Frank Hinkelmann

"I Will Build My Church"

An Introduction to the Global History of Christianity

WEA
WORLD EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

Theological Commission

World of Theology Series 30

Frank Hinkelmann

"I Will Build My Church"

World of Theology Series

Published by the Theological Commission of the World Evangelical Alliance

Volume 30

Frank Hinkelmann

"I Will Build My Church"

An Introduction to the
Global History of Christianity

Cover: Luther at the Diet of Worms 1521, Painting by Anton von Werner. Wikimedia, public domain
Hoima for Jesus Mission – Uganda 2014, © African Enterprise Int.

Contents – Overview

Contents – in Detail

1   Introduction

What is church history? What is its subject? Why should we study church history? Is church history different from profane history and, if so, how? What are the purpose and aim of writing church history?

In addition to these questions,[1] this introductory chapter will also take a closer look at the questions of periodisation of church history, various aspects of church history research and methods of church history work, as well as offering an overview of the history of church historiography.

1.1   The Object of Church History

> "What is church history about? 'Church history' presents not only the history of the church as an institution, but also the history of Christian theology and piety, as well as the interrelations between Christianity and other religions, and between faith and culture. The subject of church historiography is the church in its various forms of origin, in its making and in its development over the centuries."[2]

In this definition from a standard German textbook introducing the study of church history, there is no mention of God's activity and action in history. Klaus Wetzel comments on this, referring specifically to German Protestantism: "Statements about God's action in history have long been avoided in Protestant theology in Germany."[3] Wetzel sees the reason for this rejection in the premise that speaking of God's action is considered unscientific.[4] Karl Heussi, author of one of the standard German works for many years on church history from a Protestant perspective, wrote in the preface of his book:

> "The reader finds, then, in the arrangement of the whole, [...] further in the preference given to the sober communication of facts over reflection and speculation, that is, in the superiority of the 'objective' over the 'subjective', above all in the historical-theoretical principles, the same historical type as before. My method is the purely historical one; i.e., the Church is here con-

---

[1]   Cf. Manfred Heim, *Einführung in die Kirchengeschichte*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000; Bernd Jaspert (ed.), *Kirchengeschichte als Wissenschaft,* Münster: Aschendorff, 2013.

[2]   Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2014, 9.

[3]   Klaus Wetzel, *Wie handelt Gott in der Geschichte?* Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 1984, 5.

[4]   Klaus Wetzel, *Wie handelt Gott in der Geschichte?* 5.

sidered insofar as it is a purely earthly phenomenon. Whether it is more or not, and to what extent it is more, can only be a matter of faith, not of science."[5]

By contrast, Hubert Jedin, a leading Roman Catholic church historian of the last century, noted:

"In order to fulfil its task, church history makes use of the historical method. Its application to the object determined above, the believed and at the same time visible Church, is not subject to any limitations given by the matter but can at times lead to tensions between the faith or theological postulates one identifies with it and real or only apparently assured results of science and confront the church historian with difficult decisions. Their scientific purity is not affected by this. [...]

Church history as a whole can only be understood in terms of salvation history, its ultimate meaning can only be grasped in faith. It is the continuing presence of the Logos in the world (through the proclamation of faith) and the consummation of the community of Christ by the New Testament people of God [...]. It is the growth of the 'body of Christ', not, as the 'decline theory' thought, a constant slipping away from the ideal of the early church, but also not, as the Enlightenment thinkers thought, a continuous progress. The growth of the Church is at times inhibited from within or from without, it goes through 'illnesses', experiences setbacks and upswings. She does not show herself as a bride without spot or blemish, as the spiritualists of all times dreamed of her, but covered with the dust of the centuries, suffering from the failures of men and persecuted by her enemies; that is why the history of the Church is theology of the cross."[6]

For Hubert Jedin, the "body of Christ" and thus the Church is at the centre of church historiography, a point of view that is understandable from a confessional Roman Catholic point of view. Yet Erich Schnepel rightly countered this at the end of his book *Jesus in the Roman Empire*:

"In our study we have observed the difference between the history of the churches and the development of the church of Jesus. Churches are the organisationally tangible auxiliary constructions for the building of the church of Jesus. The congregation of Jesus itself cannot be clamped into any tangible organisational form, although it is by no means invisible, but appears with great power and vitality. Yes, it is more real, more impressive, more full of life than those structures which look so strong, powerful and

---

5   Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte,* Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, [14]1976, iii.
6   Hubert Jedin, *Von der Urgemeinde zur frühchristlichen Großkirche,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1963, 5, 7.

mighty, which we call churches and which are nevertheless only auxiliary scaffolding in order to form the actual goal of God, the church of Jesus. [...]

The path of the church of Jesus is much more difficult to trace in history than the path of those auxiliary constructions. It cannot be represented in statistics. In many a century, only the official and unofficial has been recorded in history, which appeared on the large scaffolding. It is then a matter of carefully groping and seeing where the life traces of the church of Jesus become visible in such times."[7]

This requires a fundamental clarification of which concept or pre-understanding this book is based on: the concept of the "body of Christ" or "Church of Jesus", or an institutional, confessional understanding? In this work, I have chosen the organic rather than the institutional model. To summarise once again in the words of Erich Schnepel, who also offers a definition of the "Church of Jesus":

"This church of Christ consists of all those who have been placed in a direct life relationship with Jesus as their living Lord. A person can never enter into this love relationship with Jesus without at the same time being placed in this organic bond with all others who, like him, are connected to Jesus. Thus, the church of Jesus is a wonderful organism. Jesus is the living head of this organism."[8]

This kind of organism in turn finds its expression in organisational forms, which must by no means be understood as a contradiction or opposition to the organism described.

Let us return to the fundamental question of how church history is to be understood. Bernd Jaspert noted:

"The church historian is a theologian, must be a theologian. As a theologian, he takes an internal perspective, unlike the historian or the religious scholar, and that is a good thing. He belongs to the religion whose history he is researching. As a theologian, the church historian looks at history with other interests, other questions and other emphases than the historian, and he always has the whole of theology in view."[9]

Ammerich and Möller, on the other hand, hold firm:

---

[7]   Erich Schnepel, *Christus im Römerreich: Der Weg der Gemeinde Jesu in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten,* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [5]1952, 80.

[8]   Erich Schnepel, *Christus im Römerreich*, 80.

[9]   Bernd Jaspert (ed.), *Kirchengeschichte als Wissenschaft,* 102.

"Church history today can be pursued either as 'secular church history' (Rudolf von Thadden) without a religious and confessional pre-understanding or as theological church history with a corresponding presupposition. The theological presupposition is denominationally distinct."[10]

The fact that church history in this book is understood as a theologically defined category (body of Christ, community of Jesus followers, or as an organism) has already been explained above. At the same time, however, it is not understood in a traditional confessional sense. It is not primarily about an apologetic defence or evaluation of historical events from a Protestant or any other point of view.

Nevertheless, every researcher's own presupposition shapes him – whether he admits it or not – and it is only fair to state with which presupposition we approach church history. We look at church history from a Protestant-evangelical understanding,[11] which is committed to a worldview of salvation history[12] in subordination to the authority of Holy Scripture. What does that actually mean?

"Church history is fundamentally concerned with the time between the first and second coming of Jesus Christ. That is why it does not believe in the greatness of man, and why it does not despair of his smallness and powerlessness. Nor does it rely on the knowledge of our limited power of reason; for it stands before the mystery of the hidden God revealed only in Christ. This does not give it the key to be able to simply read off events and make a revelation out of history [...]. But it has to show how the individual times have behaved towards the revelation of God in Christ, whether they gave it room in the obedience of faith or resisted it self-willedly."[13]

---

[10]   Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*, 10.

[11]   On a Protestant-Evangelical understanding of history cf. especially: Klaus Wetzel, *Wie handelt Gott in der Geschichte?*; Klaus Meiß, *Spuren des lebendigen Gottes 1: Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 2007, 175-186; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* Witten: SCM R. Brockhaus, 2012,1-6; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, Niederbüren: Esras.net, 2020, 14-23 and Lutz E. von Padberg, "Kirchengeschichte im Spannungsfeld von Glauben und Wissenschaft", in: Thorsten Dietz and Hans-Jürgen Peters (eds.), *Seelsorge auf dem Feld des Denkens: Festschrift für Sven Findeisen zum 65. Geburtstag,* Marburg: Eigenverlag, 1995, 45-54.

[12]   Cf. the comments on Pannenberg, among others, in: Lutz E. von Padberg, "Kirchengeschichte im Spannungsfeld von Glauben und Wissenschaft", 46.

[13]   Theodor Brandt, *Kirche im Wandel der Zeit, Part I: Von Paulus bis Luther,* new edition, Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1977, 7.

However, this immediately raises the question of the yardstick and criteria used for such an assessment.

> "Seen from the outside, church history is, in Goethe's well-known words, 'a human word of error and violence'. Nowhere are things more human, even inhuman-demonic, than in it. For nowhere is man's sin more evident than where, under the cover of faith and its certainty, the fanaticism of man's tyranny do their work, where false doctrine and every curse of hypocrisy and selfishness take effect. That God should put up with such a history is the incomprehensible fact."[14]

Church history is thus more than a religious history of Christianity. Church history is also more than a profane historical science, even if it has the whole variety of methods of historical research at its disposal. At the same time, church history does not have a "revelatory" character.[15] Instead, church history asks about the work of the Holy Spirit in history, and is thus in itself theocentric and not anthropocentric; God is the main player and not man and his achievements. The church historian Kurt Dietrich Schmidt spoke of the "history of the church [as] the history of Christ continuing to work in the world",[16] and the theologian and church historian Klaus Wetzel summed it up as follows: "talking of God's action as the most important task of church historiography."[17]

Church history continues the historiography of the Old and New Testaments as a theological discipline[18] and stands in continuity with the biblical understanding of history (Heb. 1:1-3). At the same time, however, this means that church history and profane history are intertwined and therefore cannot be considered separately from each other.

Unlike many other religions, the Christian faith is a historical faith. This means that God has spoken into history, he acts in history and his work is visible in history. Since Christianity is therefore not a religion without history, we are also called upon to think historically and to learn from the past – both from its positive as well as its negative examples. However, such a conviction implies the need to be acquainted with our history. Furthermore, it is important to remember that unlike many nature religions and

---

[14]   Theodor Brandt, *Kirche im Wandel der Zeit, Part I, 7.*
[15]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte, 4.*
[16]   Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [8]1984, 16.
[17]   Klaus Wetzel, *Wie handelt Gott in der Geschichte?*, 5.
[18]   H. W. Krumwiede, "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung, Geschichte der", *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie* und *Gemeinde* 2, Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1993, 1098.

Eastern religions, the Judeo-Christian understanding of history is purposeful (teleological) and not to be understood in recurring cycles.

At the same time, however, we should be careful not to be too quick to interpret everyday political history as a special history of salvation, since we are trapped by our subjectivity and limitedness, seeing only a partial aspect of divine action. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt rightly observed, "The history of the Church [is] only a history of Christ in veiling."[19]

Bernd Jaspert in his small introductory booklet "Studying Church History" addressed the question of the prerequisites, learning and meaning of church history work[20] and Peter H. Uhlmann mentioned several aspects why we should study church history. These authors' views are summarised in excerpts below:

1. God "makes" history.

> "God is a God who makes history, in the ambiguous sense of the word: it is he who created time and space, it is he who determines the course of history. [...] According to biblical understanding, without history there would be neither creation nor revelation of God, let alone redemption."[21]

2. "I will build my church" or the story of the Holy Spirit
To quote the French church historian Joseph Chambon: "Church history is really understood only as the history of the Holy Spirit of Jesus Christ, who is at home, who works, who incarnates, who is often afflicted and hindered, who comes and goes sovereignly."[22]

3. History can help us find our identity

> "Knowledge of the past and hope for the future is important for shaping the present. We need to know what came before us, what shapes our being and thinking. For churches [...] to find their identity, it is vital to deal with history."[23]

4. Role models
We need role models, which church history can provide, and therefore church history means enrichment (Heb. 12:1–13:7).

---

[19]   Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, 15. Cf. also the remarks in: Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 1-6.
[20]   Bernd Jaspert, *Kirchengeschichte studieren*, Nordhausen: Verlag T. Bautz, 2016.
[21]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 14.
[22]   Joseph Chambon, *Der französische Protestantismus,* Zollikon: Evang. Verlag, [5]1943, 6.
[23]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 16.

5. Avoiding past mistakes in the future

The study of church history can help us avoid repeating mistakes others have made before us.

6. Church history in the service of apologetics

The study of church history can help us in our apologetic ministry.

7. Kingdom mentality

The study of church history can help us to gain a "kingdom mentality" by learning about other churches and communities in history. The church is bigger than we think!

8. Help for the assessment of questionable movements

Heresies have always been part of church history. A study of church history can help us in our own assessment of current groups.

9. Recognition of causes and their effects

Historical events such as Constantine's toleration of Christianity in 313 or the Reformation continue to have formative effects even today. Historical knowledge can shed light on many contexts and cultural imprints.[24]

Bernd Jaspert spoke of a fourfold service that church history provides to (scientific) theology:

> "The first and most important reason or service consists in the fact that church history, with historicity, perceives and reflects the religious-phenomenologically characteristic specificity and basic structure of the Christian religion. [...]
>
> The second service that church history renders to theological scholarship consists in opening up once own religious identity and revealing its unreflective presuppositions. [...]
>
> The third service of church history to theological scholarship is that it demonstrates concretely in historical material the structural possibilities of its unfolding in thought and life that are fundamentally laid out in Christian revelation. [...]
>
> The fourth service of church history to theology is to present examples of Christian existence."[25]

---

[24]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike,* 14-20.
[25]   Bernd Jaspert (ed.), *Kirchengeschichte als Wissenschaft,* 166-171.

1.2   Periodisation of Church History

Especially in the Western world, church history is divided into four peri-
ods: the early Church/antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Reformation era and
the modern era. However, this classification is in many ways problematic.

First of all, even among Western scholars the time boundaries of each
epoch are controversial.[26] In addition, this traditional periodisation ap-
proach is based foremost on historical events in Europe and heavily on de-
velopments within the Western churches. For example, large parts of Or-
thodoxy have never been extensively covered by the Reformation, and
anyone writing a church history of Asia will not get very far with a division
into the traditional four periods.[27] Therefore, while we should understand
this Western approach, we will try not to stay within this traditional four-
period framework but will only refer to it.

- Early or Ancient Church (30 – 450)
- Middle Ages (450 – 1500)
- Reformation period (1500 – 1650)
- Modern Times/Contemporary Church History (1650 to the present)

Instead, we try just to follow a continuous timeline.

Another question which needs to be raised is where the study of church
history begins and where it ends. In profane history, we find the approach
of defining Christianity as a religion of redemption that emerged from Ju-
daism.[28] In the Christian sphere, there are several approaches: Some link
the beginning of Christian church history to the commission Jesus gave to
Simon Peter in Mt. 16:18ff; this view is found mainly among Roman Cath-
olic scholars. Others see the beginning of church history as linked with Je-
sus' mission command in Matthew 28.[29] Still others see Pentecost as the

---

[26] See, among others, Eckehart Stöve, "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung", in: *Theologi-
sche Realenzyklopädie* XVIII, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1989: 535-560; Lise-
lotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*,
24-26.

[27] Cf. for example the purely chronological presentation by Klaus Wetzel in his
Kirchengeschichte Asiens (Church History of Asia), which dispenses entirely with the
usual fourfold division. Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* Nuremberg: VTR,
²2010, 3-7.

[28] So also Liselotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchen-
geschichte*, 27.

[29] For example, Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christi-
anity*, 2nd edition, Grand Rapids: Baker, ¹¹2000, 11.

starting point of church history.[30] We tend towards this last position. In the second chapter of Acts, God constitutes the church: the Holy Spirit is given (4), and we find a confession of faith in preaching (13-31), mission (37-41), fellowship of believers (42), miracles and signs (43), diakonia (44-45) and church growth (47). We can therefore call Luke the first church historian of Christianity.

1.3   Aspects of Church History

Church history can in principle encompass and deal with numerous individual aspects. These include, for example, personal history, history of dogma, history of canon law, history of religious orders, territorial church history, social history of the church or even mission history.

1.4   Working Methods in Church History

The working methods in the study of church history are the same as those of the profane historian: it is a matter of a critical examination and compilation of the literary and monumental sources of the respective epoch. To sum it up once again in the words of Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich:

> "Historical work is understood to be the recounting of past facts, events and processes as accurately as possible in an analysed manner on the basis of a careful, methodically controlled analysis of sources in a critical presentation. The steps towards the goal of historical work are the subject of historical methodology."[31]

1.5   History of Church Historiography

Let us briefly turn to the history of church historiography. Eusebius of Caesarea (263-339/340) is considered the first official, post-biblical historian of Christianity. Probably due to a general fading of the near expectation of Jesus' return, Eusebius felt compelled to write a coherent account. He himself shed light on his objectives and motives:

> "It is my purpose to write an account of the successions of the holy apostles, as well as of the times which have elapsed from the days of our Saviour to

---

[30]   So, interestingly, also the Roman Catholic church historian Hubert Jedin in: Hubert Jedin, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 1,* 4.

[31]   Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*, 12.

our own; and to relate the many important events which are said to have occurred in the history of the Church; and to mention those who have governed and presided over the Church in the most prominent parishes, and those who in each generation have proclaimed the divine word either orally or in writing."[32]

Eusebius continued by saying that he wanted to address the rise of false doctrines, the persecution of Christians and the misfortune of the Jews (particularly the destruction of Jerusalem), which he interpreted as a punishment for their rejection of the Messiah.[33]

Other church historians of antiquity include the lawyer Socrates Scholastikos (c. 380-440), who wrote a church history in seven volumes in Constantinople, which, however, covered only the years 306-439, and Theodoretos of Kyrrhos (393-460) who focused on the Eastern Roman Empire.[34]

It would go beyond the scope of this introductory book to go into more detail about the further formation of church historiography in the course of history. Instead, we refer only to the relevant literature.[35]

With the Reformation epoch, church history changed fundamentally, and confessional-apologetic aspects increasingly came to the fore. A first prominent example of this is the so-called "Magdeburg Centurions", which were initiated by Matthias Flacius who for the first time interpreted church history from a Lutheran perspective. As a Catholic 'counterwork' to this, Cardinal Caesar Baronio (1538-1607) wrote the 12-volume *Annales ecclesiastici* in Rome between 1588 and 1607, which remained the standard Roman Catholic work in supplemented and revised editions until the 19th century. Unlike the "Magdeburg Centurions", the cardinal did not focus only on "pure doctrine", but also on the development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, including a history of the popes and the saints.[36]

---

[32]   Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series 1, Eusebius: Church History, Life of Constantine the Great, Oration in Praise of Constantine, New York: Cosimo, 2007, 81. The Church History of Eusebius I.1.1.

[33]   Ibid. See also: Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*, 15-16.

[34]   Wolfgang Heinrichs, "Kirchengeschichte", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2, 1908; cf. also Armin Sierzyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 6-7; Eckehart Stöve, "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung", 538-539.

[35]   Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*, 14-16.

[36]   Wolfgang Heinrichs, "Kirchengeschichte", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2, 1907-1908; cf. also Eckehart Stöve, "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung", 540-541.

Until the Enlightenment era, a separation between profane history and church history was unknown. One studied general history, which always focused on the Christian Church, even in the West. Church history as a separate subject from profane history was first introduced in the Protestant sphere in 1650 in Helmstedt, Germany.[37]

Later, Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1694/95-1755) was considered the father of modern church historiography. As a professor of theology in Helmstedt, Braunschweig and finally as Chancellor of the University of Göttingen (all cities in Germany), he consciously left the narrowness of confessional Lutheran historiography and strove for "an 'impartial' account and 'objective' description of church history."[38] Mention must also be made here of the Pietist professor Gottfried Arnold in Giessen, who also made an important contribution to critical church history with his "Unbiased History of the Church and Heretics", first published in 1699/1700.[39] "Methodologically groundbreaking, Arnold no longer judged the heretics according to the judgement of their opponents, but according to their own writings."[40]

> "Although Arnold fully shared the ultimately a-historical viewpoint of the church-critical piety movement, which idealised early Christianity, his work nevertheless encompassed the whole of church history. This was only possible through the ingenious as well as intrepid thought of writing an anti-church history."[41]

With regard to further developments in the 19th and 20th centuries, we need to refer to the relevant literature.

---

[37] Cf: Lenelotte Möller and Hans Ammerich, *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*, 20.

[38] J. O. Rüttgardt, "Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von (1694/95-1755)", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2, Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1993, 1378-1379.

[39] Cf. Wolfgang Heinrichs, "Kirchengeschichte", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2, 1909.

[40] Armin Sierzyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 9.

[41] Eckehart Stöve, "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung", 541.

2 The Beginnings of Christianity (30-100)

2.1 The Environment of Christianity in the First Century

Profane history and Church history always go hand in hand. Anyone who wants to understand the rapid spread of Christianity in the first century must include general historical aspects, because God as Creator and Sovereign Ruler (Dan 2:21) is Lord of all history, of the whole universe. For the period of church history dealt with here, this means that the geopolitical starting position must be considered.

2.1.1 The Roman Empire

In the first century BC, the Romans succeeded in bringing large parts of the Mediterranean under their rule.[42] The following map shows the geographical expansion of the *Imperium Romanum* up to the year 14 AD under emperor Augustus in comparison to the further expansion up to the year 117 AD.

However, the Roman conquerors integrated the Hellenistic culture. At the same time, Hellenistic influences, which were already visible before the Romans conquered the lands, were also reinforced by the *Imperium Romanum.*

> "Hellenism did not come to an end with the rise of the Roman Empire, it gained influence in the entire Roman world. It was significant for the course of history; both Byzantium and the Renaissance of the Middle Ages are unimaginable without Hellenism. The primary marker of Hellenism is the increased blending and saturation of different cultures in which national cultures in particular were transformed by Greek life and thought. At the same time, however, Greek and later Roman culture became open to oriental influences. The new global culture did not remove the existing national or regional cultures: it transformed them at the same time. Thus a relatively unified cultural area emerged that allowed cultural peculiarities and differences without coming apart. The spread of the Greek language must be regarded as an excellent example of this process. In the NT era, the Greek language was the world language. Inscriptional discoveries indicate especially that in

---

[42] Cf: Frederick F. Bruce. *New Testament History*, reprinted, New York: Doubleday, 1980: 1-19.

Palestine of the first century CE, two linguae francae overlapped. Greek was spoken along Aramaic, even in the simplest levels of society."[43]

Eckhard Schnabel provided figures that can help us to better grasp the size of the empire in terms of its population.[44] For example, the total population of the *Imperium Romanum* is estimated at 50 to 80 million inhabitants during the beginning of the first century AD. Of these, about 14 million lived in Rome, Italy and the Mediterranean islands, 6 million in Spain, 3 million in Greece and the Aegean islands, 11 to 13 million in Asia Minor and about two and a half million in Palestine. Of the approximately 2,000 cities in the Roman Empire, most had only between 2,000 and 15,000 inhabitants, while Rome with 600,000 to 1,000,000, Alexandria with around 500,000 and Antioch with around 250,000 inhabitants were exceptions as large cities.

In religious terms, religious pluralism prevailed in the *Imperium Romanum*.[45] In addition to Greek religiosity, mystery cults such as the cult of Isis or the cult of Mithras had large numbers of followers. However, not until the end of the first century AD did the imperial cult become established as the state religion, without displacing other cults as long as they did not claim to be absolute.[46]

Peter Uhlmann therefore rightly concludes, "For the spread of the Gospel, the economic, political and cultural unity of the Mediterranean region is a tremendous help."[47]

2.1.2   The Jews under Roman Rule

The position of the Jews in the *Imperium Romanum* deserves special attention. Schnabel assumed that the "small, pre-exilic Jewish population of perhaps 150,000 Jews had grown to about 8,000,000 Jews in the 1st century AD. Of these, only 700,000 to 2,500,000 lived in Palestine."[48] Udo Schnelle assumed that five to six million Jews lived in the Diaspora.[49] "The Jewish diaspora

---

[43]   Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity: An Introduction to Its History, Literature, and Development,* Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020, 15.

[44]   Cf. on this and the following, Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission,* Downers Grove: IVP, 2004, 558-559.

[45]   Cf. on this and the following, Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 18-30; Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission,* 602-616.

[46]   Cf. on the imperial cult, Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 617-621.

[47]   Peter Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 31.

[48]   Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 122-123.

[49]   Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 46.

communities had an extensive internal self-administration. Nevertheless, their well-being always depended on the goodwill of the rulers and the particular non-Jewish population."[50] It is in this cultural context of the Diaspora that the emergence of the synagogue as the cultural and religious centre of the Jews is to be understood, with its beginnings in the 3rd century BC.[51]

The situation of the Jews in Palestine at the turn of the century must be understood in the context of the preceding conflicts about Hellenization since the second century BC.

> "The Seleucid Antiochius IV Epiphanes (reigned 175-164 BCE) conducted an aggressive program of Hellenization. In 169 BCE he plundered the temple and entered the most holy place [...]; in 168 BCE he issued a religious edict which was basically a prohibition of the exercise of the Jewish religion (cf. 1 Macc. 1:44-50). In addition, in 167 BC he introduced the cult of the god Zeus Olympus in the Jerusalem temple [...] and had altars set up everywhere at which everyone could sacrifice to the foreign religion. The goal of the Seleucids was a complete Hellenization, and thus an integration of Judea into the Seleucid world empire."[52]

However, he triggered the opposite development. The Maccabees emerged as an opposition movement and there was open political resistance. Other Jewish groups such as the Pharisees[53] and Essenes also had their origins in this phase and gained popularity among the population.[54] One should therefore be cautious about concluding that the Hellenization efforts were actually successful. Rather, it seems to have been the case at the time of Jesus that the everyday religious practice of the Jewish population of Palestine was strongly determined by the Pharisees and their teachings.[55]

Let us turn to the political realities of Palestine at the time of Jesus. Since the Roman legions of Pompeius invaded the region in 63 B.C., "the history of Palestine – whether directly or indirectly – has been entirely Roman."[56] Daniel Marguerat aptly summarises the situation at the time of Jesus:

---

[50]   Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 46.
[51]   Cf. especially: Peter Wick, *Die urchristlichen Gottesdienste: Entstehung und Entwicklung im Rahmen der frühjüdische Tempel-, Synagogen- und Hausfrömmigkeit,* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2003: 88-116.
[52]   Schnelle, *Die ersten 100 Jahre des Christentums*, 47.
[53]   Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 199-201.
[54]   Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 48-49.
[55]   Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 199.
[56]   Daniel Marguerat, "Einleitung: Jesus von Nazaret", in: Luce Piétri (ed.), *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2003, 12.

"During the early years and the time of Jesus' public ministry, Galilee and Judea [...] experienced two different forms of rule, on the one hand as part of an allied kingdom with a Jewish administration under Roman suzerainty, and on the other hand under an occupying power secured by a prefect on the orders of the emperor. The authority of the Sanhedrin and the High Priest was limited to religious matters."[57]

2.2   Mission and the Spread of Christianity

The starting point for the Christian Church[58] is the Pentecost event in Jerusalem on 27 May 30.[59] Seven weeks and one day after the Passover and thus 50 days after the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, God sent his promised Holy Spirit. Thus, through the work of the Holy Spirit, the first Christian church came into being at Pentecost.

While the proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah was initially directed primarily at Jews, God's covenant people, Christianity became increasingly important among Gentiles. How did this development come about?

2.2.1   The Beginnings: Mission of the Apostles in Jerusalem

Under Peter's preaching, around 3,000 people accepted the message of Jesus Christ as the risen Lord. They formed the first Christian community.

"In contrast to the separatist community of Qumran, the community of believers in Christ initially remained connected to Israel, although it appeared as a religious group like a háiresis, a special movement in the Jewish environment. In fact, it adhered to the Mosaic Law and the Temple, so that no break was visible to the outside world. On the other hand, they emphatically insisted on the statement of faith that salvation was opened up to man in Jesus of Nazareth alone (Acts 4:12)."[60]

Schnelle rightly pointed out that the origin of the post-Easter movement of Jesus' followers was presumably in Galilee – the disciples of Jesus had

---

57   Daniel Maguerat, "Einleitung: Jesus von Nazaret", 13.
58   At this point, the work of Jesus is deliberately omitted. Cf. especially the chapter "The Mission of Jesu", in: Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 177-386.
59   Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 398. Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 80, arrives at the same dating. He gives the crucifixion date of Jesus as 7 April 30 (14 Nisan).
60   Josef Lenzenweger, Peter Stockmeier, Karl Amon and Rudolf Zinnhobler (eds.), *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche,* 3rd improved edition, Graz: Styria, 1995, 28.

fled there – but they soon returned to Jerusalem.[61] This may also have been connected with an expectation of Jesus' near return.

> "The Twelve understood, they comprehended the task assigned to them by Jesus for the time until he would return and usher in the consummation of the kingdom of God in a visible and final way: Jesus had called them from the beginning to follow him and be trained as 'fishers of people', winning people for faith in Jesus' message of the arrival of God's reign (Mk. 1:17); Jesus had given them practical experience in the implementation of this assignment (Mk. 6:7-13/Mt. 10:1-15/Lk. 9:1-6); Jesus confirmed their commission before his ascension and described it as an assignment that was universal in scope and international in extent and was the answer to the question of when God would restore the kingdom to 'Israel' (Acts 1:8). [...]. The disciples were convinced – the results of the apostolic council make this very clear – that the proclamation of the significance of Jesus Christ would bring about the gathering of the nations and the affiliation of Jewish and Gentile believers with the kingdom of God. Promised by the prophets as the final event before the consummation. As witnesses among the nations, the Twelve have a part in the fulfilment of God's plan of salvation."[62]

Subsequently, numerous Jews converted to faith in Jesus as the Messiah, including Pharisees and probably also Essenes.[63]

2.2.2 The Set Off: The Mission of the Twelve from Jerusalem to the Ends of the Earth

The relatively early persecution of the Jerusalem Christian congregation by the Jewish religious leaders – Schnabel dates the martyrdom of Stephen to the year 31/32[64] – led to an emigration of mainly Hellenistic influenced followers of Jesus from Jerusalem. They settled in Samaria (Acts 8), in Caesarea (Acts 8:40), and as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus and Antioch in Syria (Acts 11:19-20), and thus preached the Gospel in areas which had not yet been penetrated by the Gospel.

> "Stephen and his friends were convinced that the biblical notion that God does not live in temples made by human hands has consequences for the

---

[61]   Cf. Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 95-96.
[62]   Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 423-424.
[63]   Cf: Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 424-425.
[64]   Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Urchristliche Mission*, 654. Cf. further the detailed discussion in Rainer Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus: Studien zur Chronologie, Missionsstrategie und Theologie,* Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994, 52-65.

temple and for the cultic practiced in the temple, since the messianic days have arrived and since God had given a new revelation providing for the salvation of Israel. [...] The central place for the encounter with God is no longer the holy temple in the holy city as the one place of God's redemptive presence: salvation and holiness have become a reality as a result of Jesus the Messiah through faith in the saving significance of his death, resurrection and exaltation. The fundamental home of the believer's relationship with God is no longer the holy land, since God's redemptive presence can be in all places where people repent and believe in Jesus the Messiah and share their faith in the community of the new covenant."[65]

Rainer Riesner explained the transition from an intra-Jewish to a mission among Gentiles as a process that began with the martyrdom of Stephen in the year 31/32 and increasingly intensified until the persecution of the Jerusalem church under Herod Agrippa I at the beginning of the year 41.[66] On the feast of Passover, 4 April 41, the apostle James, son of Zebedee, was executed (Acts 12:2-3) and probably Peter also left Jerusalem during this time.[67]

Let us turn to the further geographic spread of the Christian community in the first century – apart from the mission of Paul and his disciples. The story of Paul's conversion (Acts 9) shows that there were Christians in Damascus at an early stage. The question of who first brought the Gospel to Damascus must remain open.[68]

Peter initially worked in Samaria and in several cities of the coastal plain, possibly including Lydda and Joppa. The conversion of the Roman centurion Cornelius under Peter's preaching occupies a central space in Acts 10.[69] Peter probably left Jerusalem for good in the spring of 41, but it remains open where precisely he went to.[70] However, the mentions by Paul suggest that the Gentile Christians in Galatia and Corinth knew Peter and his missionary activity or at least knew of him (cf. 1 Cor. 9:5). The mentions in 1 Cor. 1:12 and 3:22 suggest that Peter himself had travelled to Corinth. However, certainty cannot be gained with regard to the geography of the apostle Peter's missionary activity after the year 41.[71]

---

[65]   Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 668.
[66]   Rainer Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus*, 97.
[67]   Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 718-719.
[68]   See the discussion in: Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 695-701.
[69]   Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 707-718.
[70]   Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 718.
[71]   Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 727.

Missionary work did not happen only through the apostles. Eckhard Schnabel noted, "Jewish-Christian missionaries from Jerusalem carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to Judea, Samaria, Syria and Rome. They evidently engaged in missionary work not only among Jews, but also among Samaritans, God-fearers and polytheists."[72] The regions and localities[73] that were thus reached early with the gospel, included Judea, Galilee, Samaria, cities located on the Mediterranean coast such as Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea, the Phoenician coastal region with cities such as Sidon and Tyre, the regions of Syria and Cyprus, Antioch, Italy and Rome. Possibly the gospel was also preached early in the Aegean, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Achaia and Thrace. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the gospel not only reached Egypt and North Africa in the first century but reached as far as Mesopotamia and India.[74]

> "The information that we have about the early Christian missionaries who preached in these regions is sparse, and the historical value of the available literary sources often is doubtful. There is no doubt, however, that the missionary work of the early believers in Jesus the Messiah in the first century led to the establishment of Christian communities in dozens of cities of the Roman Empire."[75]

2.2.3   Pioneer Mission: The Mission of Paul

Saul, later renamed Paul, probably came from a rather wealthy Jewish family in Tarsus and came to Jerusalem as a young man to study.[76] The proclamation of a crucified Messiah presumably motivated Paul to persecute the young Jewish Christian community. His spiritual life change took place on a journey from Jerusalem to Damascus (Acts 9) and Paul henceforth felt called to be an apostle to the nations (Acts 9:15).

Directly after his conversion, Paul began his missionary work (Acts 9:20-22) in Damascus and a few months later in Nabataea in the Arabian region (cf. Gal. 1:17) in the region of today's Jordan before he returned to

---

[72] Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 729.
[73] Cf. on the following remarks especially the discussion in Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 729-910.
[74] Cf. on India: Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 880-895; Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia 1: Beginnings to 1500,* New York: Harper Collins, 1992, 25-36.
[75] Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 913.
[76] Cf. the discussion in Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 923-926.

Damascus.[77] After a visit to Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18-19 and Acts 9:26-30), Paul travelled to Syria and Cilicia to do missionary work there (Gal. 1:21).

