at the expense of that of the Church that typifies post-Reformation Europe was in many ways a natural development from the pre-existing political situation. Luther's claim that his theology broke the power of the Church and transferred it to the community, as represented by the state, for which he did more than anyone since the apostle Paul, was heroic and sincere;<sup>74</sup> but in retrospect, it is clear that Luther was not the original or the sole—although arguably he was the most effective—champion of the temporal power. Secular princes and councils did not need the Reformation message to tell them to endeavour to weaken or limit the Church's hold over society. What the Reformation did achieve politically in this regard was to give them the opportunity they needed to accelerate a process that was already well under way.

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<sup>73</sup> Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, pp. 202–204.

<sup>74</sup> See, for example, his address *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, in vol. 44 of *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1955–1986).

**Chapter Two:**  
**Katharina Schütz Zell, Teresa of Ávila,**  
**and the Idea of Reform**

In an article published ten years ago, John O'Malley proposed that the idea of reform as it applies to the early modern period has become a nebulous concept.<sup>75</sup> Historians have stretched the term until it has come to signify far more than its original meaning of restoring the episcopacy to the form it had at the time of the early church, and instead is now used to denote almost any kind of religious activity. O'Malley's main argument, namely that historians have traditionally been too quick at times to place all of the many aspects of Catholicism in the early modern period under the rubric of Counter Reformation or Catholic Reformation, is a very important one that needed making. However, he too greatly restricts the utility of the word "reform" when he suggests that it should apply only to the activity of those who explicitly, consciously, and continually state reform as their goal. On the contrary, it is possible to believe in reform and work for its realization, in a word to be a reformer, without constantly calling attention to one's work and labelling it as reform.

Such is the case with Schütz Zell and Teresa. They did not habitually use the term reform. Yet they both had a notion that the contemporary religious situation was unsatisfactory and that changes to religious practice should be made. They were both deeply involved with religious reform of one kind or another—Schütz Zell being married to one of the early leaders of Protestantism in Strasbourg and Teresa orchestrating the

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<sup>75</sup> John W. O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How To Look at Early Modern Catholicism," *Catholic Historical Review* 77 (1991): 177–93.

reform of her religious order, the Carmelites. While not adopting the strict limits on the word reform, the argument of this chapter is nonetheless inspired by the desire to have our view of the religious history of the early modern period reflect its inherent complexity. It will therefore attempt to disengage Schütz Zell's and Teresa's ideas about reform from a confessionalized framework. I will argue that their ideals for Christian life and spirituality cannot be neatly slotted under confessionalized headings. This chapter will analyze the two women's attitudes towards, and ideas of, reform, with an eye towards determining the extent to which they manifested the effects of confessionalization, and will show that Schütz Zell's and Teresa's conceptions of reform were not always determined by the development of confessionalized identities.

Calls for the reform of the Church and of religious life were issued before the emergence of the Reformation in Strasbourg. Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, the cathedral preacher from 1478 to his death in 1510, was one of reform's prominent advocates.<sup>76</sup> He called for the rectification of abuses in the institutional Church, but never challenged its authority or doctrine.<sup>77</sup> His desire for reform was encouraged by the installation in 1506 of a new bishop in Strasbourg, Count Wilhelm von Honstein, who attempted to impose greater discipline on the city's clergy, particularly through the elimination of pluralism and concubinage;<sup>78</sup> however, the political strength of the cathedral chapter successfully

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<sup>76</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 16–20; Lorna Jane Abray, *The People's Reformation*, p. 25.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "'You Hate Us Priests': Anticlericalism, Communalism, and the Control of Women at Strasbourg in the Age of the Reformation," in *Communities, Politics, and Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 216; E. Jane Dempsey Douglass, *Justification in Late Medieval Preaching: A Study of John Geiler of Keisersberg*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> Abray, *The People's Reformation*, p. 27.

resisted these efforts at reform.<sup>79</sup>

After his death, Geiler's replacement, his nephew Pieter Wickram, was widely regarded as an inadequate successor to his highly-esteemed uncle.<sup>80</sup> His rather incompetent preaching was to be overshadowed when the Alsatian priest Matthis Zell left his university post as a professor at Freiburg to take up pastoral duties in Strasbourg in 1518. He was given the parish of St. Lawrence, which met in one of the cathedral's adjoining chapels. His duties included the position of *penitentiarius*, the priest empowered to hear the confessions of those whose sins could be absolved only by the bishop.<sup>81</sup> The penitents were often laymen who faced excommunication for failure to pay their tithes or taxes to the Church. Zell, who did not feel that a matter of mere money should be sufficient to sever a Christian from the community of the faithful, would regularly grant absolution without requiring the penitent to remit the outstanding fine.<sup>82</sup> This alone was enough to earn him the displeasure of the bishop, as Zell's mercy was cutting into the cathedral's revenues. But Zell did not stop there. He continued preaching in the tradition of Geiler, calling for the reform of widespread abuses in Church administration. The scope of his critique soon extended beyond anything Geiler's had, however, as Zell began to draw upon evangelical ideas in his sermons, and beginning in late 1521 Zell used the pulpit to criticize and condemn what he saw to be the many non-scriptural aspects of contemporary religious life.<sup>83</sup> The feast of the Nativity of the Virgin

<sup>79</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 19–20.

<sup>80</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 27.

<sup>81</sup> William S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, p. 7.

<sup>82</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 33–34.

<sup>83</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 35.

(8 September 1522) provided him with the opportunity to attack what was in his view the extravagant cult of Mary.<sup>84</sup> All Saints' Day (1 November 1522) elicited a sermon on the error of praying to the saints for their intercession. Other sermons of that year involved statements refuting papal decrees, the existence and necessity of purgatory, and the needless complexities and obligations of canon law.<sup>85</sup>

Although this assault on several key elements of popular religion and ecclesiastical institutions certainly alienated some Strasbourgeois,<sup>86</sup> it also proved immensely attractive to others,<sup>87</sup> and the cathedral's chapel could soon not contain the crowds that came to hear Zell expound the Gospel message. In June 1522, Zell began delivering his sermons in the cathedral proper in order to accommodate the large number of auditors he attracted. This breach of protocol offended the less popular Wickram, and the cathedral chapter refused Zell permission to continue preaching from the cathedral's pulpit. Frightened by the potential for unrest that might result from the people's preferred preacher being removed from his pulpit, the city council intervened and ordered a compromise: Zell was to preach in the cathedral, albeit from a lesser pulpit. In fact, the pulpit was to be a temporary wooden one, which the parish's carpenters would take down after each of Zell's sermons and then reassemble just prior to the next one.<sup>88</sup> Thus we again see Strasbourg's city council taking a role in guiding the course of religious reform in the city.

The increasing controversy surrounding Zell was sufficient to bring him to the

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<sup>84</sup> For an indication of the level of Marian piety in Strasbourg, see Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands*, pp. 121–22, 135; Abray, *The People's Reformation*, p. 22.

<sup>85</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 36–39.

<sup>86</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 37.

<sup>87</sup> Abray, *The People's Reformation*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>88</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 40.

attention, and to provoke the censure, of the bishop. On 22 December 1522, Zell was called before the episcopal vicar and presented with a list of twenty-four articles citing specific supposedly heretical statements he had uttered from the pulpit over the past several months that had offended conventional Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>89</sup> The following year, Zell published—in the vernacular—his reply to the charges in the form of his treatise *Christeliche Verantwortung* (1523). This tract, a codification of the reformed ideas contained in his sermons, represents the first written outline of Zell's evangelical beliefs.

Such was the intellectual milieu out of which Katharina Schütz Zell emerged, and in which she had been formed. In formulating her own ideas of reform, she drew freely from the thought of her contemporaries, but she was also not afraid to take their own advice and turn directly to the Scriptures herself.<sup>90</sup> She did not hesitate to disagree with them when she felt that they themselves had strayed from the pure Gospel, and she refused to align herself completely with any one of them, with the possible exception of her husband Matthis Zell.

The insistence on the authority, autonomy, and absolute supremacy of the Gospel is indeed the cornerstone of Schütz Zell's evangelical theology. For her, the entire Christian faith was contained in the chief point (*Hauptstück*) that Jesus was the Son of God and the sole saviour of humankind, as recorded in the Gospels. Any article of faith that went beyond this simple formulation was unnecessary at best, and positively harmful at worst. This *Hauptstück*, or essence of the Gospel, was the touchstone of true

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<sup>89</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>90</sup> For Schütz Zell's profound knowledge and love of Scripture, see McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 243–58.

faith for Schütz Zell. Her adherence to it formed the basis of her rejection of several of the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome. She could not, for example, find clear justification for clerical celibacy in the Gospel; therefore, she rejected it as a man-made addition. Prayers to the saints seemed to undermine the Gospel's insistence upon the sole sufficiency of Christ's intercessory power, so she rejected them too.<sup>91</sup> She also dismissed the necessity of godparents at baptism as an unnecessary and unbiblical medieval accretion.<sup>92</sup>

The very narrowness of Schütz Zell's definition of the Christian faith—the identification of her chief point with the sum total of belief—is precisely what made her conception of the faith as broad and all-encompassing as it was. Because she was willing to accept anyone who held to the essence of the Gospel as a fellow Christian, she was immune to much of the divisiveness that fractured the early Protestant movement. Evangelicals, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Schwenckfelders, and Anabaptists were all equally acceptable to Schütz Zell, at least in theory—in actual practice she was not always as broad-minded as she claimed to be. She did not believe in belonging to a particular party or faction of Christianity, and the lines that many of her contemporaries so clearly saw as dividing people into such groups were largely invisible to her.

She actively and continually attempted either to bridge or at least to gloss over as unimportant the divisions that separated Protestants from one another. In September 1529, she had hosted in her own home a meeting between Zwingli and Oecolampadius, visiting from Zürich and Basel respectively, and local reformers such as Bucer, Capito, and Sturm. The two Swiss reformers stayed with the Zells for two weeks before heading

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<sup>91</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 139.

<sup>92</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 71, 93–94.

to the 18 September colloquy at Marburg. When she heard that there Luther had belligerently opposed Zwingli's interpretation of the Lord's Supper, she wrote the Wittenberg reformer a letter scolding him for his lack of fraternal charity towards her former house guest.<sup>93</sup> A precise definition of the nature of Christ's presence in the elements of the Supper was for her far less important than co-operating harmoniously with those who believed in the essence of the Gospel. Luther replied in a letter dated 24 January 1531—over a year after Schütz Zell's letter to him—that the Lord's Supper most certainly was a vitally important matter: he remained unconvinced by Schütz Zell's argument. Although love for one another is important, for Luther, God must come first. His dispute with Zwingli touched upon the affairs of God, and it is not his place, nor anybody else's, to claim that God's business should be subordinated to a human desire for harmony.<sup>94</sup> Elsie McKee believes that Luther's long delay in responding is yet a further indication of the annoyance with which he greeted Schütz Zell's opinions.<sup>95</sup>

Undaunted, Schütz Zell continued her irenic efforts with an attempt to reconcile the city's Protestant clergy with Strasbourg's increasing Anabaptist population.<sup>96</sup> By the

<sup>93</sup> This letter is not extant, but Schütz Zell mentions it in a later letter to Caspar Schwenckfeld (19 October 1553); see McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 135.