> "How long was Paul active as a missionary in Syria and Cilicia? Assuming that Paul was converted on the road to Damascus in AD 31/32 and that he preached in Nabatea in AD 32/33, he could have engaged in missionary work in Syria and Cilicia beginning in AD 33/34. If we date Paul's mission to Cyprus and Galatia to AD 45-47, then his mission to Syria and Cilicia (including the ministry in Antioch) can be dated between AD 33/34 and 44/45. This means that Paul proclaimed the gospel of Jesus Christ for twelve years in the province of Syria-Cilicia for about 12 years."[78]

Paul probably worked in Antioch on the Orontes in the years 42-44,[79] moved on to Cyprus in the spring of 45 and from there on to Pamphylia, Pisidia and Phrygia in the south of the province of Galatia (45-47), and founded various churches there together with co-workers.[80] In the years 49 to 52 Paul worked in the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia (Acts 15:30–18:22) and founded numerous churches.[81] During this phase he stayed in Athens and Corinth, among other places. In the years 52 to 55, Paul focused on activity in the province of Asia with an emphasis on Ephesus.[82] At Pentecost 57 Paul stayed in Jerusalem, was arrested there by the Roman authorities and taken to Caesarea, remained in prison for two years (Acts 21:17-26:32) and finally travelled to Rome for his trial (Acts 27). Paul probably stayed there from 60 to 62, was released in the meantime and did mission work in Spain in 63/64,[83] followed by a second Aegean mission which

---

[77] Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1031-1038. Cf. also: Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien: Die unbekannten Jahre des Apostels, with a contribution by Ernst Axel Knauf*, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998, 208-213.

[78] Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1047. Cf. also the detailed discussion of the possible localities in which Paul may have been missionary there; ibid, 1048-1054.

[79] Cf. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien*, 274-.

[80] Cf: Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1073-1124.

[81] Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1125-1199. Cf. especially the overview table of the possible places visited, ibid 1125-1126.

[82] Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1206-1231. Cf. especially the overview table of the possible places visited, ibid 1197-1199.

[83] Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1271-1287; Rainer Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus*, 271-272.

also took him to Crete (cf. Tit. 1:5).[84] It can be assumed that Paul was executed in Rome in the year 67 at the latest.[85]

Eckhard Schnabel summarises:

"Statistical information about the distances that Paul travelled is, of course, estimated, especially because we have no geographical data for the first twelve or so years of his missionary work in Arabia, Syria and Cilicia. A conservative estimate indicates that Paul travelled about 25,000 km (ca. 15,500 mi.) between his conversion in AD 31/32 and his execution in AD 67, including 14,000 km (ca. 8,700 mi.) on foot, a distance that required some 660 days of overland travel."[86]

In addition to Paul's personal missionary activity, his team of co-workers was also engaged in missionary work. Even in his last letter to Timothy, Paul mentions that Titus travelled to Dalmatia (2 Tim. 4:10c) and it is quite possible that Crescens was engaged in missionary work in Gallia (2 Tim. 4:10b).[87]

2.2.4 Growth, Consolidation, Structures, and Challenges of the Church

We lack information about the missionary activity of Christian communities towards the end of the first century. However, we should be careful not to conclude from this that there was no longer any planned missionary work, and that mission took place only through personal contacts of individual Christians.

Eckhard Schnabel has compiled a list of both documented and plausible congregations for the last decade of the first century:[88]

Judea
Established: Jerusalem, Caesarea, Joppa, Lydda, Ptolemais-Acco
Plausible: Azotos-Ashdod

Galilee
Established: Capernaum
Plausible: Betsaida, Cana, Kochaba, Nazareth

---

84 Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1283-1283.
85 Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1478.
86 Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1478.
87 Cf. the discussion in: Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1288-1292.
88 Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1529-1532.

Samaria
Plausible: Samaria-Sebaste, Sichem-Neapolis, Sychar

Achaia
Established: Corinth, Cenchreae
Plausible: Athens, Megara, Pathras

Africa
Established: Region of Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauritania.

Egypt
Plausible: Alexandria

Asia
Established: Ephesus, Miletus, Magnesia, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna, Thyatira, Tralles, Pergamon, Hierapolis, Colossae, Laodikeia, Alexandria Troas

Ethiopia
Plausible: Meroë

Dalmatia – ?

Epirus
Established: Nikopolis

Galatia
Established: Antiocheia, Derbe, Iconium, Lystra

Gaul – ?

Illyria
Plausible: Dyrrhachium

India
Plausible: Taxila, Muziris, Barbarikon, Poduke/Arikamedu

Italy
Established: Rome, Puteoli
Plausible: Herculaneum, Pompeii

Crete-Kyrene
Plausible: Gortyn, Cyrene, Berenike, Ptolemais, Teucheira

Macedonia
Established: Beroea, Philippi, Thessalonike

Pamphylia-Lycia
Established: Attaleia, Perge
Plausible: Myra

Parthia
Plausible: Arbela, Edessa

Pontus-Bithynia
Plausible: Amisos, Nikomedia

Malta – ?

Sykthien
Plausible: Cherosonesos, Gorgippia, Neapolis, Olbia, Pantikapaion

Syria-Cilicia
Established: Alexandria, Antioch, Damascus, Sidon, Tyre, Tripolis, Tarsus
Plausible: Apameia, Arethusa, Berytos, Byblos, Emesa, Laodikeia ad Libanum, Larissa, Seleucia, Kanatha, Pella, Petra, Shahba, Soada, Ananzarbos, Mallos, Soloi, Sebaste, Korykos, Seleukia, Olba

Thrace
Plausible: Byzantion

Cyprus
Established: Paphos
Plausible: Amathus, Kition, Kourion, Lapethos, Salamis, Tamasso

For a better understanding of Christian congregations in early Christianity, two aspects should be considered in greater depth at this point: the role and function of house churches and the understanding of roles and ministries in the church.

Roger Gehring examined the significance of ancient houses and house communities in early Christianity and concluded that private houses formed the "basis of all community life":[89]

"The success of the early Christian mission and the life of the new churches was closely connected with the private house. In the ancient world the

---

[89]   Roger W. Gehring, *Hausgemeinde und Mission: Die Bedeutung antiker Häuser und Hausgemeinschaften – von Jesus bis Paulus,* Giessen: Brunnen, 2000, 486. This PhD dissertation was also published in English: Roger W. Gehring, *House Church and Mission: The Importance of Household Structures in Early Christianity*, Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005. However, I was not able to obtain a copy of the English edition. Therefore, the above quotation is a translation from the German edition by the author.

Greek term oikos (Lat. familia) described the 'house as living space and familial domestic household,' and as such became the 'base of missionary work, foundational centre of a local church, location for worship, lodging for the missionaries and envoys, and at the same time, of course, the primary and decisive place of Christian life and formation'. The following reasons explain why the early missionaries chose private homes as meeting places for the young Christian communities: 1. The houses of converted Jews and Gentiles were immediately available as meeting places. They did not have to be remodelled or refurbished, as the meetings of Christian believers did not require any architectural features. 2. Jews were accustomed to meeting in private houses, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Jews, proselytes, and God-fearers who converted to faith in Jesus Christ thus would not have been surprised about the choice of private homes as meeting places for religious activities. 3. A private home provided excellent conditions for important elements of the meetings of Christian believers: family fellowship and common meals during which the Lord's Supper was celebrated. 4. Private houses allowed Christians to meet in a relatively inconspicuous manner, which became a pressing necessity as soon as the local synagogues no longer tolerated believer in Jesus the Messiah."[90]

The structure of the ancient houses and house churches in their cultural character inevitably also had an impact on the structures and the leadership structure of the congregations. We know from the book of Acts that the Jerusalem congregation was initially led by the apostles with Peter at the head (cf. the indirect information in Acts 1-12 and Gal. 1:18), but later James, the brother of Jesus, took over this leadership function.[91] For other congregations, a socio-historical approach should be considered. In other words, "The leaders of the HC [house churches] were provided by the very structure of the ancient oikos: They were such people who served as leaders in a pastoral and patronal sense to those who gathered in their homes."[92] Educational aspects, the economic situation and the position of the host as head of the household (patronage system) certainly played a role here and should be considered at this point.

The New Testament already refers to church functions, roles and ministries. Paul mentioned apostles, prophets and teachers (1 Cor. 12:28) as well as bishops (leaders) and deacons (Phil 1:1). Almost "all the elements that characterise the later ecclesiastical office [are] already present: Duration, authority title, legitimation (letters of recommendation), special po-

---

[90]   Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1301-1303.
[91]   Cf. the discussion in: Roger W. Gehring, *Hausgemeinde und Mission*, 182-196.
[92]   Roger W. Gehring, *Hausgemeinde und Mission*, 335.

sition, payment."[93] Women – in contrast to their social position in general society – also played an important role in both evangelism and church planting, which went far beyond the general social position of women during the time.[94]

However, the challenges for the churches also grew, as persecution of Christians occurred repeatedly. Jesus had already announced to his followers that persecution would be coming. The first severe wave of persecution of Christians in Rome occurred under Nero (54-68). In 49, Emperor Claudius had expelled all Jews – and thus also Jewish Christians – from Rome by edict. This had an effect on the composition of the Roman congregation, since until then the Jewish Christians had made up the majority of the congregation. Nevertheless, the congregation continued to grow and after the burning of Rome in in the year 64, Nero tried to deflect suspicion that he himself had set the fire by accusing the Christians of arson. Tacitus wrote about this incident:

> "So far, the precautions taken were suggested by human prudence: now means were sought for appeasing deity, and application was made to the Sibylline books; at the injunction of which public prayers were offered to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpine, while Juno was propitiated by the matrons, first in the Capitol, then at the nearest point of the sea-shore, where water was drawn for sprinkling the temple and image of the goddess. Ritual banquets and all-night vigils were celebrated by women in the married state. But neither human help, nor imperial munificence, nor all the modes of placating Heaven, could stifle scandal or dispel the belief that the fire had taken place by order. Therefore, to scotch the rumour, Nero substituted as culprits, and punished with the utmost refinements of cruelty, a class of men, loathed for their vices, whom the crowd styled Christians. Christus, the founder of the name, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilatus, and the pernicious superstition was checked for a moment, only to break out once more, not merely in Judaea, the home of the disease, but in the capital itself, where all things horrible or shameful in the world collect and find a vogue. First, then, the confessed members of the sect were arrested; next, on their disclosures, vast numbers were convicted, not so much on the count of arson as for hatred of the human race. And derision accompanied their end: they were covered with wild beasts' skins and torn to death by dogs; or they were fastened

---

[93] Ulrich Brockhaus, *Charisma und Amt: Die paulinische Charismenlehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen*, Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1987, 123.

[94] See Ben Witherington III, *Women in the Earliest Churches,* Reprinted, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Mary J. Evans, *Woman in the Bible: An Overall View of all the Crucial Passages on Women's Roles,* Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993.

on crosses, and, when daylight failed were burned to serve as lamps by night. Nero had offered his Gardens for the spectacle, and gave an exhibition in his Circus, mixing with the crowd in the habit of a charioteer, or mounted on his car. Hence, in spite of a guilt which had earned the most exemplary punishment, there arose a sentiment of pity, due to the impression that they were being sacrificed not for the welfare of the state but to the ferocity of a single man. Neither human help, nor Nero's gifts, nor atonement to the gods could banish the shameful rumour that the conflagration had been set on fire by order. In order to put an end to it, the emperor put the blame on those people who were hated because of their shameful deeds, whom the people called Christians, and punished them with selected tortures. The Christ from whom this name originated had been executed by the governor Pontius Pilate in the time of the Emperor Tiberius. Their pernicious faith was thereby suppressed for the moment. However, it later reappeared and spread not only in Judea, where it had originated, but also in Rome, where all conceivable detestable religious customs came together and gained adherence. Therefore, those who openly professed to be Christians were seized first, and on their report an immense number of people were seized. They were not convicted of arson, but of general hatred of humanity (odium generis humani). When they were executed, they were also made fun of. They were wrapped in animal skins and either mauled by dogs or nailed to the cross or set on fire after dark to serve as torches. Nero had given away his own gardens for this show and also offered a circus performance. In the guise of a charioteer he mingled with the people or showed himself standing on a racing chariot." (Tacitus, Annals XV, 44)[95]

Udo Schnelle concludes:

"In any case, one can speak of a Neronian persecution, for the action against the Christians was open, systematic, and intended for annihilation. It was limited to Rome, but all of the dramatic events in the world capital penetrated with some delay into the provinces. In addition: the new movement must have been known to the elite in 64 CE even if the knowledge about them varied. Thus, the Neronian persecution cannot be minimized as an isolated case that was not significant for the early church outside Rome. From this point onward, the Christians were considered as an un-Roman movement worthy of punishment, whose existence was constantly in danger."[96]

However, more recent research not only questions the traditional thesis that Nero set fire to Rome but also suggests that the fire was accidental.

---

[95]   Quoted from https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/tacitus/annals/15b*.html [Last accessed 12.06.2023].

[96]   Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 438.

Anthony A. Barrett, for instance, basically questions even that persecution of Christians occurred as a result of the great fire of 64 AD.[97]

A few decades later, the Roman Empire was gripped by the reign of terror of Emperor Domitian (81-96), who ultimately failed due to his own excessive hubris. From 85 AD onwards, he demanded to be worshipped as Lord and God. That this put Christians in a conflict of conscience is obvious. However, it is disputed among scholars whether Domitian initiated a deliberate, large-scale persecution of Christians or (what might be more likely) that the persecution of Christians was a secondary consequence of his regime of terror.[98]

The last subject to be mentioned at this point is the theological disputes within the congregations, as they are mentioned above all in Paul's letters and represented a growing challenge and danger for the young churches, like the Jewish-nomistic tendencies mentioned in Galatians or the first signs of the penetration of Gnostic ideas into the churches (cf. 1 Tim. 6:20f.).[99]

Udo Schnelle summarised the reasons for the success of Christianity in the first century, of which several are cited here:[100]

1. "The Roman Empire, as a relatively unified cultural and political area without dividing boundaries, was a crucial presupposition for the successes of early Christianity.
2. Greek as a world language and the good possibilities for travel in the first century advanced the expansion of Christianity.
3. A further reason was the initial close dependence on the existing infrastructure of Hellenistic Judaism (Paul). Here especially many sympathizers of the Jewish religion (Godfearers) were won to the faith.
4. The weakness of the existing religions also favored the spread of Christianity. Among Greeks and Romans there was no concept of a mission, but only regional or local cults (e.g., Delphi) which were not connected with each other. Similarly, no supraregional organised priesthood existed. The decline of the pagan cults (cf. Plutarch, Pliny) favored the success of Christianity.
5. Monotheism exercised a great appeal and already was the source of fascination about Jews in antiquity. Great number of gods and portrayals of the gods in the Greco-Roman world apparently led to a loss of plausibility. In addition, there was the continuing fascination with the figure of

---

[97] Vgl. Anthony A. Barrett, *Rom brennt! Nero und das Ende einer Epoche*, Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2021, 158-191.
[98] Cf. Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 439-441.
[99] Cf. Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 539-559.
[100] Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 560-563.

Jesus of Nazareth, who proclaimed and embodied a new understanding of God. The narratives of and about Jesus in the Gospels produced a continuous proximity to the redeemer figure that was unknown until then.

6. Something new in the history of ancient religion appeared with early Christianity. Early Christian mission was not intended to offer people an additional religion but made an exclusive claim that involved the renunciation of all previous religious commitments. The goal of early Christian preaching was not the adhesion to another religion but the conversion to the one true God (cf. 1 Thes. 1,9-10). It involved a conscious decision with a level of commitment with no little success [a literal translation of the German original: 'not insignificant consequences!'].

7. The successes of the early Christian mission can be explained only with the assumption of a high capacity to connect with Jewish and Greco-Roman streams of tradition. This twofold capacity for connection could be attained, not by rejection, but only through a conscious participation in the debates that were taking place around in the environment of the churches. The early Christian missionaries participated aggressively in the religious, ethical, and philosophical discourses of their time. A new cultural system like early Christianity could emerge only because it was able in a position to connect with existing cultural movements and produce new organizations of concepts and traditions. Intentional communication and desired conviction are here at the beginning!

8. A high social, communicative, and informal network existed among the house churches; the five pillars of the network were letters, travel, coworkers, reciprocal material support, and a developed culture of hospitality (cf. Luke 14:12-14; Rom. 12:13; 1 Pet. 4:9; 1 Tim. 3:2; 5:10; Titus 1:8; Heb. 13:2; 1 Clem. 1-2; Did. 11-13). As a whole, the infrastructure of the Christians was new and effective. [...]

9. Christians were participants in a local congregation and at the same time members of the worldwide church so that individuality and cosmopolitan breadths supplemented each other. In the entire Roman Empire, one could quickly as a tradesman, soldier, or slave find a church community in the centres and become at home.

10. Besides, a novel teaching, a challenging love ethic (love of God, neighbor, self, and enemy) created new social forms. A key to the success of Christian churches was the openness for people of all social classes, both men and women, and all occupations. This openness presented the greatest difference from pagan associations. The conversion of 'entire houses' (cf. 1 Cor. 1:16; Acts 16:15; 18:8) indicates that members of all social classes could belong to the new community (cf. Gal. 3:26-28). There were no limitations on rank, standing, descent or gender. Through the absence of formal conditions for admission, women and members of lower levels of society (especially slaves) joined the new communities in great numbers.

11. Baptism, the weekly eucharistic celebration, and the small house churches created a strong bond and require the formation of an identity. Charismatic church services, new intensive experiences of the Spirit, miracles, and healings as well as charismatic personalities determined the life of the community. In the communities, it was possible to live out the new identity and to expand as the 'I' and 'we' consciousness was brought into balance: As individual persons, believers were equally beloved children of God together members of the body of Christ. The churches created bonds withing within [literally in the original German: 'were committed inwardly'] and were open to the outside. [...]

12. Christians had a direct access to God; there was no priestly class. Democratization was an essential element of the new faith; all are children of God. In addition, new instructions for conduct and emotions became adaptable for the culture, that is, love of enemies, forgiveness, sympathy, humility, and simplicity. Finally, the Christians conceived the hereafter in a new way; the capricious power of fate and the fear of the hereafter were removed by a loving God, who raised Jesus Christ from the dead and promised to raise believers."

3   Early Christianity (100-310)

We now enter a second phase in the history of Christianity; the post-apostolic age, also called the phase of early Christianity. Udo Schnelle pointedly summarises the initial situation in the first decades of the second century:

> "Early Christian missionaries moved within a political, economic, and language scene that, despite its regional manifestation, was perceived as a common world. The favourable external conditions were combined with a novel, expansive concept of mission as well as attractive teachings and lifestyle. The interplay of these factors considerably favored the spread of the new movement of Christians. In a society shaped by a Greco-Roman ethnocentrism, Christians practised an exclusive model of fraternal openness and equality that included utopian elements and left behind basic values of antiquity. Early Christianity developed very quickly into a new cultural system. As a whole, one can describe early Christianity as an equally charismatic and intellectual movement. This double structure was the basis of its attractiveness and success."[101]

3.1   Mission, Spread and Persecution of Christianity

In the following, the further mission and expansion of Christianity in and outside the *Imperium Romanum* will be traced until the beginning of the fourth century. However, we need to recognise that the preserved sources from the second century in particular are rather rare.

3.1.1   In the Roman Empire

From Palestine we read of several bishops towards the end of the second century, without it being possible to draw any conclusions about the size and importance of these congregations.[102]

As early as around the year 100, the church in Rome took a prominent position. On the one hand, this was certainly due to its exposed location in the capital of the *Imperium Romanum*, but on the other hand, it was also due to its size. Armin Sierszyn estimated the number of Christians around the

---

[101]   Udo Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity*, 563.
[102]   Pierre Maraval, "Der christliche Osten in der Verschiedenheit seiner Traditionen", in: Luce Piétri (ed.), *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2003, 555.

year 100 at between 1,000 and 5,000.[103] Adolf von Harnack deduced for the year 250, from the number of clergy and those in need of help, the number of the total congregation in Rome; he arrived at a figure of around 30,000 Christians.[104] Other researchers assume 50,000 to 100,000 believers.[105] The influence of the Roman congregations was certainly not small, or otherwise Emperor Decius would not have stooped to the statement "that he would rather endure a counter-emperor in Rome than a bishop."[106] From early on, members of the imperial court also belonged to the church, such as the consul T. Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla, cousin and niece of Domitian, who were executed (Flavius Clemens) or exiled (Domitilla) in in the year 95/96.[107] There is much to suggest that the Roman community was quite well endowed financially so that it could support Christian communities in other parts of the Empire. From this, a sense of responsibility towards other Christian communities in the empire increasingly developed on the Roman side.

In contrast to other parts of the Empire, we have much more detailed information from Syria.[108] As in the first century, Syria seems to have further established itself as a centre of Christianity. Early on, Antioch on the Orontes in the east of the empire, had already taken on an influential role.[109] This was certainly helped by the outstanding figure of Ignatius (around the year 110). Later, however, the centre shifted more and more to Alexandria, especially from the third century onwards, mainly due to the theological school that was being established there. In Egypt it can be assumed that Christians also penetrated Upper Egypt and the Fayum Basin through mission work during the second century, and Christians probably also lived in the Nile Delta.[110] In Asia Minor, Polycarp and others were active during the post-apostolic period, so that further flourishing congregations developed.[111]

---

[103] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 21.

[104] Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, reprint of the 4th revised and enlarged edition of 1924, Wiesbaden: VMA-Verlag, no year, 806.

[105] Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission,* 815 and footnote 433.

[106] Adolf von Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 806. This statement of the emperor was handed down to us by Cyprian.

[107] Adolf von Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 572.

[108] Pierre Maraval, "Der christliche Osten in der Verschiedenheit seiner Traditionen", 560.

[109] Cf. the detailed information in Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission,* 781-797.

[110] Birger A. Pearson, "Egypt", in: Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (eds.), *Origins to Constantine,* Cambridge History of Christianity 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008, 348-349.

[111] Cf. Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 819-838. and 1197-1248; Christine Trevett, "Asia Minor and Achaea", in: Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young

In addition to the urban centres along the coasts, the gospel of Christ spread inland during the second century. In Gaul, Christian congregations were established in Marseille, Vienne and Lyon and other places.[112] In Germania, congregations were founded in Mainz, Strasbourg and Trier. Christianity even seems to have reached Britain towards the end of the second century, probably via Gaul.[113] As for Spain, Irenaeus and Tertullian already spoke of around 200 Christian communities.[114]

We have more detailed information about Christianity in the Roman provinces of North Africa[115] from the year 180 (especially from martyr records). Although it is quite possible that Christian communities existed in Africa as early as the first century, we lack information on this. In the year 180, we read of Christians in a place called Scilli, which to this day cannot be determined more precisely. However, it was mainly the outstanding theologians Tertullian (c. 160 to c. 225) and Cyprian (c. 200/219 to 258) who shaped the image of North African Christianity. In any case, there were Christian communities in Carthage (close to today's Tunis, Tunisia) and in Alexandria (Egypt) in the second century. Regarding the third century, the numerous bishoprics attest to the extraordinary expansion of Christianity in North Africa, including Libya and Thomas C. Oden speaks of "hundred of towns of Libya that had Christian congregations"[116] from the third to the sixth century. "No other region of the Roman West (Italy included) could

(eds.), *Origins to Constantine,* Cambridge History of Christianity 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008, 314-329.

[112] Cf: John Behr, "Gaul", in: Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (eds.), *Origins to Constantine,* Cambridge History of Christianity 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008, 366-379.

[113] See F. F. Bruce, *The Spreading Flame: The Rise and Progress of Christianity from Its First Beginnings to the Conversion of the English,* 9th ed., Carlisle: Paternoster, 1992, 353-355.

[114] Cf. Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 24.

[115] Victor Saxer, "Das christliche Afrika", in: Luce Piétri (ed.), *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250*), Die Geschichte des Christentums 1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2003, 626; Maureen A. Tilley, "North Africa", in: Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (eds.), *Origins to Constantine,* Cambridge History of Christianity 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008, 381-396; J. Patout Burns Jr. and Robin M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014, 7-12; Thomas C. Oden, *How Africa Shaped the Christian Mind: Rediscovering the African Seedbed of Western Christianity*, Downers Grove: IVP, [17]2024.

[116] Thomas C. Oden, *Early Libyan Christianity: Uncovering a North African Tradition*, Downers Grove: IVP, 2011, 40.

record such a spread."[117] Yet the church was weakened through internal conflicts.[118] For example, Cyprian's rapid rise in the church hierarchy was a thorn in the side of some clergy in Carthage and caused internal church conflicts.[119] Cyprian turned to Christianity at a later age and converted around the year 245. Immediately he was ordained as a priest. About three years later, he was consecrated as a bishop and subsequently opposition to him formed around a conflict over the question of how to deal with those who had fallen away in persecution. The conflict developed into a schism that would weaken the church in the long term.[120] In addition, the church in North Africa faced several severe waves of persecution, under Emperor Decius in 250 and Emperor Valerian in the late summer of 257. Cyprian himself died a martyr's death by beheading in September 258. A final severe wave of persecution hit the North African church under Diocletian at the turn of the third and fourth centuries, "shaking the African Church more than any other in the Roman Empire, and for basically over a century."[121] Last but not least, the Vandals crossed into North Africa with some 80,000 warriors in 429 and conquered large parts of the Roman provinces.[122] However, even in what is Mauritania today, Christian churches were established.[123]

The expansion of Christianity also continued during the third century. As we shall see, the persecution of Christians strengthened the church more than it could harm them. While in the western part of the Roman Empire Rome was the undisputed centre of the church and enjoyed a high reputation, in the east Alexandria in Egypt[124] developed into a centre and became the starting point for planned mission initiatives, whose participants came from the catechetical school of Clement and Origin.

---

[117] Yvette Duval, "Der Westen und die Balkan-Donau-Randgebiete: I. Die Kirche Nordafrikas", 124. See also Winrich Löhr, "Western Christianities", in: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.), *Constantine to c. 600,* Cambridge History of Christianity 2, rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 39-40.

[118] On the overall development of the church in North Africa, see J. Patout Burns Jr. and Robin M. Jensen, *Christianity in Roman Africa*, 12-85.

[119] On Cyprian, cf. above all Ulrich Wickert, "Cyprian", in: Martin Grschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 158-175.

[120] Cf. Yvette Duval, "Der Westen und die Balkan-Donau-Randgebiete: I. Die Kirche Nordafrikas", 122-124.

[121] Ulrich Wickert, "Cyprian", 126; cf. also: Winrich Löhr, "Western Christianities", 39.

[122] Winrich Löhr, "Western Christianities", 45.

[123] Cf. the information in Adolf von Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, 887-889. and Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission,* 871-880.

[124] Cf: Birger A. Pearson, "Egypt", 331-350.

3.1.2   Beyond the Roman Empire

The proclamation of the gospel did not remain limited to the Imperium Romanum, but rather the Christian faith spread soon beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. From Edessa we know that after the conversion of the royal house under Agbar IX, Christianity was already promoted around the year 200. However, Edessa fell under Roman control at the beginning of the third century.[125] Mari, a disciple of Addai, the apostle of Edessa, set himself the task of doing mission work in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Mari became the founder of the churches in Arbela (today's Erbil) and Seleucia-Ctesiphon (around 30 km southeast of today's Baghdad, Iraq)[126] and "worked in Nisibis (today's Nusaybin, Turkey), which later became the centre of West Persian Christianity [...] and as far as the Arabian-Persian Gulf."[127] In Arabia, a bishopric already existed in 224 with its seat in present-day Qatar, which also included Bahrain.[128]

Christianity also spread in India, and there is evidence of Christianity in southern India from the third century at the latest. New missionary initiatives also brought the gospel to Armenia and Georgia during the second century.[129] Around the year 300, King Tiridates III converted to Christianity; Armenia thus became the first country in which Christianity was elevated to the status of state religion.[130]

While Christianity spread beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, especially in Asia, a similar development cannot be observed for the European region. Here, Christianity also spread further, but only within the borders of the Roman Empire.

3.1.3   Persecutions of the Church

In the previous section, we saw that persecution of Christians occurred repeatedly. It continued in the second century, often regionally. Under Emperor Trajan (98-117), mainly the Asia Minor region and Syria were affected. Trajan was primarily concerned with restoring the rule of law as

---

[125] Pierre Maraval, "Der christliche Osten in der Verschiedenheit seiner Traditionen", 561.

[126] Peter Kawerau, *Ostkirchengeschichte 1: Das Christentum in Asien und Afrika bis zum Auftreten der Portugiesen im Indischen Ozean,* Lovani: E. Peeters, 1983, 9-10.

[127] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens*, 30.

[128] See the comments in Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 14; Peter Kawerau, *Ostkirchengeschichte 1*, 54.

[129] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 32-33.

[130] Cf. Peter Kawerau, *Ostkirchengeschichte 1*, 20.

Domitian's successor. When one of his governors on the Black Sea, Pliny, asked him how to deal with Christians, Trajan wrote the following back, laying a foundation for the administration of justice against Christians for the next two centuries:

> "You have adopted the proper course, my dear Pliny, in examining into the cases of those who have been denounced to you as Christians, for no hard and fast rule can be laid down to meet a question of such wide extent. The Christians are not to be hunted out; if they are brought before you and the offence is proved, they are to be punished, but with this reservation – that if any one denies that he is a Christian and makes it clear that he is not, by offering prayers to our deities, then he is to be pardoned because of his recantation, however suspicious his past conduct may have been. But pamphlets published anonymously must not carry any weight whatever, no matter what the charge may be, for they are not only a precedent of the very worst type, but they are not in consonance with the spirit of our age."[131]

With this letter, which quickly spread throughout the empire, the emperor at least put an end to a denunciation system and at the same time created relative legal security. In the following decades, while there were some regional persecutions, these did not extend systematically across the entire Imperium Romanum. At the same time, "Despite humane rulers such as Marcus Aurelius or Christian influences at the court of his son Commodus, the situation of Christians deteriorated, with natural disasters and economic-military failures virtually inviting recriminations."[132]

One polemic against Christianity by the rhetorician and teacher of Marcus Aurelius, Fronto of Cirta, probably written between 162 and 174, was handed down to us by Minucius Felix:

> "Why is it not a thing to be lamented, that men (for you will bear with my making use pretty freely of the force of the plea that I have undertaken) – that men, I say, of a reprobate, unlawful, and desperate faction, should rage against the gods? who, having gathered together from the lowest dregs the more unskilled, and women, credulous and, by the facility of their sex, yielding, establish a herd of a profane conspiracy, which is leagued together by nightly meetings, and solemn fasts and inhuman meats – not by any sacred rite, but by that which requires expiation – a people skulking and shunning the light, silent in public, but garrulous in corners. They despise the temples as dead-houses, they reject the gods, they laugh at sacred things; wretched,

---

[131] Quoted from: https://www.attalus.org/old/pliny10b.html [Last access 14.06.2023].
[132] Josef Lenzenweger, Peter Stockmeier, Karl Amon and Rudolf Zinnhobler (eds.), *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche*, 64.

they pity, if they are allowed, the priests; half naked themselves, they despise honours and purple robes. Oh, wondrous folly and incredible audacity! They despise present torments, although they fear those which are uncertain and future; and while they fear to die after death, they do not fear to die for the present: so does a deceitful hope soothe their fear with the solace of a revival.

And now, as wickeder things advance more fruitfully, and abandoned manners creep on day by day, those abominable shrines of an impious assembly are maturing themselves throughout the whole world. Assuredly this confederacy ought to be rooted out and execrated. They know one another by secret marks and insignia, and they love one another almost before they know one another. Everywhere also there is mingled among them a certain religion of lust, and they call one another promiscuously brothers and sisters, that even a not unusual debauchery may by the intervention of that sacred name become incestuous: it is thus that their vain and senseless superstition glories in crimes. Nor, concerning these things, would intelligent report speak of things so great and various, and requiring to be prefaced by an apology, unless truth were at the bottom of it."[133]

Ritter aptly comments on the final sentence, "In view of the legal situation of Christians at that time, this sounds like sheer cynicism."[134] At the same time, this report is also an expression of a basic mood that probably prevailed increasingly towards Christians.

At the beginning of the third century, persecutions spread again under Severus (202). They were still regionally limited, but Christians had to suffer in Egypt and North Africa:

"Clement of Alexandria reports: 'Every day we see many martyrs burned, crucified, beheaded before our eyes'. Mentioned by name are Leonides, the father of Origen, Serenus, Heraclides and others. The young Christian girl Potaminaea is thrown with her mother into a cauldron of boiling pitch. Immediately before the torment, the virgin, 'who has fought countless battles with her lovers', promises Basilides, who is on duty, that she will pray fervently for him after death. After three days, she appears to him (and other inhabitants) at night and meaningfully lays a wreath on his head. The very next day Basilides is beheaded as a newly professed Christian."[135]

---

[133] Quoted from: https://www.holybooks.com/wp-content/uploads/Ante-Nicene-Fathers-VOL-4.pdf [Last access 14.06.2023].
[134] Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 38.
[135] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 32.

In the so-called Acts of Martyrdom, we have numerous impressive testimonies of the courage of faith and steadfastness of Christians, even to the point of death. Christians were not persecuted first and foremost for being Christians, but rather scapegoats were sought and needed to cover up the slow decline of the Roman Empire and to distract from the internal tensions. However, churches came out of these persecutions strengthened, as many people were won over to the Christian faith by the courage of the martyrs.

A first systematic persecution of Christians throughout the empire occurred under Emperor Decius (249-251), who ordered an empire-wide persecution of Christians by edict; around the middle of the year 250, he demanded that all subjects sacrifice to the state gods before a sacrificial commission. This time too, the persecution began with targeted anti-Christian propaganda, which in turn was intended to distract attention from the internal disintegration of the empire. The Alexandrian bishop Dionys reported on the procedure in a letter addressed to Bishop Fabius of Antioch in the autumn of 251:

"The persecution among us did not begin with the royal decree but preceded it an entire year. The prophet and author of evils to this city, whoever he was, previously moved and aroused against us the masses of the heathen, rekindling among them the superstition of their country. 2. And being thus excited by him and finding full opportunity for any wickedness, they considered this the only pious service of their demons, that they should slay us. 3. They seized first an old man named Metras and commanded him to utter impious words. But as he would not obey, they beat him with clubs, and tore his face and eyes with sharp sticks, and dragged him out of the city and stoned him. 4. Then they carried to their idol temple a faithful woman, named Quinta, that they might force her to worship. And as she turned away in detestation, they bound her feet and dragged her through the entire city over the stone-paved streets, and dashed her against the millstones, and at the same time scourged her; then, taking her to the same place, they stoned her to death. 5. Then all with one impulse rushed to the homes of the pious, and they dragged forth whomsoever any one knew as a neighbor, and despoiled and plundered them. They took for themselves the more valuable property; but the poorer articles and those made of wood they scattered about and burned in the streets, so that the city appeared as if taken by an enemy. 6. But the brethren withdrew and went away, and 'took joyfully the spoiling of their goods', like those to whom Paul bore witness. I know of no one unless possibly some one who fell into their hands, who, up to this time, denied the Lord. 7. Then they seized also that most admirable virgin, Apollonia, an old woman, and, smiting her on the jaws, broke out all her teeth. And they made a fire outside the city and threatened to burn her alive if she

would not join with them in their impious cries. And she, supplicating a little, was released, when she leaped eagerly into the fire and was consumed. 8. Then they seized Serapion in his own house, and tortured him with harsh cruelties, and having broken all his limbs, they threw him headlong from an upper story. And there was no street, nor public road, nor lane open to us, by night or day; for always and everywhere, all of them cried out that if any one would not repeat their impious words, he should immediately be dragged away and burned. 9. And matters continued thus for a considerable time. But a sedition and civil war came upon the wretched people and turned their cruelty toward us against one another. So we breathed for a little while as they ceased from their rage against us. But presently the change from that milder reign was announced to us, and great fear of what was threatened seized us. 10. For the decree arrived, almost like that most terrible time foretold by our Lord, which if it were possible would offend even the elect. 11. All truly were affrighted. And many of the more eminent in their fear came forward immediately; others who were in the public service were drawn on by their official duties; others were urged on by their acquaintances. And as their names were called they approached the impure and impious sacrifices. Some of them were pale and trembled as if they were not about to sacrifice, but to be themselves sacrifices and offerings to the idols; so that they were jeered at by the multitude who stood around, as it was plain to every one that they were afraid either to die or to sacrifice. 12. But some advanced to the altars more readily, declaring boldly that they had never been Christians. Of these the prediction of our Lord is most *true* that they shall 'hardly' be saved. Of the rest some followed the one, others the other of these classes, some fled and some were seized. 13. And of the latter some continued faithful until bonds and imprisonment, and some who had even been imprisoned for many days yet abjured the faith before they were brought to trial. Others having for a time endured great tortures finally retracted. 14. But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord being strengthened by him, and having received vigor and might suitable and appropriate to the strong faith which they possessed, became admirable witnesses of his kingdom."[136]

Emperor Decius fell in 251 in battle against the Goths, but his successors Gallus and Valerian continued his religious policy. In 257, Valerian banned all Christian gatherings. Many Christians suffered martyrdom; others obtained a certificate of sacrifice by paying money, fled or fell away from the faith. Only with the death of Valerian in 260 did the persecutions subside and the Christian church grow again. But now it had to decide on how to deal with the fugitives and the apostates who wanted to return to the church.