<sup>94</sup> "Der tugentsamen frawen, der Mathes Zellin zu Strassburg, meiner freundlichen, lieben freundin. Gnad und frid Inn Christo! Mein liebe frawe! Ich hab ewer schriftt, So nu langest mir zu komen, bis heer nicht verantwort. Denn ich gedacht, Es weer noch zu frue, Weil die sachen noch so new war. Aber weil (Got lob) itzt die scherpfe ein wenig sich geendert, Wil ich nu widerumb euch ewer shrifft furgehalten haben. Das ihr nu auch beide bey ewern herren und andern freunden helfft anhalten, Das (so es got gefiel) fryd und einikeit mocht erhalten werden. Denn ihr wisset zu guter massen, das woll die lieb soll uber alles gehn und den forgang haben, ausgenomen Gott, der uber alles, auch uber die liebe, ist. Wo derselbige und sein wort furgeht, so soll Ja bey uns die liebe gewiss die oberhand haben nehest Gott. Es will solche hohe sachen nicht mit unsern anschlegen nach andacht, sondern mit hertzlichem gebet und geistlichem seufftzer angriffen sein. Denn es ist Gottes sache, nit unser. Gott muss dabey und da zu thun. Unsers thun ist nicht. Bettet, bettet, bettet, und last Ihn sorgen! Hie mit Gott befolhen, Amen. Grusset mir ewrn lieben Herren!" Martin Luther, WA BR 6, #1777, pp. 26–27. Quoted in McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 80–81 n. 93.

<sup>95</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 80.

<sup>96</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 78–79.

late 1520s, both the magistrates and Strasbourg's official clergy were becoming suspicious of people who held the radical religious and social beliefs that characterized Anabaptism. Again, she hosted an informal conference at her home and managed to bring Lukas Hackfurt, one of the city's more prominent crypto-Anabaptists, into agreement with the clergy over the basic points of doctrine expressed in the Tetrapolitan Confession of 1530, to which Strasbourg adhered along with the three Swiss cities of Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen. This incident is notable in that it is one of the few, if not the only, times Schütz Zell engaged with confessionalization as such, by encouraging someone to agree to a confession as a statement of belief. For the most part, Schütz Zell recognized no confession but the Gospel. In this case, she was making use of confessionalization to advance her cause of harmony among Christians, who ought to need nothing more than the essence of the Gospel in order to come together. Otherwise, Schütz Zell's straightforward definition of what constituted true Christianity made her resistant to the process of confessionalization. This strict adherence to the simplest of formulations of true faith in the Gospel is perhaps best manifested by her participation in the so-called Rabus affair.

Ludwig Rabus came to Strasbourg in 1543/44 as a young student to attend the theological and pastoral academy that had been established in the city in 1538.<sup>97</sup> He boarded at the home of the Zells and came to be widely regarded as their foster son.<sup>98</sup> After Matthis Zell's death in January 1548, Rabus replaced him as the pastor of Saint Lawrence parish; the relationship between Rabus and his foster-mother began to sour shortly thereafter. Rabus was of a different generation, with a much more self-conscious

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<sup>97</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 104.

<sup>98</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 130–31.

and self-assertive confessional identity. The dogmatic Rabus did not care for Strasbourg's—and especially Schütz Zell's—tolerance of those whom he deemed dangerous sectarians, chief among whom were the Anabaptists and Schwenckfelders. The first decisive break between the two came in 1553, when Rabus left Strasbourg for Tübingen in order to earn his doctorate in theology.<sup>99</sup> This was a grave mis-step in Schütz Zell's eyes. The domination of the Gospel by the learned, school-trained theologians, had been one of the most opprobrious features of the unreformed medieval Church. Luther had made it clear to all, she felt, that all Christians were made coequals in the priesthood by Christ's sacrifice. The fact that Luther had himself been a doctor of theology did not, Schütz Zell believed, weaken her argument: Luther had been forced by the dictates of his age to attend university in order to acquire the authority to speak on matters of faith. Now, however, that the true Gospel had been revealed by the efforts of men such as Luther, Bucer, and her own husband, the pursuit of empty and meaningless degrees was no longer necessary for one who would follow Christ by tending his flock. Faith in Christ and adherence to God's Word now took the place of scholastic degrees, or at least ought to have done so in Schütz Zell's opinion. According to her, Rabus, through his greedy quest for honours, threatened to return to the days when the Gospel was held captive by a tyrannical priesthood.<sup>100</sup>

Schütz Zell's plea did not have its desired effect, and Rabus returned from Tübingen with his sense of confessional exclusivity intact, and perhaps even strengthened. He made use of his pulpit as never before to fulminate against Schwenckfeld, the Anabaptists, and anybody else whom he felt did not conform to a

<sup>99</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 152–53.

<sup>100</sup> *Ein Brieff*, in McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 266–68.

strict Lutheran interpretation of the Gospel and the sacraments.<sup>101</sup> Matters came to a head when, in late 1556, Rabus abandoned his pastoral responsibilities in Strasbourg in order to take up a position as church superintendent in Ulm.<sup>102</sup> The Strasbourg council, incensed at Rabus' betrayal, refused to provide him with the testimonial that his new employers, the city council of Ulm, requested. In order to explain to Ulm's council why Strasbourg's magistrates refused him their blessing—and perhaps to justify his own decision to himself—Rabus started a vicious and vitriolic campaign against his former city, no doubt also motivated by his angry frustration at not getting what he wanted from them. On 20 January 1557, Rabus returned to Strasbourg to give the magistrates there his thoughts. Strasbourg was intolerable to him, he stated, because of its tolerance of the continued existence of Catholic clergy and services, as well as of Anabaptists and Schwenckfelders. Strasbourg's schools did not, in his opinion, teach the Augsburg Confession to their pupils, and even hired instructors—Elsie McKee believes that he is referring to Peter Martyr Vermigli here—who were in fact openly opposed to several of its articles.<sup>103</sup> He also, audaciously, asked the council for permission to give a final sermon to his former congregation, as his earlier surreptitious departure had not allowed him to bid them farewell. The council, understandably, refused, citing the possibility of such a sermon inducing unrest among the congregation. They also repeated their refusal to give him his coveted testimonial, but instead granted him permission to take his family and leave

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<sup>101</sup> For more on the use of the sermon as a tool for reinforcing confessional differences, see Patrick T. Ferry, "Confessionalization and Popular Preaching: Sermons against Synergism in Reformation Saxony," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 1143–66; Bodo Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 199–216.

<sup>102</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 182 ff.

<sup>103</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 182–83.

Strasbourg. When he returned to Ulm, Rabus had to explain to the magistrates there why the Strasbourg council would not give him their recommendation. He repeated to them the same accusations he had made at Strasbourg, portraying his former employers as being of dubious integrity and orthodoxy. The magistrates of Ulm seemed to accept this as a plausible reason why the apparently corrupt and spiteful magistrates of Strasbourg were refusing Rabus the testimonial that was evidently his due.<sup>104</sup>

When Schütz Zell, who was seriously ill at the time and unaware of these events, heard later what had happened, she took it upon herself to rebuke Rabus, ostensibly in the spirit of correction that all Christians were obliged to display when they saw a brother in error or mortal moral danger.<sup>105</sup> In a lengthy letter that she sent to him on 24 March 1557, she begins by challenging the reasons he gave for leaving Strasbourg. It is not fair, she claims, to say that he departed because of the city's toleration of Catholics. The city had been forced to allow the continuation of Catholic rites of worship after the imposition of the imperial Interim of 1548; if this bothered Rabus so much, he should have campaigned harder against it.<sup>106</sup> Instead, she remembers Rabus quietly accepting the Interim without protest. Besides, she says, Ulm also has a Catholic population that would be equally protected, so the excuse that he has gone there to escape Roman idolatry simply does not hold up. Indeed, Schütz Zell informs Rabus that word has reached Strasbourg that he has begun wearing the surplice (*Chorhembd*), as is presumably the custom in his new city. If Catholicism were so repugnant to him, why has he reverted

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<sup>104</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 183.

<sup>105</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 195.

<sup>106</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 184.

to the wearing of this papal garment?<sup>107</sup>

Schütz Zell proceeds to defend the other main group that Rabus attacked in his justification for leaving, the so-called sectarians. The Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and Schwenckfelders all hold to the essence of the Gospel, and do not deserve the contempt of Rabus.<sup>108</sup> His previous condemnation and current abandonment of them is against Christian brotherhood. And again, as with the Catholics, sectarians exist in Ulm as well. The main difference is that Ulm allows him to persecute those who do not hold to his strict personal interpretation of Lutheranism whereas the people of Strasbourg allow for a greater acceptance of differences. Schütz Zell therefore concludes that the only reason Rabus left Strasbourg was to advance in worldly power and wealth. Reminiscent of her earlier critique of his desire to gain the doctorate, she makes note of his apparent need for honours and titles—which she associates with unreformed Catholicism—and suggests that he took the position in Ulm for this reason.<sup>109</sup>

Rabus did not receive her rebuke well. He responded with a highly abusive letter,

<sup>107</sup> “Zum andern muss ich mich auch ein wenig mit euch ersprachen/ vom weissen Chorhembd/ das jr wie ettwan die Münch orden Trutenhuser geheissen und andere/ über den rock an thun/ dessen ich mich lang nit hab können bereden lassen/ das jrs thun solten/ die weil auch jr/ als ein junger mann/ in den vollen lauff dess Evangelij komen/ nie keins angethon/ warumb sind jr nicht in solcher freyheit blißen? Jr haben euch doch ettwan hoch gerümpft/ das jr kein character oden zeichen des Bapsts an euch haben/ und dessen ein sondere freud unnd hoffart gehebt/ Wie haben dann jr jetzt ewer selbs vergessen/ und jrr worden?” *Ein Brieff*, in McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 196.

<sup>108</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 186; John Oyer, “Maria and Ursula van Beckum”, in C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht, eds., *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996), p. 355.

<sup>109</sup> “Lieber ersuchen ewer verborgen gewissen mit ernst/ ob euch nicht der keib unnd hochfart/ dess obersten ampts under euch getruckt habe/ das jr Herr Superintendens der oberst auffseher heissen/ damit jr die andern armen schwachen helffer unnd Prediger/ im zwang unnd gehorsame füren/ wider jr gewissen oder unverstand/ nit höher oder niderer zu gucken/ glauben noch predigen/ dann was jr jn fürs schreiben. Darumb haben jr auch disen nammen und ampt erdacht/ das jedermann in ewer gehorsame gang/ oder zu Statt und land auss/ und hoch veracht/ bey der Oberkeit und jedermann zu machen. O Herr Gott ist das nicht etwas vom Bapst/ und seinen Bischoffen gelert?” *Ein Brieff*, in McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 191.

dated 19 April 1557, accusing her of spreading lies about him.<sup>110</sup> At this point, Schütz Zell decided to make their disagreement public. Later that year, on 30 December 1557, she had their correspondence published as *A Letter to the Entire Population of Strasbourg*, which also contained an apologia explaining her reasons for publicizing the conflict and elaborating on her defence of Strasbourg and its sectarians.

The magistrates' response to Schütz Zell's participation in the Rabus affair provides another example of the interpenetration of religion and politics in Strasbourg. Their role in the affair itself shows the authority that they held over the clergy inasmuch as it was within their purview, and not that of fellow clergy, to endorse—or refrain from endorsing—the city's ministers: their authority over guaranteeing religious order within the city is further illustrated by their intervention into Schütz Zell's dispute with Rabus.

The publication of Schütz Zell's apology and correspondence came to the attention of the *Rat* in March 1558. The council had not approved the printing or distribution of the book, and was concerned that it would arouse unrest among those who were purchasing and reading it. Strasbourg's religious peace was at this time so fractured—and Rabus' former parishioners so angry—that further provocation was thoroughly undesirable. The *Ratsherren* called Schütz Zell before them and ordered her to cease selling the work and to turn any remaining copies over to them. Although there were reports that the *Ratsherren* had ordered her arrest and imprisonment, this probably did not happen. As was the case when her husband and the other reformers faced prosecution at the hands of the bishop thirty-five years previously, Schütz Zell's popularity made it

<sup>110</sup> “Dein schreiben/ das nicht der Geist Gottes/ welcher ein geist der warheit ist/ sonder des Teuffels geist/ so ein lugner von anfang gewesen/ auss dir getriben/ wil ich fleissig auffheben/ zum zeugnuss deines unverschampten mauls/ da du tratzlich darffest einen diener Christi/ ungehört/ unbefragt/ auff aller Teuffelisch zu schenden und zu schmehen.” Letter from Rabus, 19 April 1557, quoted by Schütz Zell, “Ein Brieff,” in McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 177.

imprudent to punish her too severely.<sup>111</sup> Besides, the *Ratsherren* certainly had very little respect themselves for Rabus at this point. Their main concern was with suppressing the disturbance.

Their anxiety was justified when Rabus wrote to the *Ratsherren* to request, once again, a testimonial and also to protest Schütz Zell's book, claiming that the council had not gone far enough in disciplining her for what he felt was libel on her part. According to a group of Strasbourgeois merchants who had recently visited Ulm, several of the citizens there felt that the Strasbourg *Rat* had endorsed the book, and that it had been directed against the entire city of Ulm and all of its people, not merely Rabus. The Strasbourg *Ratsherren* replied to Rabus that they had not known about Schütz Zell's book until it had already been published and that they certainly did not endorse its contents. This seems to have been enough to defuse the problem.<sup>112</sup>

Schütz Zell's role and participation in the Rabus affair reveals several key aspects of her evangelical theology. In defending Strasbourg, its sectarians, and its first generation of reformers against Rabus' contempt, her own ideas come out strongly. Her attack upon Rabus' factional prejudice underscores her own belief in the universality of the essence of the Gospel among evangelical Christians. However, the limits of her irenic vision are also exposed. After closer analysis, it becomes clear that Schütz Zell was very particular about to whom she chose to extend her ostensibly universal toleration. It is obvious, for example, that Catholics are not to be included among those who hold to the essence of the Gospel, even though they too believed in Jesus as the Son of God and saviour of man. If her reactions to both the Rabus affair and to the Marburg colloquy are compared, the

<sup>111</sup> Lorna Jane Abray, *The People's Reformation*, p. 113.

<sup>112</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 201–207.

selectivity of her theology becomes readily apparent. On the one hand, she is upset with Luther for not setting aside his differences with Zwingli over something so minor—so she believes—as whether Christ is physically present in the Eucharist, yet she herself firmly rebukes Rabus for calling the issue of clerical vestments a matter of *adiaphora*.

Contemporary theologians, however, if we were to judge by the heated debates on the subject, might be more likely to agree with Rabus that the problem of the Lord's Supper was a more crucial point than the wearing of the surplice.<sup>113</sup> Lorna Jane Abray calls the debate over the Eucharist the “central question” of the internecine Protestant theological controversies;<sup>114</sup> and it was in part the lack of agreement over eucharistic doctrine that prompted the composition of the Tetrapolitan Confession as a counterpart to the Augsburg Confession. Schütz Zell's response to Marburg further illustrates the influence of her own ideas in calling for concord between Christians: she chastises Luther for not conceding such an unimportant doctrine, when she could just as well have directed the same criticism against Zwingli, or even herself.

Not only does the Rabus affair show who fits, and who does not, into Schütz Zell's paradigm of evangelical Christianity, it also illuminates her ideas regarding how reform is to be spread. Schütz Zell was solidly opposed to the use of force or compulsion of any kind in bringing people to the Gospel. She did not appreciate Rabus' mocking and insulting from the pulpit the beliefs of those whom he deemed sectarians. Even though she too had her differences with some of her fellow evangelicals, she felt that they should always be treated with love and respect. It was counterproductive to berate or even persecute them for several reasons. First, to do so goes against the counsels of the spirit

<sup>113</sup> Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) pp. 161–66.

<sup>114</sup> Abray, *The People's Reformation*, pp. 40–41.

of charity. The faithful were told by Jesus to love one another; he said nothing about entering into protracted theological disputations with one another. Among those who followed Jesus, unity was far more important than uniformity. It is sinful to introduce unnecessary discord over matters of little or only secondary importance. Secondly, compulsion in matters of the spirit is ineffective. Because faith came about by grace operating in the individual soul, nobody could force belief to appear in anyone else. External observance and obedience could of course be regulated, but this could not affect the heart.

Again, however, a contradiction in Schütz Zell's theology becomes apparent. Needless to say, she still did not include Catholics in her formulations, and stated quite plainly that she could not stand the idea of a single monk singing Mass, though he be doing it in hiding and without disturbing others.<sup>115</sup> The very existence of such blasphemous superstition was disturbing enough. More to the point, however, is her obvious refusal to extend any kind of toleration for Rabus' views. Time and again she attempted to argue or publicly embarrass Rabus into thinking as she did while never acknowledging—to him or to herself—that this was what she was doing, all the while preaching a doctrine of tolerance and non-compulsion. Once Rabus had left for Ulm, seriously offending the council and people of Strasbourg in the process, there would seem to be very little purpose in trying to debate with him; he could obviously not readily return after such an exit. Yet it was Schütz Zell who initiated the correspondence. Again, when she did not get the response she desired, it was she who decided to have the correspondence published, making a previously private disagreement public, with the addition of an extended introduction serving as one final volley against Rabus.

<sup>115</sup> *Ein Brieff*, in McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 193–96.

The breadth of Schütz Zell's application of the essence of the Gospel—though, as has been shown, it was not as broad as she claimed—served to immunize her against the theological or ideological effects of confessionalization. She claimed to be no party member, but Christ's alone. Once again, however, we can see another process at work. The limits of Schütz Zell's tolerance expose important dimensions within her conception of reform. The revival of Christianity was for her fundamentally a revival of faith. One must believe in the *Hauptstück* in order to be a Christian. It was possible to hold several other beliefs as well, as long as all of them were subordinate to the chief point and none of them contradicted it. It was therefore necessary to believe *in* the chief point, and to believe in it *as* the chief point. This was at the root of her complaint against Catholics. They might have believed, like her, that Jesus was the Son of God, the saviour of mankind, and the mediator between the two, but they also, so it seemed to her, held many other beliefs on a par with this one. Late medieval Catholicism did not emphasize the *Hauptstück* as the centrepiece of its doctrines; rather it was one of many that one had to believe in to remain within the Church. Indeed, it seemed to her, as to many of the reformers, that belief in general enjoyed only a low priority within Catholicism, and that much more attention was paid to ceremony, ritual, and even the exchange of money. This was surely how her husband had felt when serving as *penitentiarius*.<sup>116</sup>

It is for this reason that the next dimension of her evangelical ideology seems unusual, for Schütz Zell consistently placed actions above beliefs in terms of importance. It made little difference to her what beliefs people held in their hearts beyond the essence of the Gospel. She felt that this was a private matter of little importance to others, or even to God. Actions, however, carried much more significance, affecting even those who

<sup>116</sup> Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy*, pp. 29–30; McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 33–34.

were not present:<sup>117</sup> it was a great source of discomfort for her that Mass was still being said in her city; she was thoroughly appalled that Rabus had taken to wearing the surplice. Her one major argument with her friend and husband's colleague Martin Bucer was also over practice, in this case his desire to have godparents present at the baptism of a baby. Schütz Zell opposed godparents because they complicated the act of baptism through an unnecessary addition and because she could not find evidence for them in scripture. She also did not believe in private or emergency baptisms; the latter implied that it was the physical act of baptism that was necessary to salvation while the former also emphasized the mere physical aspects of the sacrament when it should represent the entry of the believer into the public community of faith. Here, then, there is a tight link between her theological ideas and her feelings regarding practice. There is a much looser link, however, between her theology and the issue of vestments, and her main opposition to the surplice was merely that it was a papal relic. While it may not have been scriptural, it was not manifestly unscriptural or anti-scriptural. Her quarrel was more with what it represented: it was a means of setting apart through dress a distinct clergy, elevated above the common lay believer.

Schütz Zell may be situated within the broader history and historiography of tolerance. Lorna Jane Abray has detailed Strasbourg's particular reluctance to make matters of conscience matters for the political authorities, and Strasbourgeois society as a whole tended to be more open to religious pluralism than other contemporary cities. However, Abray also shows that this was not necessarily rooted in any positive commitment to tolerance as an ideology. For most of the sixteenth century, religious tolerance merely served as a means of avoiding disputes. While it may disrupt the

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<sup>117</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 185.

community to have a multiplicity of confessions within the city, it would no doubt disrupt it even more to try to impose any kind of uniformity of conscience.<sup>118</sup> Very few prosecutions for religious crimes led to execution in Strasbourg, and those that did were almost exclusively for open crimes against morality rather than for holding beliefs deemed heretical.

Schütz Zell differed from Strasbourg's magistrates in that she did profess to hold toleration as something good in and of itself, as something which Christian charity demanded, and not merely as an expedient to avoid conflict at a time when the city was not secure enough to endure such division. Schütz Zell may further be associated with a certain strand of tolerance that would not extend its tolerance to the intolerant.<sup>119</sup> This seems to be behind her feud with Rabus. It was, above all else, his intolerance of Strasbourg's sectarians that led to their dispute. He could not expect her to be accepting of his beliefs once he had left the umbrella of toleration by being intolerant himself.

Other aspects of Schütz Zell's thought may be explained through reference to contemporary or near-contemporary developments. Bodo Nischan has shown how in the late Reformation, Protestantism, which had begun with *sola fide* and *sola scriptura* as its watchwords, became preoccupied with ritual as a means of defining one's particular Protestant identity.<sup>120</sup> Schütz Zell's grave concerns with the rituals surrounding baptism and the wearing of vestments may allow us to conclude that this process had begun long

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<sup>118</sup> Lorna Jane Abray, "Confession, Conscience, and Honor: The Limits of Magisterial Tolerance in Sixteenth-Century Strassburg," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 94–107.