---

[136] Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, 283-284. The Church History of Eusebius VI.41.1-14.

A final empire-wide wave of persecution hit the Christian churches in the Roman Empire under Diocletian and his co-regents (284-305). Luctanz[137] and Eusebius[138] tell us about the background and the severity of this wave of persecution, and Armin Sierzyn identified six stages of Diocletian's persecution plan:

> "Stage 1: Purge the army of Christians so that it can be used for persecution. Christians should be dismissed from the army.
> 2. All places of worship are to be destroyed.
> 3. All Bible manuscripts are to be burned.
> 4. Noble Christians – if they persist – are to be deprived of their rank and status. Their property is to be taken away so that Christians can no longer gather in their houses.
> 5. The priests are imprisoned and forced to sacrifice. Those who refuse remain in prison.
> 6. The now shepherdless believers shall be forced to sacrifice."[139]

Again, many believers were martyred across the empire. However, on 1 May 305, Diocletian finally abdicated and Constantine in the west and Galerius in the east took power.

3.1.4   Summary

What then led to the further, rapidly advancing spread of Christianity? First, there are internal reasons:

> "The Christians impressed late antique society with their way of life in accordance with faith and deed. Christian help towards the neighbour stood out from ancient charity. The treatment of women and slaves as equal members in the Christian communities had caused a stir compared to the customs of ancient society."[140]

An example can illustrate this. When a plague broke out in Alexandria around the year 200, the Christians were the only ones who did not flee but buried the dead. Bishop Dionys wrote about them 50 years later:

---

[137]   Cited in Peter Guyot and Richard Klein (eds.). *Frühes Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen: Eine Dokumentation,* Sonderausgabe, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997, Vol. 1, 166-191.

[138]   Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, The Church History of Eusebius VII.22.10.

[139]   Armin Sierzyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 119.

[140]   Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium,* 5th ed., Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, 11.

"The most of our brethren were unsparing in their exceeding love and brotherly kindness. They held fast to each other and visited the sick fearlessly, and ministered to them continually, serving them in Christ. And they die with them most joyfully, taking the affliction of others, and drawing their sickness from their neighbors to themselves and willingly receiving their pains. And many who cared for the sick and gave strength to others died themselves, having transferred to themselves their deaths. [...] But with the heathen everything was quite otherwise. They deserted those began to be sick, and fled from their dearest friends. And the cast them out into the streets when they were half dead, and left the dead like refuse, unburied."[141]

When this became known, the people praised and glorified the God of the Christians.[142]

Among external reasons for the rapid spread, at least for the Imperium Romanum, the good infrastructure in the empire (there was a well-developed road network), the Hellenistic culture with its linguistic unity, and the tolerant policy of the Roman rulers must be mentioned. The existing trade routes to Asia also facilitated and promoted the spread of the Christian faith.

Peter Uhlmann also mentioned the following reasons, mainly theological factors and mission strategy, which contributed decisively to the rapid spread of Christianity:

1. "There are fundamental differences between the ancient and Christian conceptions of God and the world:
   – God is the Creator who created the heavens and the earth. Pantheistic ideas are excluded.
   – God reveals himself as a personal God who created man as a distinctive personality.
   – The God of the Bible is the gracious and redeeming God; this too is a fundamentally new thought in the ancient world.
   – Biblical ethics is based on the appreciation of human beings. The supreme virtue of the Judeo-Christian faith is humility towards the Creator.
2. The incarnation of Christ is a unique historical event.
3. The exclusive character of the Gospel.
4. The unrestricted love of one's neighbour.
5. The fulfilment of life brought about by Jesus Christ.

---

[141] Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, 81. The Church History of Eusebius VII.22.7,10.

[142] Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, 363. The Church History of Eusebius IX.4.14.

6. The universality of salvation.
7. The experience of salvation: personal conversion, spiritual rebirth, deliverance from demonic powers and assurance of salvation.
8. The dead are with Christ. This also gives comfort and strength for everyday life
9. What is revolutionary is that differences in status are bridged in the congregation. Unlimited love for one's neighbour can be experienced by all. In the agape meals, wealthy Christians invite their poorer brothers and sisters in faith to a meal.
10. Dignified burial for every Christian, even for the children.
11. Through the witness of the martyrs, tens of thousands of pagans are confronted with faith in Christ. 'We grow more numerous every time we are mown down by you; one seed is the blood of Christians', Tertullian notes. 'They die in the midst of a lying and rotten society for the testimony of truth. [...] This truth has its deepest cause in the bodily risen Christ, who is not an idea but an experiential reality.' [...]
12. The early Christians live in the living hope that Christ will soon return. This expectation spurs them on to serve in devotion, to spread the Gospel and to help the poor.
13. Sacrificial mercy care. At that time there was still no social security. Christians sacrificially care for the sick, even plague sufferers, believers and pagans alike. A revolution in ethical values began. Even the opponents of Christianity, like Celsus, have to acknowledge the enormous willingness to sacrifice.
14. At least in the first half of the second century there are mission teams working strategically. Men who had given away their wealth to the poor were zealous evangelists. They preach with extraordinary authority, so that larger congregations are soon established, which they entrust to church shepherds.
15. The Oriental churches in particular translated the Bible into numerous vernacular languages in the second and especially in the third century. Until the 5th century it was translated into Latin, Old Syriac, various Coptic languages, Ge'ez, Gothic, Armenian, Georgian and Sogdian. [...]
16. At the end of the second century, a catechetical school in Alexandria gave rise to the first famous theological school. When Origen worked there in the 3rd century, many pagans converted."[143]

---

[143] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Christentum in der Antike*, 105-106.

3.2   Theological Developments and Differentiations in Early Christianity

Whereas the focus of the presentation so far has been on the progressive geographic spread of Christianity from the second to the beginning of the fourth century, we now turn to intra-church differentiations as well as some theological developments.

3.2.1   The Emergence of Early Catholicism

From the beginning of its existence, the church was challenged to take a stand on theological convictions and clarify its position while at the same time it had to ward off heretical doctrines. For example, the church had to clarify which God it was talking about: God the Father, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, or the Gnostic demiurge? Which resurrection do we believe in? Does one believe in the bodily resurrection of the dead or in the resurrection of the soul or that of the spirit?

John Kelly pointed out another aspect that the rapid growth of Christian communities brought with it:

> "One among the many problems with which it [the church] had to grapple was the influx into its ranks of an ever-swelling multitude of converts to paganism. Every thoughtful observer must have been conscious of the grave threat to the integrity of the Church's traditional teaching."[144]

One result of such clarifications was the formulation of confessions. Already in the New Testament, it is clear that church practices included confessing the faith (Mt 10:32; Rom 10:9). Confessions also provide a theological distinction from heresies and need to be understood as such. In the early church, confessions were spoken, among other things, following the catechumenate before baptism. In the so-called *Romanum*, we have a confession reminiscent of the Apostles' Creed from the second or third century:

> "I believe in God the Father Almighty;
> and in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord,
> Who was born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,
> Who under Pontius Pilate was crucified and buried,
> on the third day rose again from the dead,
> ascended to heaven,

---

[144]   John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, Harlow: Longman, [3]1972, 100.

sits at the right hand of the Father,
whence He will come to judge the living and the dead;
and in the Holy Spirit,
the holy Church,
remission of sins,
the resurrection of the flesh."[145]

Especially in the second part, the anti-Gnostic thrust of the confession becomes obvious.

Moving beyond doctrinal challenges, not only was there a need for "a thorough reorganization and elaboration of the catechetical system",[146] but it was also necessary to reform the church's organisational structures and adapt them to new realities.

The New Testament already distinguishes clear leadership functions, stating for example that elders are to be held in special esteem. At the same time, the New Testament emphasises the general priesthood of all believers. Church leadership should be in the hands of elders, presbyters or bishops – the terms were interchangeable. They were responsible for teaching, rebuking, and edifying the congregation. There was also a place for prophets, but they had to have their prophecies tested against the Scriptures.

In Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, we already find the first signs of a change at the beginning of the second century regarding leadership functions. Ignatius divided the spiritual offices into three categories: bishop, presbyter and deacon. He no longer understood the bishop only as *primus inter pares* but stated, "Where the bishop appears, there is the congregation [...], whoever does anything without the bishop's knowledge is of the devil" (Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans 8+9).[147]

Subsequently, especially between the second and fourth centuries, a process was triggered that promoted a development towards a monarchical episcopate, which eventually prevailed. What were the reasons for this development? First and foremost, the defensive struggles against heretics must be mentioned. It was about the authentication of the present proclamation by the original Christian, biblical truth. This is why Hegesipp drew up the first list of Roman bishops as early as 160. Although he was concerned with the preservation of the biblical deposit of faith, he wanted to prove this by recourse to the chain of tradition, the succession, which, in his opinion, should show itself in the bishops as guardians of the apostolic tradition. Parallel to this, the expectation of the return of Jesus faded

---

[145]   Quoted from John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 102.
[146]   John N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* 100.
[147]   Quoted from Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 76.

more and more, so that the church had to look for new structures and forms of organisation. In any case, we should be careful not to ascribe purely negative motives to the congregations and their leaders. Kurt Aland aptly summarises the realities of life at the time:

> "In times which were threatened by so many dangers, when everything appeared to be disintegrating, one person belonged at the head of the congregation, not a committee. People quickly came to this conviction everywhere. A committee is always cumbersome; different opinions exist side by side, and because of human considerations the correct one does not always triumph. Here different sorts of powers struggle with one another, so that the power of the congregation is endangered. The best person who can be found must be placed at the head of the congregation, and he must also have full authority to act."[148]

This development also inevitably affected parish life. Armin Sierszyn noted, "The parish became the domain of a bishop. The church became a legal and episcopal church. The bishop was the judge of the congregation and Christ's representative."[149] Through regional synods, ecclesiastical provinces were formed, presided over by the bishop of each capital city. Subsequently, church provinces started to compete with each other, so that at the end of the development, the large church groupings remained: the churches in the West with Rome as their centre and the churches of the East with Alexandria at their centre.

The emergence of the papacy must also be placed in this larger spiritual-historical context. As already mentioned, the Roman congregation enjoyed a unique standing from its very beginnings. Yet even around the year 200, the Bishop of Rome was no more than the bishop of an important and famous congregation. The Roman bishop was granted a special, authoritative position for the first time in the Arian disputes at the Synod of Sardica (Sofia) in the year 342, when he was recognised as an appellate authority.[150] Not until the fifth century, under Pope Innocent I and Pope Leo I, was the final step towards the primacy of the Roman bishop taken.

Parallel to the formation of the monarchical episcopate, a class of clergy also developed. From about the year 250 onwards, the Christian church knew numerous lower and higher ordinations, which arose from

---

[148]   Kurt Aland, *A History of Christianity 1: From the Beginnings to the Threshold of the Reformation,* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985, 119.

[149]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 77.

[150]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 85.

the constitutional and leadership structure of the Roman civil service system. Ordination was replaced by an act of consecration. Sierszyn contrasted the individual clerical offices well:

> „The lower ordinations/consecrations:
> 1. Ostiarius   He is the doorkeeper, responsible for the peace at the service.
> 2. Lector   The scripture reader at the lectern.
> 3. Exorcist   Spiritual banner who, in the name of Christ, protects homes and people from evil powers (e.g. in cases of mental illness). He also speaks the incantation before baptism.
> 4. Acoluth   Bishop's acolyte and candle bearer.
> 5. Subdeacon   Auxiliary to the deacons.
>
> The higher orders/consecrations:
> 1. Deacon   He prepares the church for worship. He cares for the poor and the sick. He is the bishop's 'ear and mouth, heart and soul'. In remote areas he may preach and administer Holy Communion.
> 2. Priest   The same word as presbyter. He is an employee of the bishop. He administers the sacraments and alms together with him.
> 3. Bishop   Supreme priest and leader of the church, responsible for the ordination of priests and the ideal of life of the congregation. Head of finances and charitable work."[151]

At the same time, the idea of celibacy developed. Priests were supposed to be completely at God's disposal. In addition, a belief grew that sexual intercourse would make the consecrated cultically impure. For this reason, bishops and priests were expected not to have sexual intercourse on the day before the Eucharist. However, as since the third century the Eucharist was celebrated daily, it might not be surprising that protests against this practice arose.

3.2.2   Forms of Piety and Ethics

How did these developments influence the actual practice of faith as well as the life of the congregation and the individual Christian?

---

[151] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 78-79.

3.2.2.1 Worship

As we study New Testament congregational life, we find that the congregation itself, as an organ of the Holy Spirit, was the subject of worship, i.e., it exercised its general priesthood in a direct relationship with its Lord, the head of the congregation. The edifying activity was therefore not bound to an office but was an integral expression of a "communion of saints". Those who interpreted the Word or prophesied did so on behalf of the Holy Spirit. Prayer, teaching, prophecy, speaking in tongues and above all the breaking of bread together were elements of church life. Even in the early post-apostolic age, the church preserved this practice, while at the same time formal prayers and so-called "lectures" were further differentiated and prophecy and speaking in tongues were increasingly over time being pushed back.[152]

From the end of the second century, however, elements foreign to the gospel increasingly made their way into the worship service. Now the bishop led the service and the congregation sat according to gender and age, as assigned by the deacon. In the beginning, this seating order was determined less by hierarchical reasons than by reasons of order. According to Tertullian, at the beginning of the service, the lector's greeting of peace and the congregation's counter-greeting were followed by two readings from the New Testament and one from the Old Testament, the length of which was determined by the bishop. This was followed by a passage from the Gospels read by a deacon, and a prayer or psalm or an address, followed in turn by the prayer of intercession, spoken while facing towards the east. In the second part of the service, the Eucharist followed with preparation (greeting of peace and offering) and thanksgiving, including the blessing and celebration of the meal. But what was it that distinguished this service from the church gatherings of the first century?

> "The Catholic divine service, however, differs from the early Christian service even at first sight in its richness and variety of liturgical forms; but this, even if it differs from the simple simplicity of the apostolic time, does not in any way constitute a contrast to it. The richness of the forms of edification and means of edification, the lively variety in the structure of the divine service, the borrowing from the models of the Old Testament temple service and ancient cults, even the adoption of individual ancient forms of art into the framework of the Christian divine service do not make the divine service

---

[152] Cf. on this and the following points the excellent explanations in Heinrich Adolf Koestlin, *Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes, Ein Handbuch,* Freiburg: Mohr-Siebeck, 1887, 19ff.

a specifically Catholic one; that which characterises it as such, what brings it as a specifically Catholic service into an actual contrast to the original Christian service, what distinguishes it from the latter as something new and peculiar, what makes it appear as the partial negation, or rather regression, of the specifically Christian, this is the appreciation and overestimation of the act of worship as such, which is not only quite alien to the original Christian view, but which is downright opposed to it, the conception of worship as a service ordered by God in a certain objective form and therefore sacred in the objective sense."[153]

Worship was no longer solely an expression of a communally lived and celebrated relationship with God, but it became in itself a sacred act, a sacrifice.

"In the course of time, the magical-sacramental ideas had become more and more important; communion and baptism had been joined by other sacred ceremonies. With this transformation of worship, however, a specifically cultic piety had developed which moved more and more exclusively in dark, mystical feelings. What theology taught, the redemption from the doom of death and the deification of the human race, was experienced by the Christian in cult: in the Eucharist the believer felt divine powers flowing into him in mystical showers. This development of the cult took place under the strong influence of pagan mysteries."[154]

3.2.2.2   Baptism

An increasingly magical-sacramental concept also had its effects on the understanding of baptism. Even though this tendency certainly favoured infant baptism, adult baptism remained the rule during the early centuries.[155] Initially, this was mainly for theological and practical reasons, as baptism was postponed as long as possible since it was viewed as blotting out all previously committed sins.

Baptism was preceded by a longer preparation in the form of the catechumenate. Even though the catechumens were regarded as Christians, they remained excluded from the second part of the service, the celebration of the Eucharist. Only after up to three years of probation and preparation were the catechumens admitted to baptism. In some cases, celibacy was also compulsory for catechumens. Classes were held on weekdays be-

---

[153]   Adolf Koestlin, *Christlicher Gottesdienst,* 58.
[154]   Karl Heussí, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte,* 65.
[155]   Karl Heussí, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 65

fore the start of work and were followed by an examination at the end of instruction and only then by admission to baptism.

The act of baptism itself began with the solemn renunciation of the devil by the person being baptised and the saying of the profession of faith. This was followed by three immersions with invocation of the Trinity and the laying on of hands. Increasingly over time, baptism was understood as necessary for salvation. Baptisms were usually performed between Easter and Ascension Day. Tertullian was the first to mention infant baptism, towards the end of the second century. It seems to have been performed, but adult baptism remained the rule for the time being.

3.2.2.3 Everyday Piety

Elements foreign to early biblical Christianity were also increasingly mixed into everyday Christian piety. Fixed hours of prayer were established (3, 6 and 9 o'clock in the morning as well as midnight prayer) and making the sign of the cross became increasingly fashionable. Before prayer, people washed their hands or at least spat into their hands – magical tendencies are evident here. The veneration of the martyrs also began, with commemorations on the anniversary of their deaths, and the history of the martyrs was written down in the so-called *Acts of Martyrs.*

3.2.3   Women's Ministry in the Church

Similar to the apostolic period, women in Christian communities of the second and third centuries experienced a women-friendly structure and took a firm place in community life. As in the first century, there was no difference in the possibility of salvation between women and men. Women became also as much victims of persecution as men. For example, the slave Felicitas and Perpetua, who came from a noble family, were martyred for their faith at the beginning of the third century in Carthage.[156]

Peter Guyot and Richard Klein concluded:

"Also in the second and third century there are numerous testimonies to the high standing of women in the community (e.g. Justin apol. II 2; Tat. Or ad Graec. 32f). One proof is the correspondence of Cyprian, where numerous female members appear. Women's emancipation, even if only as an intra-church, ascetic movement, was always taken for granted by Christian missionaries [...]. This corresponds to the recognition of women

---

[156] Cf. the source printed in Peter Guyot and Richard Klein (eds.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen* 1, 99-117, "Das Leiden der Perpetua und Felicitas".

as creatures of equal value; they too are made in the image of God and partakers of Christ's redemption."[157]

However, a different perspective came to the fore over time, which "assumed the physical and spiritual inferiority of women".[158] Under the influence of Greek thinking, the weakness of women was justified by the fall of Eve in paradise.[159] Furthermore, reference was made to the fact that Jesus himself had called only men to be apostles.

In the second and third centuries, women still appeared publicly as prophets, like the prophetess Ammia in Philadelphia in the first half of the second century, whom the church father Miltiades compared to the daughters of Philip (cf. Acts 21:9-11).[160] With the rise and rejection of Montanism from the middle of the second century, prophecy by both women and men was increasingly critically perceived and restrained. In addition to female prophets, we find female deacons and "widows" with specific areas of responsibility in the early church.[161] Regarding their tasks, Uhlmann wrote, "Widows or female deacons, not men, were responsible for the first religious connection with pagan women!"[162] But what specifically is meant by the term "widow" in the context of women's ministry? The term "widows" referred to "a small circle of widowed women, who, because of their talents, were called by the bishop to officially recognised diaconal 'widow ministry' within the church."[163]

The *Syriac Didaskalia*, which was probably written before the year 250, is informative here and lists in detail the areas of responsibility of women. It states:

> "For the position of a deaconess is also necessary in many other things. [...] Therefore we say that the service of the woman as deaconess is very desirable and extremely necessary [...]. You will therefore have need of a deacon-

---

[157] Peter Guyot and Richard Klein (eds.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen* 2, 239.

[158] Peter Guyot and Richard Klein (eds.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen* 2, 240. Similarly Origen, ibid. 9 in his sermon on Gen. 4:4.

[159] Cf. on this and the following: Peter Guyot and Richard Klein (eds.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen* 2, 9 and 240.

[160] Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 78.

[161] Cf. Ernst Dassmann, *Kirchengeschichte I: Ausbreitung, Leben und Lehre der Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten,* Stuttgart, Berlin and Cologne: W. Kohlhammer, ²2000, 172-175.

[162] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 80.

[163] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 80.

ess in other things, so that, in order to care for believing women, she may go into those houses of the Gentiles where you [the bishops] cannot go."[164]

However, the *Syriac Didaskalia* also addressed explicit difficulties that arose from the widows' ministry, which the congregations therefore had to deal with.[165] Here is a summary of the ministry and position of women in the Christian church during the second and third centuries:

> "At the beginning of the second century, women in some places had an office of proclamation as prophetesses, but during the second century they were pushed back from this – in reaction to the corresponding role of Montanists and Gnostics. The only congregational office that remained, but without membership of the clergy, was the office of 'widow', which had been recognisable since the first century and for which the title deaconess became established from the 4th century onwards. The widows – with special blessing by the bishop, which was not regarded as spiritual authority – ministered to women at the baptismal bath and in cases of illness and could also generally look after the female members of the congregation."[166]

As Karl Suso Frank noted, "Women were still needed, but their powers were limited to the bare essentials".[167]

3.2.4   The Church Fathers

Anyone who studies the first centuries of Christianity cannot ignore the literary and theological achievements of the so-called Church Fathers. Therefore, the most important ones will be briefly introduced. We need to distinguish between the so-called Apostolic Fathers and the Post-Apostolic Fathers or Old Catholic Fathers.

---

[164] Quoted from Peter Guyot and Richard Klein (eds.), *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen* 2, 11.

[165] Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike,* 81. Cf. further on this from a conservative (catholic) perspective, Manfred Hauke, *Die Problematik um das Frauenpriestertum vor dem Hintergrund der Schöpfungs- und Erlösungsordnung*, Paderborn: Verlag der Bonifatius-Druckerei, ²1986, 408-411.

[166] Wolf-Dieter Hauschildt, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 1, Alte Kirche und Mittelalter,* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995, 89.

[167] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: Ferdinand Schöningh, ²1997, 106.

3.2.4.1   The Apostolic Fathers

"The so-called Apostolic Fathers represented an early Christian post-apostolic group of writings that are connected to the New Testament canon in some ways but were not themselves included in the canon."[168] The authors were from Gentile Christianity and produced occasional writings, letters and homilies. "The importance of the Apostolic Fathers lies not so much in the doctrine presented as in the picture of life we have through them of the first Christian communities. They give us revealing information about the faith, life and ecclesiastical customs of early Christianity."[169] Among the most important writings of the Apostolic Fathers are the following.

The First and Second Letters of Clement

The Roman Bishop Clement is named as the author of the first letter of Clement,[170] whereas the author of the second letter of Clement and the place of writing are completely unknown.[171] The first letter of Clement was addressed to the congregation in Corinth with regard to a generational conflict there where the Bishop of Rome acted as mediator. The letter was probably written at the turn from the first to the second century. In the letter, Clement incidentally took the side of the older generation, who had still been appointed to their leadership positions by the apostles. In his letter, Clement repeatedly used Old Testament and, occasionally, New Testament scriptural references. Clements's second letter contains the oldest sermon that has been preserved and is a call to sanctify one's personal life.

---

[168]   Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium,* 9.
[169]   Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium,* 9.
[170]   Cf. on the first letter of Clement, Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, [4]1992: 40-43; Joseph A. Fischer, *Die Apostolische Väter: Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert,* Schriften des Urchristentums 1, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, [2]1958, 1-107; Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert,* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/2, Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1988, 66; Carl Andresen and Adolf Martin Ritter, "Die Anfänger christlicher Lehrentwicklung", in: *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte 1, Die Lehrentwicklung im Rahmen der Katholizität*, Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]1999, 36-39.
[171]   Cf. on the second letter of Clement, Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament,* 67-72; Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, 205-280.

The Seven Letters of Ignatius

According to Origen, Ignatius was the second bishop, but according to Eusebius he was the third bishop of Antioch.[172] His life remains largely obscure to us due to lack of sources. Apart from his journey under military guard from Antioch to Rome, nothing biographical has been handed down to us. Ignatius travelled overland via Asia Minor to Rome and, on his way, wrote letters to the churches in Ephesus, Magnesia and Tralles (all in Asia Minor), a fourth letter to the church in Rome in which he asked the church not to prevent his martyrdom by appealing to the emperor, and three further letters from Troas to Smyrna, Philadelphia and Polycarp. In Rome, Ignatius was executed as a martyr in 110 under Trajan. The letters speak of concern for the congregations threatened by heresy, and they also offer us insights into spiritual life in the Syro-Phoenician region. Bruce M. Metzger noted:

> "The style of these epistles is of inimitable originality. Written in an abrupt and incoherent style, overloaded with metaphors and elaborate rhetoric, they none the less manifest such strong faith and overwhelming love of Christ as to make them one of the finest literary expressions of Christianity during the second century."[173]

The Letter of Polycarp of Smyrna

Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna and probably knew the apostle John personally.[174] This letter was addressed to the church in Philippi. It is closely related to the letters of Ignatius, who had met Polycarp on his way to Rome. Polycarp too suffered martyrdom in February 155. The letter to the congregation in Philippi contains many exhortations to the true faith, cites the first Letter of Clement and quotes numerous passages from Paul's letters; it was written in 110.

---

[172] Cf. on the letters of Ignatius, Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 43-49; Joseph A. Fischer, *Die Apostolischen Väter*, 109-225; Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 67-68; Carl Andresen and Adolf Martin Ritter, "Die Anfänger christlicher Lehrentwicklung", 39-41; Henning Paulsen, "Ignatius von Antiochien", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 38-50.

[173] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 44.

[174] Cf. on Polycarp and his letter, Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 59-63; Joseph A. Fischer, *Die Apostolischen Väter,* 227-265; Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert,* 68-69.

"Despite the proximity in time between Ignatius and Polycarp, as well as the obvious affinity of their spirit in Christian fortitude, one recognizes in Polycarp a temperament much less oriented to ecclesiastical polity and possessing a much wider acquaintance with the New Testament. Proportionate to the length of what they wrote, Polycarp has two or three times more quotations and reminiscences from the New Testament than does Ignatius; of 112 biblical reminiscences, about a hundred are from the New Testament with only a dozen from the Old Testament."[175]

The Epistle of Barnabas

This is more of a treatise than a letter.[176] The author is unknown, and tradition attributes it to Barnabas (Acts 4:36), which is rather unlikely. The author proved to be a fierce opponent of Judaism and advocated an allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament.

"Theologically important is the first part, in which the relationship between the Old and the New Covenant in the sense of a complete appropriation – not rejection! – of the Old Testament for the Christians. Since the Jews were not worthy of the covenant received from Moses, it passed to the Christians. Therefore, only the covenant of God in Jesus Christ is valid (cf. chap. 14:4f.). The Jewish institutions and rites (temple, sacrifices, fasting, Sabbath, circumcision, dietary rules) are worthless and only receive their meaning through the deeper, pneumatic (here: allegorical) interpretation towards Christ."[177]

The second part is mainly about moral change. It was probably written around the years 130 to 135.

The Shepherd of Hermas

"The 'Shepherd'[178] contains visionary descriptions throughout, in which the first-person narrator is granted heavenly revelations, through the media-

---

175 Bruce M. Metzger, *Der Kanon des Neuen Testaments*, 60.
176 Cf. on the epistle of Barnabas, Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, 103-202; Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 68.
177 Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 69.
178 Cf. on the letter of Hermas, Ulrich H. J. Körtner and Martin Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente, Hirt des Hermas: Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert,* Schriften des Urchristentums 3, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1998, 107-497; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 63-67; Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert,* 69-70.

tion of supernatural revelatory mediators [angels]. The heavenly revelations consist of direct paraenetic admonitions, visions and parables, and the allegorical interpretation of these parables by the revelatory mediator."[179]

Origen and Jerome thought that Hermas, mentioned by Paul in Romans 16:14, was the author. However, the author was more likely Hermas, bishop in Rome, around the turn of the first and second centuries.

Bruce Metzger called this writing as one of the "most popular books"[180] of the early church. Written in Rome around 140 to 150, it addresses primarily the second and third generation of Christians with exhortations and a call to repentance and contrition and is characterised by "a strong moral earnestness."[181]

The Papias Fragments

Papias was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and a friend of Polycarp.[182] Individual fragments of his writings have come down to us through Eusebius, who quotes them. It was his concern to compile reports about Jesus and his disciples as directly as possible. He also wrote an interpretation of Jesus' words. Today, the Papias fragments are dated to the years 125-130.

The Didache, the Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles

The Didache[183] offers the oldest preserved church order. In 16 chapters, the reader learns how catechumens are to be instructed. The work is virtually a Christian manual or moral instruction for baptismal candidates. The Didache was probably written in Syria in the first half of the second century.

What is the significance of the Apostolic Fathers? Armin Sierszyn stated it correctly:

"The post-apostolic Fathers are important information bridges between the New Testament and the Old Catholic Fathers around 180 (Irenaeus and Tertullian). The writings give us insight into the life of faith and the congrega-

---

[179]   Ulrich H. J. Körtner and Martin Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente, Hirt des Hermas*, 128.
[180]   Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 63.
[181]   Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 64.
[182]   Cf. on the Papias fragments, Ulrich H. J. Körtner and Martin Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente, Hirt des Hermas*, 3-103.
[183]   Cf. on the Didache, Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet,* 3-100; Carl Andresen and Adolf Martin Ritter, "Die Anfänger christlicher Lehrentwicklung", 41-43.

tion of the time between 100 and 140. The Fathers are concerned with the preservation and consolidation of original Christian thought."[184]

However, the Apostolic Fathers already show an early tendency to turn away from some New Testament teachings, especially in three areas: the doctrine of justification (baptismal regeneration, works-righteousness), the Lord's Supper (as sacrifice), and Ignatius with regard to the office of bishop.

3.2.4.2 The Old Catholic or Post-Apostolic Fathers

The Apostolic Church Fathers are followed by the so-called Old Catholic or Post-Apostolic Church Fathers. We will cover only the most important ones.

Irenaeus

Irenaeus originally came from Smyrna in Asia Minor and succeeded the Bishop of Lyon in 177.[185] The motives for his move from Asia Minor to Gaul remain obscure, but it can be assumed that the community there consisted of Greeks and was Greek speaking, although Latin was the official language while the local population spoke Celtic.[186]

Two writings by Irenaeus are known to us: *Exposure and Refutation of the Falsely So-called Knowledge* and the *Exposition of the Apostolic Proclamation.* Irenaeus was especially vehement in his fight against the Gnostics. In contrast to the apologists, Irenaeus' theology is free of philosophy; rather, he sought to be a theologian of Scripture and is thus considered a biblicist among the Fathers. Irenaeus' contribution is also significant for Christology.

Tertullian

Tertullian was born after 150 as the son of a Roman officer in Carthage and worked first in Carthage and later in Rome as a lawyer.[187] The cir-

---

[184] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 43.
[185] On the life and work of Irenaeus, see Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 74-75; Norbert Brox, "Irenaeus of Lyon", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 82-96.
[186] Cf. Norbert Brox, "Irenaeus of Lyon", 84-85.
[187] Cf. on the life and work of Tertullian, Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 77-78; Hans von Campenhausen, "Tertullian", in: Martin

cumstances and the time of his conversion are hidden from us, but Tertullian authored numerous writings between 195 and 220, the most famous of which called on the emperor to protect Christians. This work was soon translated into Greek and is "rightly regarded as the unsurpassed masterpiece of early Christian apologetics."[188] In protest against the ethical laxity of the Church, he converted to Montanism in 207 and died around 220.

Tertullian's achievements lie in three areas: in the struggle against Christianity that had become lukewarm, against the Roman state where it opposed Christians, and in the fight against heresies such as Marcion's Gnosis. In addition to his outstanding achievement as creator of the Latin church language, he also offered significant contributions as a theologian to the doctrines of the Trinity, sin and grace.

Clement of Alexandria

Clement was probably born in Athens around the middle of the second century.[189] After numerous journeys, he settled in Alexandria, and this second-largest city of the Roman Empire would also become the main centre of his further ministry. However, he left Alexandria in 202/203 due to a persecution of Christians and died in Cappadocia around 215. He is considered the first famous teacher of the Alexandrian catechetical school, which he presided over from 190 to 202. He worked there as a philosophy teacher and probably did not hold any ecclesiastical position. Three of his writings have been handed down: *Admonition to the Gentiles, The Educator* and his main work, *The Carpets*. In his works, his underlying concern, typical of the Alexandrian school, becomes clear: a synthesis of faith and philosophy and knowledge (gnosis) as the highest form of faith. Adolf Martin Ritter paid tribute to Clements's work as follows: "By contributing to the formation of a 'scientific' theology, which of course was committed to the apostolic tradition as the 'guide of truth', Clement helped to take the wind out of the sails of 'heretical' Gnosticism."[190]

Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 97-120.

[188]   Hans von Campenhausen, "Tertullian", 102.

[189]   Cf. on the life and work of Clement of Alexandria, Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 78; Adolf Martin Ritter, "Klemens von Alexandrien", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 121-134.

[190]   Adolf Martin Ritter, "Klemens von Alexandrien", 131.

Origen

Born around the year 185, probably in Alexandria, Origen came from a Christian home.[191] He enthusiastically turned to Christianity himself and – when his father suffered martyrdom because of his faith – wanted to denounce himself as a Christian in order to die with his father. His mother's only way to prevent her son from this was by hiding his clothes so that he could not go outside the house – or at least that is how Eusebius told the story in his church history.[192] Subsequently, a wealthy woman financed his schooling, and at age 18, he succeeded Clement as headmaster. Origen saw his main task as the exegesis of the Holy Scriptures, which he interpreted allegorically.[193]

> "Allegory [...] was for Origen not only an indispensable instrument, but a mode of procedure which extraordinary success in Christian use seemed to justify itself [...]. Assuming that the Bible is a collection of inspired writings, destined by the Holy Spirit to serve as doctrine for all generations: then it cannot be merely a miscellany of ancient Semitic history or geography or ceremonies for an insignificant nomadic tribe. It receives its existential meaning through spiritual interpretation."[194]

At the same time, however, he became the father of Christian mysticism and strove to reconcile Christianity with the Neoplatonism of his time. Although he died a martyr's death in 253/254, an ambivalent impression of Origen remains. The patristic scholar Karl Suso Frank noted:

> "Origen was and wanted to be nothing other than a 'man of the Church' (Hom. Luc. 16:6). He knew the ecclesiastical tradition and adhered to the rule of faith, but also ventured into bold speculations and unusual interpretations of Christianity. He had occupied himself assiduously with philosophy, especially contemporary Platonism [...]. Although Origen set great store by keeping his distance from philosophy [...], he took Neoplatonism into his

---

[191] Cf. on the life and work of Origen, Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 78-79; Henry Chadwick, "Origenes", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 124-157.