<sup>119</sup> Heiko A. Oberman, "The Travail of Tolerance: Containing Chaos in Early Modern Europe," in *Tolerance and Intolerance*, pp. 13–31.

<sup>120</sup> Bodo Nischan, "Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany," in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 2: 142–58.

before the so-called confessional period began with the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

Finally, the fluidity of Schütz Zell's theological thought reflects the situation in Strasbourg, and indeed throughout much of Europe, in the early Reformation. Miriam Usher Chrisman has carried out a detailed analysis of lay pamphleteers in German cities of this period, which shows that many of their authors cannot be easily placed within a strict confessional framework.<sup>121</sup> Their theological positions were often highly personalized, reflecting their own particular places in society or family. They could hold an amalgam of varied beliefs culled from diverse reformers without forming them into a cohesive system. Some were opposed to all such systems, and portrayed themselves as simple evangelicals, distinct from both the argumentative Catholics and Lutherans.

Although she preferred the title of "Church Mother"<sup>122</sup> to that of "reformer," Katharina Schütz Zell had a strong notion of what reformed and purified Christianity, founded upon the essence of the Gospel, should comprise. It should be marked by a focus on Christ as the centre of the Christian's life and accompanied by a love of neighbour. The tolerance which she showed towards fellow followers of the Gospel tended to erode what seemed to her to be the artificial barriers between Protestants that confessionalized thinkers such as Rabus wanted to construct. She undoubtedly possessed an identity as an evangelical Christian; yet it was one she held independently of the ideological structure of confessionalized Lutheranism.

Teresa of Ávila is also known for her strong Christian identity, and has long been seen as one of the more prominent saints of the Counter-Reformation. Almost

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<sup>121</sup> Chrisman, *Conflicting Visions of Reform*.

<sup>122</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 173.

immediately after her death, she was lauded as Catholic Spain's answer to Luther.<sup>123</sup> Modern historians have echoed the opinion of her early modern contemporaries, and have upheld Teresa's reputation, describing her as "one of the most important saints of the Counter-Reformation,"<sup>124</sup> and calling her "the outstanding provincial genius of the Counter-Reformation."<sup>125</sup> These descriptions are seldom supported by an analysis of what makes Teresa a Counter-Reformer, and instead seem to be based largely on the assumption, challenged by John O'Malley, that any dynamic development within Catholicism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be placed under the rubric of Counter Reformation. This traditional categorization marks many scholars' discussions of Teresa.<sup>126</sup> A careful and thorough reading of her ideas about reform shows that while the Reformation and Catholicism's response to it were important to her, they did not form the primary motivation in her efforts to establish what was to become the discolored Carmelite order. An observantist-derived desire to uphold the original terms of the Carmelite Rule and thereby recreate a religious order devoted to contemplative prayer was

<sup>123</sup> Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, pp. 502–10. The notion that Ignatius Loyola was the Catholic Luther was at this time still restricted mainly to Jesuits. See O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer?" p. 191.

<sup>124</sup> Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Robert T. Petersson, *The Art of Ecstasy: Teresa, Bernini, and Crashaw* (London: Routledge, 1970), p. 3. Petersson continues: "In achieving the goals of reforming the Church from within, combating the threat of Protestantism from without, and expanding the Church to foreign lands, the Counter-Reformation got its impetus primarily from Spain, and within the borders of that land which was just then becoming a nation, the most active and efficacious agent of reform was Teresa of Avila," pp. 4–5.

<sup>126</sup> Consider, for example, the following statements. "Her ability to combine the structure and discipline of institutional reform with the emotion and spiritual authority of the beata resulted in the reform of the Carmelite order, one of the great achievements of the Counter-Reformation," Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 107. "Her reform of Carmel was aimed at aiding the Church in its self-reform and defense against Protestantism," Joseph F. Chorpensing, *The Divine Romance: Teresa of Avila's Narrative Theology* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992). "Teresa's reform ideals fit into the larger context of the Catholic Reformation and concern over the spread of Protestantism," Ahlgren, *Politics of Sanctity*, p. 36.

instead what was at the heart of her movement.

The roots of what later became the Teresian reform of the Carmelite order lie in Teresa's early experiences as a nun. She had entered the Carmelite convent of the Incarnation in her home town of Ávila less out of a deep sense of personal devotion than out of a nagging fear that she would be damned if she did not enter the religious life. According to her autobiographical *Life*, she remained in this state of anxiety and lukewarm piety for about twenty years. In the Lent of 1555, she then had a conversion experience while meditating on an image of the scourged Christ (an *ecce homo*) after reading the *Confessions* of Augustine.<sup>127</sup> She found herself filled with the desire to lead a more austere life of intense contemplation, which she found difficult to do at the crowded house of the Incarnation.

At around the same time, Teresa discovered that the Rule of the Carmelite order under which she was living was not as it was originally written. She had already formed the idea to found a new house devoted to the contemplative life, and now she determined that it should operate under the original, unmitigated Carmelite Rule. The earliest extant evidence of Teresa's plans comes in the form of a letter to her brother Don Lorenzo de Cepeda dated 23 December 1561. In it we can see how she envisions her new convent as redressing the main problems and frustrations she was facing at the Incarnation.

I have written to you already, at great length,<sup>128</sup> about something which, for many reasons and causes, I have been unable to avoid doing, because the inspiration came from God. . . . I will only say that, in the opinion of holy and learned persons, I must not be cowardly, but put all I can into this task, which is the foundation of a new convent.

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<sup>127</sup> *Life*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 1: 103.

<sup>128</sup> The letter to which she here refers is no longer extant.

Teresa proceeds to outline to her brother her designs for the new convent:

There are to be only fifteen nuns in it, and this number is never to be added to; they will live in the strictest enclosure, never going out, and seeing no one without having veils over their faces, and the foundation of their lives will be prayer and mortification.<sup>129</sup>

The strict limit on the number of nuns that were to live in the house was to counter the overcrowding and its attendant negative effects on private meditation that she had found at the Incarnation. The nuns of the Incarnation were also frequently leaving the convent to visit friends and family; Teresa's insistence on enclosure would put an end to this distracting practice. The new convent she wanted to establish answered her particular idiosyncratic spiritual needs, and at this point it is clear that she had no intention of making further foundations, nor of attempting to restore existing Carmelite houses to the original Rule. Once her new convent, which she named St. Joseph's, was built, Teresa intended to live there contentedly for the rest of her life. Two things, however, altered this situation. In 1566, the Franciscan missionary Alonso Maldonado visited St. Joseph's. He had just returned from Mexico, and he told Teresa about the herculean missionary effort that he felt was needed in that land in order to avoid the loss of millions of souls among the native population.<sup>130</sup> This news distressed Teresa a great deal. She wished she could go to the New World herself to help, but such a vocation was not compatible with the cloistered life of a Carmelite nun. Her anxiety came to an end when she believed she heard God tell her that he would work other "great things" through her. Six months later, the prior general of her order, Giovanni Baptista Rossi, while conducting

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<sup>129</sup> *The Letters of Saint Teresa of Jesus*, vol. 1: Letter 2 (6), p. 29.

<sup>130</sup> *Foundations*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3: 101–102.

a visitation of Carmelite houses in Spain, arrived at St. Joseph's.<sup>131</sup> It was only after the prior general of her order visited her convent, was impressed by what he saw, and ordered her to establish several more convents according to the unmitigated Rule, that the idea of a project of foundations came into existence.

If Teresa's entire scheme was a reaction to someone else's request, the pattern held true for each of her foundations individually as well. Her convents came about when somebody else—often a politically prominent person such as the Princess Eboli or Francisco Valezquez, the administrator for the Duke of Alba—contacted her, requesting that she found a house in his or her region and offering to act as its patron. She did not regularly search out new locations for foundations, but instead continued to respond to the requests of others. Indeed, she found the process of founding new houses tiresome and distracting, and expressed a desire on several occasions merely to remain in one convent and there to live out the rest of her days in peaceful contemplation.<sup>132</sup>

Throughout most of this period, Teresa did not think of what she was doing as forming a systematic reform of the Carmelite order. She did not use the word "reform" in any of her major works, not even in the *Foundations*, the retrospective account of the spread of her convents where it would seem to be most likely to appear. The only occasions on which she did refer to what she was doing as "reform" were in letters to people such as Philip II who were themselves interested in reform. Unlike other medieval and early modern reformers of the mendicant orders, Teresa did not try to export reform from her convents to those that still observed the mitigated Rule. Whereas, for example, the Dominican reform involved the establishment of at least one reformed house in each of

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<sup>131</sup> *Foundations*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3: 103–105.

<sup>132</sup> *Foundations*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3: 99.

the order's provinces that would attract friars, train them in the strict observance, then send them out to colonize laxer houses,<sup>133</sup> Teresa's foundations were settled fairly randomly across Spain on an *ad hoc* basis, and she did not encourage the movement of nuns between her convents and those of the mitigated observance.<sup>134</sup>

Teresa was far more concerned with preserving the mode of life she had established in the sixteen convents she founded before her death than she was with seeing it spread beyond her own houses. Much of the instruction she gave her nuns was on the subject of avoiding deviations from the primitive Rule. Repeatedly, she warns her nuns to beware the "little things"—minor infractions against the Rule—that, if not continually checked, will soon lead to the dissipation of the religious life of a convent. She illustrated her point to her nuns with a simile drawn from nature:

If they [faults] take root, they will be harder to eradicate and even many others could arise from them. If we plant an herb or small tree and water it each day, it grows so strong that afterward you need a shovel and a pickax to get it out by the roots. Committing the same fault each day, however small, if we do not make amends for it, is like watering a plant each day.<sup>135</sup>

Her anxiety over "little things" went beyond spiritual *communiqués* to her nuns, and informed the language of the administrative documents she drafted for the regulation

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<sup>133</sup> William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols. (New York: Alba House, 1966), 1: 172–76; William A. Hinnebusch, *The Dominicans: A Short History* (New York: Alba House, 1975), pp. 99–109; Benedict M. Ashley, *The Dominicans* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990), pp. 94–95.

<sup>134</sup> The observant Franciscan reform of the Middle Ages was, like the Dominicans', marked by attempted proselytization through conversion and the preaching of the reformed ideal; the observantist, or Spiritualist, Franciscan reformers had a definite idea of what their reform meant and why it should proceed. See John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 188–204, 441–585. The closest equivalent to Teresa's reform was that of the Capuchins in the sixteenth century, which was, like hers, far more personal and less systematic. See Cuthbert Hess, *The Capuchins: A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation*, 2 vols. (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1971); Elizabeth G. Gleason, "The Capuchin Order in the Sixteenth Century," in *Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), pp. 31–57.