[192] Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, 250. The Church History of Eusebius VI.1.5.

[193] Henry Chadwick, "Origenes", 135.

[194] Henry Chadwick, "Origenes", 152.

service as a 'divine' philosophy [...] and with its help created an original and comprehensive theological system."[195]

The Church later rejected his teachings of the pre-existence of the soul, universalism of atonement, and reincarnation as incompatible with the Christian faith.[196]

3.2.5   The Early Apologists

As a result of the conflicts mentioned already between paganism and Christianity as well as attacks on Christian doctrine, an intra-church defence developed, partly in the form of content-related disputes, partly of an organisational-structural nature. In the second half of the second century, the question of the spiritual-intellectual relevance of Christianity vis-à-vis paganism arose for the church in the conflicts with its pagan environment. This led to the appearance of the apologists (*apologeō* = to defend) as defenders of Christianity to the outside world.

The work of the apologists happened primarily on a literary level, in which they defended Christianity against pagan slander and reprisals by the state authorities while at the same time distinguishing themselves from Judaism.[197] Here are some accusations against which the apologists defended themselves:

1. "Christianity is unscientific, especially for uneducated people.
2. Christians engage in man-eating in the secret part of their worship at the Lord's Supper.
3. Christians marry brothers and sisters. So they engage in incest.
4. Christians are atheists. They do not believe in any God, because they do not image him.
5. The Christians endanger the state because they reject the divine worship of the emperor."[198]

In addition to refuting the accusations made against Christianity, the apologists also attempted to provide proof of the truth of Christianity and offered a polemic against the polytheistic nature of paganism.

---

[195] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 188. Cf. also for a critical appraisal from an evangelical perspective, Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 113-114.
[196] Cf. Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 190.
[197] Cf. Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 17-20.
[198] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 46.

In the following discussion, we will briefly turn to the leading apologists before attempting to classify and evaluate their work.

Quadratus

The oldest apologia known to us comes from the pen of Quadratus[199] and was addressed as a protective writing to Emperor Hadrian; it was probably written between 126 and 129. The work has been lost except for a few fragments cited by Eusebius.

Aristides of Athens

The Apology of Aristides, an Athenian philosopher who converted to the Christian faith, is the oldest apologetic writing that has handed down to us and was addressed to Emperor Antonius Pius around 140. In his writing, Aristides divided people into four "genders": barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians. The barbarians worship perishable elements such as earth, water, fire, or the sun. The Greeks have gods with human weaknesses. The Jews are caught up in their commandments. Aristides thereby concluded that all religions end up in an absurdity. Only the Christians know the true God and are at the same time morally pure.[200]

Ariston of Pella

As the first apologist known to us who turned against Judaism, Aristion[201] needs to be named. He wrote the *Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus about Christ.* But the writing has not been preserved and is only mentioned by Celsus and Origen.

Justin Martyr

Justin is considered the most important apologist of the second century.[202] He came from a Greek family in Palestine and was probably converted in Ephesus around 135. Despite his conversion, he retained his profession as

---

[199]   Cf. on the life and work of Quadratus, Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 71; Joseph A. Fischer, *Die apostolischen Väter,* 269-273; Karl Heussí, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 44.

[200]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Years of Church History*, 47.

[201]   Cf. on Aristion, Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 71

[202]   Cf. on Justin's life and work, Caroline P. Bammel, "Justin der Märtyrer", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 51-68.

an itinerant philosophy teacher and continued to work as a Christian philosopher. Three of Justin's writings have still exist:

1. Apology to Emperor Antonius Pius
2. Apology to the Roman Senate
3. Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon

In his writings, he asked the state power to treat and judge Christians fairly. However, Justin also carried out a merging of Greek philosophy with Christian thought, a typical trait of the apologists in their efforts to make Christianity acceptable even to pagan, Greek-influenced intellectuals. Thus Justin wrote:

> "(2:1) Whoever feels truly pious and philosophical, reason [...] commands him to honour and love truth alone; he will refuse to follow mere traditional opinions, even if they are wrong. [...] (2) You hear everywhere that you are praised as pious and philosophical rulers, as guardians of justice and friends of education, but whether you really are, remains to be seen! (3) I have not come to flatter you with this writing or to speak to please you, but to make a demand; you are [only] to make your judgement after exact and careful examination, [...]. (3:4) It is therefore up to us to allow everyone to see our way of life and our teachings, so that we do not bring punishment on ourselves for people who do not know us [...], but it is up to you to listen to us as reason loves to do, so that you may be found to be good judges.
>
> (4:1) The name alone admits of no judgement as to good and evil, unless the actions covered by that name are taken into account. [...] (5:1) [...] To us, who [in baptism] vow to do no wrong [...] you renounce all investigation [of our actions]; rather, you punish us without judgment and deliberation in rash passion and under the scourge of hostile demons. (2) For to tell the truth, from of old evil demons have set in motion epiphanies and [...] have made [men] believe terrifying images, so that they, without realising [in their fear] that they were hostile demons, attached to them the name of 'gods'. [...] (3) But since Socrates, guided by true reason and sent to [such] investigation, tried to bring this to light and to dissuade people from the demons, they knew how to manage to kill him as an impious and sacrilegious man with the help of such people who delight in evil, claiming that he was introducing new gods. And this is precisely what they [now] set in motion against us. (4) For the Logos exposed this [web of lies] not only among Greeks, through Socrates, but also among barbarians, taking form himself and becoming man with the name Jesus Christ."[203]

---

[203] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 39.

Tatian

Tatian, a teacher of rhetoric from eastern Syria, converted to the Christian faith under Justin's influence in Rome. Later, after he became a follower of moderate Gnosticism, he broke with the Roman congregation and returned to Edessa. There he wrote a Gospel harmony that later became widespread in the East. His apologetic activity is known to us through his *Speech to the Greeks*, in which he vilified Greek culture in an exaggerated manner.

Other apologists could be mentioned, but due to space limitations I will not go into any further detail here. Instead, I conclude with the words of Armin Sierszyn, who aptly summarised their contributions:

> "The main accusation of pagan philosophy against the Christian Church is: You Christians are uneducated people. The Christian faith is unphilosophical and unscientific (Celsus). None of the apologists dare to say: In fact, Jesus and his work are unphilosophical. They all want to prove that the Christian faith is the best philosophy and that anyone who thinks a little must actually be a Christian. Faith becomes an intellectual thing. The message of Jesus making peace through his blood on the cross, this foolishness [...] becomes a scientific system.
>
> The apologists, however, are not simply 'liberal'. They do not reject revelation. It is just that revelation must not contradict the laws of the Greek mind. Jesus is the Son of God, but the focus is not on his suffering on the cross. Jesus is the great teacher who brought the spiritual concept of God and the great ethics. The central message of the New Testament, an annoyance to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks, moves to the background. Why? The apologists allow the law of argumentation to be dictated to them by their opponents. This is the typical danger of all apologias. [...]
>
> It would be wrong to think that the first apologists no longer had a personal relationship with Christ. Justin goes to his death for Jesus. The faith of the congregations at that time was also not at all philosophical. But we see that even with a great love of Christ, a formation of thought can develop which then has an unfavourable effect on the Christian community in the longer term."[204]

3.2.6   Heretical Streams and Movements

From its beginnings, the Christian church was challenged to fight against both legalism and false doctrine. While in the beginning the Jewish teachers of the law (cf. Galatians) or charismatic extremists (Corinth) were the

---

[204]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 51-52.

main threats, this changed during the second century. Two movements in particular emerged that posed a serious danger to the Christian church.

3.2.6.1 Gnosticism

> "Gnosticism denotes knowledge insofar as this term is taken absolutely. Especially in the religious systems of which it forms the basis, gnosis appears as knowledge that brings salvation with it and creates salvation through itself, a liberating knowledge or a knowledge that saves, a knowledge that is salvation in itself and through itself."[205]

Besides this general definition of Gnosticism, we need to specify what precisely was taught by Gnosticism in the second century. Where did it have its origin? What distinguished it?

> "Gnosticism as a spiritual movement emerged at the turn of the century. Gnosis absorbed elements of Greek thinking, indeed of the entire Orient. [...] Gnostic religious philosophy and Gnostic mysticism merge with cultic and philosophical traditions from Persia, Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Greece. Secret religious speculations and systems emerge in the broadest and richest palette, which the initiated pass through and experience in a mystical shuddering in the spirit. Characteristic is always an extremely dualistic trait in the fundamentals (in the doctrine of God, of the cosmos, of creation)."[206]

Gnosticism is therefore not a variety of Christianity but is of pagan origin. With its syncretism, however, it met the attitude toward life of the people of its time, as it allowed everyone to be saved according to his own convictions.

This is what the Christian version of Gnosticism looked like:

> "The Gnostic way of salvation is developed in many different ways in the various schools and in different directions in the individual systems. Nevertheless, some basic ideas are common [...]:
>   – Fundamental is a cosmic dualism between the earthly, material world and the otherworldly, divine primordial ground. In Gnostic knowledge, the material world is seen as evil, bad and under hostile powers.

---

[205] Madeleine Scopello, "B. Gnostische Strömungen", in: Luce Piétri (ed.), *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 1, Freiburg, Basedl and Vienna: Herder, 2003, 520.

[206] Armin Sierszyn. *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 53.

- Accordingly, a distinction is made between the unknown, transcendent God and the demiurge, the creator of this world, who usually bears the features of the Old Testament creator God.
- Man is connected to and equal with the transcendent God through an unlosable divine spark within himself. This spark, the 'I myself' (pneuma, 'the soul') of the gnostic is trapped in the material world, in the body; it lies like 'gold in the dirt' or 'lies asleep'.
- A richly decorated myth tells of the fall and rise, describes man's present condition and explains his desire for redemption. [...]
- Man is liberated through knowledge (gnosis). This does not mean rational cognition; rather, gnostic cognition takes place in direct revelation. [...] The mediator and revealer who calls for salvation through knowledge can take the form of Jesus Christ."[207]

In other words, the death of Jesus Christ thus has no significance whatsoever, but all emphasis is placed on the knowledge and enlightenment Christ brings to the soul. It is therefore now a matter of returning the soul of man, which is trapped in the material world, to its spiritual-divine origin through knowledge of its origin and goal.[208]

The pioneers of Christian Gnosticism include Simon Magus (Acts 8); Menander[209] from Samaria and Satornil,[210] who worked in Antioch between the years 100 and 120 AD, both disciples of Simon; and the Syrian Basilides[211] in Alexandria, who referred to a secret doctrine that Jesus had entrusted to the apostle Matthias before his ascension, namely that it was not Jesus himself but Simon of Cyrene who was crucified.

However, Marcion (c. 85-160), son of the bishop of Sinope (on the southern shore of the Black Sea) and originally a ship owner, is undoubtedly the main representative of a Christian Gnosticism.[212] Marcion proba-

---

[207] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 149.
[208] Cf. the remarks in Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 20-25; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 56-61; Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriss der Kirchengeschichte,* 63-68; Madeleine Scopello, "B. Gnostische Strömungen", 518-554; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 147-148.
[209] Cf. Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 152.
[210] Cf. Carl Andresen and Adolf Martin Ritter, "Die Anfänge christlicher Lehrentwicklung", 69; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 152.
[211] Cf. Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 153.
[212] Cf. on Marcion's life and work, Karlmann Beyschlag, "Marcion von Sinope", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 69-81; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 155-156; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen-*

bly moved to Rome in 139[213] and became a member of the congregation there; however, after his exclusion from the congregation in the year 144, he established his own church with its own ecclesiastical organisational structure (bishops and presbyters), which spread rapidly. Marcion set out to reform the church and return it to the original message of Jesus. He taught that the creator God of the Old Testament was never the father of Jesus and that Jesus' disciples did not continue his work in his way. Rather, the founding of the early Jerusalem church was a great mistake. For in Jesus a good, loving God reveals himself to us; in the Old Testament, on the other hand, we encounter an evil God ("an eye for an eye", "vengeance is mine"). The establishing of the Christian church was a reversion to the vengeful God of Judaism. In addition, Marcion questioned the authority and legitimacy of biblical writings and recognised only an idiosyncratically abridged Gospel of Luke and ten letters of Paul as Holy Scripture in the New Testament: Galatians, 2 Corinthians, Romans, 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon.

What was the appeal of the Christian variant of Gnosticism?

> "As an entity of late antique syncretism, Gnosticism drew Christianity into this movement and thus triggered the most dangerous crisis for the young church in the second century. Obviously, the commitment to observant piety and the attachment to congregational authorities did not fulfil all the expectations of Christians. The high intellectual offer of the Gnostics exposed the inadequacy of their own theological performance."[214]

The theological publications of Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullian were the first to work out the fundamental theological Christian truths of faith precisely in the confrontation with Gnosticism. Marcion's exclusion from the congregation in Rome makes it clear that a number of Christian congregations were not prepared to accept Marcion's teachings; he was probably excommunicated in Sinope by his own father, and other Asia Minor fathers such as Polycarp or Papias distanced themselves from him. Polycarp even referred to him unflatteringly as the "firstborn of Satan".[215]

Assessing Gnosticism from a Christian theological perspective:

---

und Dogmengeschichte 1, 71-72; Carl Andresen and Adolf Martin Ritter, "Die Anfänge christlicher Lehrentwicklung", 65-69.
[213] Cf. Karlmann Beyschlag, "Marcion von Sinope", 70.
[214] Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 154.
[215] Quoted from Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 61.

1. Gnosticism rejects belief in God the Creator as revealed in the Old Testament.
2. In gnosis, man is not freed from his sin, but only from his fateful entanglement with matter.
3. The so-called docetic doctrine that Jesus had only an illusory body contradicts the historical uniqueness of the incarnation of God in Jesus.
4. Jesus is degraded to one among many saviours.
5. Christians maintain that the created world, despite being fallen, remains God's good work of creation, which is not compatible with devaluation through a Gnostic dualism.

Further questions could certainly be raised, but we will settle for this brief introduction and conclude with a quotation from Kurt Dietrich Schmidt: "It becomes clear for the first time in Gnosticism by way of example where a community that wants to be Christian ends if it does not listen to its Lord alone, but at the same time allows the thinking of the world to be valid for itself."[216]

3.2.6.2   Manichaeism

Another form of Gnosticism was developed by Mani, who came from a noble Persian family and was born near Basra in 216. Visionary experiences prompted him to proclaim his own religion in 240. "It was to be a universal religion, surpassing Buddha and Jesus. He understood the work of Jesus and his church only as a prehistory of his own mission. To him, the Paraclete had revealed the full truth."[217] The religion developed by Mani is characterised by a strong dualism. The eternal kingdom of light is equally opposed to the eternal kingdom of darkness. Christian concepts are filled with Gnostic content. "Through their harsh asceticism, the Manichaeans deny the goodness of creation and demonise corporeality." Peter Uhlmann stated, "Manichaeism is the most closed of all Gnostic systems. Because of its syncretistic teachings, it can no longer be considered a Christian religion."[218]

Manichaeism also built up its own church structure and proved to be a threat to the Christian communities. While in the West the Manichaeans were radically persecuted and the church was by and large eradicated by the end of the fifth century, Manichaeism persisted in Mongolia and China for over a thousand years.[219]

---

[216]   Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, Grundriß der *Kirchengeschichte*, 69.
[217]   Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 157.
[218]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 159.
[219]   Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 157.

3.2.6.3 Montanism

While Gnosticism wanted to reform Christianity to its supposed true origins, Montanism was about a renewal of the church in spiritualistic ways.[220] Church historians therefore refer to Montanism as a "charismatic"[221] renewal movement. Eusebius reports on the origin of Montanism in his *Church History*:

> "Their opposition, and their recent heresy which has separated them from the Church, arose on the following account: (7) There is said to be a certain village called Ardabau in that part of Mysia, which borders upon Phrygia. There first, they say, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, a recent convert, Montanus by name, through his unquenchable desire for leadership [in the church], gave the adversary opportunity against him. And he became beside himself, and being suddenly in a sort of frenzy and ecstasy, he raved, and began to babble and utter strange things, prophesying in a manner contrary to the constant custom of the Church handed down by tradition from the beginning. (8) Some of those who heard his spurious [not Holy Spirit-empowered] utterances, and they rebuked him as one that was possessed, and that was under the control of a demon, and was led by a deceitful spirit; and was distracting the multitude; and they forbade him to talk, remembering the distinction drawn by the Lord and his warning to guard watchfully against the coming of false prophets. But others, imagining themselves possessed of the Holy Spirit and of a prophetic gift, were elated and not a little puffed up; and forgetting the distinction of the Lord, they challenged the mad and insidious and seducing spirit, and were cheated and deceived by him. In consequence of this he could no longer be held in check, so as to keep silence. (9) Thus by artifice, or rather by such a system of wicked craft, the devil, devising destruction for the disobedient, and being unworthy honored by them, secretly excited and inflamed their understanding which had already become estranged from the true faith. And he stirred up besides two women [Prisca and Maximilla], and filled them with the [same] false spirit, so that they talked wildly and unreasonably and strangely like the person already mentioned [Montanus]."[222]

---

[220] Cf. on Montanism, Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 1*, 73-75; Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 125-128; Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 165-167; Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 69-72.

[221] Thus Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 125; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 1,* 73.

[222] Quoted from Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, 81. The Church History of Eusebius V.16.6-9.

One senses the author's aversion to this movement in this description of the emergence of Montanism, and certainly this rejection is justified in some central points.

Montanus saw himself as an instrument of the Paraclete promised in John 14-16 and emphasised above all his apocalyptic preaching of the imminence of Christ's return. The movement arose "as a new dawn of enthusiastic prophecy."[223] As mentioned in the quotation above, Montanus came from the Phrygian village of Ardabau and worked as a priest of the cult of Apollos before his conversion to Christianity.[224]

> "Montanus announced in ecstatic speech – with the claim that he was the incarnation of the Paraclete promised by Christ (cf. Jn 14:16f. 26) – the immediate end of the world and called for repentance as preparation. He found great resonance; besides him, Priscilla (Prisca) and Maximilia worked as prophetesses with oracles and visions. The charismatic movement of the new prophecy expanded rapidly in western Asia Minor, soon (c. 170?) encompassing other regions such as Syria and Gaul."[225]

However, alongside enthusiastic elements in the prophecies of Montanus and his disciples, there are other aspects that need to be questioned from a theological point of view. For instance, it was said in a vision of Priscilla:

> "Christ came to me … in the form of a woman and in a shining garment and put his wisdom into me and revealed to me that this place [i.e. Pepuza in Phrygia] was holy and that here the heavenly Jerusalem would come down."[226]

Committed Christians were urged to dissolve their marriages in view of the urgency of the near future. Many followers expected the end of the world to come quickly, but even when Maximilla died in 179, the movement did not collapse but only toned down some of its extreme teachings, such as the call to dissolve marriage. Ecstatic speeches and prophetic preaching of repentance, however, continued to characterise congregational life.

While the main Christian church soon took actions against the adherents of Montanism with all its severity, we should not overlook the positive elements and the justified concern of the Montanist movement in our assessment of it.

---

[223]   Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 1*, 73.
[224]   Cf. Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 125.
[225]   Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 1*, 73.
[226]   Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 32.

"This movement was a counter-reaction to the compromising nature of the mainstream Church, especially in ethical terms. Montanism takes up the pneumatic line of early Christianity: Spirit-filled prophecy, enthusiasm, strict asceticism and the urge to martyrdom characterise the followers of this movement in Asia Minor and later also in the Occident."[227]

"It [Montanism] was not only an eschatological rapture that reckoned with the imminent end of this world, but an original church revival movement that wanted to have a reforming and restorative effect at the same time. The charismatic authority of the prophets and prophetesses took up the original church prophecy and thus turned against the binding of the Spirit to the office. A prophetic church was opposed to the episcopal church."[228]

Widespread ethical laxity within the Christian church led Tertullian to join Montanism.

"More than the developing official church, enthusiasts and false prophets seem to have pushed back prophetic speech. Even the Didache warns against wandering false prophets. Especially among the Gnostics, prophets are very popular. Finally, Montanism is the final straw. The Church increasingly relied on the Holy Scriptures that had been handed down to it, but was increasingly suspicious of prophecy. The Muratori canon (around 200) declared the time of the prophets to be over."[229]

In summary, with regard to the heresies in early Christianity and the defences against them, it is necessary to point out several aspects that should be of great importance as consequences for the further development of the Christian church. On one hand, the church was forced into a process of theological clarification and definition, in which theological positions were defined. Parallel to this, the church took a hierarchical-organisational path in the fight against false doctrines and increasingly pushed back charismatic elements (spiritual gifts) in particular, when detached from an ecclesiastical office;[230] the lay element lost influence. Also, the prophetic work of women in Montanism may have contributed to further restrictions on the public, congregational work of women in Christian con-

---

[227] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium,* 24.

[228] Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 166.

[229] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 66.

[230] Cf. on the repression of prophecy, Matthias Wünsche, *Der Ausgang der urchristlichen Prophetie in der frühkatholischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zu den Apostolischen Vätern, den Apologeten, Irenäus von Lyon und den antimontanistischen Anonymus.* Calwer theologische Monographien, Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1997.

gregations. Lastly, the need to defend against heresies also promoted the clarification of the New Testament canon.

3.2.7   The New Testament Canon

Without a doubt, the formation of the New Testament canon[231] is one of the most important processes in church history, especially considering the significance of the Bible for the faith and teachings of the Christian church both in history and up to the present day.

How was the New Testament canon formed? From the beginning, various early Christian writings were read in church services alongside the Old Testament Scriptures; they were copied and spread quickly. By the second century at the latest, large parts of the New Testament Scriptures were considered the norm for Christian faith and practice. In his *Apology* (Dialogue 49), for example, Justin quoted Matthew 17:13 with the authoritative formula "it is written". We also learn from him that the Gospels were read aloud in the services (I:67).

Irenaeus, a disciple of Polycarp, in his arguments with Marcion and other Gnostics around 180, mentioned the following writings as *scriptural evidence* against them: four Gospels, 13 Pauline epistles, Acts, 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John and the Revelation of John.[232] But other writings such as the first epistle of Clement, the Didache and the Shepherd of Hermas were also known. Tertullian cited similar ones in North Africa.[233] Notably, the theologians of that time did not regard this "canon" as their own creation, but as something inherited and handed down from the early church. Uwe Swarat summarised the findings of Theodor Zahn, a leading patristic scholar at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, on the state of canon formation in the second century:

> "A survey of the Apostolic Fathers finally leads him [Theodor Zahn] to the hypothesis that the collection of the 13 Pauline Epistles was already compiled in Corinth or Rome around 80-110 and that the 4 Gospel collection was created at about the same time in Ephesus under the influence of the aged Apostle John. The First Epistle of Peter and the First Epistle of John, the Rev-

---

[231]   For a more in-depth study of the formation of the canon, I recommend Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*; F. F. Bruce, *The Canon of Scripture*, Downers Grove: IVP, 61995; Gerhard Maier (ed.), *Der Kanon der Bibel,* Giessen and Wuppertal: Brunnen and Brockhaus, 1990; Theodor Zahn, *Grundriß der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons,* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 31985.

[232]   Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 153-156.

[233]   Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 157-160.

elation of John and the Shepherd of Hermas were also in use for worship at that time and were therefore canonical. So the church had a NT since the end of the 1st century – not in the sense of a dogmatic theory. But as a fact of worship life."[234]

The oldest list of New Testament writings known to us is the Canon Muratori from Rome around 200, discovered in 1740 in the Milan library by the librarian L. Muratori. It provides a list of all the writings recognised as valid in the "Catholic Church":

"at which nevertheless he [Mark] was present, and so he placed [them in his narrative]. (2) The third book of the Gospel is that according to Luke. (3) Luke, the well-known physician, after the ascension of Christ, (4-5) when Paul had taken with him as one zealous for the law, (6) composed it in his own name, according to [the general] belief. [...] (9) The fourth of the Gospels is that of John, [one] of the disciples. [...]. (34) Moreover, the acts of all the apostles (35) were written in one book. For 'most excellent Theophilus' Luke compiled (36) the individual events that took place in his presence – (37) as he plainly shows by omitting the martyrdom of Peter (38) as well as the departure of Paul from the city [of Rome] (39) when he journeyed to Spain. As for the Epistles of (40-1) Paul, they themselves make clear to those desiring to understand, which ones [they are], from what place, or for what reason they were sent. (42) First of all, to the Corinthians, prohibiting their heretical schisms; (43) next, to the Galatians, against circumcision; (44-46) then to the Romans he wrote at length, explaining the order (or, plan) of the Scriptures, and also that Christ is their principle (or, main theme). It is necessary (47) for us to discuss these one by one, since the blessed (48) apostle Paul himself, following the example of his predecessor (49-50) John, writes by name to only seven churches in the following sequence: To the Corinthians (51) first, to the Ephesians second, to the Philippians third, (52) to the Colossians fourth, to the Galatians fifth, (53) to the Thessalonians sixth, to the Romans (54-55) seventh. It is true that he writes once more to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians for the sake of admonition, (56-57) yet it is clearly recognizable that there is one Church spread throughout the whole extent of the earth. For John also in the (58) Apocalypse, though he writes to seven churches, (59-60) nevertheless speaks to all. [Paul also wrote] out of affection and love one to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy; and these are held sacred (62-63) in the esteem of the Church catholic for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline. There is current also [an epistle] to (64) the Laodiceans, [and] another to the Alexandrians, [both] forged in Paul's (65) name to [further] the heresy of Marcion, and several others (66)

---

[234] Uwe Swarat, "Das Werden des neutestamentlichen Kanons", in: Gerhard Maier, *Der Kanon der Bibel*, 33.

which cannot be received into the catholic Church (67) – for it is not fitting that gall be mixed with honey. (68) Moreover, the epistle of Jude and two of the above-mentioned (or, bearing the name of) John are counted (or, used) in the catholic [Church]; [...] (71) We receive only the apocalypses of John."[235]

Among other theologians, Origen (c. 185-254), "a prolific biblical scholar",[236] also commented on the question of the authority of the Scriptures and divided them into three categories:[237]

1. Homologoumena   = unchallenged writings
2. Amphiballomena   = partially disputed writings
3. Pseude   = forgeries

Origen counted the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Matthias and the Gospel of the Egyptians among the forgeries.[238] In a fourth group, he named writings whose canonicity is not up for discussion at all, but whose reading is useful. For Origen, these included the Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. The canon of Eusebius of Caesarea was also considered an important source.[239]

In the 39th Easter Letter of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria in 367, he mentioned all 27 books of the New Testament as we know them as the only canonical ones.[240] However, it should be noted that Athanasius acted quite imperiously because he wanted to stop the spread of apocryphal writings in his region, even though he gave the appearance of presenting only what had been established by the apostles and confirmed by tradition.[241] In the western part of the Roman Empire, neither the epistle to the Hebrews nor the epistle of James was considered part of the New Testament canon at that time, and the four smaller catholic epistles of Peter, John and Jude were disputed. In the eastern territories, people doubted the authenticity of John's Apocalypse.

Bruce M. Metzger aptly summarised:

---

[235] Quoted from Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 305-307.

[236] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 135.

[237] Thus in Armin Sierzyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 72. Cf. also: Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, Eusebius: *Church History*, 272-273. The Church History of Eusebius VI.25.

[238] Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament,* 136-137.

[239] Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 309-310; Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, *Eusebius: Church History*, 155-157. The Church History of Eusebius III.25.1-7.

[240] Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 211.

[241] Theodor Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des* neutestamentlichen *Kanons*, 59-60.

"The distinction between the New Testament writings and later ecclesiastical literature is not based on arbitrary fact, it has historical reasons. The generation following the apostles bore witness to the effect that certain writings had on their faith and life. The self-authenticating witness of the word testified to the divine origin of the gospel that had brought the Church into being; such is the implication of Paul's words to the Thessalonians: 'We thank God constantly for this, that when you received the word of God which you heard from us, you accepted it not as the word of any human being but as what it really is, the word of God which is at work in you believers' (1 Thess. 2:13). During the second century and succeeding centuries, this authoritative word was found, not in the utterances of contemporary leaders and teachers, but in the apostolic testimony contained within certain early Christian writings. From this point of view the Church did not create the canon, but came to recognize, accept, affirm and confirm the self-authenticating quality of certain documents that imposed themselves as such upon the church."[242]

The final confirmation of the canon dragged on until the fifth and sixth centuries. By virtue of their intrinsic authority and their apostolic-prophetic power, the 27 writings of the New Testament crystallised through the work of the Holy Spirit as the authoritative canon of the New Testament.[243]

---

[242] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 286-287.
[243] Cf. Armin Daniel Baum, "Wie begründen wir die Grenzen des neutestamentlichen Schriftenkanons? Vier evangelikale Modelle im Vergleich", in: *Jahrbuch für evangelikale Theologie* (JETh), 17 (2003), 83-118.

4 The Constantinian Age and the Conclusion of Early Christianity (310-450)

4.1 Mission, Christianisation and the Further Spread of Christianity

While Christianity spread rapidly in geographic terms during the first three centuries as a whole, a stagnation, or in some cases even a regression, can be observed from the middle of the fourth century onwards, despite the religious toleration of Christianity in the Roman Empire. The reasons lie both in the intra-church sphere and in political developments.

4.1.1 Mission and Christianisation in the Roman Empire

> "With the increasing success of evangelisation in the second half of the third century and the first decades of the fourth century, a new map of Christian geography begins to emerge. Some white spots still remain; but more and more numerous testimonies attest to the emergence of ever new Christian communities [...]. All this progress was made before the empire became 'Christian' under Constantine."[244]

It would go beyond the scope of this book to present a more detailed overview of the situation in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Here we can only refer to the relevant literature.[245] However, especially in urban areas, Christianity succeeded in establishing itself and in some cases, it also reached the interior of the landscape. All in all, towards the end of the fourth century, the church in the East grew very little in the sense of geographic expansion; instead, it stagnated and even had to put up with setbacks, which were mainly due to the migrations of peoples. In addition, internal disputes between individual patriarchs also contributed to an overall situation which did not exactly favour the growth of Christianity.

The situation in the west of the empire must be assessed in a differentiated way. "Just as in Italy, the success of Christianity in Gaul before the

---

[244] Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Eine neue Geographie: A. Der Orient", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 55.

[245] Cf. Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Eine neue Geographie: A. Der Orient", 55-117.

upswing of the 4th century has long been overestimated."[246] Around the year 305, only seven or eight constituted communities in Gaul are considered certain: Vienne, Arles, Orange, Vaison, Marseilles and possibly Die.[247] In Britain, we know that in the year 314 three bishoprics existed: London, York and Colonia Londinensium (Colchester?). Spain on the other hand was probably more Christianised than Gaul. Turning to the northwestern provinces of the Imperium Romanum, we know of only a few congregations in the Danubian provinces.

With the toleration of Christianity by Emperor Constantine, the initial situation changed:

> "The religious policy of Emperor Constantine had the significance of a 'decisive turn' in the history of the spread of Christianity; it brought the Church an 'explosion of growth'. [...] Hilary of Poitiers reported from the years after 360 that it could be observed how the people of the faithful were growing and soon every person was taking the path of salvation. Less euphoric, and probably less exaggerated, Augustine said sixty years later that for Christians the word of the Psalmist was being fulfilled: 'They have been multiplied beyond numbers.' [...]
>
> Since there is no statistically verifiable data, we can only say this much: between 312 and 430, the Church grew to such an extent and at such a speed that contemporaries – Christians and non-Christians alike – were astonished. This spread was particularly noticeable in two areas where the new religion had until then been rather weakly represented: among the senatorial aristocracy in Rome and among the rural population."[248]

However, in addition to the growth of the Christian church in the course of the wave of Christianisation as a result of the state's religious policy, there continued to be at least some targeted missionary work. Under the missionary efforts of Wulfila (c. 310-383), the mission among the Goths began in the fourth century. Sent out by Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, he worked among his own countrymen for over 40 years. He raised Gothic to a written language, translated the Bible into Gothic and saw many Goths

---

[246]   Yvette Duval, "B. Der Westen und die Balkan-Donau-Randgebiete", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 136.

[247]   On this and the following information, see especially Yvette Duval, "B. Der Westen und die Balkan-Donau-Randgebiete", 140-153.

[248]   Jean-Marie Salamito, "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 770-772.

turn to the Christian faith.[249] His influence also spread to other Germanic peoples, who subsequently turned to Christianity.[250]

By the middle of the fifth century, the missionary thrust of Christianity in the Roman Empire had in many cases come to a standstill. The imperial church was too preoccupied with preserving and expanding its internal structures and power. At the same time, a growing nominal Christianity emerged; the average life of the congregational Christian was socially adapted and thus lost its missionary charisma and drive that had distinguished it over the first centuries. The internal disintegration of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the migration period contributed to this development.

4.1.2 Mission and the Spread of Christianity in Asia, Africa and other European Countries

Often not in the focus of Western church historiography is the growth of the Christian Church outside the Roman Empire, which continued during this period.

4.1.2.1 Mesopotamia

Again, we must acknowledge the overall political situation of the regions, with the Roman Empire and the Persian Empire often being in conflict with each other, a situation that had long-term effects on Christians.

> "Due to the promotion of the Church [in the Roman Empire] by the Roman state since 313 and even more since the introduction of Christianity as the state religion around the year 380, the Persian state regarded all Christians in its territory as potential spies of Rome. This led to several persecutions; for example, in 339-341, five bishops and about 100 priests were martyred."[251]

Despite all persecutions, Christianity continued to grow in Mesopotamia during the fourth century and possibly by the beginning of the fifth cen-

---

[249] Cf. on Wulfila's work, Jean-Marie Salamito, "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens", 989-993; Gert Haendler, "Wulfila", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 63-74.

[250] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart: Ein Kompendium*, Giessen: Brunnen, 2019, 42.

[251] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 50. Cf. on the persecutions, Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* 1, 136-147.

tury some areas of Mesopotamia had Christian majorities.[252] In 410, the church of Persia gave itself its own church constitution and gained independence from the Patriarchate of Antioch (part of the Imperium Romanum) and thus from the Western church. The church was headed by the Catholicos, the archbishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. In other regards, western church canon law and western constitutional forms were partially adopted and the Christian church was divided into six ecclesiastical provinces: 1. Babylon = Beth-Aramaje (today central Iraq) with the episcopal see in Seleucia-Ctesiphon (also known as al-Madāʾin, located on the Tigris, south of modern Baghdad), 2. Susiana = Beth-Huzaje with the episcopal see in Beth Lapat (today's Gundeshapur, Iran), 3. Northern Mesopotamia = Beth Arabaje with the episcopal see in Nisibis (today's Nusaybin, Turkey), 4. Mesene = Maischan with the episcopal see of Perat-Maischan, 5. Adiabene = Hedhajjbh with the episcopal see of Arbela (today's Erbil, Kurdistan region of Iraq), and 6. Garamaea = Beth Garmai with the episcopal see of Karjka dhe-Beth Seokh (today around the city of Kirkuk in northern Iraq). These church provinces would later become the centre of the so-called Nestorian Church.

However, by the fourth century, Christianity had already penetrated other areas of the Persian Empire outside these church provinces, even if Christians formed a minority there.

"A testimony to the spread of Christianity to the eastern parts of Persia comes to us in the 'Chronicle of Se'ert' with the account of the Christianisation of the city of Merw. Barshabba, who brought Christianity to Merw, came from Susiana. Queen Shiaran, who was sick and possessed by a demon, heard in a dream the instruction to accept Christianity, then she would be healed. She then turned to Barshabba, who instructed her in the Christian faith. She believed and was baptised and freed from her illness and possession. She then moved to Merw and actively promoted the spread of Christianity here. Barshabba became the first Metropolitan of Merw. [...]