<sup>135</sup> *Meditations on the Song of Songs*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 230.

of her foundations. In the Constitutions she drew up in 1563 for her first convent of St. Joseph's at Ávila, she explicitly forbade

the Sisters [to] have any particular possessions. . . . This is very important because through small things the devil can bring about a relaxation of the perfection in which poverty is observed.<sup>136</sup>

Once her first foundation had spawned others, she additionally stipulated that priests should inspect her convents frequently in order to ensure that the nuns were living out their Rule properly:

The official visitation should take place once a year so that with love faults may be gradually corrected and removed. For if the nuns do not understand that at the end of the year those who have committed them will be corrected and punished, year after year goes by and the religious observance becomes so lax that when one wants to provide a remedy it is impossible to do so [as] the nuns grown accustomed to the relaxation in observance. In our human nature custom is a terrible thing, and little by little, through small things, irremediable harm is done to the order. . . . What the visitor should insist upon is that the nuns observe the constitutions. A prioress who takes great liberty in breaking the laws of the constitutions and does so for little reason or habitually, thinking that this or that matters little, will do great harm to the house. Let this be understood, and if it doesn't appear so at once, time will prove it. This is the reason monasteries and even religious orders have gone so astray in some places. They pay little attention to small matters and hence come to fall in very great ones. It will be very bothersome for the visitor to attend to the many trifling matters referred to here, but it will be more bothersome for him when from his not doing so he sees the backsliding that will result.<sup>137</sup>

For Teresa, then, reform was a perpetual process to be undertaken out of devotion to the Carmelite order and its Rule. It was not a one-time response to external events.

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<sup>136</sup> *Constitutions*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3: 321–22.

<sup>137</sup> *On Making the Visitation*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3: 338, 344, 348–49.

Ultimately, the evidence presented in this chapter shows that it was possible for people such as Schütz Zell and Teresa to be what may be described as semi-confessionalized. At times their thought and behaviour evince aspects of confessionalization. Schütz Zell had certainly developed a strong sense of confessional identity in opposition to Catholics. She thoroughly believed that she was distinct from them in several key ways and, while for a time after her conversion to the Gospel she tried to negotiate with individual Catholics, she eventually realized that any Catholic who had not converted by the late 1520s was obviously stubborn in his error. Schütz Zell did not define the same boundaries between herself and other Protestants, however. On the contrary, she positively resisted what were in her eyes artificial party divisions of this sort. While she was aware of the differences between Lutherans, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, and so forth, she attempted to deal with all of them as equals. The only distinction she made among Protestants that had any real meaning to her was that between those who followed the message of “the first generation” and those who, in her opinion, ignored their teachings and instead introduced innovations, concentrated on non-essentials, and fostered divisiveness.

There was not always a transparent logic to Schütz Zell’s distinction, and at times it may appear as though she is merely being cliquish, trading on her association with luminaries such as Luther and Zwingli and disparaging those who were not part of her crowd and moreover not willing to acknowledge its superiority. For example, she felt that her deep disagreement with Bucer regarding the role of godparents in baptism was not serious enough to undermine their fundamental bond, yet Rabus’ wearing of the surplice was. However, few people truly are wholly consistent, and this is not the place to engage in a psychohistory of Schütz Zell’s reasons for discriminating between one kind of

difference and another. The main point is that, in her case, religious identity was not the same thing as confessional identity.

Teresa evinces an equally inconsistent position with regard to confessionalization. In certain instances, she implies that her foundations are in part a response to the challenge of Protestantism, as she constructs new convents and chapels for every one the Protestants empty or destroy.<sup>138</sup> Throughout most of her writings, however, Protestants make no appearance, and at these times her convents are portrayed as purely the product of a desire to establish houses where pious men and women can serve God and live out their faith through contemplative prayer. She could therefore alternately draw upon Counter-Reformation motives as well as on the same motives that drove the founding of religious houses throughout the Middle Ages. Another important inspiration for Teresa's work was Catholic, and specifically Spanish, expansion into the New World. Jean Delumeau and John O'Malley<sup>139</sup> have noted the revitalizing effect this expansion had on Catholicism in the sixteenth century. While part of the excitement was based on an idea that the souls that would be converted to Christianity in the New World would compensate for the loss of so many other souls to heresy in Europe, it also must be kept in mind that this expansion antedated the emergence of Protestantism: Columbus, who interpreted his voyages as contributing to the glory of Catholic Christendom, died over ten years before Luther produced his ninety-five theses.<sup>140</sup> It was Teresa's hearing of the work of the missions in the New World through Maldonado, and not the Reformation,

<sup>138</sup> *Foundations*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 3: 187.

<sup>139</sup> Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation*, trans. Jeremy Moiser (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), pp. 60–95; O'Malley, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer?" pp. 185–86 and *Trent and All That*, pp. 67–69.

<sup>140</sup> For Columbus' interpretation of his endeavours, see *Christopher Columbus: Four Voyages to the New World*, trans. R. H. Major (New York: Citadel Press, 1992).

that inspired her to do “great things” for the Catholic Church. Carole Slade has pointed out the possibility that Teresa modelled the accounts of her foundations on the narratives that conquistadores were sending back to Spain describing their exploits in the Americas.<sup>141</sup> For Teresa, therefore, as well as for other Catholics in Spain, reform was not wholly dependent upon a confessionalized Counter-Reformation ideology, as Schütz Zell’s reform ideas were not based solely upon the mainstream of Reformation thought.

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<sup>141</sup> Carole Slade, *St. Teresa of Avila*, pp. 111–20.

**Chapter Three:**  
**Confessionalization and the**  
**Lord's Prayer**

In a paper first delivered to the annual meeting of the American Society of Church History in 1980, Robert Kingdon described what he saw to be two ways to approach the history of religion, and delineated the difference between them.<sup>142</sup> Church history may, he said, be either institutional or intellectual in focus. The intellectual history of the church deals primarily with what he calls the church as ideology; that is, its focus is on religious ideas or ideologies. Institutional church history, on the other hand, treats the church as a concrete, corporate, institutional body. In making his distinction, Kingdon was recasting, perhaps unconsciously, the similar divisions described by H. Outram Evennett. In a lecture on the subject he gave in 1951, Evennett distinguished between ecclesiastical history and the history of spirituality,<sup>143</sup> respectively the equivalents of Kingdon's histories of the institutional church and the ideological church; Kingdon had himself admitted in his paper that British historians, of which Evennett was one, tended to be much more sensitive to the difference between the two approaches than the American scholars Kingdon was addressing in his talk.

I have thus far attempted to engage both approaches by situating Katharina Schütz Zell and Teresa of Ávila in their socio-political—that is, *institutional*—environments and by tracing their *ideas* of reform. At this point, I will add

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<sup>142</sup> Robert M. Kingdon, "The Church: Ideology or Institution?" *Church History* 50 (1981): 81–97.

<sup>143</sup> H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, ed. John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 1–22.

a further distinction, and divide the intellectual history of religion into two more categories. The subjects of this study, Schütz Zell and Teresa, held two different types of religious ideas: the corporate and the personal, or the public and the private. The difference between the two types of ideas may be roughly compared to the distinction between doctrine and devotion: religion in theory and, as it were, in practice. Schütz Zell's and Teresa's ideas about reform may be placed under the rubric of public or corporate ideology. They focus on the subject of the larger community of believers, and although they certainly have an impact on the individual's place within that community, the issues involved are different in nature from those affecting the individual believer's personal relationship with God. For example, a treatise advocating the abolition of the excommunication of those who have failed to pay certain fees speaks to the manner in which the church, the corporate body of believers, is to be governed. While the authors of these treatises felt that their opinions on these matters were rooted in fundamental theological ideas that had serious implications for one's personal salvation, such works are not and were not intended to be works of pious devotion. True Christian living did not, for the reformers of any confessional stripe, reside in the correction of abuses *per se*. That process was merely a means to an end; abuses should be corrected in order that Christian living, the true purpose of the church, might be allowed to flourish.

At this point, we will shift our attention to the private, devotional aspects of Schütz Zell's and Teresa's thought. John O'Malley has called for more attention to be paid to the history of "religion in and of itself—religion not as a political or social force but as a yearning for the transcendent or an experience of it."<sup>144</sup> Complementing studies of moral codes and religious wars should be, he believes, studies of the mental and emotional

<sup>144</sup> O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 139.

worlds of people from the past that analyze what they actually felt and believed. He expressly mentions Teresa, suggesting that to the image of her as an “entrepreneur or proto-feminist” who established new convents and then supposedly set them up to be factories of feminine resistance, must be added the image of a “mystic and teacher of spiritual wisdom.”<sup>145</sup>

Both Teresa’s and Schütz Zell’s spiritual wisdom can be seen in their writings on the Lord’s Prayer. As these writings were originally composed for an intended audience, it may appear that they are not absolutely private or internal. In making my distinction between the public and private, or communal and personal, aspects of spirituality, however, I do not necessarily mean by “private” that which is kept wholly hidden from others. Rather, I make the distinction based on subject matter: therefore I call any part of a person’s religious thought that concerns the personal relationship of an individual believer or believers to God essentially private in nature. The works in question were originally written by Schütz Zell and Teresa for small audiences of particular women, and were designed to offer spiritual consolation to souls perceived as being in some distress, or at least in danger of distress.

This chapter will not attempt to show that the emotional or devotional aspects of private religion were completely unconnected from its philosophical or theological aspects. What it will argue is that religious ideas could be quite complex and varied, and that there was not always a direct and logical link between what one thought in one instance and felt in another. The purpose of this chapter is, as with the others, to complicate our understanding of the process of confessionalization. Specifically, it will continue to challenge the historical perception of the formation of confessional mental

<sup>145</sup> O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, p. 139.

identities, or the establishment of confessional ways of thinking by showing that confessionalism did not necessarily seep into every aspect of a person's spiritual life at this time.

In the Latin West, the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer has traditionally been seen as referring to both the physical and spiritual needs of the petitioners. Four of Augustine's approximately one hundred exegetical homilies intended for persons awaiting full entry into the Church are devoted to explaining the Lord's Prayer. These homilies were delivered specifically to the *competentes*, who were catechumens in the final stage of their preparation to receive the sacraments. Each of the homilies treats the dual nature of the fourth petition's bread. Augustine's most succinct statement of his thought on the subject appears in Sermon VII:

This petition for daily bread is doubtless to be understood in two ways, both for the necessary supply of our bodily food, and for the necessities of our spiritual support. There is a necessary supply of bodily food, for the preservation of our daily life, without which we cannot live. This is food and clothing, but the whole is understood in a part. When we ask for bread, we thereby understand all things. There is a spiritual food also which the faithful know, which ye too will know, when ye shall receive it at the altar of God. This also is "daily Bread," necessary only for this life. For shall we receive the Eucharist when we shall have come to Christ Himself, and begun to reign with him forever? So then the Eucharist is our daily bread; but let us in such wise receive it, that we be not refreshed in our bodies only, but in our souls.<sup>146</sup>

The continuity of this interpretation is reflected by a series of fifty-nine sermons Thomas Aquinas delivered over the course of the Lenten season of 1273. Reginald of

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<sup>146</sup> "Sermon VII" of the "Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament," in *Saint Augustin: Sermon on the Mount, Harmony of the Gospels, Homilies on the Gospels*, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1956), p. 282.