As to Merw, and from there to other cities, so Christianity spread to other parts of Persia. [...] In 424 there were bishoprics of the Persian church

---

[252] Cf. on Mesopotamia, Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 50-53; Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* 1, 91-167; Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 1076-1084; David Wilmshurst, *The Martyred Church: A History of the Church of the East*, London: East & West Publishing, 2011, 1-50; David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities", in: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.), *Constantine to c. 600,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 122-135.

already in Rew-Ardasschir (Reshahr) and four other Persian cities, in Media there was a bishopric in Isfahat, in Parthia in Abrashahr (Nishapur), in the Margiana in Merw, and also in Herat and in Sagistan in present-day Afghanistan."[253]

A Christian presence can therefore also be documented in Central Asia at the beginning of the fifth century.[254] Merw was an oasis town located near Baýramali city of Mary velayat, Turkmenistan, and Christianity probably arrived in this and other places not because of strategically planned missionary work, but via Syrian and Persian merchants.[255] There was also a Christian community in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, during the fifth century.[256] However, it is important to note:

> "The spread of Christianity was by no means limited to the border provinces with their predominantly Syriac-speaking population. In addition to conversions from the Jews, martyr records repeatedly report conversions from the Persian upper class, even from members of the royal family."[257]

4.1.2.2 Arabia

The further spread of Christianity in the Arab region can be dated to the turn of the third to the fourth century.[258] The "Arab region", where mainly nomadic tribes lived, laid politically between the fronts of the great powers of Mesopotamia and the Imperium Romanum.[259] Pierre Maraval notes, "Several nomadic Arab tribes lived on the eastern borders of the empire, forming more or less independent 'kingdoms' and often using the rivalry between Persians and Romans in their favour."[260] It can be assumed that some of these tribes converted to Christianity towards the end of the fourth century:

---

[253] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens*, 54.
[254] Cf. David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities", 142-143.
[255] Wassilos Klein, *Nestorian Christianity on the Trade Routes through Kyrgyzstan until the 14th Century.* Silk Road Studies III, Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000, 53.
[256] Cf. Wassilos Klein, *Das Nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgyzstan bis zum 14. Jh.*, 54.
[257] Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1083.
[258] Cf. on this and the following sections, Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 50, 54-55; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times,* London, New York and Beirut: Longman Group Ltd and Librairie du Liban, 1979.
[259] Cf. J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 22-40.
[260] Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1093.

"Rufinus reports the conversion of a tribe led by the Saracen queen Mavia (Mawija). Simeon the Stylite converted some Saracen tribes and one of their leaders around 418, Euthymius in turn converted the Saracen leader Aspebet around 420, who broke away from the alliance with the Persian king, defected to the Romans and settled in the [Roman] province of Arabia. At the beginning of the 5th century, Christianity probably also reached the kingdom of the Lachmids, situated on the lower reaches of the Euphrates."[261]

Especially during the fifth (and sixth) centuries, churches were built throughout the Roman province of Arabia, which were called "houses of prayer" or temples.[262] There had already been a bishopric in Bahrain since the year 224. New bishoprics were now added in eastern Arabia – the exact location is unknown – as well as a bishopric in Mazun, today's Oman. There was also a Christian presence in the land of the Himyarites, today's Yemen.[263]

4.1.2.3 India

From an envoy sent to India by Emperor Constantine in 354, we have reports on worship and Syriac traditions among the Indian Christians.[264] The South Indian churches in particular were in contact with the church in Mesopotamia and were under the leadership of the Metropolitan of Rew-Ardashir (near today's Bushehr, Iran).[265] In the "Chronicle of Se'ert", an East Syrian source from the seventh or eighth century, we know of a bishop named David who did missionary work in India between 250 and 300 and under whose influence many Indians were converted to Christianity.[266] Stephen Neill summarises the evidence regarding the Christian presence in India as follows:

"It is almost certain that there were well-established churches in parts of South India not later than the beginning of the sixth century and perhaps

---

[261] Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1093.
[262] Cf. J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 75.
[263] Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1093.
[264] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 55-56.
[265] Cf: Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India 1: From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century (up to 1542)*, Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1989, 78-99.
[266] Cf. J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 78; Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* 1, 100-101. Cf. on India in general, David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities", 139-140.

from a considerable earlier date; but it is possible that these were at least in part churches of foreigners, worshipping in Syriac and cared for by foreign priests and bishops.

There is a possibility that already existing Christian forces in India were strengthened by a considerable immigration [religious refugees from Mesopotamia) in the first half of the fourth century, and it is at least possible that the immigrants came intending to join themselves to Christian groups, of the existence of which they were already aware.

It is probable that a part at least of the indigenous element of the Indian church belonged originally not to Kerala but o the Pandiyan kingdom. The continuance over many centuries of the traditions associating St. Thomas with Mylapore suggest that the first Christianisation of that area goes back to very early times.

There are traces of the existence of Christian communities in other parts of India, but these are uncertain, and do not suggest continuity of which we have clearer evidence in the south.

When the Christian community in Kerala emerges into the clear light of history, it seems to have been a rather prosperous, indeed wealthy, body, enjoying the favour of the local rulers, and with guarantees for protection against injury."[267]

It should be noted, however, that Stephen Neill's work confines the spread of Christianity to the borders of present-day India.

4.1.2.4 Armenia

Armenia was considered a largely independent country in the fourth century, but repeatedly became the plaything of the great political powers of Rome and Mesopotamia.[268] Christianity became the state religion in Armenia around the year 300, after King Tiridates III converted to Christianity.

"The conversion of the king was accompanied by the conversion of the entire people, who were supposedly forced to accept the new religion by a royal decree. The priestly caste and the nobility resisted: Gregory [the bishop] went through the country with armed troops, destroyed the temples of the old religion, built Christian churches in their place and assigned the

---

[267] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ²1985, 49.

[268] Cf. on Armenia: Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 56-57; Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1095-1089; David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities", 136-138.

former temple property to them. From Caesarea and Sebaste he had brought Greek and Syrian missionaries, who were responsible for instructing the new converts, especially the clergy; this was recruited from the ranks of the sons of the priests of the old pagan cult."[269]

Several aspects would be of strategic importance for the further development of the Armenian church: the establishment of an ecclesiastical structure oriented towards the political structure of the country, the creation of the Armenian alphabet and, subsequently, the translation of the Bible into Armenian.

4.1.2.5 Georgia

Christianity was probably originally brought to western Georgia (Colchis) by the Greek church.[270] Furthermore, influences from Jewish colonies may have also played a role in the advance of Christianity, as did contacts with Armenia and Syria. Similar to Armenia, Georgia's conversion to Christianity was closely linked to the conversion of the royal family. Central to the conversion was a woman named Nino. She proclaimed the Christian message to the royal family and, with support from a healing miracle, first the queen and then King Mirian converted. "In analogy to the conversion of Armenia, the Georgian royal house also demanded the conversion of its subjects to the new religion and promoted Christian worship wherever it could. From the 4th century onwards, Christianity had become the state-bearing force in Georgia."[271] The western connection of the church remained for the time being, while eastern Georgia belonged for a time to the Persian Empire, and so Christian influences from Persia can be detected here, at least for a time.

Similar to Armenia, Georgia attached importance to its own translation of the Bible. While some New Testament writings were already translated in the second half of the fourth century, the full translation of the New Testament was not completed until the sixth century.

---

[269] Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1086.
[270] Cf. on Georgia: Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 58; Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1089-1091; David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities", 138-139.
[271] Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1090.

4.1.2.6 *Ireland*

Ireland turned to Christianity under the influence of Patrick in the course of the fifth century.[272] However, it is considered certain that when Patrick arrived, there were already Christians living in Ireland, whose origins probably go back to Christians in Britain and Wales.[273] The extent to which these first Christians can be traced back to the work of Bishop Palladius remains disputed.[274] Patrick, born in Britain around the year 389, was taken as a prisoner by Irishmen into the mountains of Ireland at the age of 16 and was forced to work there as a slave for six years. He later fled to France. Around 431/432, sent by Pope Coelistin I, he returned to Ireland and worked there until his death in 461.

> "Thus he baptised and confirmed thousands; he administered the Eucharist, and instead of relying on the influx of foreign clergy from Britain and Gaul, he preferred to raise up a native clergy from the Irish youth. This was largely composed of sons of the Irish nobility, on whom the saint concentrated his missionary zeal. [...] In this way Patrick, identifying himself with the Irish people, founded a national church of his own character and determined its future history."[275]

Despite vehement opposition from the prevailing pagan cults, from the royal house he tried to convert the people. Despite English buccaneers who destroyed his work and massacred believers, Ireland was predominantly Christian by the end of his life. The missionary zeal that Irish monks were to develop in the following centuries soon became a blessing to many countries in Western Europe.

---

[272] Cf. Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions,* London: Penguin Books, [10]1990, 49-50; Klaus Wetzel, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart,* 114-117; Robert E. McNally, "Die keltische Kirche in Irland", in: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.), *Die Kirche des Früheren Mittelalters* II.1, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 91-115.

[273] Robert E. McNally, "Die keltische Kirche in Irland", 91.

[274] This is seen supported by: Luce Piétri, "III. Die großen missionarischen Kirchen: Spanien, Gallien, Britannien und Irland: IV. Irland", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 983.

[275] Robert E. McNally, "The Celtic Church in Ireland", 93.

4.1.2.7 *Ethiopia*

In the middle of the fourth century, Aizanas (Ezana), ruler of the kingdom of Aksum in what is now northern Ethiopia, converted to Christianity.[276] Two merchants, the brothers Frusentius and Aedesius, were in the service of the royal family, and while working in this capacity, they advocated the building of churches, which were initially intended for foreign travellers but later attracted locals as well.

4.1.2.8 *Nubia*

The Nubians settled in the Nile Valley.

> "Thus the Nubian empires stretched for almost 2000 km along the Nile. Certainly, their cultural economic and political influence in the region were considerable, since throughout their history no other major state existed in North Africa except the Ethiopian Empire in the southeast and Byzantine, later Muslim Egypt in the north."[277]

Although the Nubian empire was not Christianised until Byzantine missionary work in the sixth century, it can be assumed that there was a Christian presence in Nubia even before Christianity was introduced as the state religion.[278] Thus, there were mutual relations with Egypt, and during the waves of persecution in the third century, Egyptian Christians fled to Nubia and hermits also settled there. However, it can be assumed that Christianity spread earlier, especially along the caravan routes. "In the stories attributed to Paphnutuis about the desert fathers, miracles are reported that led to conversions of Nubians in the border region between Egypt and Nubia."[279] Roland Werner therefore concludes, "Overall, we must assume a steady increase in Christian presence in the 5th and 6th centuries."[280]

---

[276]   Cf. on Ethiopia, Klaus Wetzel, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 104; Pierre Maraval, "VIII. Die neuen Grenzen", 1091-1092.

[277]   Roland Werner, *Das Christentum in Nubien: Geschichte und Gestalt einer afrikanischen Kirche.* Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 48, Münster, 2013, 29.

[278]   Cf. Roland Werner, *Das Christentum in Nubien*, 46-50.

[279]   Roland Werner, *Das Christentum in Nubien,* 46-47.

[280]   Roland Werner, *Das Christentum in Nubien,* 48.

4.1.2.9   Mediterranean Africa

"Africa experienced the most spectacular growth of paleo-Christians, greater than Italy, France or Spain in the third century."[281] By "Africa" we mean Mediterranean Africa west of Egypt, covering today's countries Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauretania.[282] While many regions Christian congregations were even planted in villages and towns in the mountains and inland steppes.[283]

4.2   Religious Policy in the Roman Empire

In the first half of the fourth century, Emperor Constantine proved to be the central figure for the further development of Christianity. Thomas Schleich speaks of Constantine's reign as an "historical watershed."[284] Who was Constantine? What motivated him to make such a radical change of course in Roman religious policy, which would determine the political and religious course of the world, especially Europe, for the next millennium?

Flavius Valerius Constantine[285] was probably born on 27 February 272 in Naissus in Serbia as the illegitimate child of the Roman officer Constantius and his concubine Helena, and he spent his childhood with his mother.[286] Emperor Diocletian held the young Constantine hostage at the

---

[281]   Thomas C. Oden, *Early Libyan Christianity*, 39.

[282]   Cf. Thomas C. Oden, *Early Libyan Christianity*, 81.

[283]   Cf. Thomas C. Oden, *Early Libyan Christianity*, 39.

[284]   Thomas Schleich, "Konstantin der Große", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte* 1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 189.

[285]   Cf. on Constantine, Kay Ehling and Gregor Weber (eds.), *Konstantin der Große: Zwischen Sol und Christus,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2011; Gerd Ruhbach, "Konstantin der Große (ca. 272-337)", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2, 1157-1158. For more on the life and work of Constantine, see Thomas Schleich, "Konstantin der Große", 189-214; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 1, 135-144; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 205-210; Ernst Dassmann, *Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche,* Kirchengeschichte II/1, Stuttgart, Berlin and Cologne: W. Kohlhammer, 1996, 15-63; Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Kirche des Ostens im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert,* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/4, Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1988, 43-52.

[286]   On Constantine's childhood and youth, see Paul Dräger, "Die 'Historie über Herkunft und Jugend Constantins des Großen und seiner Mutter Helena': Zur Wirkungsgeschichte einer Legende", in: Andreas Goltz and Heinrich Schlange-Schö-

imperial court from 293 onwards – probably to ensure his father's good conduct – and during this time Constantine also accompanied Diocletian on several military campaigns.

In 305, Constantine hurried to join his dying father in Gaul and, after his death in 306, was proclaimed Augustus by the army as his successor. With 40,000 soldiers, Constantine crossed the Alps in 312 and conquered Turin and Milan almost single-handedly. Unexpectedly, he was now faced with a threefold superiority of Emperor Maxentius at the gates of Rome. We pick up Lactance's account of the events there:

> "(44:1) Already civil war had broken out between them [sc. Constantine and Maxentius]. And although Maxentius kept himself within Rome, since an oracle had foretold him doom in case he set foot outside the gates of the city, he had the war conducted by able military men. (2) Numerically, Maxentius' army was far superior. [...] (4) The anniversary of the inauguration, October 28, was approaching, and the celebrations on the occasion of his five-year reign were drawing to a close. (5) Then Constantine received instructions in a dream to have the heavenly sign of God affixed to the shields of his soldiers and thus to begin the battle. He did as instructed and had Christ [sc. the monogram of Christ] with a transverse X, the upper arm of which was bent, affixed to the shields.[Armed with this sign, his army confronted the enemy and won a complete victory. Constantine was 'received as emperor amidst a great show of joy by the senate and the people' and was granted 'the title of first Augustus in gratitude for his valour'."[287]

Eusebius described the events as follows:

> "Accordingly he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvellous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honored with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, 'Conquer by this.' At

---

ningen (eds.), *Konstantin der Große: Das Bild des Kaisers im Wandel der Zeit,* Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2008, 139-160.

[287] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 135.

this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.

At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing."[288]

Whatever one may think of this vision,[289] Constantine conquered Rome and Maxentius' head was carried through the streets on a lance; according to Eusebius, Maxentius does not seem to have been particularly popular.[290] In any case, Constantine had now gained sole rule in the west of the Roman Empire, and in 324 he would establish sole rule over the whole Roman Empire after defeating his brother-in-law Licinius in the east.

How is Constantine's "conversion" to be classified? This question remains controversial among scholars. Armin Sierszyn comments:

"The vision of the cross does not bring about any conversion in Constantine, but the emperor is completely convinced that Jesus Christ, the God of the Christians, has given him victory. From now on he prays to him, after having invoked the god Apollo as Sol invictus in Gaul.
Constantine forbids the erection and worship of his own image in the pagan temples. He sets up a kind of church in his palace, where he eagerly reads the Bible and lays it out for the court servants in common household services. He also composes a prayer for soldiers."[291]

Heinrich Kraft concludes:

"Constantine's conversion, this long-lasting turn to Christian worship, cannot be fixed to a point in time, but lasted throughout his entire reign. As soon as we want to state a change, we enter something of which he himself knew nothing and to which nothing entitles us."[292]

And Charles Piétri comments:

---

[288] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* I, 28-29. Quoted from https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/25021.htm [last accessed 17.04.2024].

[289] Armin Sierszyn considers them authentic; see his *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 123.

[290] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 123.

[291] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 124.

[292] Quoted from Josef Rist, "Gottesgeschenk oder Sündenfall? Realität oder Mythos der sogenannten Konstantinischen Wende", in: Michael Fiedrowicz, Gerhard Krieger and Winfried Weber (eds.), *Konstantin der Große: Der Kaiser und die Christen – die Christen und der Kaiser*, Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 2006, 50.

"The episode of the Milvitic Bridge is in itself of little significance, for what counts above all is the garb that the ruler wanted to give it in order to testify to his Christian commitment with a radiant appearance of God and to attribute to him the victory won in Rome. In an exemplary event, his propaganda thus brought together the development of imperial politics, in which an ever-increasing benevolence towards Christians was indeed becoming apparent."[293]

As was customary at the time, Constantine was baptised only shortly before his death since baptism washed away all previous sins. Sierszyn once again writes pointedly:

"Constantine obviously knew exactly how much he had sinned. His political career was already over dead bodies: his father-in-law, old Maximia, his brother-in-law Maxentius and his sister's husband Licinius had to die. This would still be halfway understandable for a military man like Constantine. But in 326 he also had his son Crispus from his first marriage murdered and his wife Fausta drowned in a bath. It is possible that Crispus and his stepmother had illicit relations. In that case, the emperor saved the honour of his family with the punishments. Otherwise, question marks remain."[294]

In any case, Constantine provided Christianity with the breakthrough to public recognition. In the Edict of Milan *in* February 313, Constantine for the west and Licinius for the east reaffirmed religious tolerance for Christians, even expanding it compared to the Edict of 311. Christianity was put on an equal footing with pagan religions, the Christian church received confiscated property back (e.g. cemeteries and church buildings), and it was recognised as a legal entity:

"When we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had an interview at Milan, and conferred together with respect to the good and security of the commonweal, it seemed to us that, among those things that are profitable to mankind in general, the reverence paid to the Divinity merited our first and chief attention, and that it was proper that the Christians and all others should have liberty to follow that mode of religion which to each of them appeared best; so that that God, who is seated in heaven, might be benign and propitious to us, and to every one under our government. And therefore we judged it a salutary measure, and one highly consonant to right reason,

---

[293]   Charles Piétri, "Christianisierung der kaiserlichen Repräsentation, der staatlichen Gesetzgebung und der römischen Gesellschaft", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 205.

[294]   Armin Sierzyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 205.

that no man should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever other religion his mind directed him, that thus the supreme Divinity, to whose worship we freely devote ourselves, might continue to vouchsafe His favour and beneficence to us. And accordingly we give you to know that, without regard to any provisos in our former orders to you concerning the Christians, all who choose that religion are to be permitted, freely and absolutely, to remain in it, and not to be disturbed any ways, or molested. And we thought fit to be thus special in the things committed to your charge, that you might understand that the indulgence which we have granted in matters of religion to the Christians is ample and unconditional; and perceive at the same time that the open and free exercise of their respective religions is granted to all others, as well as to the Christians. For it befits the well-ordered state and the tranquillity of our times that each individual be allowed, according to his own choice, to worship the Divinity; and we mean not to derogate anything from the honour due to any religion or its votaries. Moreover, with respect to the Christians, we formerly gave certain orders concerning the places appropriated for their religious assemblies; but now we will that all persons who have purchased such places, either from our exchequer or from any one else, do restore them to the Christians, without money demanded or price claimed, and that this be performed peremptorily and unambiguously; and we will also, that they who have obtained any right to such places by form of gift do immediately restore them to the Christians: reserving always to such persons, who have either purchased for a price, or gratuitously acquired them, to make application to the judge of the district, if they look on themselves as entitled to any equivalent from our beneficence."[295]

This was followed by a formal and unexceptional repeal of all laws and ordinances directed against Christians.

How quickly Christianity found new followers as a result becomes clear from the fact that Constantine had to issue an edict of tolerance for pagan cults in 324 – a reversal of previous conditions. This edict was written like an apologetic prayer:

"My own desire is, for the common good of the world and the advantage of all mankind, that your people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who still delight in error, be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity which they have who believe. For it may be that this restoration of equal privileges to all will prevail to lead them into the straight path. Let no one molest another, but let every one do

---

[295]   Lactance, *De mortibus persecotorum* 48. Quoted from https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0705.htm [Last accessed 17.04.2024].

as his soul desires. Only let men of sound judgment be assured of this, that those only can live a life of holiness and purity, whom you call to a reliance on your holy laws. With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of lies: we have the glorious edifice of your truth, which you have given us as our native home. We pray, however, that they too may receive the same blessing, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires."[296]

Finally, a few source texts will illustrate the practical consequences of Constantine's turn for the state and the church. For example, Constantine issued a ban on facial desecration with reference to the divine image of man:

"If anyone has been sentenced to the games or to [forced labour in] the mines, in view of the gravity of the crimes in which he has been caught, he shall not be branded on the face [but at most on the hands and calves] […]; for the countenance formed after the likeness of the heavenly beauty shall not be defiled."[297]

Crucifixion was also abolished on the same grounds,[298] and on 3 March 321, Constantine declared Sunday a compulsory holiday:

"(Cod. Iust. 3,12,2 [3.3.321]) All magistrates, townspeople and craftsmen, whatever trade they practise, should rest on the venerable day of the sun. On the other hand, the peasants may freely and unhindered pursue the cultivation of their fields […] so that the opportunity offered to them by the providence of heaven with the most favourable moment [for harvest and grape harvest] does not pass [unused].

(Cod. Theod. 2,8,1 [3.7.321]) As we consider it altogether unseemly that the day of the sun, which is highly esteemed by its worship, should be filled with quarrels of judgment and disgraceful factions, so [on the contrary] let it be dear and pleasing to us if what is especially pleasing [to God] be done on that day. Therefore, let all be permitted on that feast day to free and release [their slaves] [or: to declare their sons of age and release their slaves]; let it also be unlawful to make a record thereof."[299]

The clergy also benefitted from the changed political climate:

---

[296] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* II.56. Quoted from https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/25022.htm [last accessed 17.04.2024].
[297] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche,* 139.
[298] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 125.
[299] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 139. Cf. on the Sunday legislation, Ernst Dassmann, *Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche,* 44-46.

"Let all those who devote religious services to the worship of God, i.e. the so-called clergy, be totally exempt from all public services, lest they be kept from their divine duties by the sacrilegious ill-will of some.

   A judge will have to take care, in accordance with his official duty, that when an appeal is made to an episcopal court, this must be tacitly tolerated; also, if someone has expressed the wish to transfer a dispute to the Christian law and to adhere to that court, this is to be obeyed, even if the [treatment of the] dispute before the [relevant] judge has already begun; finally, what has been decided by these [sc. the episcopal judges] is to be regarded as the highest-instance decision."[300]

However, the judicial function was limited to civil cases and was abolished again around the following turn of the century.

Clearly, Constantine initiated radical and fundamental change in the relationship between Christianity and the state. Unquestionably, this brought numerous reliefs and freedoms for Christians. But what other effects followed?

Constantine soon saw his task and responsibility as not only limited to the state political sphere. Developments within the church also became important to him, and thus he became involved in intra-church disputes and struggles and sometimes even took the initiative. As Charles Piétri noted, "Within a few years, Constantine drafted the outlines of the new Christian monarchy, in which the affairs of the church and the consequences of its missionary activity were made the business of the state."[301]

Constantine's actions were guided by religious motives only to a limited extent, for he was primarily driven by political interests in his involvement with the ecclesiastical sphere. For the first time, a political ruler intervened in internal church disputes. Constantine went so far as to convene councils (Arles in 314 and Nicaea in 325) and even helped to propose solutions to theological questions. His lively building activity also made clear the pathway to an imperial church. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Rome's Church of the Redeemer, the old St. Peter's Basilica and a church in Constantinople were built by Constantine.

"At the same time, Constantine tightened his policy regarding the pagans, even if he did not yet initiate persecution in the true sense. After forbidding the practice of magic and visceral show, the ruler intervened against im-

---

[300] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 139-140; cf. on the clerical laws, Ernst Dassmann, *Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche*, 46-48.
[301] Charles Piétri, "Christianisierung der kaiserlichen Repräsentation, der staatlichen Gesetzgebung und der römischen Gesellschaft", 235.

moral rites: he had the sanctuary of Aphrodite Aphaco in Phoenicia [...] destroyed because temple prostitution was practised there, and he had the ceremonies at Heliopolis Aigai in Cilicia [...], which apparently encouraged quite licentious sexual promiscuity, limited by strict regulations."[302]

The transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Byzantium/Constantinople (today's Istanbul, Turkey) in 330 also had long-term consequences for the church and its politics.[303] In Rome, the papacy could develop as an ecclesiastical and political centre of power independent of the emperor, while Constantinople's episcopal see was completely dependent on the imperial court. Constantine's change of capital was certainly also a reason for the increasing and accelerating estrangement between the eastern and western church.

In the upheavals and changes under Constantine, however, we should see more than a direct contrast to the preceding developments. Sommer and Klahr remarked, "The path to a worldwide church that often compromised with the world had long been taken. But the fact that Christianity now stepped into public responsibility was something quite new and brought with it many dangers."[304]

The political legacy of Constantine the Great[305] was initially shared by his three sons: Constantine II (337-340) ruled over Gaul, Britain and Spain, but he fell in battle in 340 against his brother Constans (337-350), who ruled over Italy, Illyria and Africa and, after his brother's death, the entire Occident. Third in the alliance was Constantius (337-361), who ruled in the east until 350 and then from 350 on over the whole Empire. All three had a Christian upbringing and saw themselves as Christian rulers. Constantius, in particular, interfered strongly in internal church affairs, sometimes by despotic means. Increasingly, Constantine's sons did not simply identify as Christians but took active steps against paganism. Constantius issued the following edict:

---

[302] Charles Piétri, "Christianisierung der kaiserlichen Repräsentation, der staatlichen Gesetzgebung und der römischen Gesellschaft", 236.

[303] Cf. on the background of this move, Charles Piétri, "Christianisierung der kaiserlichen Repräsentation, der staatlichen Gesetzgebung und der römischen Gesellschaft", 216-219.

[304] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 47.

[305] Cf. Charles Piétri, "Von der partitio des christlichen Kaiserreiches bis zur Einheit unter Konstantius: Arianerstreit und erster 'Cäsaropapismus'", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 345-348; Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Kirche des Ostens im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert,* 62-79; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 1, 144-146.

"Let superstition cease; let the madness of sacrifices be abolished. For who-ever, against the law of the divine prince, our parent [Constantine] and this command of our clemency, shall celebrate sacrifices, let a punishment appropriate to him and this present decision be issued."[306]

"Although all superstition must be eradicated root and branch, it is nevertheless our will that the temple buildings outside the [Roman] city walls should remain untouched and undamaged. Because games, races or competitions are connected with some of these temples by their origin, they should not be demolished; for through them the [regular] organisation of long-established amusements for the people of Rome is guaranteed."[307]

"It is our pleasure that in all places and in all cities the temples be henceforth closed, and access having been forbidden to all, freedom to sin be denied the wicked. We will that all abstain from sacrifices; that if any one should commit any such act, let him fall before the vengeance of the sword. Their goods, we decree, shall be taken away entirely and recovered to the fisc, and likewise rectors of provinces are to be punished if they neglect to punish for these crimes."[308]

That such an anti-pagan course was welcomed by the church may not be surprising. But it must be asked whether the "lofty and noble" motives of the Christians did not also include a desire for revenge for the persecutions suffered in the past.

The attitude of Christians towards paganism can be illustrated by the following example. The rhetor I. Firmicus Maternus, a Sicilian from the senatorial class, who had only recently converted to Christianity, wrote to the emperors around 347:

"(16:4) These practices must be cut to the root, eradicated and stopped, most holy emperors, by your legal decree in the most severe tone, so that the dreadful error of this [pagan] presumption may no longer stain the Roman world. Even though the pagans may have as little desire to be held to the right as the sick love the prescribed bitter medicines, the duty of saving them even against their will is imposed on the emperors by God. For [...] it is better for you to deliver them against their will than to allow them to fall willingly into ruin.

(28:6) Away, most holy emperors, away with all the temple ornaments! Let the embers of your mints or the flame of your furnaces roast these gods!

---

[306] Codex Theodosianus XVI,10.2 (341 AD). Quoted from https://earlychurch-texts.com/public/codex_theodosianus.htm [last accessed 17.04.2024].

[307] Codex Theodosianus XVI,10.3 (01.11.342 or 343 AD). Quoted and translated from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 169.

[308] Codex Theodosianus XVI,10.4 (01.12.346 or 354 AD). Quoted from https://earlychurchtexts.com/public/codex_theodosianus.htm [last accessed 17.04.2024].

Make all the temple offerings your service and transfer them to your control. With the destruction of the temples, you will have made further progress in divine virtue."[309]

After the death of Constantius, a nephew of Constantine, Julian, came to power in the year 361.[310] As he travelled from Gaul to Rome, it became apparent that a different, old wind was blowing again, although Julian had been baptised as a young man.[311] Along the way, Julian reopened pagan temples that had been closed for the previous 24 years, had them restored and even built new temples. Quite consciously, he again saw himself as *Pontifex Maximus*, the highest priest of the state. How did it come about that Julian took this path, although he had also been baptised and brought up as a Christian?

It was above all the mysteries that attracted him. He let himself be initiated into the mystery cults and became their fanatical follower. A pagan historian reported about him:

"(5:1) It is true that from his earliest childhood he [Julian] was exceedingly fond of the cult of the gods; and the more he grew up, the more he was distorted by longing for them. However, since he had many things to fear, he kept his occasional ritual activities in this sense as far behind the bush as possible. (2) Only when his fears in this respect had become unfounded [with the death of Constantius] and he realised that he could now feel free to do as he pleased, did he allow his secret inclinations to become public and, in unambiguous and unconditional decrees, ordered the temples to be reopened, sacrificial animals to be brought to the altars and the cult of the gods to be restored. (3) And in order to lend more emphasis to his intentions, he summoned the leaders of the feuding Christian sects, together with a few followers from each, to the palace and persuaded them amicably to bury their disputes and each to follow his own religious convictions unmolested and without fear. (4) He did this with such persistence because [he calculated that] the more he let them do so, the more the tensions between them would increase and the less he would have to fear unanimity [sc. in the rejection of his measures] among the people.

---

[309]   Quoted and translated from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche,* 170.
[310]   On the life and work of Julian, cf. Jacques Flamant, Charles Piétri and Günther Gottlieb, "Julian Apostata (361-363) und der Versuch einer altgläubigen Restauration", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 396-413.
[311]   Jacques Flamant, Charles Piétri and Günther Gottlieb, "Julian Apostata (361-363) und der Versuch einer altgläubigen Restauration", 397.

> After all, he knew from his own experience that no wild animal is so hostile to people as most Christians pursue each other in deadly hatred!"[312]

In addition, he had a sense of mission: "He was convinced and determined to convince others that he was the chosen one of the gods and especially of the royal Helios, the sun god. Repeated visions, which he made known like Constantine before him [...] strengthened him in this opinion."[313] Julian accordingly endeavoured to reverse the religious policy of his predecessors and quickly found supporters, especially among the upper classes.[314] But how difficult this endeavour had become in the meantime, and how much Christianity had gained in influence, is shown by the trouble it took to find suitable priests for the pagan cults.

But Julian's intermezzo was short-lived. Only two years after taking office, the emperor fell in a battle against the Persians. His planned persecution of the Christians never materialized; his last surviving words before his death speak for themselves: "You have won after all, Galilean!"[315] "The emperor did not succeed in achieving a broad social consensus for his religious policy. In the end, this attempt to restore the pagan cults reveals above all the tremendous progress Christianity had made for half a century."[316]

Julian's successors were all Christians and continued the path taken by Constantine and his sons, even intensifying the persecution of pagans; for example, Emperor Valens in the east rigorously opposed the followers of Neoplatonism. Emperor Theodosius the Great, who ruled the east from the year 379 and the whole Empire from the year 394, set another decisive milestone. On 28 February 380, he declared the Christian faith the state religion of the Roman Empire:[317]

> "It is our will that all the peoples whom the government of our clemency rules shall follow that religion which a pious belief from Peter to the present

---

[312] Quoted and translated from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche,* 179-180.
[313] Jacques Flamant, Charles Piétri and Günther Gottlieb, "Julian Apostata (361-363) und der Versuch einer altgläubigen Restauration", 401.
[314] On Julian's religious policy, cf. Jacques Flamant, Charles Piétri and Günther Gottlieb, "Julian Apostata (361-363)", 400-404.
[315] Quoted from Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 137.
[316] Jacques Flamant, Charles Piétri and Günther Gottlieb, "Julian Apostata (361-363)", 412.
[317] Cf. Charles Piétri, "Die Erfolge: Unterdrückung des Heidentums und Sieg des Staatskirchentums", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 462-478; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 1, 147-150.

declares the holy Peter delivered to the Romans, and which it is evident the pontiff Damasus and Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, follow; that is, that according to the apostolic discipline and evangelical doctrine we believe in the deity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost of equal majesty, in a holy trinity. Those who follow this law we command shall be comprised under the name of Catholic Christians; but others, indeed, we require, as insane and raving, to bear the infamy of heretical teaching; their gatherings shall not receive the name of churches; they are to be smitten first with the divine punishment and after that by the vengeance of our indignation, which has the divine approval."[318]

Three years later, all heretical groups were banned from practising their religion, with the exception of the Jewish faith. Anyone who was not or did not become a Christian soon no longer had a chance of employment in the higher administrative service or in the military.

The path taken by Constantine reached another climax: Christianity was now officially the only state-approved religion. But was this development really a blessing for the Church?

4.3   Church Structures and Orders and Inner Life

The toleration of Christianity from 313 and its elevation to the status of state religion in the Roman Empire almost 70 years later led to a progressive penetration of public and cultural life by Christianity. For example, it gained increasing influence over the education system. But at the same time, a nominal Christianity emerged and often the outward lifestyle of Christians differed less and less from that of the pagans.[319]

"It was apparent to all that the church was gaining ground in the world. But this advancement of the church in the world did not happen without a reaction. Now the world was also coming into the church to an extent that exceeded anything possible in the third century. Previously, anyone who became a Christian had to be clear that he was taking a considerable, possibly a fatal, risk upon himself. His faith [...] was no advantage to him, but a severe impediment. But no later than the middle of the fourth century it was clear to those who wanted to advance their careers that things had changed; probably this was the case even earlier. Now it was an advantage to be a

---

[318] Codex Theodosianus XVI,1-2. Quoted from https://earlychurchtexts.com/public/codex_theodosianus.htm [last accessed 17.04.2024].

[319] Cf. H. A. Drake, "The Church, Society and Political Power", in: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.), *Constantine to c. 600, The Cambridge History of Christianity* 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 421-425.

Christian, and so some let themselves be baptized who would not even have thought of doing so under other circumstances, with the result that the spiritual as well as the moral level of the church declined. The reaction to this was unavoidable."[320]

The organisational and representative structures also became more and more secularised. Wolf-Dieter Hauschild speaks of intra-church conflicts as a political problem.[321] Thus, at least in part, the power of church government was either left in the hands of the emperor or was even proactively taken by him. He was now supposed to preserve the unity of the church against the heretics with state legal institutions.

"Whereas previously the state had been indifferent to such things [meaning intra-church conflicts and schisms], now the Constantinian synthesis meant that ecclesiastical and theological conflicts acquired a public-political relevance: The emperor personally intervened, and this drastically marked the epochal change in the relationship between the two institutions."[322]

Under Theodosius, the development went even one step further: "Church politics became an essential part of domestic politics."[323] The Christian church in the Roman Empire had become an imperial church through its synthesis between church and empire.

This also became clear in the synodal system, as synods and councils became organs of imperial administration, and decisions were promulgated as imperial laws.[324] Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies commented, "The princeps claimed for himself, so to speak, the right to convene episcopal assemblies, to finance their organisation, to supervise their course and to ensure the enforcement of their decisions."[325]

At the same time, it is also important to highlight and record numerous positive changes that the recognition and growing influence of Christian-

---

[320] Kurt Aland, *A History of Christianity 1*, 182-183.
[321] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 1, 143.
[322] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 1, 143.
[323] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 1, 145.
[324] Cf. Mark Edwards, "Synods and Councils", in: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.), *Constantine to c. 600,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 369-371.
[325] Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussion zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 303.

ity brought about. This concerned above all the social sphere[326] as well as the sphere of marriage and family. Although the church largely recognised the orders of state marriage and family law, it introduced important Christian impulses into social thinking:

1. "Adultery should now also be punishable for the man. According to Roman law, the man could only be prosecuted if he committed the act with a married woman. Furthermore, the man should no longer have to divorce his adulterous wife but should attempt to save the marriage through reconciliation.
2. Marriages between slaves shall be fully valid. [...] Slave families may no longer be torn apart in the case of property divisions of the master.
3. When the children marry, it should no longer be the father alone who decides. The mother should also have a say and the child should have the right to reject an unpleasant husband (cf. Genesis 24:58).
4. The family remains hierarchical, but through love it becomes a relative hierarchy. Yet, the adultery of the man is more serious because he bears the first responsibility for the family.
5. Anyone who sells children for profit or entices them into prostitution or who abandons children is excommunicated by the church. State legislation follows later.
6. Adoption of a child is not only conceivable as a substitute for lost or lacking children of one's own. Adoption is an act of mercy on that child, indeed on Jesus himself. Mothers also receive a right of adoption.
7. Abortion of the foetus – except where the life of the mother is endangered – is prohibited.
8. The illegitimate child is also a creature of God. His situation improves [...].
9. The father of the house should actively instruct his family, including his household, in the faith and set an example for them.
10. The Church declares war against frivolous pleasures in bathhouses, theatres, etc."[327]

In his book on key turning points in church history, the American church historian Mark Noll provides a balanced summary of the developments that began with the toleration of Christianity under Constantine. He comments in the context of the Council of Nicaea:

---

[326] Cf. Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 386-388.
[327] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 139; cf. also: Ernst Dassmann, *Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche,* 43-44; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 388-390.

"With the conversion of Constantine, the reality of the church as a pilgrim community gradually gave way. Especially over the course of the fourth through the seventh centuries, [...] the actions of rulers in initiating, promoting, supporting, and (often) dictating to the church gradually accustomed leaders in both church and state to notions of establishment. When rulers publicly acknowledged the centrality of the church to all of life, it was difficult for the church not to respond by assuming that it had a vitally important role to play in this life, as well as for the life to come. Much good came to this adjustment, especially as the church's evangelistic mission benefited from the help of the rulers and when the church contributed its resources to the work of civilizing Europe's barbarian hordes. But the cost was also high. A world where an emperor could make the critical decision to resolve a great doctrinal crisis was a world in which the emperor's legitimate concerns for worldly order, success, wealth, and stability almost had to become concerns as well in the church.

In these terms, Nicaea was a turning point that set Christianity on a course that it has only begun to relinquish, and that only reluctantly, over the past two or three centuries. That course was the addition of concerns for worldly power to its birthright concern for the worship of God. The complexity of the Nicene situation makes it very difficult to pronounce snap judgements on this great turning point. At the invitation of the emperor, the church reaffirmed the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, which has proved to be an immensely significant foundation for virtually all Christian life and work, and worship in the centuries that followed. Yet because of the emperor's actions, the sphere of worldly concerns for which he stood gradually assumed greater and greater importance in the church. The distinction between church and world that Nicene Christology persevered was, in fact, compromised by the very events that led up to the declaration of Nicaea.

In this sense, Nicaea bequeathed a dual legacy – of sharpened fidelity to the great and saving truths of revelation, and also of increasing intermingling of church and world."[328]

4.3.1   The Church's Organisation

All Christian believers in a place formed the local congregation, which was initially led collegially. However, since the second century it had become common practice for the leadership of the individual congregation to be in the hands of a bishop.[329] The bishop was assisted by presbyters, deacons and teachers who were responsible for the instruction of the catechumens.

---

[328]   Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points*, 62-63.
[329]   Cf. on this and the following: Ernst Dassmann, *Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche*, 182-184; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 101-113.

The presbyters and the bishops formed the clergy. The ministries of women in the congregations have already been considered separately.

> "The assembly of the congregation reflected its order as it had developed in the early 3rd century: the clergy (presbyters and bishops) had their place on the east side of the assembly room, the laity opposite them, separated and ordered according to classes and supervised by the deacons. [...] The foundation and standard of this strict order was the unity of the ecclesia: the clergy was called from the congregation and appointed to serve it. The congregation (presumably only the male part, as in the ancient polls) was involved in this through the suffragium plebis/populi."[330]

Clergy were expected to conform to the elders' lists in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 3:2-13; Tit. 1:5-9). A generally recognised probation was considered a prerequisite for an appointment. In the course of further development, the criteria, the tasks and the duties of the clergy became more and more detailed. Thus, in the fourth century:

> "The clergy were to be an example to other believers in their daily lives. They were required to unite in themselves all the qualities demanded by the Gospel and to avoid all the temptations of worldly life. For this reason, the canons of the council forbade them, under threat of punishment, to take part in theatre performances, banquets or drinking parties and also forbade them to have any contact with persons who could give rise to public annoyance, as well as to receive foreign women in their house who were not related to them. Above all, however, the legislation dealt with questions of morality, with regard to both sexuality and economic activities."[331]

Subsequently, the local level was accompanied by a regional level. Joint meetings of local bishops began, from which the provincial synods were to develop and at which common concerns were discussed. The synods gained in importance above all in the defence against heresies. Karl Suso Frank noted: "This created an institution that impressively demonstrated the unity of the Church, based on the equal status of the bishops. [...] The synod passed its verdict unanimously; each bishop signed, indicating the congregation."[332] In addition, the synods increasingly played a role in the

---

[330]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 107.
[331]   Luce Piétri, "Das Hineinwachsen des Klerus in die antike Gesellschaft", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 641.
[332]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 112.

election of bishops. "For the appointment and consecration of a new bishop, despite the election and acclamation of a suitable candidate by the clergy and people of the community concerned, was not left to that bishop alone, but was accompanied by neighbouring bishops."[333] Later, the leading bishop of the provincial synod consecrated new bishops.

The further ecclesiastical structure largely corresponded to the political geography. "The imperial province became the ecclesiastical province, and the bishop of the provincial metropolis became the first bishop metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province."[334]

> "The natural predominance of the bishops of the larger cities was consolidated in metropolitan structures. They received a legal fixation at the Council of Nicaea in 325, where the ecclesiastical provinces were aligned with the state ones and the provincial synod and the metropolitan as bishop of the provincial capital were granted special rights and powers (canon 4-7). However, the ancient metropolises of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch had acquired a significance that went beyond this, even in the Church. By recognising this and granting Jerusalem a corresponding position of honour (canons 6-7), the council laid the foundation for a patriarchal structure above the metropolises."[335]

The local congregation was thus superordinate to a provincial synod; this in turn was superordinate to the diocesan assembly at the metropolitan level, which in turn was superordinate to the ecumenical (all-church) synodal assembly. With the founding of Constantinople as the new imperial capital in the year 330, there were four metropolises: Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria.

> "Throughout the Empire, the Church was centred on these four centres. Their bishops have been called patriarchs since the 5th/6th century; their ecclesiastical territories are the imperial patriarchates [...]. The patriarch is in each case the first bishop (chief bishop) of his territory. He is responsible for consecration, also for the dismissal of a bishop, for disputes and criminal cases and usually presides over synods of the patriarchate."[336]

This church structure was to remain valid until the dissolution of the imperial church by the invading Germanic tribes.

---

[333] Ernst Dassmann, *Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche*, 182.
[334] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 113, 326-329.
[335] Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Kirche des Ostens im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert*, 107.
[336] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 318.

4.3.2   Rome's Claim to Primacy

Already at the beginning of the fourth century, Rome had been granted a certain primacy "out of old habit".[337] However, we must recognise that "the attractiveness and prestige of this congregation were to be highly valued from the beginning [...], without this entailing a special position for the Roman bishop."[338]

The papal primacy of the Roman bishop developed from the fourth century onwards.[339] The Synod of Serdica (Sofia 342 or 343 AD) designated the Bishop of Rome with the right of revision for deposed bishops, without this giving him the right to a new judgement of his own.[340] Increasingly, the direct reference to Rome as the seat of Peter was also taken up, so that Karl Frank Suso coined the term "Petrinology".[341] Further development towards Rome's claim to primacy took place over a longer period of time and under several popes while this tendency certainly met quite some resistance from the clergy in both east and west. The discussion reached a temporary climax under Pope Leo the Great (Leo I, 440-461). Remarkably, here we see again the recourse to political power. Leo I was elevated to the papacy by an imperial decree. Following are portions of his sermon on his consecration day, 29 September 444:

> "(2) [...] Out of the whole world only Peter is chosen, who is also to be the head of all the called nations, of all the apostles, and of all the fathers of the Church; therefore, although there are many priests and shepherds among the people of God, yet in the proper sense Peter is the leader of all those over whom, as head, Christ also reigns. [...] Seeing, therefore, [...] by divine appointment, so powerful a protection standing by us, let us rejoice, as is reasonable and right, in the merits and dignity of our leader, giving thanks to the eternal King, our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, for conferring such authority on him whom he made head of the whole Church. Consequently, if anything is done and de-

---

[337]   Cf. Canon 6 of the Council of Nicaea, reprinted in Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 156.

[338]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 114.

[339]   Cf. on the development of Rome's primacy, Jean Guyon, "Die Kirche Roms vom Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts bis zu Sixtus III", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 895-908; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 320-328; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, "Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen", Erster Halbband: Die Kirche von Nikaia bis Chalkedon, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte II/1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, Herder, 1973, 254-278.

[340]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 321.

[341]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 324.

creed by us in a right way even today, it is due to the working and directing of Him to whom He [Christ] said (biblical evidence follows). This he [Peter] undoubtedly does even today, and as a faithful shepherd carries out the commission of his Lord, strengthening us by his exhortations and praying for us without ceasing that we may not fall a prey to temptation."[342]

Pope Leo I was the first pope "who developed the primacy of the Roman bishop into a system and grounded it biblically: in the Roman bishop Peter is present as the prince of the apostles, to whom Christ entrusts the highest office of judge (Matt 16:18f.), office of administration (Jn 21:15-19) and teaching office (Lk 22:31f.)."[343]

About thirty years later, Pope Gelasius (492-496) established the so-called two powers theory, according to which the episcopal power is above the imperial power in spiritual and dogmatic matters.[344]

4.3.3   The Inner Life of the Imperial Church

What about the inner life of the church? What effects did the increasing external freedom of faith have on the implementation of faith, the lived faith in everyday life?

4.3.3.1   Worship

With regard to church worship from the middle of the second century onwards, we know that the celebration of the Lord's supper was led by an overseer and that the reading of the Scriptures occupied a central place in the service.[345] By the third century at the latest, there was a clear and intensified formulation and formalising of Christian worship. This was followed by a "Eucharistisation"[346] of worship. "The idea of a 'sacrifice' is transferred to the Eucharist, and terms of ancient sacrificial thinking penetrate the language of Christian worship."[347]

---

[342] Quoted and translated from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 262-263.
[343] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 75.
[344] Cf. Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 325.
[345] The following section is taken in slightly abridged and revised form from my book: Frank Hinkelmann, *GOTTesdienst feiern: Geschichte, Theologie und Praxis des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, Theologisches Lehr- und Studienmaterial 35, Bonn: VKW, 2015, 55-59.
[346] The term was coined by Michael Meyer-Blanck, *Liturgie und Liturgik: Der evangelische Gottesdienst aus Quellen texten erklärt*, Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]2009, 101.
[347] William Nagel, *Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, Sammlung Göschen, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962, 29-30.

Over time, all of life and worship was understood as sacrifice. Participation in church and the observance of daily prayer times were emphasised, although the focus was increasingly on the Sunday celebration of the Eucharist. Liturgical structures also developed more and more, as expressed for example in the *Traditio Apostolica*[348] (Tradition of the Apostles).

The change in religious-political and social conditions in the fourth century brought further changes. From then on, religious services were held less and less often in private houses and were replaced by specifically built churches.[349] The reasons for this were partly pragmatic:

> "The sheer number of Christian believers in this period required an adjustment of existing structures to accommodate the large numbers. For example, around 250 AD there were around 30,000 church members in Rome. 'The larger the churches became, the more space they needed for their worship gatherings.'"[350]

The recognition of Christianity started a mass movement towards the church. This inevitably had an impact on the form and structure of worship life.[351] Separate church buildings had to be built to accommodate the growing number of Christians. The church became a cult building, the temple of God; the sanctuary was the centre of the church. Internally and externally, sermons were de-emphasised in favour of the cultic celebration in worship. There was more focus on a clear order for the liturgy, which borrowed elements from courtly ceremonies such as candles and incense.

From the third century onwards, the service was basically divided into a celebration of the Word and a celebration of the Eucharist. Hans Georg Thümmel offered a helpful overview of the structure and course of an average church service, even if we should not disregard existing regional differences:

> "The church building, whether in the form of a basilica or in the form of a central building [...], was characterised by a division into two parts on the

---

[348] Cf. on the Traditio Apostolica especially the explanations in Michael Meyer-Blanck, *Liturgie und Liturgik*, 88-107.

[349] Cf. on spaces of worship, Rainer Volp, *Liturgik: Die Kunst, Gott zu feiern 1: Einführung und Geschichte,* Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1992, 181ff.

[350] Bradley Blue, "Acts and the House Church", in: David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994, 127.

[351] Cf. on worship during this phase, Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 337-346; Adolf Koestlin, *Geschichte des Gottesdienstes*, 115-128.

inside. To the east was the presbytery with the altar, to the west was the congregation room. Both were separated by a barrier which, at least in the late fourth century, had an architrave on columns, between which curtains hung which at certain times withdrew the events at the altar from the view of the congregation. The seats of the bishop and the presbyters (priests) were usually located in the apse rounding. In the worshippers' area, the sexes were separated: the men at the front or in the south, the women at the back or in the north. The catechumens and the penitents, who were largely equal to them, had their seats at the back or outside. The service of the word was dominated by many readings and sermons. After the sermons of several presbyters, the bishop took the floor. [...] With prayer and blessing the catechumens were dismissed, then followed the service of the baptised, the core of which was the celebration of the Eucharist with high prayer, recapitulating the history of salvation and placing the faithful in the praise of the angels."[352]

We can summarise some developments of Christian worship up to the middle of the fifth century by using several keywords.[353]

Formalism

Over time, pre-formulated prayers replaced free prayer and the exercise of charisms became limited. Spirit-led spontaneity was less and less possible or desirable. Instead of congregational singing, the role of the precentors became more and more important.

Standardization and Traditionalism

Over time uniform orders for the conduct of services were formed, partly also as a response to and defence against heresies with their influence on the shaping of worship. Precisely because the Christian church wanted to repulse heresies, it felt compelled to introduce clear forms and structures.

Sacramentalism

Over time, a sacramental understanding emerged, with baptism forming the beginning of the Christian life and the Eucharist becoming the centre of worship of the Roman Church for the following centuries.

---

[352] Hans Georg Thümmel, *The Churches of the East in the 3rd and 4th Centuries*, 105.
[353] Here I partly draw on the synopsis by Alfred Kuen, *Der Gottesdienst in Bibel und Geschichte,* Bonn: VKW, 2003, 167-168.

Clericaliasm

Over time, the lay element of worship receded. Karl Heussi spoke of a "disenfranchisement"[354] of the laity. The place of the laity was taken by ordained clergy, who alone administered the sacraments and organised the services. The individual Christian was thus forced into the passive role of listener (recipient of the Eucharist and catechesis) and even singing was finally taken away from the congregation when church choirs began to be used.[355]

Anonymisation

Over time – predominantly due to the growth of the congregation – the worship service lost its personal, intimate and community-related character. It was replaced by structures such as those already described. For a long time, worship was no longer a private but a public event.

Influence of Monasticism

Over time, emerging monasticism exerted a formative influence on the Christian life and on worship. Thus, both daily prayer and the reading of the Bible were increasingly understood as a specific task of monks and were no longer an obligation for the individual Christian.

Recourse to the Old Testament

Over time, the Old Testament gained in importance. Although Christians had always emphasised the continuity between the old and new covenants, an increasing striving for conformity with the Old Testament can be observed during this phase, right down to the terminology used.

> "The worship of God in the church necessarily had to take over the function that the temple cult had fulfilled until now in order to satisfy man's need for 'cult', the worship of God in public form. A first sign of this was the adoption of terms of the cult language (sacrifice, priest), which no longer seemed to need its own justification."[356]

---

[354]   Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 80.
[355]   Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 109.
[356]   Angelus Häussling, "Gottesdienst: III Liturgiegeschichtlich", in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 4*, Freiburg: Herder, ³1995, 892.

4.3.3.2   Catechumenate and Baptism

"Even for those born into Christian families, adult baptism remained in practice for a long time. Frequently, baptism was postponed until the end of life."[357] One reason for this decision may have been that when being accepted into the group of catechumens, one was already publicly considered a Christian, but at the same time could still evade the moral probation associated with baptism and demanded by the church.[358] This situation was reflected, among other things, in the number of mere nominal Christians. This subsequently led to a change in the catechumenate order.

> "Before a candidate could begin the preparation for baptism, he first had to undergo a moral examination in this period (fourth and fifth century). If he had hitherto pursued an occupation connected with prostitution, the theatre, magic, fortune-telling or idolatry, his conversion to Christianity also required a professional reorientation. Moreover, he had to give up all pagan or Jewish practices, as well as any preferences he might have had for the theatre or the circus, and in his private life, marital fidelity was required."[359]

Those who fulfilled all moral requirements received an introductory catechesis, which introduced them to the basics of the Christian faith. This was followed by a rite of admission with the laying on of hands and the sign of the cross. The next step was to participate in direct preparation for baptism. The instruction consisted of an introduction to the Holy Scriptures, the communication of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. "Accompanying the baptismal instruction was repeated prayer, the laying on of hands and the sign of the cross, which were intended to strengthen the candidate on his way to baptism and to protect him from demonic influences."[360] As a rule, baptismal preparation lasted between one and three years. How did a baptism proceed?

> "Like the rites of the catechumenate, the dramatic design of the baptismal event betrays influence from the religious world of the mystery cults. Baptism itself was administered during a solemn liturgy on the night of Easter Sunday. After a final instruction, the bishop spoke an exorcism over the baptised and marked them with the cross. Afterwards, oils were consecrated.

---

[357]   Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengecshichte*, 108.
[358]   Cf. Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 108; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen,* 304.
[359]   Jean-Marie Salamito, "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens", 780.
[360]   Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen*, 304.

This was followed individually by the renunciation of Satan, significantly facing west, and the anointing with exorcism oil. After taking off their clothes, the baptised were led into the baptismal font and asked about their faith in God the Father, in Jesus Christ and in the Holy Spirit. In each case, the baptised person answered with I believe and was then immersed or poured over with water by the bishop. The act of baptism ended with an anointing of thanksgiving. After the baptised had moved from the baptismal room to the church, the bishop performed the consignation, the communication of the Spirit through the laying on of hands and anointing. The liturgy of baptism concluded with a baptismal Eucharist, for which not only bread and wine were offered by the neophytes, but also milk and honey as a sign of the Promised Land (Ex 3:8, 17; cf. 1 Pet 2:2f), as well as water in view of the purification that had taken place. In a follow-up, the baptised were introduced to the mysteries of the faith during the week. These mystagogical catecheses [...] were accompanied by a vivid custom, such as renouncing the bath or, since Constantine's time, wearing white clothes as an expression of a realistic understanding of the sacramental event."[361]

Often baptisms took place during the Easter vigil. Although adult baptism remained the rule for the time being, the first infant baptisms occurred, and they became more frequent as time went on. This also led to a reinterpretation of baptism, which was no longer understood as a demarcation from the outside world but rather as a source from which faith flows. This was the beginning of the doctrine of baptismal rebirth.

4.3.3.3 Prayers of the Hours

Alongside the celebration of the Eucharist, the liturgy of prayers of the hours[362] developed into an important practice of the Christian practice of faith. The origins of the liturgy of prayers of the hours lie in the Jewish practice of fixed prayer three times daily. "The initial freedom and diversity of this prayer eventually gave way to a fixed order for the times of prayer performed together."[363] In the fourth century, practice changed, and the liturgy of the hours became the responsibility of the clergy, although the congregation remained invited to participate. The liturgy of the hours also found its permanent place in emerging monasticism.

---

[361] Josef Lenzenweger, Peter Stockmeier, Karl Amon and Rudolf Zinnhobler (eds.), *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche*, 81-82.

[362] Hans Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche* 3, 306.

[363] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 344.

4.3.3.4   Penance

It may seem surprising that the church of the fourth and fifth centuries still adhered to the older strict penitential practice.[364] Public church penance was considered a one-time act and there was a catalogue of sins, so to speak, that made public church penance necessary. These included idolatry, false doctrine and schism, murder, abortion, adultery, grand theft, unforgiving hatred, slander, drunkenness and attending immoral theatre performances.[365]

> "The implementation was differentiated in the fourth century. Ecclesiastical penance was a public act for which the bishop was responsible [...]. It began with the opening of the transgression before the bishop, which was supposed to be spontaneous, but could be prompted by pressure from the congregation or by denunciation. This was followed, under certain circumstances only after a longer probationary period, by admission to the penitential state [...] for a specified penitential period; this meant partial exclusion from the congregation (excommunication). During this time, the penitents performed the subjective penances and experienced the prayerful participation of the congregation in the divine service."[366]

While in the eastern church the public practice of penance declined towards the end of the fourth century and replaced by confession,[367] it remained common practice in the western church for much longer.

4.3.3.5   Festive seasons and fasting

Sunday, Easter, and the commemoration days of the martyrs were at the centre of ecclesiastical festivities.[368] As already mentioned, in the year 321

---

[364]   Cf: Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 346; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen*, 309-310.

[365]   The list can be found in Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen*, 309.

[366]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 347.

[367]   Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 116 (§ 29fg).

[368]   Cf. especially Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 349-352; Jean-Marie Salamito, "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens", 690-694; Bryan D. Spinks, "The Growth of Liturgy and the Church Year", in: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.), *Constantine to c. 600,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 613-617; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen,* 312-317.

AD Emperor Constantine had declared Sunday as a day of rest, on which, for example, no court hearings were allowed to take place.

> "At the beginning of the week, Sunday, the 'Lord's Day', reminded believers of the resurrection of Christ and formed a fixed time of gathering of every Christian community within the entire ecumenism to hear the 'Word of God' from the scriptures and to celebrate the Eucharist. On Wednesdays and Fridays, regular fasting and prayer also took place in many regions."[369]

In some congregations, especially in the east, Saturday was also used for worship to prevent Christians from keeping the Sabbath.[370]

At the centre of the liturgical cycle, however, was the feast of Easter. Until the fourth century, it had been celebrated in many congregations on Saturday night. In time, the congregation also celebrated mass on Sunday morning and the days before Easter from Thursday on also gained importance. From the fourth century onwards, the forty-day Easter fast came into fashion. Gradually, the feast of Pentecost was also celebrated for 50 days after Easter, again gradually extended by a one-week fast after Pentecost. The feast of the birth of Jesus was first recorded in Rome in the year 354 A.D. This is where the origin of the church calendar lies. In addition, there were commemorative days for the saints and (especially in the east) for the apostles, and the first Marian festivals also appeared in the fifth century.[371]

4.3.3.6   The Martyr Cult, Veneration of Saints and Cult of Relics

The beginnings of the veneration of saints and the cult of relics lie at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century.[372] Communities in Asia Minor boasted of the possession of the tombs of John and Philip and

---

[369] Jean-Marie Salamito, "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens", 690.

[370] Jean-Marie Salamito, "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens", 690.

[371] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 352.

[372] Cf. on this topic, Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 75 (§ 18t), 110 (27s,v); Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 354-360; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen*, 334-341; Michelle-Yves Perrin, "Die neue Form der Missionierung: die Eroberung von Raum und Zeit", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 683-689; Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien: Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich: C. H. Beck, ²1997.

his daughters.[373] The veneration of saints and the cult of relics grew out of the cult of martyrs, which in turn was intertwined with the Greek cult of heroes and the Roman cult of ancestors.

> "Like other ancient people, Christians also held celebrations at the graves of their relatives on certain days of remembrance. They also called upon them, i.e. all the deceased, for their intercession before God. The martyrs, the athletes of Christ, then took on a special role. Their intercession before God was considered infallible because they had ascended directly to God. Like the ancient heroes, they became patron saints for individuals and cities, helpers in all kinds of hardships. And just like at the tombs of the heroes, miracles happened at their tombs. In this way, the grave of a martyr became a great treasure for the congregation in whose midst it was found. For each martyr, however, certain days of remembrance were characteristic by nature, on which his veneration reached its climax, such as the day of his death, the day of the transfer of his relics, etc. His veneration is thus connected with the day of his death. Thus, his veneration is associated with certain days."[374]

Due to the lack of further martyrs since the fourth century, the veneration of saints (monks and bishops) grew as a substitute.[375] Saints were understood as a link between the individual Christian and God, a task that had previously been assigned to the bishop. They were called upon to intercede for one before God.

> "In addition, there was the veneration of biblical persons, since the fourth century above all Mary [...]. She was venerated as the shining example of virginity and the 'Mother of God' [...]. People now believed more and more in her constant virginity, her complete sinlessness, her mediatorial position in salvation. The cult of Mary penetrated the official cult and theology especially since the time of Cyril of Alexandria [...]."[376]

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem also became fashionable as an expression of special piety.[377]

The cult of relics began as a private hobby of individual Christians. But the more it spread, the more the church endeavoured to take it out of the

---

[373] Cf. Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace (eds.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series 1, Eusebius: *Church History*, 162-163. The Church History of Eusebius III.31.
[374] Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, 134.
[375] Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 110 (27s).
[376] Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 110 (27s). Similarly: Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 356.
[377] Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 111 (27v): Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 356-357.

private sphere, so that as a result there was a deliberate seeking out of relics by the church, which did not even stop at the excavation of the dead. Every church was to have its own relic.

> "Because private piety demanded that the church buildings be supplied with relics, it became increasingly common to divide the holy corpse into pieces. The whole martyr was also believed to be present in a part of the bones, so that in this way his efficacy (praesentia, potentia) could be multiplied. [...] What came from the vicinity of the tomb (earth, oil from lamps and what had been brought into contact with the holy corpse (touch religion) was also considered a relic. The need was limitless."[378]

But what drove people to the relics? They were said to have divine powers because the people they came from had been Spirit-filled and godly. So people wore them as protection against demons and believed that they could work miracles. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt pointedly summarised the sphere of popular piety:

> "Supplications for expiation or blessing, especially to ward off harm, processions in honour of the gods, now God or the saints, pilgrimages to holy places, incense, holy water, lights in worship complete the list of things that enter Christian liturgy and custom from pagan cult, mainly from the fourth century onwards.
>   With all this, however, not only does the pagan language of form gain space in the Christian Church, but with all this, the pagan spirit also finds space in it. Just as the mass, in addition to praising God, also becomes a sacred act in favour of man, the veneration of the martyrs and saints also carries a very strong anthropocentric element, for here too the help that people expect from them comes very strongly to the fore. Incidentally, the same anthropocentric development is also characteristic of the concept of martyrdom, in which the gaze is also directed towards man's achievement instead of God's glorification."[379]

In the fifth century, the demand for a celibate life also received greater emphasis. Married clergy were expected to live a sexually abstinent life at least from ordination onwards. However, celibacy was not promulgated in western church law until the Middle Ages.

Thus, for the sphere of intra-church life and piety, it must be noted that until the fifth century, a trend towards discrepancy between the original Christian New Testament teaching on one hand and church life and prac-

---

[378]   Karl Frank Suso, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 355.
[379]   Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, 135-136.

tices on the other unfortunately continued to grow. Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig – two Roman Catholic scholars – concluded:

> "Like the missions of all times, those of the fourth and fifth centuries had to experience that a relatively short period of preparation for the reception of baptism was not sufficient to overcome deep-rooted pagan customs among new converts. Thus, pastors in all countries, east and west, were engaged in an ongoing struggle against various forms of pagan superstitiousness, which sometimes mixed almost inextricably with Christianity and seriously strained the purity of piety. One deplores above all the attraction of pagan magic practices, as practised by astrologers, fortune-tellers and faith healers, who were also visited again and again by Christians in spite of all the admonitions of preachers."[380]

4.4 Protest Movements

4.4.1 Donatists

The beginnings of the Donatist controversy and, by extension, the resulting schism date back to the time of the persecutions under Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century.[381] The conflict was triggered by the question of how to deal with clerics who had failed to stand firm during the persecution and, for example, had handed over Bibles to the authorities. The conflict was exacerbated by older African traditions that "tied the sacramental transmission of salvation to the personal holiness of the donor."[382] Armin Sierszyn sheds light on additional factors and background of this dispute:

> "Montanism, to which Tertullian converted at the time, had by no means disappeared in the second half of the third century. Landscape or ethnic contrasts also play a role, namely between Numidia (Algeria) and the prov-

---

[380] Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen,* 342.
[381] Cf. on the conflict, Charles Piétri, "Das Scheitern der kaiserlichen Reichseinheit in Afrika", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 242-271; Charles Piétri, "Die Schwierigkeiten des neuen Systems im Westen: Der Donatistenstreit (363-420)", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 507-524; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen*, 142-167; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 142-167; Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche,* 267-272.
[382] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 268.

ince of Africa proper (Tunisia). In Carthage, the house of a rich lady named Lucilla was the meeting place of the malcontents. Lucilla was not only very pious; she also skilfully displayed her piety. Before enjoying communion, she was in the habit of humbly kissing the bone relic of a martyr that she had taken with her."[383]

Kurt Aland adds with a dash of irony:

"Unfortunately, it was not one of an officially recognized martyr, and the archdeacon Caecilian was indiscreet enough to correct her. This was an insult she did not forget during her entire life, as can easily be the case with people who are especially pious – not just then, but throughout all the centuries up to today. When there is an appearance of special piety and special humility at the same time, we should – and here we are again at one of the methodological experiences we learn from our study of church history – become especially attentive. Here the question must be asked: Is this genuine piety and genuine humility which we find (no one will be more pleased to find this than the church historian), or does something completely different stand behind this piety and especially behind this humility, for example, pride which believes that it is infinitely better than the surrounding world which is not as pious and not as humble – something which must result in one's own condemnation."[384]

When in 312 a new bishop had to be elected to replace the moderate Bishop Mensurius, who had spoken out during the Diocletian persecutions against an occasionally too strong urge to martyrdom, Caecilian was, as expected, chosen as his successor and consecrated by four neighbouring bishops.

But here the Donatist controversy started. For Felix of Aptunga was among the four bishops who consecrated Caecilian. He was now accused by Caecilian's opponents of having handed over sacred writings to the persecutors during the persecution. Thus, he was considered a mortal sinner. Lucilla, with the support of Numidian bishops, now entered the scene.[385] Under the leadership of the Numidian bishop Donatus, a council of about 70 bishops convened and declared Caecilian's election invalid. The bishops did not accept Caecilian's offer to be re-consecrated by them, but elected a counter-bishop, Maiorinus, who happened to be the house chaplain of Lucilla. The fact that the pious lady "coincidentally" donated 400 folles, which is the equivalent of about € 100,000, should be mentioned in passing.

---

[383]　Armin Sieszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 128-129.
[384]　Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity* 1, 166.
[385]　Cf. Charles Piétri, "Das Scheitern der kaiserlichen Reichseinheit in Afrika", 245-247.

The result was a schism of the church of Africa into two camps. When Maiorinus died a short time later in summer 313, Donatus, the real opposition leader, became his successor. The following account has come down to us in the anti-Donatist acts compiled by Augustine:

> "It was read out by the Donatists [further] that a council of nearly 70 bishops was held against Caecilian in Carthage, where they condemned him in absentia for refusing to appear before them as allegedly ordained by traditors, and because it was claimed of him that during his diaconate he had prevented food from being brought to the martyrs held in custody. Some of Caecilian's fellow bishops were also named, of whom it was claimed in the public court records that they were traditors; however, the records were not read out. Among them, especially Felix of Aptungi [in the province of Africa Proconsularis] was accused so harshly that he was called the 'source of all evils'. Then each one [of the bishops assembled at the council] gave his verdict, first Secundus of Tigsi, who was their Primate, then the others; in it they pronounced that they were not [any longer] in communion with Caecilian and his fellow bishops. [...]
>
> Then Caecilian had it declared [before the Synod of Bishops]: 'If there is anything to be brought against me, let an accuser arise and bring it forward.' At that time, however, nothing could be imputed to him by so many opponents; on the contrary, his ordinator [Felix of Aptungi] gave him the character certificate that he was falsely called 'traditor' by these people. Further, Caecilian had it declared that if Felix had not validly ordained him, as many thought, these [doubters] should ordain him, Caecilian, as if he were still a deacon. Thereupon Purpurius, in his usual meanness, just as if Caecilian were his sister's son, said: 'He shall only present himself here, as if the hand were to be laid upon him for the ordination of a bishop, and he shall be soundly beaten on the head for penance!' When these things became known, the whole community restrained Caecilian so that he would not hand himself over to these bandits [...]. So the end was that altar was set up against altar, an ordination was solemnised in an illicit manner, and Maiorinus, who had been a lector during Caecilian's diaconate and belonged to Lucilla's household, was ordained bishop thanks to her bribes."[386]

Constantine was confronted with this conflict after entering Rome as the victorious emperor. Which was now the rightful church? To whom should he return the formerly confiscated property following the Edict of Milan? Finally, in September 313, Constantine summoned the disputing parties to a court of arbitration in Rome.[387] Both camps were allowed 10 participants,

---

[386] Quoted and translated from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 132.
[387] Charles Piétri, "Das Scheitern der kaiserlichen Reichseinheit in Afrika", 248-250.

plus 15 Italian bishops. The result was clear. The accusations against Felix and Caecilian proved to be unfounded; instead, it turned out that Donatus had ordained traditors (traitors) as bishops and performed rebaptisms. This had consequences for him, and he was condemned and excommunicated. To calm the situation in the North African church landscape, the proposal was introduced that in disputed cases the bishop who had been consecrated first was the legitimate one.

But when the arbitration court's verdict and its following results became known, a storm broke out in North Africa. Constantine continued to try to resolve the conflict by negotiation. On 1 August 314, he convened a council in Arles in southern France.[388] Travel and food were at the emperor's expense. Finally, eight African and 35 other bishops from all over the empire met, discussed, and reached the following decision "in the presence of the Holy Spirit and his angels"[389]:

1. The Donatists are condemned.
2. Episcopal ordinations are in principle valid, even if traditors (traitors) have assisted in the ordination.
3. Rebaptism of heretics is not permitted.