Piperno, a student of Thomas', summarized and amalgamated the sermons, obscuring the divisions between them, after Thomas' death (1274); however, it is likely that the sermons devoted to the Lord's Prayer originally numbered around ten.<sup>147</sup> Like Augustine, Thomas identifies the bread of the petition as providing both physical and spiritual sustenance. He makes a further distinction within the category of the spiritual nature of the bread, claiming that the bread in its spiritual sense refers to two things: the sacramental bread of the Eucharist and the Word of God.<sup>148</sup>

By the early sixteenth century, this dualistic understanding of the bread as both spiritual and physical was still widely held. In 1517, Martin Luther gave his own series of Lenten sermons on the Lord's Prayer. Transcriptions of the sermons were published by John Agricola (1518–1519) and Nicholas Amsdorf (May, 1519). Luther shortly thereafter published his own reworking of the sermons under the title of an *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer for Simple Laymen*.<sup>149</sup> In his treatise, Luther allows that the bread of the fourth petition may represent the physical food needed for our bodily sustenance, but emphasizes that the "petition refers principally to Christ, the spiritual bread of the soul," because, as Luther reminds his reader, "Christ teaches us not to worry about our body's food and raiment."<sup>150</sup> For Luther, the primacy of a spiritual interpretation over a physical one is indicated by the presence of the word "our":

This word declares that here we are not asking primarily for ordinary bread, which is also eaten by the heathen and given unbidden to all men by

<sup>147</sup> *St. Thomas Aquinas: The Three Greatest Prayers—Commentaries on the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Apostle's Creed* (Manchester: Sophia Institute Press, 1990), pp. ix–x.

<sup>148</sup> *The Three Greatest Prayers*, pp. 137–41.

<sup>149</sup> *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers für die einfältigen Laien* (1519).

<sup>150</sup> *An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer for Simple Laymen*, trans. Martin H. Bertram, in *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), vol. 42: 62.

God, but are asking for “our bread” because we are children of the heavenly Father. So then, we are addressing a heavenly and spiritual, not an earthly, Father in this petition, and we ask not for earthly, but for heavenly and spiritual bread, which is ours and which we as heavenly children need. Otherwise, it would not be necessary to say “our daily bread”; physical bread would be adequately identified by the words, “Give us this day the daily bread.” God wishes to teach his children to be more concerned about food for the soul; yes, he even forbids them to worry about their bodily food and drink.<sup>151</sup>

Moreover, the “supernatural bread” that is prayed for in the Lord’s Prayer “is much nobler, finer, and more delicious and abounding more in all grace and virtue than natural bread.”<sup>152</sup>

In his discourse on the spiritual aspect of the bread, Luther employs the same distinction made by Thomas Aquinas between the bread as sacrament and the bread as the Word of God, and places greater importance on the latter. Although “Christ is received” in the Eucharist, the sacrament “becomes not only a vain and empty custom but also an object of contempt” if it is administered without good teaching, preaching, and proclamation of the Word:<sup>153</sup> “it is only the word of God or our daily bread that must strengthen us.”<sup>154</sup>

The importance of suffering in Luther’s thought—his so-called theology of the Cross<sup>155</sup>—is developed in his *Exposition* of the Lord’s Prayer. He enumerates for his audience the seemingly endless trials and adversities which Christians face in their lives,

<sup>151</sup> *Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*, p. 53.

<sup>152</sup> *Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*, p. 54.

<sup>153</sup> *Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*, p. 57.

<sup>154</sup> *Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*, p. 52.

<sup>155</sup> See Donald Christopher Nugent, “What Has Wittenberg To Do with Avila? Martin Luther and St. Teresa,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 23 (1986): 650–58.

and describes the despair to which they can lead. The fourth petition, therefore, perhaps above all else,

teaches you where you may seek solace and how you may find peace in such disquietude. You must say “O Father, give us our daily bread.” That is to say, “O Father, with your divine Word comfort me, a poor and miserable wretch.”<sup>156</sup>

In the years following the publication of his *Exposition*, Luther’s understanding of the fourth petition changed, and he abandoned his former strong emphasis on the bread as the spiritual Word of God. In both his *Large* and *Small Catechisms* (1529), Luther does not merely cease to favour a spiritual interpretation over a material one; he drops altogether the notion of spiritual bread and is concerned only with the physical necessities of life. The response to the *Small Catechism*’s question “What is meant by daily bread?” excludes any hint of Luther’s earlier, spiritual, interpretation:

Everything required to satisfy our bodily needs, such as food and clothing, house and home, fields and flocks, money and property; a pious spouse and good children, trustworthy servants, godly and faithful rulers, good government; seasonable weather, peace and health, order and honor; true friends, faithful neighbors, and the like.<sup>157</sup>

Luther, like Augustine, takes the physical bread as representing all physical requirements through reference to one of the most basic, food. However, he has eliminated one half of Augustine’s, Thomas’, and even his own two-fold interpretation that the bread is the food of both the body and the soul. Other Protestant reformers such as “Melanchthon, Brenz, Bucer, Osiander, Calvin, and Beza followed in Luther’s footsteps” and “generally

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<sup>156</sup> *Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*, p. 51.

<sup>157</sup> John H. Leith, ed., *Creeds of the Churches: A Reader in Christian Doctrine from the Bible to the Present*, 3rd ed. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), p. 118.

opted for an exclusively material meaning” to the fourth petition’s bread.<sup>158</sup> Calvin’s Latin *Catechism of the Church of Geneva* (1545), for example, is very similar to Luther’s *Catechism*, in the Scholar’s response to the Master’s question, “What mean you by the ‘daily’ bread you ask for?”:

In general every thing that tends to the preservation of the present life, not only food or clothing, but also all other helps by which the wants of outward life are sustained; that we may eat our bread in quiet, so far as the Lord knows to be expedient.<sup>159</sup>

Like Luther, Calvin focuses on the material aspects of the bread, and includes therein not only objects such as food and clothes, but also all things that allow us to live in quiet, such as Luther’s *desiderata* of peace, order, and good government.

Standing outside of the dominant Protestant trend is Katharina Schütz Zell, who in 1532 wrote her own exposition of the Lord’s Prayer in order to console two women from Speyer—Barbara Semler and Elisabeth Bomer, the wives of two minor officials at the imperial chamber court—who felt they were having difficulty fulfilling God’s will for them.<sup>160</sup> In the opening section of her treatise, Schütz Zell stresses the parental concern God has for his children, a theme which continues throughout her discussion of the first three petitions.<sup>161</sup> The part of her exposition of most relevance for this thesis, however, is her analysis of the fourth petition. Here she differs markedly from most of her fellow

<sup>158</sup> Hilmar M. Pabel, *Conversing with God: Prayer in Erasmus’ Pastoral Writings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 138. Jean Carmignac, in his two studies of the history of the Lord’s Prayer, has detailed the shift of interpretation that accompanied the Reformation. Jean Carmignac, *Recherches sur le “Notre Père”* (Paris: Éditions Letouzey & Ané, 1969) and *A L’Écoute du Notre Père* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 1971).

<sup>159</sup> *Tracts and Treatises on the Doctrine and Worship of the Church*, ed. Thomas F. Torrance, trans. Henry Beveridge, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmann, 1958), 2: 78.

<sup>160</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 86.

<sup>161</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 340–54.

Protestant interpreters of the Lord's Prayer. Schütz Zell does not restrict the daily bread to providing for one's physical needs alone. Rather, her focus is on the spiritual aspects of the bread, as in Luther's *Exposition* of 1519, with which she was probably familiar.<sup>162</sup> While Luther dealt primarily with the spiritual bread as Word rather than as sacrament, Schütz Zell develops both. In this, she echoes the multiple levels of interpretation established by patristic and medieval authorities and comes closer to a Catholic interpretation than did many of her reformed contemporaries.

Schütz Zell opens her interpretation of the petition with an admission that our souls are hungry, and a plea for God to feed us with his Word, through which we may come to learn his will.<sup>163</sup> This is likely intended to be yet another comforting reassurance for the two women who comprise her audience. Most of her exposition of the fourth petition, however, treats of the Eucharistic implications of the daily bread.

She writes extensively of the effects of the bread of the Lord's Supper, through which one receives the body and blood of Christ, the true food and drink of the Christian. In communion, people's hearts are strengthened through Christ's body, and are made joyful through his blood.<sup>164</sup> More importantly for Schütz Zell, people are brought together in communion and community through the breaking of the bread and the drinking of the

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<sup>162</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 89.

<sup>163</sup> "Wir seind jetzt hungerig an unsern seelen/ darumb bitthen wir dich von hertzen/ speiss uns onunderlass unnd onverzug heüt unnd allezeit/ mit deinem hailigen wordt/ durch welches wir deinen willen erfahren." "Vatter Unser," *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 2: 354.

<sup>164</sup> Gib uns o lieber vatter das wir den selben Jesum/ das lebendig wort und brot/ das da recht speiset/ leeren erkennen/ und in volkommens erkanthus wachsen/ also sein fleisch welchs is das war brot/ so von dir vom himmel gegeben ist/ unnd des menschen hertz sterckt/ warlich essen und sein blut welches ist das war tranck und des menschen hertz froelich macht/ warlich trinckhen/ mit lebendigem geist unnd glauben." *Ibid.*, p. 356.

cup for the remission of sins.<sup>165</sup> For her, communion also serves as a living memorial of Christ's death on the cross, which was for all people. Thus, in communion our minds are turned to our brothers and sisters who suffer from misery, poverty, sickness, or any other kind of privation. Through the one bread, we become one body, with Christ as its head.

In Schütz Zell's exposition, the Protestant tendency to see the bread of the fourth petition as referring primarily or even exclusively to physical food and other goods is reversed. Not surprisingly, given her strong desire for Christian unity, Schütz Zell emphasizes most strongly the communal act of sharing in the one body of Christ, which was offered up for all and through which all are made one. When she does mention material rather than spiritual food, it is still with an eye towards the community. When we receive our bodily daily bread, we must do so without excess (*überfluss*).

Schütz Zell's exposition of the fourth petition highlights the limits of our model of confessionalization. She had her own beliefs and her own purposes in recording them that cannot be easily explained by reference to a process of confessionalization alone. Gerald Strauss has already questioned the extent to which the catechisms produced by the reformers affected the religious education of people in small towns and rural areas.<sup>166</sup> Schütz Zell provides an example of a highly literate woman living in Strasbourg, a major centre of reformed thought. Unlike some of the people in Strauss' study, she actually wanted to be educated in the new faith; she willingly attended sermons, and actively

sought out religious reading. Reform was not being imposed upon her by a distant prince

<sup>165</sup> "Das brot zubrechen, den kelch der dancksagun zutricken/ inn seiner gedechtnus speiset werden/ das es sey die gemeinschaft des leibs unnd blutts Jhesu Christi zu nachlassung unser sünden/ inn der gemeinschaft der hailigen." Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

or a prying clergy; she believed deeply in the Reformation movement herself and was its staunch supporter. She associated closely with the early reformers, marrying one of them. In all these ways, the evidence from the life of Schütz Zell supports James Kittelson's rejoinder to Strauss that his portrayal of the mass of people as ignorant and unwilling converts to Protestantism does not hold in Strasbourg and its environs, where the Reformation was accepted, and whose residents were highly educated in the new faith.<sup>167</sup> There can be no doubt that Schütz Zell was a devout and learned believer. Nevertheless, she still maintained her own personal interpretations of her religion that transcended what could be found in Luther's *Catechisms*. In her case, variation of belief cannot be said to be an indication of ignorance or impiety. Rather, it indicates that, as O'Malley argues was the case in early modern Catholicism, sixteenth-century Protestants could have varying religious sensibilities and interpretations of their faith while still remaining loyal to the evangelical movement. Far from indicating a "failure" of the Reformation, as Strauss would have it, this merely shows the complexity of the Protestantism of the period. What it also shows is that the rigid and prescriptive categories laid out by the model of confessionalization—as well as by some of the sixteenth-century reformers themselves—do not readily allow for descriptive analyses of personal spirituality in the early modern period.

Marc Forster has recently argued that the formation of Catholic identity in Germany was produced by much more than merely the processes usually associated with confessionalization, namely the "policies of church officials and state bureaucrats intent

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<sup>167</sup> James Kittelson, "Successes and Failures in the German Reformation," pp. 153–75.

on imposing order, discipline, and religious uniformity on the population from above.”<sup>168</sup> As he points out, the confessionalization model as it is currently understood has very little ability to explain the formation of religious identities. It is an idealistic model that applies to a restricted number of territories in the Holy Roman Empire, such as Bavaria, that had a strong prince and the resources to direct and enforce confessional and political unity. Otherwise, much of Catholic Germany remained largely unconfessionalized in the exact theoretical sense of that term, yet nevertheless was still very self-consciously Catholic in outlook.<sup>169</sup>

A similar conclusion may be reached regarding Schütz Zell. She had, for example, strongly condemned the Catholic Mass, and defended Zwingli in his debate with Luther, who opposed Zwingli’s view of the Lord’s Supper as a memorial. Yet her exposition of the Lord’s Prayer betrays a deep devotion to the Lord’s Supper. Although she also calls the ritual a memorial, she seems to come close to admitting that Christ’s true flesh is really eaten and his true blood really consumed in communion. Her reverence for the Lord’s Supper may be surprising given her other reformed ideas, and seems to parallel a Eucharistic piety that is supposedly a sign of confessionalized Catholicism. A more confessionally conscious interpretation of the Lord’s Supper would likely not use the language that Schütz Zell does. Her husband, for example, in his sermons and in his *Christliche Verantwortung*, emphasized the memorial, symbolic, and spiritual aspects of communion. This is what we might expect from someone engaged directly in attacking what were in his opinion Catholic excesses in worshipping a piece of bread. However,

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<sup>168</sup> Marc R. Forster, “With and without Confessionalization: Varieties of Early Modern German Catholicism,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 1 (1997): 315.

<sup>169</sup> Forster, “With and without Confessionalization,” pp. 318–19.

relying solely on Matthis Zell's apologetic language might give an incomplete picture of evangelical attitudes towards the Eucharist. By adding Schütz Zell's devotional exposition, it becomes apparent that the Lord's Supper, once purified of papal errors, remained an emotional focal point of evangelical piety. Communion, for Schütz Zell, was no less real merely because it now took place spiritually rather than physically.

Several recent studies of ritual in early modern Europe have proven invaluable in expanding our knowledge of how religion was understood and lived at the popular level. Necessarily, such studies reveal most when there is ritual to interpret. They give us a picture of worship based on what was physically enacted. Therefore, the Eucharistic piety of Catholics is readily apparent through the forty-hour devotions and Corpus Christi processions. The reformed rejection of much of the medieval ceremony that surrounded communion leaves the historian of ritual less with which to work. Bodo Nischan's research on ritual within the Protestant confessions shows that the rituals in which one participated or which one rejected became an important means of identifying one's confessional allegiance.<sup>170</sup> This very important observation draws attention to the significance and prominence of ritual in early modern religion. However, in many ways it tells us more what people were not than what they were, and what they did not believe rather than what they did. That people fought over the rituals and ceremonies surrounding baptism and communion indicates that these things were important to them, and would seem to indicate that they were more important than merely as symbols of loyalty to an abstract conception of confessional allegiance.

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<sup>170</sup> Bodo Nischan, "Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany," in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996) 2: 142–58; "The Exorcism Controversy and Baptism in the Late Reformation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 18 (1987): 31–50; "The 'Fractio Panis': A Reformed Communion Practice in Late Reformation Germany," *Church History* 53 (1984): 17–29.

By studying works such as Schütz Zell's exposition of the Lord's Prayer, we are able to see deeper and more directly into the mindset of the people of the sixteenth century. If we were to look only at Schütz Zell's rejection of the Catholic Mass, we would see only half of the picture. Her understanding of the Lord's Supper was not composed solely of a reaction to Catholic or Lutheran conceptions. Nor was it merely the product of theology imposed from above. She was able to draw upon her own experiences and thoughts about the Lord's Supper in order to compose a work that fulfilled a particular spiritual and pastoral need. Even as the process of confessionalization progressed over the years, she still retained her autonomous religious experiences. When she published her exposition on the Lord's Prayer in 1558, over twenty-five years after she first wrote it, she did not make any changes to her original manuscript, other than to rededicate it to her friend, Felix Armbruster, who had developed leprosy and was now, too, in need of consolation.<sup>171</sup>

Within Catholicism, the old, pre-Reformation tradition of interpreting the bread as both material and spiritual in nature continued after the Reformation. In 1559, Girolamo Seripando, bishop of Salerno, delivered a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer. Like Schütz Zell, he uses the daily bread in its physical sense to emphasize the need for charity towards our neighbour, and underlines the special importance of the seven corporal works of mercy in this context.<sup>172</sup> Elsewhere in his sermons, he develops the idea that the merely natural bread eaten for the sustenance of life on earth does not sufficiently

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<sup>171</sup> McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell*, 1: 278.

<sup>172</sup> Francesco C. Cesareo, "Penitential Sermons in Renaissance Italy: Girolamo Seripando and the Pater Noster," *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): 8–9.

describe the bread of the prayer:

How beautiful it would be if everyone would take himself to task each evening and say to himself, “This morning in the prayer which Jesus Christ taught me to say, I said, ‘Give us this day our daily bread’! I will see whether my prayer was heard, whether my Father, the Lord of heaven, has given me to eat of that bread which is His word. Have I heard or read God’s word today? Did I understand what I read? Did I obey God’s commandments with a willing heart?” And if you find that you readily gave an alms, that you willingly forgave an offense, then you may rejoice with your whole being because your prayer was heard and you have received that bread for which you prayed when you said, “Give us this day our daily bread.” But if unfortunately you have not read or heard God’s word, then say, “Woe is me because I was not heard today through my own fault; I have not eaten the bread of salvation today.”<sup>173</sup>

The bread of the Christian, then, consists in daily meditation on God’s word, as well as the avoidance of sin and the commission of acts of charity. Ultimately, the bread also refers to the Eucharist.<sup>174</sup>

This interpretation continued throughout the early modern period, and the many instructional expositions and catechisms of Catholic doctrine produced near the end of the sixteenth century retain the two-fold nature of the bread of the fourth petition. The Jesuit Jacobus Ledisma’s *Christian Doctrine* states that the Lord’s Prayer provides for “our own good for our soul, and body.”<sup>175</sup> Laurence Vaux’ *Catechism, or Christian Doctrine* explains that in the fourth petition of the Lord’s Prayer,

We desire and ask that those things may be given to us, which appertain to the nourishment and sustentation of the life of our bodies and souls, as meat, drink, and clothing, the word of God, and the sacraments of the

<sup>173</sup> Quoted in Hubert Jedin, *Papal Legate at the Council of Trent: Cardinal Seripando* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1947), p. 538.

<sup>174</sup> Jedin, *Cardinal Seripando*, p.538.

<sup>175</sup> *The Christian Doctrine* (1597), in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D. M. Rogers (Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), vol. 2: 15.

Catholic Church<sup>176</sup>

Vaux must have been familiar with Peter Canisius' well-known *Catechism*, where the language is almost identical.<sup>177</sup> Canisius claims that in asking for our daily bread,

We desire to have all such things as appertain to the sustentation and preservation either of body or soul, as meat, drink, apparel, the word of God, and the sacraments of the Church.<sup>178</sup>

Elsewhere, Canisius states that the bread of the fourth petition represents

those things that be sufficient for the daily maintenance of our corporal life, to wit, food, and clothing, also those things that do serve to better the life of the soul: as the (a) word of God, the spiritual food of the soul; the most holy (b) and B[lessed] Sacrament of the Altar, that heavenly bread: and other most wholesome Sacraments and gifts of God, which do feed, cure, and confirm the inward man to a well ordered and happy kind of life.<sup>179</sup>

Standing above these works in importance for the confessionalization model, however, are the decrees, canons, and doctrinal formulae promulgated by the Council of Trent. The Council may be seen as embodying the essence of the tendency to produce authoritative and definitive statements regulating the practice of religion and stipulating what is and is not to be believed. One of its many acts was to authorize the publication of a catechism summarizing what it identified as Catholic belief, as part of Trent's larger programme of ensuring higher standards for the education of parish clergy. The catechism

<sup>176</sup> *A Catechism or Christian Doctrine* (1599), in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D. M. Rogers (Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), vol. 2: 19–20.

<sup>177</sup> For more on Canisius and his *Catechism*, see John Patrick Donnelly, "Peter Canisius," in *Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, Switzerland, and Poland, 1560–1600*, ed. Jill Raitt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 141–56; and James Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1963), esp. pp. 233–52.

<sup>178</sup> *Certaine Necessary Principles of Religion* (1578–1579), in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D. M. Rogers (Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), vol. 2: unpaginated.

<sup>179</sup> *A Summe of Christian Doctrine* (1592–1596), in *English Recusant Literature, 1558–1640*, ed. D. M. Rogers (Menston: Scolar Press, 1971), vol. 35: 43.

was designed primarily for pastors, providing them with a means for educating their flocks in the basics of the Catholic faith. Its completion in 1566 was overseen by Pope Pius V, and involved several of the other fathers in attendance at the Council; Carlo Borromeo, for example, was entrusted with the final editorship of the book.