Bishop Silvester of Rome was also asked to communicate the Council's decisions throughout the church. Of course, the Donatists again did not bow to the Council's judgement. Kurt Aland noted:

> "He [Constantine] tried using new courts of justice in his naive opinion that the opposing side could be convinced by facts. He finally learned that this was only partially true for theologians (by the way, not just for theologians of the fourth century, but for theologians of every age), and that there was a degree of partial blindness in which one believed what one wanted to believe. He also learned that this blindness was not decreasing, but increasing in the course of time."[390]

When further unrest broke out in North Africa, Constantine felt compelled to intervene militarily in the year 317 AD. The fights dragged on for four years. Churches and other Donatist property were confiscated, and their bishops were sent into exile. But instead of finally giving in, the Donatists' resistance intensified and the (justified) question was raised: "What has the Emperor to do with the church?"

---

[388]   Charles Piétri, "Das Scheitern der kaiserlichen Reichseinheit in Afrika", 250-252.
[389]   Quoted from Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 130.
[390]   Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity* 1, 168.

"Parts of the Donatists [...] organised themselves into armed resistance under a bishop. They called themselves 'milites Christi' and fanatically sought martyrdom in bloody combat with the enemies of the faith, pagans and Catholics. Individuals offered themselves as bloody sacrifices to the pagans for their cultic festivals or threw themselves over rock faces, etc. These marginal phenomena were an expression of the pathological overall situation. Social revolutionary conditions of a people impoverished under Roman landlords were connected with the questions of faith. For political reasons, too, people did not want to belong to the Catholic Church, which was in league with the emperor."[391]

As already mentioned, Donatism remained strong for the time being. Donatus was the de facto head of the African church, and under his successor, Parmenian, the Donatist church flourished. Not until more than 100 years later, in the age of Augustine, did the antagonisms fade. The advance of Islam finally pushed the African church into insignificance.[392] Theologically, the Donatists had inherited the convictions of Hippolytus and others: a church pure of mortal sinners, though here reduced only to the clergy. But does the effect of a sacrament really depend on the spiritual state of the person spending it?

4.4.2   Priscillians

The Priscillian movement goes back to the Spaniard Priscillian, who founded this ascetic-rigorist movement in the late fourth century.

"The movement that Priscillian set in motion, like other movements in the same period [...] showed in its initial phase the attitude of protest of a spiritual elite (which is often also a social elite) towards a church that, in favour of its established position, strove to merge with the society of the Empire and welcomed the influx of hasty and only superficial converts."[393]

---

[391] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 130-131.

[392] In this regard, Bernd Brandl noted, "A divided and self-divided Christendom is ill-suited to a challenge like Islam." Bernd Brandl, *Wenn Kirchen sterben: Ein erschütternder und vergessener Teil der Kirchen- und Islamgeschichte Afrikas und Asiens*, Nuremberg and Bonn: VTR and VKW, 2012, 26.

[393] Charles Piétri, "Die Erfolge: Unterdrückung des Heidentums und der Sieg des Staatskirchentums", 479.

An exact reconstruction of his teaching is difficult due to missing sources.[394] Karl Suso Frank sees Gnostic influences above all in the Priscillians' ascetic rejection of this satanic world.[395] Peter H. Uhlmann classifies the movement as a biblically based renewal movement.[396] Although Priscillian referred to the Bible, the Apocrypha also strongly influenced his theology. He was a layman and not a priest, yet he was consecrated as Bishop of Avilon in 381 AD and succeeded in gathering a large group around him. Especially in Spain, the movement was widespread. However, his (episcopal) opponents managed to win the favour of Emperor Maximus, who finally executed him in Trier (Germany) in 386, along with six of his followers. He did this despite vehement internal protest from the bishops Martin of Tours and Ambrose of Milan. "It is the first time that Christians have been executed by judicial murder at the instigation of bishops by a 'Christian government.'"[397] However, later his main opponents, Bishop Idacius of Merida and Bishop Ithacius of Ossonoba, also lost their episcopal sees.

Karl Suso Frank summarises:

"Priscillianism did not disappear with this. Its enthusiasm for ascetic Christianity encouraged the orthodox ascetic-monastic movement in Spain and Gaul. The Priscillians themselves benefitted from the widespread unease at the execution of their teacher, whom they now celebrated as a martyr. They were able to maintain themselves in Spain and gain new followers."[398]

The movement survived in Spain until the sixth century.

4.5   Theological Disputes and Councils

The theological thinking of the fourth and fifth centuries is marked above all by a series of fiercely fought theological battles, which we will touch upon only briefly here, since they belong primarily to the field of history of doctrine.

---

[394] See especially Charles Piétri, "Die Erfolge: Unterdrückung des Heidentums und der Sieg des Staatskirchentums", 479-484.
[395] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 264.
[396] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 247-248.
[397] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 248.
[398] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 265.

4.5.1 The Trinitarian Controversy

The Trinitarian controversy at the beginning of the fourth century was triggered by a man called Arius (c. 265-336).[399] We know little about his background; he probably came from Libya but made his decisive spiritual imprint in Alexandria. He was probably located there already during the persecution under Emperor Diocletian in 303 and was ordained as deacon there by Bishop Peter and later as presbyter by Bishop Alexander.

The so-called Arian controversy, which he started and which was named after him, was about the question of how the belief in a God could be reconciled with the belief in the divinity of Jesus. The dispute began around the year 318 AD, initially as an internal conflict in Alexandria, in which human jealousies may also have played a role.[400] We must also be aware that there had already been discussions in Alexandria about the understanding of the Trinity, which we cannot go into more detail here. Charles Piétri speaks in this context of a "tense atmosphere in the Egyptian and Alexandrian churches."[401]

Arius emphasised the uniqueness of God and therefore saw Jesus as a creature, albeit the firstfruit of creation.

> "Perhaps precisely because Arius wanted to specify the Father-Son relationship with the help of contemporary philosophical theology, he radicalised the subordination of Jesus Christ. [...] Probably the Christology of this Alexandrian presbyter should be much more generally associated with the usually two-tiered doctrine of God of Middle Platonism, which subordinates the second God. In this, Arius joined the tradition of a certain form of Alexandrian theology which, from Clement and Origen on-

---

[399] Cf. on Arius, A. M. Ritter, "Arius", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, Stuttgart. Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 215-223; Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 144-170; Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 271-344.

[400] A. M. Ritter, "Arius", 217.

[401] Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", 289.

wards, attempted to elucidate biblical revelation by the linguistic and intellectual means of Platonic philosophy."[402]

But Athanasius, deacon to Bishop Alexander, saw redemption as called into question by this view. For if Jesus really redeemed the world from its sins, then he cannot be a creature, for creation cannot be saved by a creature, even the best creature. Jesus is God and consubstantial with the Father, Athanasius said in contradiction to Arius, with reference to John 1. The dispute escalated when Bishop Alexander convened an Alexandrian synod in 319 and as a result Arius was expelled from Alexandria as a false teacher. However, since his followers did not remain idle either and gathered support, the eastern church increasingly split into two camps. Eusebius of Caesarea was probably the first to provide exile to Arius, while we know that also Eusebius of Nicomedia supported Arius.

In the meantime, the dispute had spread to the entire eastern part of the Roman Empire,[403] so that in 324 AD Emperor Constantine was forced to intervene in the conflict by writing a letter to Bishop Alexander and Arius:

> "But what a mortal wound first struck my ear, or rather my heart, when it was reported to me that a still worse schism was in the making among you than was left there [in Africa] [...] Therefore, being compelled to address this letter to you, I appeal to your public spirit and, invoking divine providence, place myself, as it were, as a bringer of peace in the midst of the strife which you are fighting out among yourselves."[404]

But as in the Donatist controversy, Constantine had realised that his attempt at mediation was a futile labour of love. As a result, he convened a general council in Nicaea, which would meet in June 325.[405] All the bishops of the empire were invited, of whom between 200 and 300 participated, mainly from the eastern part of the church. The emperor paid the expenses of the journey. As the local church building was too small, Constantine opened the synod in his residence. Although the majority agreed with

---

[402] Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", 293-294.

[403] Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 163.

[404] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Frühe Kirche*, 150.

[405] On the Council of Nicaea, cf. Klaus Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien – Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*, Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1997, 27-44; Karl Stürmer, *Konzilien und ökumenische Kirchenversammlungen: Abriß ihrer Geschichte*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962, 25-31.

the arguments of Athanasius[406] – the opponent of Arius – the question remained as to with which formulation to oppose the Arian teachings. In the end, it was possibly the emperor himself who found the compromise formula: *consubstantial.*[407] The Council agreed to the compromise with a lot of bellyaching, because the formula at the same time raised the question of whether the difference between God the Father and Jesus would not fall by the wayside in the formula.

The Nicene Confession, adopted on 19 June 325, reads in its first section, which is important for our topic:

> "We believe in one God, the Father, the Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all that is, seen and unseen. We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one Being with the Father; through him all things were made."[408]

The "insistent repetitions alone also show that the text was repeatedly expanded by additions."[409] Arius and several others, however, refused to sign and so he was subsequently banished from Egypt. How should we view this decision of the Council?

> "It is fortunate that the decision was taken in this way. The Niceneum became a bulwark against any Arian and rationalist demigod religion. If the Council had accepted Arius and condemned Athanasius, the Sonship of Jesus would have been watered down. The Christian faith would then roughly correspond to the Mohammedan faith: There is only one God, and Jesus is his prophet."[410]

The conflict with the Arians did not end here, and an Arian opposition was formed. Eventually Athanasius, by then a bishop and the main opponent

---

[406] On the course of the discussions at the Council, cf. Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", 309-317.

[407] Cf. Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", 310.

[408] Quoted from https://www.churchofengland.org/our-faith/what-we-believe/apostles-creed [last accessed 17.04.2024].

[409] Charles Piétri and Christoph Markschies, "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337", 311.

[410] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte* 190.

of Arius, was also deposed as bishop at the Council of Tyre in 335 and later sent into exile by Constantine, but was allowed to return in 337, where he received a enthusiastic welcome from the population in his city. Constantine's sons again favoured the Arians and issued a general amnesty, so the conflict dragged on. But even though Arianism was overcome in the course of time, large sections in particular, such as the Germanic tribes, remained Arian until the European Middle Ages.[411]

4.5.2   The Christological Controversy

The multi-layered Christological disputes of the early church were primarily about the determination of the relationship between the divine and the human nature of the person of Jesus.[412] The starting point of these disputes was a conflict between the theological centres of Alexandria and Antioch in the east.[413]

In Antiochian theology, the emphasis was on the historical as well as on the human aspect of the nature of Jesus. The earthly Jesus was thereby emphasised as a model. Even if Jesus had risen from the dead and returned to God, he still lived as a human being on earth. The Alexandrian school, on the other hand, grew out of a completely different background. Philosophical elements flowed into its theological system and Jesus as the Logos was emphasised. His divinity and his act of redemption were at the centre.

Apart from reasons of power politics, the conflict was mainly ignited by statements from Bishop Apollinaris of Laodicea that if Jesus had really been divine in nature, he could not have been fully human at the same time.[414] There was a soteriological concern behind this, but Apollinaris radically reduced Jesus' humanity. Several synods subsequently condemned this teaching as heresy.

---

[411]   For further developments, cf. especially Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 248-255.

[412]   Cf. especially Karlmann Beyschlag, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte 2: Gott und Mensch*, vol. 1: *Das christologische Dogma,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991; Christiane Fraisse-Coué, "Die theologische Diskussion zur Zeit Theodosius II: Nestorius", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996, 570-626; Christiane Fraisse-Coué, "Von Ephesus nach Chalcedon. Der 'trügerische Friede' (433-451)", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 3, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001, 3-89; Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 222-283.

[413]   Cf: Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 236-245.

[414]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 272-274.

When Nestorius,[415] an Antiochian theologian, became Bishop of Constantinople in the year 428, the next conflict arose.[416] There was a heated discussion in his congregation about the question of whether Mary should be called the "God-bearer" or the "Christ-bearer". Nestorius took a stand on this and, in accordance with his theological school, naturally answered the question with "Christ-bearer". The pugnacious Alexandrian bishop Cyril interfered in the discussion and referred to Mary as "God-bearer" in an Easter letter.[417] Rome was called in to mediate and, having been informed of the conflict only unilaterally, initially sided with Cyril and the Alexandrians, but the conflict continued.

Therefore, Emperor Theodosius convened a council in Ephesus in 431 to clarify the dispute.[418] Cyril, who appeared like a "Christian Pharaoh",[419] was the first to arrive and opened the council with the bishops present (about 150) on 22 June 431, although the bishops of the diocese of Antioch had not even arrived yet. When they arrived on 26 June, they first held their own meeting together with the imperial commissioner. "The confused situation became even more confused when on 9 July the Roman legates appeared and immediately joined Cyril."[420] As a result, Cyril was able to win a majority for his position and Nestorius was condemned as a heretic. However, the conflict ultimately remained unresolved, even though the emperor forced both parties to reach a compromise formula in 433.[421]

"Nestorius, who had triggered the controversy, was exiled after 433 from Antioch, where he had retreated, and finally died at his last place of exile in Upper Egypt, in 451 at the earliest. In his tragic fate, he was a victim of the church's political power struggles. His theology was probably orthodox in its intent, but conceptually unable to respond adequately to Alexandrian Christology. He was quite able to agree with the controversial Theotokos with certain safeguards, and towards the end of his life he also saw his the-

---

[415] On the life and work of Nestorius, see G. Podskalsky, "Nestorius", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche II*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 215-225.

[416] Cf. Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 278-279; Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 245-253.

[417] Cf. Christiane Fraisse-Coue, "Die theologische Diskussion zur Zeit Theodosius II: Nestorius", 580-583.

[418] Cf: Karl Stürmer, *Konzilien und ökumenische Kirchenversammlungen*, 39-46; Klaus Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien – Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*, 51-55.

[419] Thus the formulation in Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 279.

[420] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 279.

[421] Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 136 (§ 34k).

ology in agreement with the two-nature doctrine of Flavian of Constantinople and Leo of Rome."[422]

Twenty years later, Cyril's successor Dioscurus re-opened the controversy. When an Alexandrian theologian, Eutyches, was excommunicated for teaching that the body of Jesus only looked like a human body but was in fact completely divine, he demanded that the emperor convene a synod in Ephesus, which has gone down in history as the Robber Synod/Council of Ephesus.[423] What happened there?

> "Dioscurus, however, abused the synod convened by the emperor […] by terrorising the council through the violence of clusters of monks brought with him. Dioscurus had the doors of the church opened. Soldiers, noisy monks and a shouting crowd poured into the church. In the midst of this tumult, the intimidated bishops signed what Dioscurus demanded of them. Eutyches was rehabilitated, but Bishop Flavian of Constantinople and the Antiochians […] and others were condemned as false teachers. Rome's voice remained unheeded."[424]

Pope Leo aptly commented on this "grim event": "Captive hands gave themselves for ungodly signatures."[425]

But the superficial victory of the Alexandrians was not long-lasting and divisions among the churches continued. When Emperor Theodosius II died in 450, Pope Leo was able to win his successor Empress Pulcheria as a supporter.[426] She first convened a council in Nicaea in 451,[427] but it was moved to Chalcedon shortly afterwards.[428] Pope Leo would have a decisive influence on further developments.[429] Dioscurus was deposed

---

[422]   Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 280. Similar judgement in G. Podskalsky, "Nestorius", 222-224.

[423]   Cf: Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 282-283; Christiane Fraisse-Coué, "Von Ephesus nach Chalcedon. Der 'trügerische Friede' (433-451)", 53-70; Klaus Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien – Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*, 56-58.

[424]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 197.

[425]   Quoted from: Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 283.

[426]   Cf. Christiane Fraisse-Coué, "Von Ephesus nach Chalcedon. Der 'trügerische Friede' (433-451)", 76.

[427]   Cf. Pierre Maraval, "Das Konzil von Chalkedon", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 3, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001, 90-92.

[428]   Cf: Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 261-270.

[429]   Cf. on the course of the Council, Pierre Maraval, "Das Konzil von Chalkedon", 92-107; Karl Stürmer, *Konzilien und ökumenische Kirchenversammlungen*, 46-53; Klaus Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien – Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*, 58-70.

against the majority of the Cyrillic bishops. "Under pressure from the imperial envoys, who wanted the potential for conflict between Leo's and Cyril's different formulations defused, the Fathers of Chalcedon finally worked out their own formula, which was solemnly proclaimed on 25 October."[430] The formula adopted there, which at least superficially ended the dispute, read:[431]

> "Therefore, following the holy fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and subsistence, not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the fathers has been handed down to us."[432]

Mark Noll, in his summary of the outcome of Chalcedon, points to a noteworthy aspect – the contextualisation of the gospel into Hellenistic culture that took place here:

> "For the history of Christian doctrine, Chalcedon was thus vitally important in two ways. It represented a wise, careful, and balanced restatement of scriptural revelation. And it also represented successfully the translation of biblical revelation into another conceptual language. Chalcedon was not Pentecost, but because its work faithfully synthesized scriptural history, the Hellenistic world could now hear 'the wonders of God' in its own tongue. Because the work of Chalcedon faithfully translated scriptural teaching, the Hellenistic world could now express the

---

[430] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 284.
[431] Cf. also Thomas Böhm, "Die Definition des Glaubens", in: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.), *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 3, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001, 103-107.
[432] Quoted from Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947, 73.

wonders of God in it own conceptual language. Both synthesis and translation would need to happen again and again and again."[433]

For the further course of the Christological discussion, please refer to the literature.[434] I will conclude by quoting the summary from Peter Uhlmann, which sheds light on the controversy in the recent past:

"Since the 1970s, the 'miaphysistic' churches have been in dialogue with each other as well as with the churches of the West and the Greek Orthodox. It turned out that the word 'monophysitism' (mono: one; physis: nature) used until then in connection with Eutyches and the Oriental churches is misleading. These churches never taught that Christ had only one, i.e. only the divine nature. More appropriate, therefore, is the term Miaphysites or non-Chalcedonians. The Miaphysites teach that in Christ the divine and the human form one nature, united 'without mixture, without separation, without confusion and without change'. The Greek root mios means a complex unity and not a singular, as in the expression monophysite.

The ecclesiastical dignitaries denied that they were teaching monophysitism, i.e. that they were rejecting the humanity of Christ. Theologians of the Chalcedonian confession (including Catholics and Greek Orthodox) and Miaphysites have come to realise that different meanings of the word 'nature' had contributed significantly to the Christological controversy and that in many ways both sides wanted to express a basically very similar Christology with different words.

During the visit by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Amba Shenouda III, to Pope Paul VI in Rome in 1973, both church representatives confessed that in Christ 'divinity and humanity are present in real, perfect union, without mixture'. The previous difference in faith proved to be a misunderstanding. The different formulations would express it in the same way."[435]

4.6   The Post-Nicene Fathers

From the middle of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century, the Christian church had a number of outstanding preachers and theologians, called the Post-Nicene Church Fathers, of whom a few will be singled out and briefly introduced here.

---

[433]   Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points,* 80.
[434]   Adolf Martin Ritter, "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche", 270-283; Klaus Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien – Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*, 65-70.
[435]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 287-288.

4.6.1   Eusebius of Caesarea

Eusebius of Caesarea[436] was more than a church historian. His childhood and youth are obscure; he was probably born in Palestine around the year 260. He lived in Caesarea as a student of Pamphilus, who was in charge of Origen's library there and died as a martyr during the Diocletian persecution around 309/310. Eusebius himself left Caesarea during the persecution and went to Egypt. Later, he returned to Caesarea and was consecrated as bishop there around 313. He served there until his death in 339/340.

Eusebius' importance lies in his literary work as an apologist and historian. In this role, Eusebius remained a disciple of Origen and dependent on him, but also expressed his own voice. As an apologist, the "proof of the rationality of the Christian faith" played a central role for him.[437] Here, one difference from his apologetic predecessors is striking:

> "He no longer addressed a particular governor or emperor [...], nor did he argue with a philosopher or heresiarch [...]; he was, as it were, on a higher vantage point from which he could survey the overall situation. He was not concerned with individual disputes, but with the final reckoning with the enemies of the church. In doing so, Eusebius played all his trump cards to leave the opponent no way out and used a filler of familiar arguments which, through massing, acquire an unusual forcefulness and persuasiveness and were at most diminished by the somewhat broad presentation."[438]

Among his apologetic writings falls the double work of evangelical preparation as well as evangelical proof. "In the first work he shows why divine revelation is not to be found in Gentile philosophy, but in the Hebrews. In the second work he sets forth why Christians have become Gentile Christians, not Jews."[439] In addition to a commentary on the Psalms and a four-volume work on biblical geography, his comprehensive history of the church remains an important source on the history of the early church today.

From a theological point of view, we must recall that Eusebius sided with Arius in the discussions on the doctrine of the Trinity.

---

[436] Cf. on Eusebius, Gerhard Ruhbach, "Euseb von Caesarea", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 224-235.

[437] Gerhard Ruhbach, "Euseb von Caesarea", 229.

[438] Gerhard Ruhbach, "Euseb von Caesarea", 229-230.

[439] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 261.

4.6.2   Hilary of Poitiers

Hilary was probably born around 310 in Pictavium in Gaul (today's Poitiers, France), to wealthy but pagan parents.[440] He was the first bishop of Poitiers after the year 350. His study of the Bible led him to conversion:

> "The books of Moses taught him to recognise this God; the thought of death, the passing away of body and soul, became all the more unbearable to him. Then John's Gospel offered the liberating word. The Son of God himself became flesh, so that we human beings might become God's sons through faith in him and live with him with God beyond death. This new hope made earthly life seem like a training school for eternal life."[441]

In particular, his involvement in the fight against Arianism in Gaul that made him famous. Subsequently, however, Emperor Constantius banished him to Asia Minor around 355. There he not only wrote a commentary on the Psalms, but also his twelve-volume magnum opus on the Trinity, and he participated in further Trinitarian discussions from his exile. At the beginning of the year 360, Hilary was able to return to Gaul and worked there as a bishop until his death in 367.

4.6.3   Jerome

Jerome was born sometime between the years 340 and 350 in Dalmatia (which encompassed the northern part of present-day Albania, much of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo and Serbia, thus covering an area significantly larger than the current Croatian region of Dalmatia) to wealthy Christian parents.[442] When he was eleven or twelve, his parents sent him to Rome with a friend for further schooling, and he enjoyed an education that was customary for the time. He was baptised at age 19 and subsequently stayed for a time in Gaul and Aquileia in northern Italy, where he joined a group of ascetic-oriented clerics. Jerome's life remained unstable. At times he stayed in Antioch in Syria; he learned Hebrew from a Jewish Christian during a period when he lived as a hermit in the

---

[440]   Cf. on Hilarius, P. Smulders, "Hilarius von Poitiers", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 250-265.

[441]   P. Smulders, "Hilarius of Poitiers", 250.

[442]   Cf. on Jerome, G. J. M. Bartelink, "Hieronymus", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 145-177.

desert, was ordained priest in Antioch, and stayed in Constantinople from 379 to 382 before moving on to Rome. In 386, he settled in Bethlehem for the remaining 34 years of his life, building a monastery for men.

Jerome's most important work is his translation of the Bible into Latin. When translating the Old Testament, he did not use the Septuagint, as was generally the case, but Hebrew editions. Not until the eighth or ninth century would the so-called Vulgate be recognised by the Roman Catholic Church.

In addition, Jerome initiated the first Origenist controversy by translating the works of Origen. *In* the process, he became more and more involved in various theological battles. Peter Uhlmann stated of Jerome:

> "He is an ancient scholar who has ascetic ideals in mind, but which he is not able to live out. Jerome is always preoccupied with himself, he knows no inner silence and makes enemies everywhere, whom he then pursues with fierce indignation and personal hatred He is easily irritated, sensitive and in need of praise. He delivers almost nothing but polemics."[443]

4.6.4 Ambrose of Milan

Ambrose was born either around the year 334/335 or around 339/340 to noble, wealthy parents in Trier (Germany).[444] The family had long been Christian, and the father was commander-in-chief of the Praetorians over the province of Gaul. Initially he worked as a government official in Sirmium near Belgrade (Serbia) and then became *consularis* of the provinces of Liguria and Aemilia, based in Milan. When he sought to mediate between Orthodox and Arians in filling the open bishop's seat, the two parties unexpectedly agreed on him as their candidate. After initial hesitation, Ambrose finally accepted the appointment and was consecrated bishop at the end of the year 374. Peter Uhlmann aptly summarises his importance:

> "Ambrose gained the greatest importance as a church politician. He knew how to successfully assert the Church's independence and prestige vis-à-vis the state and to favour orthodox Christianity. The fact that Emperor Gratian (375-383) abolished state support for the Roman pagan cult is probably due to Ambrose's influence. He cultivated close relations with Emperor Theodo-

---

[443] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 263. Uhlmann cites Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, *Lateinische Kirchenväter,* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, ²1965, 147. Similar assessment in G. J. M. Bartelink, "Hieronymus", 158-159.

[444] Cf. on Ambrose, Claudio Moreschini, "Ambrosius von Mailand", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 101-124.

sius, who elevated the Orthodox Church to the status of state religion. When the emperor unjustifiably tried to intimidate the population of Thessalonia by a terrible massacre, Ambrose imposed penitential demands on him, to which the emperor humbly submitted. The letter the bishop wrote to the emperor is determined by courage, prudence, and leniency."[445]

Augustine was converted under Ambrose's preaching, and his achievements also included his opposition to Arianism. His understanding of Scripture was characterised by frequent allegorical interpretation. Ambrose is also regarded as the father of the Western hymn. From a Protestant point of view, his contribution to the further development of Mariology is critical, since Ambrose advocated the sinlessness of Mary at her birth. Ambrose died on 4 April 397.

4.6.5   Augustine

Few other figures approach Augustine in importance in the history of Christian doctrine. Who was this man? What theological positions did he hold? What theological impact did his teaching have?[446]

4.6.5.1   The autobiographical Confessions

In his *Confessions*, Augustine described the first 35 years of his life in a kind of dialogue with God, a prayer of thanksgiving. However, he did not write the work until 14 years after his conversion, and his perspective is that of an ascetic monk, so that at times he describes his youth in a very negative light.

On 13 November 354, Augustine was born in Thagaste (today's Souk Ahras, Algeria), near the Tunisian border.[447] His father was pagan and served as a city councillor, but his mother was a committed Christian who sent her son to catechumen classes. After his school years, Augustine studied rhetoric, philosophy and law, because he envisioned good career op-

---

[445]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 264.

[446]   On the life and work of Augustine, see Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.), *Augustinus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007; Peter Brown, *Augustinus von Hippo*, Frankfurt am Main: Societäts-Verlag, ²1982; Cornelius Mayer, "Aurelius Augustinus", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984, 179-214.

[447]   On Augustine's biography, cf: Jochen Rexer and Volker Henning Drecoll, "Vita: wichtigtse lebensgeschichtliche Daten", in: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.), *Augustinus Handbuch*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 36-49.

portunities as a rhetor. When his father ran out of money, the son had to abandon his studies.

A child grew out of a relationship with a young woman in Cartharge (close to today's Tunis, Tunisia). He remained faithful to his concubine, whom he had met in church, but he could not marry her for reasons of status. His son Adeodatus, however, died at the age of 16.

As for Augustine's spiritual career, Armin Sierszyn listed various steps in this process:[448]

1. At the beginning there was an average churchiness (up to 373).
2. In 373, he "converted" to wisdom at school while reading Cicero.
3. Augustine read the Scriptures, but he resisted their simplicity.
4. In 375, he joined Manichaeism, a group that wanted to purify Christianity philosophically.
5. In 384, during a stay in Rome, he fell into scepticism and doubt. He did not completely renounce his faith, but he no longer went to church.
6. Healing from an illness and the genuine spiritual care he received from his mother led Augustine to a new trust in Holy Scriptures and to a recognition of sin.
7. In 384, he accepted an appointment as professor of rhetoric in Milan.
8. Augustine began to read Paul's letters from a Neoplatonic understanding. Thus he understood "flesh" as "sexual desire" and thought asceticism was the spiritual answer to overcome it.
9. Under the preaching of Ambrose, he experienced a conversion.

Let's listen to his own report:

"28 But when a profound reflection had, from the secret depths of my soul, drawn together and heaped up all my misery before the sight of my heart, there arose a mighty storm, accompanied by as mighty a shower of tears. Which, that I might pour forth fully, with its natural expressions, I stole away from Alypius; for it suggested itself to me that solitude was fitter for the business of weeping. So I retired to such a distance that even his presence could not be oppressive to me. Thus was it with me at that time, and he perceived it; for something, I believe, I had spoken, wherein the sound of my voice appeared choked with weeping, and in that state had I risen up. He then remained where we had been sitting, most completely astonished. I flung myself down, how, I know not, under a certain fig-tree, giving free course to my tears, and the streams of my eyes gushed out, an acceptable sacrifice unto You (1 Peter 2:5). And, not indeed in these words, yet to this effect, spoke I much unto You – But You, O Lord, how long? How long, Lord?

---

[448] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 174-176.

Will You be angry for ever? Oh, remember not against us former iniquities; for I felt that I was enthralled by them. I sent up these sorrowful cries – How long, how long? Tomorrow, and tomorrow? Why not now? Why is there not this hour an end to my uncleanness?

29. I was saying these things and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo, I heard the voice as of a boy or girl, I know not which, coming from a neighbouring house, chanting, and oft repeating, Take up and read; take up and read. Immediately my countenance was changed, and I began most earnestly to consider whether it was usual for children in any kind of game to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, restraining the torrent of my tears, I rose up, interpreting it no other way than as a command to me from Heaven to open the book, and to read the first chapter I should light upon. For I had heard of Antony, that, accidentally coming in while the gospel was being read, he received the admonition as if what was read were addressed to him, Go and sell that you have, and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me. (Matthew 19:21). And by such oracle was he immediately converted unto You. So quickly I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I put down the volume of the apostles, when I rose thence. I grasped, opened, and in silence read that paragraph on which my eyes first fell – Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof (Romans 13:13-14). No further would I read, nor did I need; for instantly, as the sentence ended – by a light, as it were, of security infused into my heart – all the gloom of doubt vanished away."[449]

During the Easter vigil in the year 387, Augustine was baptised by Ambrose together with his son. From then on, he renounced marriage and profession and put himself entirely at God's service. After a one-year stay in Rome, he returned to North Africa in 388 and transformed his parental estate into a monastery-like complex. In 391, he moved to the port city of Hippo, a stronghold of the Donatists, and he was consecrated bishop there in the year 395. Now let us turn to Augustine's theological contributions.

4.6.5.2 *Augustine's Doctrine of Sin and Grace (vs. Pelagianism)*

Pelagius (c. 350/354 – after 418) came from Ireland or Britain, had moved to Rome around the year 380 and was baptised there. "The educated ascetic

---

[449]   *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, VIII.8.28-29, Quoted from https://www.newadvent. org/fathers/110108.htm [last accessed 17.04.2024].

attained prestige and influence especially among the ascetic and aristo-cratic circles of the capital."[450]

The conflict between Augustine and Pelagius arose over anthropology and the resulting doctrine of sin and grace.[451] Pelagius did not believe in the complete corruption of human nature through the Fall. For him, there is no such thing as a sinful nature; rather, sin is a disposition, an act of the will, and not a basic condition that can be inherited. Through Adam's sin, humanity had only acquired the habit of sinning, but had not fundamentally fallen. For this reason, Christianity had the task of strengthening man morally and ethically, because good and evil actions both arose from man's free will.

From this doctrine of sin follows Pelagius' doctrine of grace: The help of grace was given to man by God in creation, but the fall weakened man's power to do good. However, God renewed his grace through the good example of Jesus. Grace is imparted through baptism and brings about forgiveness of sins committed before baptism. After baptism, man is once again able to perform good works that bring him reward.

The conflict with Augustine, the so-called Pelagian controversy (411-413), arose when a close friend of Pelagius, Caelestius, settled in North Africa and got into a dispute with Augustine over the question of original sin. After Pelagius found approval for his teaching at the Jerusalem Synod of 415 – Pelagius was living in Palestine at the time – the real battle broke out. Augustine developed his doctrine of original sin and grace:

> "Man in Paradise is endowed by God with free will. God even [...] gives him the aid of grace to remain with the good. Through the Fall, man is totally enslaved to the power of sin. Augustine comes to this conviction on the basis of Romans 5:12. The whole of humanity – including children – is therefore drawn into ruin. If a person hears the call to salvation and opens himself to the word of reconciliation, this is not at all his merit; it is solely the grace of election. Even a baptised person cannot work his way up to salvation by his own efforts. He falls into righteous ruin. This gloomy doctrine of sin is the complete correspondence to his bright doctrine of grace. God's grace always stands for him at the beginning, before our running and willing (Phil 2:13). 'Faith is a gift from the beginning!' So Augustine teaches predestination, but as a mystery, not as a debated doctrine. God, and not man, is the first and the last."[452]

---

[450] Karl Suso Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 287.

[451] On Augustine's anti-Pelagian works, cf. Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.), *Augustinus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 323-347.

[452] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 178-179. Cf. also the helpful information in Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 69-

Redemption and forgiveness are thus never the merit of man, but always the gift of God alone.[453] Man on his own can contribute nothing to his redemption.

Augustine found more and more supporters for his theological convictions. Thus, at a synod in Carthage in 418, the teaching of Pelagius was condemned, and this decision was subsequently supported by Pope Innocent I. At the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus in 431, Pelagianism was officially rejected by the church. Although a weakened form, so-called Semi-Pelagianism, found supporters especially in Gaul, it too was condemned at the Synod of Orange in 529.

4.6.5.3 Augustine's Understanding of the Church (vs. Donatism)

Augustine also developed his ecclesiology[454] only in confrontation with others, in this specific case the Donatists of North Africa. To overcome the schism in the African church, Augustine tried to convene several synods in Carthargo (401, 404, 411). But when his efforts did not bear fruit, Augustine also advocated state reprisals. His ecclesiology was threefold:

1. The outer institution of salvation, Christianity itself.
2. The communion of saints, the invisible universal communion (*communio sanctorum*), united by the bond of love and faith. This category includes both the living and the already perfected.
3. The multitude of the predestined (*numerus praedestinatorum*).

"For Augustine, the church thus has two meanings: It is external church communion and the communion of the saints or true believers. The two do not coincide; for there are many in the external church communion who are not pious or true believers. But there is a relationship between the two, since the communion of saints always exists within the outer church communion. [...] Now and then, however, Augustine also speaks of the Church in a third sense, defining it as a 'numerus praedestinatorum' (number of the predestined). This circle of believers does not coincide with either the external church communion or the communion of saints. It is not synonymous with

71, and Bengt Hägglund, *Geschichte der Theologie: Ein Abriß,* Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1983, 101ff.
[453] On Augustine's doctrine of grace, cf. Volker Henning Drecoll, "Gnadenlehre", in: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.), *Augustinus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 488-497.
[454] Cf. on Augustine's ecclesiology, Pamela Wright, "Ekklesiologie und Sakramentenlehre", in: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.), *Augustinus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 506-518.

external Christianity, for it is conceivable that God also chooses people outside the Church without participation in the sacraments. [...] Nor do all the people who are presently counted among the communion of saints necessarily belong to the elect. For it is conceivable that some of them will fall away in the future because they do not have the gift of perseverance. [...] Only those are afterwards the elect who have been made partakers of grace and hold fast the faith unto the end."[455]

4.6.5.4   The Doctrine of the Trinity

The development of Augustine's doctrine of the Trinity found expression in the 15-book work *De trinitate* (399-419). For Augustine, the consubstantiality of Father, Son and Holy Spirit was certain. There are three persons, but only one divine being. The specificity of his doctrine of the Trinity becomes clear in the concept of "relation". It is meant to clarify the unity in the Trinity.