The catechism includes, typically, an explanation of the Lord's Prayer. It maintains what has been shown to be the traditional Catholic interpretation, that is, that the daily bread is both material and spiritual in nature:

In the sacred Scriptures, the word "bread" has a variety of meanings, but particularly the two following: first, whatever is necessary for the sustenance of the body, and for our other corporeal wants; secondly, whatever the divine bounty has bestowed on us for the life and salvation of the soul. In this petition, then, according to the interpretation and authority of the holy Fathers, we ask those succors of which we stand in need in this life; and those, therefore, who say, that such prayers are unlawful, deserve no attention. Besides the unanimous concurrence of the Fathers, many examples in the Old and New Testaments refute this error.<sup>180</sup>

Teresa of Avila, like Schütz Zell, falls outside of the dominant, official interpretation of her confessional tradition. She in fact subscribes to the idea—described by the *Catechism* of the Council as an "error" deserving of "no attention"—that it is undignified and unworthy of the Lord's Prayer to assume that it refers to corporal and temporal goods.

Teresa originally composed her meditation on the Lord's Prayer in response to the Inquisition's banning of all books written in the vernacular that pertained to religious matters. As Teresa herself had learned to pray from books, and would habitually open her sessions of personal prayer by reading a passage from a spiritual book in order to focus

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<sup>180</sup> *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, trans. J. Donovan (Dublin: W. Folds & Son, 1829), pp. 516–17.

her mind and direct her meditation, she felt that the Inquisitors' decision would do great harm to the progress of her nuns' souls. She set out to write for the benefit of her nuns a guide to the Lord's Prayer, their living book which cannot be taken away from them.<sup>181</sup> Thus, like Schütz Zell, Teresa did not intend her work for a universal audience, nor was it written for an ostensibly confessional purpose, such as an apologetic; rather both women wrote in order to aid souls.

In Teresa's opinion, the proper understanding of the words of request contained in the fourth petition "is a matter of life and death."<sup>182</sup> For her, the correct interpretation is that they refer to spiritual bread alone:

I don't want to think the Lord had in mind the other bread that is used for our bodily nourishment; nor would I want you to have that in mind. The Lord was in the most sublime contemplation (for whoever has reached such a stage has no more remembrance that he is in the world than if he were not, however much there may be to eat), and would he have placed so much emphasis on the petition that He as well as ourselves eat? It wouldn't make sense to me. He is teaching us to set our wills on heavenly things and to ask that we might begin enjoying Him from here below; and would He get us involved in something so base as asking to eat? As if He didn't know us! For once we start worrying about bodily needs, those of the soul will be forgotten! Well, we are such temperate people that we are satisfied by little and ask for little! On the contrary, the more He gives us the more we think we are lacking in everything, even water. Let those, my daughters, who want more than is necessary ask for this material bread.<sup>183</sup>

This particularly strong passage was later deleted by an anonymous editor when the *Way of Perfection* was being published from Teresa's original manuscript, perhaps to bring the work more in line with the Catholic tradition of interpreting the bread as both physical

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<sup>181</sup> *The Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 128–37.

<sup>182</sup> *Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 166.

<sup>183</sup> *Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 169.

and spiritual in nature. The remaining text still, however, makes it clear that spiritual bread was all that her nuns were to ask for when praying the Lord's Prayer. Human nature is base enough that it does not need to be encouraged to pine for food or other bodily comforts; people will always be mindful of these things anyway. The function of prayer is, for Teresa, to lift people above the concerns of their earthly lives and prepare them for heaven.

To Teresa's mind, the spiritual bread refers to Jesus himself, and especially to his presence in the Eucharist. While part of the reason she does not want to have her nuns praying for physical bread is because she feels to do so is beneath the dignity of the Lord's Prayer, and even of prayer in general, another part is that it is unnecessary as long as they have the Eucharist. The Sacrament is able "to provide sustenance, even for these [physical] bodies." It also serves to cure people of their sicknesses. Teresa tells the story of an anonymous nun—almost certainly herself—whose severe and painful illness was removed by the power of the Eucharist.<sup>184</sup>

Her devotion to the Eucharist manifests itself in what is in part an attack against, in part a lament for, the irreverence with which Teresa feels unspecified heretics treat the Sacrament. Every day, Jesus' body is insulted and crushed to pieces at their hands.<sup>185</sup> This in turn only increases Teresa's devotion to one who gives himself up every day to such treatment. While she does not give the heretics a name, it is tempting to infer that she is referring to Protestants, as the only other heretical group prominent in the minds of Spaniards at this time, the *alumbrados*, were not associated with iconoclasm and desecration of the Sacrament; their sin was instead perceived to lie in an illuminist

<sup>184</sup> *Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 171.

<sup>185</sup> *Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 167.

mysticism that emphasized the place of direct personal revelation to individual elect souls, leading to complete union with God and making the mediation of the Church unnecessary. It is nonetheless important that she does not identify her heretics as *luteranos*—the pejorative, dismissive term the Spanish used to describe all Protestants, whether properly Lutheran or not—because this sort of labelling of the other is a central concept of confessionalized identity. By not specifically naming the heretics, Teresa fails to fulfill the standard model of identity formation.

Her comments against heresy are fairly limited, however, and the majority of her treatise deals with the importance of the Sacrament to those who would lead a contemplative life. If her nuns desire to be close to God, they have no better opportunity than that which is presented to them when they communicate. Teresa has to laugh at those who wish that they were alive at the time Jesus “walked in the world . . . since in the Blessed Sacrament they had Him just as truly present as He was then.”<sup>186</sup> She reminds her nuns not to rely too heavily on the use of images of Jesus to aid their prayers to him since in communion they can have access to Jesus himself. Not taking advantage of this, and preferring to pray in front of a picture, would be like having a portrait of a close friend that we speak to, instead of to the person himself, whenever he comes to visit. When she cannot commune with God through the Sacrament, then Teresa finds such images to be a great and welcome consolation, one which the unfortunate iconoclastic heretics “through their own fault have lost.”<sup>187</sup>

Teresa finished writing her *Way of Perfection* in 1566, the same year the Council of Trent’s *Catechism* appeared. She could not of course have been familiar with the

<sup>186</sup> *Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 171.

<sup>187</sup> *Way of Perfection*, in *Collected Works of St. Teresa of Avila*, 2: 173.

*Catechism* then; nonetheless, she developed her own self-consciously Catholic interpretations of matters such as the nature of the daily bread of the Lord's Prayer. She was therefore not dependent upon a top-down process of confessionalization to form her confessional identity.

While it is tempting to see in Teresa's interpretation a reaction, or overreaction, to Protestant challenges to the Catholic conception of the Sacrament, it is possible that her ideas were not necessarily the product of the Reformation. Origen, writing over one thousand years before Teresa, and with whom she was most likely completely unfamiliar, came to remarkably similar conclusions as she did regarding the nature of the fourth petition:

Since some understand from this that we are commanded to pray for material bread, it will be well to refute their error here, and to establish the truth about the supersubstantial bread. We must ask them how it could be that He who enjoined upon us to ask for great and heavenly favours, should command us to intercede with the Father for what is small and of the earth, as if He had forgotten—so they would have it—what He had taught. For the bread that is given to our flesh is not heavenly, nor is the request for it a great request.<sup>188</sup>

In fact, the tension between the apparent injunction in the Lord's Prayer to pray for our food, and Jesus' teaching elsewhere in the Gospels that we should not worry about whence our food will come (Mt 6:25, 31, 33), has troubled interpreters of the Lord's Prayer for centuries. Maximus the Confessor attempted to reconcile the two. As God cannot contradict himself, "it is obvious that he did not enjoin us to ask in the prayer what he had exhorted us not to seek in his commandment." Therefore, the commandment not to worry as do the people of the world does not mean that we cannot ask for one

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<sup>188</sup> *Origen: Prayer*, trans. John J. O'Meara, *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation*, vol. 19 (Westminster: Newman Press, 1954), p. 92.

day's worth of bread, as long as we do so without anxiety or without the desire to accumulate more goods than are absolutely necessary for us to subsist.<sup>189</sup> Origen and Teresa, however, opted to resolve the contradiction by denying that the bread of the Lord's Prayer referred to physical bread at all. This was also the option favoured by Martin Luther in his *Exposition* of 1519, although, as has been noted, he makes a seemingly reluctant allowance for praying for physical bread as well at the very end of his work. It is likely that Teresa's belief that prayer should not refer to worldly things is less a function of confessional identity than of her life as a mystical contemplative, removed from people living in the world, whether Catholic or Protestant.

Through this brief analysis of Teresa's and Schütz Zell's respective interpretations of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, we can see that Marc Forster's observation that confessionalization alone was not the only factor that went into the construction and formation of religious identities would seem to be accurate. Katharina Schütz Zell, someone who was deeply and personally committed to the cause of reform, and who had been in direct communication with the very people who drew up the confessions and catechisms of her period, was nevertheless resistant to much of the process of confessionalization, and maintained her own, non-confessionalized, interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. Teresa of Ávila managed to construct her own Catholic identity—based on her understanding of the Sacrament as elucidated in her treatise on the Lord's Prayer—before the Tridentine Counter-Reformation was fully under way in Spain, showing that her religious identity was also not dependent upon the

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<sup>189</sup> *Commentary on the Our Father*, in *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings*, trans. George C. Berthold (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), pp. 113–15.

progress of confessionalization. Rather, both women could draw upon their own personal insights in order to respond to the particular spiritual needs of those whose souls they believed they were in a position to help.

## Conclusion

The lives of Katharina Schütz Zell and Teresa of Ávila highlight some of the problems of the confessionalization model. An examination of their geographical and political contexts shows that state control of religion was not unique to the so-called age of confessionalization (1555–1618/48); even less can it simply be called a product of the magisterial Reformation within the Holy Roman Empire. The phenomenon was on the contrary present in Germany and Spain since the Middle Ages. The spirituality and thought of Schütz Zell and Teresa also raises questions for the manner in which confessionalized identities were formed. Neither Schütz Zell nor Teresa conform to the pattern of a confessionalized Lutheran or Catholic, whose religious sense of self was to be reinforced through contrast with a confessional “other.” Teresa’s potential “other,” the *luteranos* of northern Europe, were far removed from her by distance, and only sporadically appear in her writings. Schütz Zell did not want to acknowledge an “other” at all, and spent her life trying to knock down rather than build up confessionalized barriers.

More case studies of this kind are necessary before firm conclusions regarding the nature of confessionalization in early modern Europe can be reached. The research presented here indicates at the very least that not everybody experienced confessionalization in the same way, and that it was not a process that pervaded every aspect of a person’s life. It further suggests that two aspects of confessionalization—the encroachment of the political into the religious sphere and the creation of confessional identities—heretofore seen as the products of a single process, should be disengaged from one another. In Strasbourg and in Spain, the political effects came first, with identity

formation arriving later, or, as was the case with Schütz Zell and Teresa, not at all, or at least in a very limited form.

It is important, when studying the history of religion in early modern Europe, to appreciate both the socio-political as well as the spiritual and intellectual aspects of religion. A full and accurate understanding of the period can be realized only through an analysis of the relationship that existed between these two sides to religious history. While the confessionalization model has been useful in highlighting the points at which the two overlapped, it has been less successful at illustrating how they at times operated autonomously. The history of women, who were for the most part excluded from the mainstream of political activity, is perhaps best suited for showing how one's internal spiritual world could be separate from one's political environment. Future research, however, may indicate that the spiritual lives of men, too, were not wholly determined by their external society.

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