> "The relations denote eternal, unchanging relationships between the persons of the Trinity. The three Persons are three co-eternal relations of the one Godhead. There is therefore a diversity in the one Godhead. The Father is not the Son and the Son is not the Father. But this difference is not an absolute difference, but a relative difference, a difference of relation. However, every relation presupposes a being that is in relation. God's essence is unity, therefore relations, despite their diversity, cannot annul the unity of God."[456]

Augustine tried to illustrate the Trinity through an analogy. In human love, too, a trinity would become clear: the lover, the beloved and love itself.

4.6.5.5   The City of God (De Civitate Dei)

As a result of the conquest and sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410, Augustine wrote an apologetic for the Christian faith in 22 volumes.[457]

> "The work has acquired epochal character for the unity of church and state. Augustine's basic idea is that since the Fall, two citizenships have confronted each other: on the one hand, the secular state and, on the other, the kingdom of God. From Cain to Alaric, the secular state is determined by the will to power, which causes much mischief. This state is under the dominion

---

[455]   Bengt Hägglund, *Geschichte der Theologie*, 98-99.
[456]   Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 71.
[457]   Cf. especially, Johannes van Oort, "*De civitate dei* (Über die Gottesstadt)", in: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.), *Augustinus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 347-363.

of the devil. Next to it is the divine state, to which the Church belongs. Augustin wants the earthly state to be determined by the heavenly state. The political state – here the Roman Empire – should subordinate itself to the Church, for it is the visible representative of the divine state."[458]

The medieval church in particular liked to take this approach. Augustine's theology has had an impact right up to the present day. The Reformers, for example, often drew on insights that Augustine had already gained eleven hundred years earlier. Our evangelical theology has also been influenced by Reformation theology, and Augustine's merit cannot be overestimated in many respects.

At the same time, however, questions arise: Does the Word of God really teach double predestination, as Augustine ultimately advocated? Has the church's hostility towards the body and sexuality not been shaped by certain convictions influenced by Platonism, such as that original sin is transmitted through sexual intercourse? On 28 August 430, Augustine died during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals.

4.7   Monasticism

Towards the end of the third century, a development began that still is visible today: the emergence of monasticism. From the very beginning of Christianity, there were individual ascetics who had chosen to be celibate and live an abstemious life in order to better serve God. This was a perfectly legitimate, biblical concern. But even though these ascetics withdrew more and more from the world, they nevertheless continued to take an active part in community life.

Now, towards the end of the third century, there was a noticeably increased tendency towards asceticism, certainly also strongly influenced by Neoplatonic thoughts. Sexuality, marriage, and indeed bodily needs in general were now increasingly regarded as something negative that would take people away from God and was best overcome. Thus, ascetics increasingly withdrew not only from the world but also from the community and sought solitude. In this way, monasticism came into being (from the Greek *monachos* = the solitary one).

This tendency to seclude oneself from the world became increasingly popular as a spiritually motivated countermovement to the ever more serious secularisation of the clergy and the church itself. For pomp, splendour and political power games had not stopped at the church but had ra-

---

[458]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Christentum in der Antike*, 271.

ther found their way into the church. A pagan named Marcellinus gives us eloquent testimony to this in his Roman history:

> "(12) Damasus and Ursinus both burned beyond human measure to usurp the [Roman] bishop's chair, and in their intrigues against each other they fought with such fierceness that there were dead and wounded in the quarrels of their followers. When Viventius found himself unable to stop or calm the riots, he retreated under the pressure of violence to an estate outside the city gates.
>
> (13) In this dispute Damasus remained victorious thanks to the massive support of his partisans [Oct. 366]. It is a well-known fact that in the basilica of Sicininus, a place of assembly of the Christian rite, 137 bodies of slain men were found in one day and that the crowd, which had been incited for a long time, could only be calmed down with difficulty afterwards. (14) Considering, of course, the pomp that reigns in Rome, I cannot deny that those who aspire to such dignity [as that of the Roman bishop] must strive with all their strength to achieve their goal. For he who has happily attained it is well provided for in the future: he prospers by the gifts of matrons, goes about only in carriages, is splendidly dressed, and has such sumptuous feasts prepared for him that his table puts even a royal banquet in the shade. (15) In truth, they could lead a blissful life if they would only refrain from the grandeur of the city, which they use to camouflage their vices, and take as a model the lifestyle of many a provincial bishop, whose frugality in eating and drinking, simplicity even in dress, and downcast gaze commend them to the eternal deity and their true admirers as a model of purity and modesty."[459]

Antony (250-356),[460] who was born into a rich Coptic Christian family, is considered the father of monasticism. But how did he come to his decision to live in solitude as a monk?

> "(1) Antony was Egyptian, the son of high-minded parents who also had sufficient wealth; as they themselves were Christians, he was also brought up as a Christian. [...]
>
>   (2) [...] [A few months after the death of his parents] he [then barely twenty years old and immersed in thoughts of the possession of the apostles and the first Christians] went to church according to his habit [...]. And it so happened that the Gospel was being read, and he heard the Lord say to the rich man, 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor; then come and follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven'

---

[459] Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 194.

[460] Cf. on the life and work of Antony, Reinhart Staats, "Antonius", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Alte Kirche I*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 236-249.

(Mt. 19:21), but Antonius felt as if [...] that reading of the Scriptures had been done for his own sake; he immediately went out of the church and gave away the possessions inherited from his ancestors [...] to the inhabitants of his native village.

(3) [...] [Subsequently] he devoted himself exclusively to asceticism, in front of his house. [...] There were still no monastic colonies in Egypt. [...] [Later] he went to the tombs far from the village, [...] entered one of these tombs and remained alone in it [after it had been locked from the outside]. [...] (12) [...] [After setting out, still farther away, into the desert, he finally found an abandoned fort, of which crowds of crawling worms had taken possession in the meantime]. Here he settled and lived. [...] Only twice a year did he have bread handed to him from above through the walls."[461]

Especially in the early years, Antony experienced severe inner struggles. Battles with demons as well as wild animals and his own temptations sought to overcome him, but he succeeded in overcoming them in the power of Christ. He saw visions and people were healed through him. Word about this monk spread quickly. In time, other monks, attracted by his example, settled around him. After 20 years, life in his fort became too busy for him, and he retreated further into the desert between the Nile and Sinai. Antony died at the ripe old age of 105. Inspired by his example, monastic colonies sprang up all over Egypt. However, the faithful did not yet live together in a monastery, but each on his own.

The breakthrough to monastic life took place under Pachomius (280-346). He too grew up in Egypt and began as a single monk in the retinue of Anthony. But in an encounter with an angel he experienced a new vocation:

"(32) Tabennisi is the name of the place in the Thebais where Pachomius lived [...]. Once when he was sitting in the cave, an angel appeared to him and said to him: 'For yourself you have arranged everything well and therefore you are sitting uselessly in your cave! Go and gather all the young monks outside, live with them and establish a rule for them according to the pattern I give you'. And he gave him a brazen tablet, on which was written as follows: 'Let every man eat and drink according to his ability and divide the work according to each man's ability. Do not prevent anyone from fasting or eating. But command those who are able to perform more that they also perform more, while you should assign the lighter work to those who are weaker and subject themselves to stricter asceticism. Set up different cells in the monastic settlement and let three monks occupy each cell. But the food should be prepared for all in one house. They shall not sleep lying down, but shall make themselves sloping chairs, spread carpets over them

---

461   Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, 142-143.

and sleep sitting on them. At night they shall be clothed in shirts and linen and girded. [During the day] each shall wear a tanned goatskin, which they shall not take off even at table. On the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, when they go to communion, they shall loosen their girdles, take off the goatskin, and enter the church only in the cucul [a mantle]. [Divide them into 24 sections and give each one a letter of the Greek alphabet. [...] To those who are simple-minded and noisy, give the iota, and to the sullen and devious, the xi. [...] If a guest comes from a foreign monastery that is subject to a different rule, he may not eat or drink with them, nor enter their house, unless he is on a journey. [...] When eating, they shall cover their heads with the cucul, so that no brother sees the other eating. Nor are they permitted to speak at meals, nor to look anywhere but at the plate and table. Throughout the day they are to perform twelve prayers, at the time when the lights are lit and at midnight twelve, and at the ninth hour three. Also, when the crowd goes to the table, each prayer should be preceded by a psalm chant.'"[462]

Pachomius gave the monastic system its first order by introducing the rule and an abbot. Obedience to the abbot was the highest commandment. In the following years, the monastic system gained an ever-increasing number of followers. The monastery, which Pachomius himself presided over, quickly became too small, for it could not hold more than 1,300 monks. Other monasteries were founded, accommodating up to 7,000 monks and 400 nuns. The monasteries were each economically self-sufficient, and soon commercially minded abbots made their monasteries wealthy, through such activities as basketry or shipbuilding.

How should the emerging monasticism be classified and assessed? Basically, every movement – including spiritual movements – is a child of its time. The religious attitude towards life in the fourth and fifth centuries, the overall state of the church, the economic decline of the empire and, above all, Neoplatonic thought influenced the emergency of monasticism. But so did a deeply spiritual concern, namely to glorify God in the best possible way.

In my opinion, Kurt Aland therefore offers an appropriate assessment:

"Without a doubt, many critical questions must be addressed to this monasticism: these ascetics turn separated themselves from the world; they thought only of themselves, of their salvation, of their escape, not of the task which the neighbor imposed on them. Yet we will be greatly impressed with what earnestness they here strove for salvation, in contrast to a Church that is more and more was uniting with the world."[463]

---

[462]   Quoted from Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche,* 159.
[463]   Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity* 1, 184.

5 The Further Spread of Christianity and Internal Developments in the Christian Church (450-900)

This period of church history, covering the years 450 to 900, is character-ised by contradictory developments. On one hand, Christianity continued to spread in parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. However, the rise of Islam caused Christianity to lose ground, while internally the Christian land-scape developed into different strands of Christianity, with the pope gain-ing increased power within the Western church.

5.1 The Migration of Peoples and the Disintegration of the Western Roman Empire

Hans-Werner Goetz summarised well the development of Western Chris-tianity during the early medieval times, focusing on Europe:

> "The further Christianisation and the establishment of the Catholic faith, the inner mission and the formation of ecclesiastical organisational struc-tures as well as the registration of the marginal peoples remained tasks that were mastered in the course of this epoch. At the end of this period, there was an occidental unity of faith – dogmatically and spatially demarcated from the Greek Orthodox Church and Islam – but also a consolidated, in-creasingly hierarchically structured Catholic Church, which perceived itself as universal and at whose head the Pope gradually moved, indeed the epoch 'closes' with the internal reform of this institutionalised, universal Church."[464]

Anyone wishing to understand the development of Western Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries must keep in mind the socio-political de-velopments of the time. The unity of the Imperium Romanum disinte-grated, and instead a multiplicity of Germanic kingdoms arose on previ-ously Roman territory.[465] This development was triggered by several waves

---

[464] Hans-Werner Goetz, *Europa im frühen Mittelalter: 500-1050, Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 2, Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2003,* 27.

[465] Cf. Hans-Werner Goetz, *Europa im frühen Mittelalter,* 22.

of migrations. In light of these movements, historians today speak of the ethnogenesis of individual tribes and peoples.[466]

> "The Germanic tribes did not represent ethnically closed peoples but were large associations whose unification arose through the struggle against Rome. These patriarchal-peasant warrior communities gradually evolved into a type of central kingship, which was either appointed as an army kingship for warfare only or referred to a royal dynasty."[467]

The Vandals, who originated in central Europe, crossed the Mediterranean to North Africa in the year 429, and in 439 they conquered Carthage, bringing large parts of North Africa under their rule. From North Africa, they conquered the Balearic Islands, Sardinia and Corsica and subsequently conquered and sacked Rome in 455. Although the rulers of Constantinople maintained their autonomy for the time being, their exercise of power remained limited to the eastern Mediterranean.

Goetz summarises the outcome of this migration period:

> "All Germanic realms had, in a sense, arisen from the migrations or settlement movements of large mixtures of peoples – but not of entire peoples – in search of new settling lands, as a result of external threats (Huns) as well as internal tensions, partly in close relations with the Roman Empire. After taking over land, settling and establishing rule in various forms – partly as federates, partly by conquest, partly by gradual infiltration – they took the place of the empire in the West and the Western emperor, who had ceased to exist in 476."[468]

5.2   Christianisation and Missionary Work in Europe

Lutz von Padberg states, "In the late fourth and fifth century, missionary opportunities were, so to speak, laid directly at the feet of the imperial church, as the pagans invaded the imperial territory."[469] From a religious point of view, the Germanic peoples brought with them a multifaceted polytheism which, especially in northern Europe, persisted even into the eleventh century. However, there was no such thing as a single Germanic

---

[466] Cf. Volker Leppin, Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums, Neue Theologische Grundrisse, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 16-22; Hans-Werner Goetz, *Europa im frühen Mittelalter*, 34-48; Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters,* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1998, 27-28.

[467] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 28.

[468] Hans-Werner Goetz, *Europa im frühen Mittelalter,* 46.

[469] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 30.

religion, for Germanic religiosity was too diverse and varied, and due to the lack of sources, it can be traced only in fragments today.[470]

Although Lutz von Padberg speaks of "missionary opportunities", there is only limited evidence that these opportunities were taken advantage of, as in many areas a process of Christianisation took place instead of targeted missionary work. Whereas Christianisation involves compelling people to convert, mission emphasizes the voluntary conversion of people who have received the gospel of Jesus Christ without pressure or force. Due to this overall geopolitical development, these waves of migration often meant a threat and a step backwards for Christianity, especially in the peripheral regions of the Western empire, even if the conquerors generally allowed the Christians to exist and did not persecute them for their faith.[471]

The conversion of Clovis (481/482-511), the Merovingian king and ruler of Gaul, to Christianity would prove to be of far-reaching importance.[472] Although other Germanic tribes, namely the Visigoths, Ostrogoths and the Burgundians, had already turned to Christianity, they had not turned to the Roman but to the anti-Trinitarian, Homeric imperial church. Clovis, however, converted to the Roman imperial church; later he received the title of consul from the Byzantine emperor Anastasius and was endowed with royal regalia. Yet what was the state of the Christian faith of the common man in Gaul?

> "Christianity had already been in Gaul for three centuries at the time of Clovis' baptism, so that it was possible to revert to functioning episcopal sees, especially in the cities. Furthermore, due to the fusion of the two population groups, the signs were favourable for a rapid Christianisation. [...] From the king down to the smallest peasant, the Franks were concerned that God should prove to be effective in their everyday life. The contents of the faith and above all the doctrine were of secondary importance. But since they had made the same demands on their pagan gods, many were hardly aware of the fundamental differences between polytheism and Christianity or had misunderstood the teachings of the new faith. [...] One thing is clear: Christianity first had to be made comprehensible to the people, and such a process took generations."[473]

---

[470] Cf. Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 33-40.

[471] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission,* 109-112.

[472] Cf. on Clovis: Eugen Ewig and Knut Schäferdiek, "Christliche Expansion im Merowingerreich", in: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, Erster Halbband, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 116-145.

[473] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 58-59.

Clovis himself remained militarily expansive and brought a number of other Germanic tribes under his rule. His military successes had religious consequences:

> "The world-historical significance of this transition lies in the fact that Clovis laid the foundation for the Great Frankish Empire by uniting several Frankish tribes under his rule. From the time of Clovis' baptism, the unification of the Germanic and Roman tribes was achieved in both a national and a religious sense. The connection with the Catholic Church imparted the cultural goods of the old world to the Franks: the emerging Frankish empire was given a cultural foundation and a unified self-image. After Clovis' turn to the Catholic Church, the other Germanic kingdoms abandoned their Arianism from the end of the 6th century and also opted for the Catholic form of Christianity (Visigoths in Spain, Lombards in Italy and Anglo-Saxons in Britain)."[474]

Of great significance was the mission to the Anglo-Saxons initiated by Gregory I, pope from 590 to 604. Gregory, who came from a wealthy and pious family, chose to live as a monk, and Horst Fuhrmann describes him as a "model pope in monastic humility."[475]

> "What motivated him [Gregory] to undertake this audacious enterprise, apart from his general urge to go on missions, is disputed. Attractive but hardly accurate is the legend that Gregory spoke to slaves while strolling through the Roman market, interpreted their folk name Angli as angeli, 'angel', and thereupon decided to embark on the mission."[476]

More likely, the wife of the Kentish king Athelbert, daughter of a Merovingian ruler, who was herself a Christian and had brought a bishop with her to England, encouraged the king to make contact with the Christian world. Bertha is also considered the founder of the first Christian community in Canterbury. For political reasons, however, it was more appropriate to seek contact with Rome rather than with the Frankish competition. In the words of Lutz von Padberg:

> "Gregory received the indications enthusiastically and sent forty Roman missionaries to England under the leadership of Augustine (d. 604). In the spring of 597 they landed on the island of Thanet, which belonged to Kent, and let [...] Athelbert know that they brought 'very good news, which prom-

[474] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 83.
[475] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus zu Johannes Paul II,* Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998, 93.
[476] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 72.

ises those who heed it eternal joys in heaven and the future kingdom without end with the living and true God without any doubt'. The king did not seem to have had any doubts about the good news, but nevertheless he approached the matter with extreme caution. [...] At least he gave the missionaries a free hand, albeit in a limited area, so that Pope Gregory was soon able to report jubilantly that at Christmas 597 more than ten thousand Angles had been baptised."[477]

Yet the Christianisation of the Anglo-Saxons proved to be a longer process, similar to that of the Germanic tribes. Not until the second half of the seventh century can we be certain that there was a consolidated church in Britain.[478]

It was already mentioned that Ireland had turned to Christianity in the course of the fifth century. Decisive impulses for the further Christianisation of Europe sprang from Irish Christianity.[479] From the second half of the sixth century, Irish monks also carried out missionary impulses outside Ireland.[480] Columban the Elder (520/522-597), who went to the Picts in Scotland in 563, and above all Columban the Younger (543-615), who set foot on the soil of the European continent in 590 together with twelve monk brothers, should be mentioned here. The Scottish-Irish missionaries were followed by a second wave of Anglo-Saxon monk missionaries, who deliberately connected with the emerging Carolingian rulers on the continent. They were later joined by local missionaries, so that the movement eventually had a pioneering effect in the border regions of Bavaria (Germany) and a reforming effect in the already Christianised areas.

A second mission movement to be acknowledged is the Anglo-Saxon mission movement. Willibrord (658-739), who came from Northumbria, is considered the first representative of the Anglo-Saxon mission strategy on the European continent and worked among the Frisians (at the German-Dutch border) while he was already in close contact with the Frankish conquerors.[481]

---

[477] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 74.

[478] Cf. Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 75-80; Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums,* 52-57; Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission,* 122-129.

[479] Cf. Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 66-67.

[480] Cf. Johann Heinrich August Ebrard, *Die iroschottische Missionskirche des sechsten, siebten und achten Jahrhunderts und ihre Verbreitung und Bedeutung auf dem Festland*, Nachdruck, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1971.

[481] Cf. on Willibrord and on Boniface: Heinz Löwe, *"Primin, Willibrord und Bonifatius: Ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsgeschichte ihrer Zeit"*, in: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, Erster Halbband, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 192-226.

Wynfreth-Boniface (672/675-754)[482], called the "apostle of the Germans" by the Catholic tradition, is regarded as the "top missionary",[483] as Lutz von Padberg pointedly called him, of this era. His missionary activities were legitimised by Pope Gregory II (715-731) and brought the churches and bishoprics he founded under the influence of Rome. After a brief involvement in the Frisian mission, Boniface turned to Hesse and Thuringia (both regions in Germany), learned the Hessian dialect and worked there successfully under the protection of the Frankish ruler Charles Martell (714-741). In addition to his missionary focus, Boniface also proved to be a competent organiser and creator of church structures.

> "Boniface's missionary work was above all characterised by its spiritual concern. Boniface was primarily concerned with a personal decision of faith and a life as a Christian following Jesus. [...] In Erich Schnepel's judgement, we were – despite the close ties to Rome – closer to the New Testament understanding of mission in missionary work than we have been for a long time before and since Boniface. Boniface promoted the motivation and training of workers for missionary work and, in the background, established the network of a prayer brotherhood."[484]

Lutz von Padberg reaches this conclusion:

> "Boniface is certainly one of the great men of church history, but he is also a child of his time. His life, with all the efforts he made for the mission and the organisation of the church, which speaks so vividly from his letters, can only be viewed by the historian with inner sympathy. This applies to his piety, characterised by trust in the power of prayer and the recognition of divine guidance, as well as to his loving care for his comrades-in-arms and his lifelong attachment to his homeland. In many events he was not the leader but allowed himself to be guided by the Carolingian rulers and by the popes. [...] Whatever one may think of Boniface, undoubtedly, he is one of the initiators of the Western Occidental world."[485]

The further expansion of Christian Europe took place successively with the increase in power of the Carolingian rulers, who at the same time sought

---

[482] Cf. on Boniface's life and work: Lutz E. von Padberg, *Wynfreth-Bonifatius,* Wuppertal and Zurich: Brockhaus, 1989; Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 66-67; Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission,* 152-160; Gert Haendler, "Bonifatius", Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 69-86.

[483] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 82.

[484] Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 154.

[485] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Wynfreth-Bonifatius*, 158.

religious legitimation for their claim to rule and found it in an alliance with the Western church. Both sides profited from this. Thus, in 751, Pope Zacharias decided that the Carolingian ruler Pepin III should be elevated to king. The Pope in turn hoped for protection from the Carolingian rulers.

> "The alliance between the papacy and the Franks made it possible to establish a new kingdom in the Frankish Empire and to anoint a Carolingian king – an important monarchical institution until the 18th century. On the other hand, it allowed the creation of the Papal States, which gave the Pope secular rule; this state was to play an important role in Europe until the 19th century and ceased to exist only in 1870. This alliance, in which the papacy tied its fate to that of the West, represents an important stage in the history of Christianity."[486]

Finally, under Charlemagne, a politico-religious process took place:[487] The expansion of Charlemagne's own territory was combined with the Christianisation of the subjugated peoples by force, as the example of the Saxons tragically shows.[488]

Not until the ninth century did the first missionary initiatives take place in Scandinavia.[489] Ansgar, who died in 865,[490] brought Christianity to Denmark and Sweden. Here too, however, it took until the tenth century for Christianity to establish itself, while it did not reach Norway at all until the tenth century. Vikings converted in England brought the Christian faith back to their homeland, and Norwegian kings also converted at an early stage.[491]

---

[486] Pierre Riché, "Von Gregor dem Großen bis Pippin dem Jüngeren", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 669.

[487] Cf. Reinhard Schneider, *"Karl der Große – politisches Sendungsbewußtsein und Mission", in: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.), Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters, Erster Halbband, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte,* Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 227-248.

[488] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 118-120; Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 8-97.

[489] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 168-170; Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 110-137.

[490] Cf. Walther Lammers, "Ansgar", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 87-101.

[491] Cf. Kloczowski, "Die Ausbreitung des Christentums von der Adria bis zur Ostsee: Christianisierung der Slawen, Skandinavier und Ungarn zwischen dem 9. und dem 11. Jahrhundert", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bi-*

"The first of these kings baptised in England was Hakon the Good (died around 960). When he landed in Norway to take power after his father's death in 933, he was accompanied by Anglo-Saxon missionaries who initiated a systematic conversion; his nephews, baptised like him, continued his work."[492]

However, due to the vast geographic spread and the widely dispersed population, the Christianisation of Norway was not completed until the eleventh century. Also the Christianisation of Iceland took place during this period.[493]

Christianity also advanced into Eastern Europe, following the model of Western Europe:

"Although the emperor was the head of this 'international' Christian community [of Slavic peoples], he was no longer able to rise to become its ruler. The adoption of Christianity therefore did not follow the imperial missionary model, such as that of the Frisians and Saxons, or the Scandinavian form. Primarily verifiable through archaeological findings, it began with a gradual acquaintance with Christianity through various contacts with neighbouring countries and with individual merchants, missionaries or prisoners. There is hardly anything to be found in the written sources about this personal mediation, but it must obviously have been of decisive importance for the later change of faith. […] In a second step, after this phase of getting to know each other, there were sensational baptisms of rulers or high nobles. As a rule, they were probably the result of personal decisions, but immediately took on an unmistakable political dimension through sponsorships. Thirdly, these baptised princes asked Rome or Byzantium to send missionaries."[494]

Thus, from 833, Byzantium began missionary activity among the Moravians,[495] and the first missionary attempts among Russians also took place from 866 onwards. The Bulgarian ruler Boris (852-889) converted to Christianity and from then on pursued a consistent Christianisation policy.

---

schöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054), Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 907.

[492] Jerzy Kloczowski, "Die Ausbreitung des Christentums von der Adria bis zur Ostsee", 907.

[493] Klaus Düwel, "Die Bekehrung auf Island: Vorgeschichte und Verlauf", in: Kurt Schäferdiek (ed.), *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters,* Erster Teilband, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte 2, Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 249-275.

[494] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 139.

[495] Cf. on this and the following: Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung des Mittelalters*, 140-148; Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 170-173.

Hungary, Russia and Poland would turn to Christianity from the tenth century onwards[496] and the Baltic States and the Finns around 1300.

With the exception of a few peripheral areas in northeastern Europe, Christianity had taken hold almost everywhere in Europe and increasingly became the majority religion, even if pagan customs were still practised for a long time:

> "Old customs and sorcery have survived everywhere and for a long time in these societies rooted in tradition. Pagan rites and traditional beliefs can still be found for a long time, especially in the 'private' cult sphere within one's own four walls and family communities, which were much more difficult to control and change."[497]

This development was undoubtedly related to the Christianisation model where conversions were often forced and thus purely formal.

5.3 Christianisation and the Spread of Christianity in Africa and Asia

In addition to Western and Byzantine Christianity, the further development of Christianity in northern Africa and, above all, in Central Asia should by no means be disregarded.

In Africa, Nubia turned to Christianity during the course of the sixth century.[498] Two Alexandrian clergymen, Julianus and Longinus, sent from Byzantium arrived in the Nubian capital in 543 and the Nobadian king was baptised together with his court.[499] Soon, pagan temples were transformed into churches and the other Nubian kingdoms of Makurias and Alodia followed by adopting Christianity in the course of the sixth century. "The Church in Nubia grew from the 6th to the 8th centuries, and it flourished

---

[496] Cf. Jerzy Kloczowski, "Die Ausbreitung des Christentums von der Adria bis zur Ostsee", 883-920; Bernhard Stasiewski, *Die Anfänge der Christianisierung Polens,* Forschungen zur Volkskunde, Heft 61, Münster: Verlagshaus Monsenstein & Vannendar, 2014.

[497] Jerzy Kloczowski, "Die Ausbreitung des Christentums von der Adria bis zur Ostsee", 916.

[498] Cf. Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica: A History of the Church in Europe and Africa*, Wellington (RSA): Christian Literature fund, 2016, 307-309.

[499] Cf. on the Christianisation of Nubia: Roland Werner, *Das Christentum in Nubien*, 2013, 52-53; Bernd Brandl, *Wenn Kirchen sterben: Ein erschütternder und vergessener Teil der Kirchen- und Islamgeschichte Afrikas und Asiens,* edition afem mission academics 35, Nuremberg and Bonn: VTR and VKW, 2012.

in the period from the 8th to the 11th centuries."[500] While the church in Ethiopia struggled due to the rise of Islam, it survived. However, we don't know much about the period from the 7th to the 9th century.[501]

5.3.1   Mission and the Spread of Christianity in Central Asia

Further above, we noted the missionary activity of the Assyrian Church of the East, known in older literature as the Nestorian Church.[502] From the beginning of the sixth century, the archbishopric of Merw became established as the starting point for the further missionary work of this church. Merw itself was an oasis town in the southeast portion of present-day Turkmenistan. Soon Christianity penetrated eastwards along the Silk Road. As early as the sixth century, there were Christians among the Hepthalites on both sides of the Oxus River (now called Amu Darya, one of the longest rivers of Central Asia). Christian churches were planted between the sixth and eighth centuries in present-day Turkmenestan, in Tibet, among the Uighurs, in present-day Sri Lanka and in China, among other places.[503]

The Assyrian Church of the East built an ecclesiastical structure consisting of central provinces (north and south of the province of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the province of the Catholicos) and outer provinces.[504] The six central provinces alone comprised 41 episcopal sees in the middle of the seventh century. In addition to merchants who bore witness to their faith on their trade journeys, the gospel was brought to Central Asia primarily by monks who used the caravan routes along the Silk Road.

> "Under Muslim rule, the missionary efforts of the Church of the East continued, especially through those carried out by Timotheos I [780-823]. During his very long pontificate, this missionary Catholicos created six new metro-

---

[500]   Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 309.

[501]   Cf. Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 310-311.

[502]   Cf. on this and the following: Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 80-81; Wolfgang Hage, "Der Weg nach Asien: Die ostsyrische Missionskirche", in: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, Erster Halbband, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, Munich Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 360-393.

[503]   Hubert Jedin, Kenneth Scott Latourette and Jochen Martin (eds.). *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: Die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sonderausgabe, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 2004, 27.

[504]   Cf. on this and the following: "Kirchen und Christen im muslimischen Orient", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: 1994, 453-472.

politan sees, and we know from his correspondence that he consecrated metropolitans for the Chinese, Turks and Tibetans."[505]

Monasticism also played an important role in the Assyrian Church of the East and its missionary work in Central Asia in particular, as they also formed centres of religious and secular culture and education.[506] Estimates presume the existence of at least 150 monasteries.[507]

5.3.2   The Rise of Islam and its Consequences

Dramatic and of great scope for the further development of Christianity was another event. Around 559 to 561, a man named Muhammad was born in Mecca (Saudi Arabia).[508] His father probably died before he was born, and his mother died when he was six years old. His grandfather took him in, but he also died two years later, so Muhammad went to live with an uncle who probably took him on trading trips, for example to Syria. The caling of Muhammad as a prophet probably took place in the year 609/610, or relatively late in his life, as Muhammad was already around 50 years old.

> "What ultimately led Muhammad to the assumption and later to the firm conviction that he was the messenger chosen by God for his people to convey God's message to the Arab tribes has been the subject of the most diverse speculations, since we actually have nothing more than the result – namely, that Muhammad understood himself to be God's messenger. [...] In any case, when Muhammad was called, he was overcome by strong sensations that led him to conclude that the angel Gabriel was communicating a message to him from God."[509]

Muhammad began to proclaim the revelations he had received in Arabic, but he was not recognised as a prophet by either both Jews or Christians living on the Arabian peninsula. Opposition to him also grew among his Arab compatriots. On one hand, this was related to Muhammad's rejection of polytheism and thus of the traditional religious system, but it was certainly also for social and economic reasons.

---

[505] Gérard Troupeau, "Kirchen und Christen im muslimischen Orient", 458.

[506] Cf. Christoph Baumer, *Frühes Christentum zwischen Euphrat und Jangtse: Eine Zeitreise entlang der Seidenstraße zur Kirche des Ostens,* Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 2005.

[507] Gérard Troupeau, "Kirchen und Christen im muslimischen Orient", 458.

[508] Cf. on this and the following information: Christine Schirrmacher, *Der Islam: Geschichte – Lehre – Unterschiede zum Christentum* 1, Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 2003, 31-43.

[509] Christine Schirrmacher, *Der Islam*, 36.

"One can assume that economic reasons also played a role in this dispute, and in two respects: The more clearly Muhammad came to light with his proclamations of the one, supreme God and the rejection of all other deities, the more clearly the Meccans had to see the threat to their great sanctuary, the Kaa'ba, and thus the danger to the trade that flourished during the holy months. Secondly, neither Muhammad as an orphan nor his first followers belonged to the leading social class in Mecca."[510]

The pressure on Muhammad and his followers grew, and the situation became less and less tenable for him. So he had little choice but to leave Mecca in 622 together with about 70 people and move to Medina. Due to the different social composition of Medina, Muhammad became both the religious and political leader of the city within a few years. He began raiding Meccan caravans – also to provide for himself and his people – and in the following years there were several military conflicts with Mecca, all of which ended in favour of Muhammad and Medina, so that he eventually entered his home city as the victor in 630, when a peace agreement was settled. In the final two years of his life, Muhammad subjugated other nomadic tribes on the Arabian Peninsula before he died in 632.

After Muhammad's death, the rise of Islam continued unabated through military expansion.[511] The conquest of Mesopotamia and Syria began as early as 632-634, and Jerusalem was conquered in 638, followed by a great wave of conquests in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and other areas of Mesopotamia and Persia in 639-642. In the caliphate of the third caliph, `Utman, there were further conquests in North Africa and Iran. In 694, Carthage fell. In 711, Spain was finally conquered, not to be fully retaken by Christianity until the fall of Granada in 1492. The first setback for Islam's expansion came in 742, when Charles Martel crushed a Muslim army in the heart of France.[512] But Islam made further advances elsewhere:

"In 846 Rome itself was invested and plundered. By 900, Sicily was a Muslim country, and strongholds had been established on the South Italian coast. In Asia Minor the Muslim armies had begun the relentless pressure on the Eastern Roman Empire which they were to maintain with fitful energies and varying fortunes."[513]

---

[510] Christine Schirrmacher, *Der Islam*, 62.
[511] Cf. for the following information Christine Schirrmacher, *Der Islam 1*, 89-93.
[512] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Mission*, 46.
[513] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Mission*, 54-55.

In these first waves of Islamic conquest, there were only isolated massacres among the Christian population and only little deliberate persecution.

> "But the most surprising thing about these invasions was that the loss of life was so small and the collapse of Christian civilization so rapid. A great many Christians lived on as Christians. They suffered certain hardships, and had to endure loss of equality and privilege. They were second-class citizens and tax-payers, and they could never hope to rank with the Muslim overlords. But the last thing the Muslims wished was to exterminate or convert them all. The Arabs were not farmers; they needed peasants to cultivate the land. They were not administrators, and they needed educated Christians to serve as clerks and translators, and to carry out all the minor obligations of government."[514]

This observation by Neill certainly applies to the first decades after the Islamic conquest, but after that the initial situation changed.[515] Klaus Wetzel writes about the situation in West Asia:

> "After about a century, the administration and education system under the caliphate had been built up to such an extent that, unlike in the beginning, the Christians' knowledge no longer guaranteed them a protected position. Christians finally became second-class citizens. As a rule, church buildings were no longer permitted, and even existing churches were normally not allowed to be repaired. A process of shrinking of the churches began, due both to a steady flow of people leaving the Christian churches and converting to Islam, and to the emigration or flight of many Christians."[516]

An exception to this relative religious freedom in the first phase of the Islamic conquest was the Arab tribes. Since Islam was considered the religion of the entire Arab people, Arab Christian tribes were forced to convert.[517]

Nevertheless, the question remains as to the reasons for the rapid the disintegration and dissolution of Christian existence in these areas. Thomas C. Oden writes in regard to Africa: "Christianity was never adequately indigenized and locally enculturated in Libya. But it was in the Nile Valley. Profoundly so."[518] The following factors might have played a role.[519]

---

[514] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 55.
[515] Cf. Bat Ye'or, *Der Niedergang des orientalischen Christentums unter dem Islam: 7.-20. Jahrhundert, Zwischen Dschihad und Dhimmitude*, Gräfelfing: Verlag Dr. Ingo Resch, ²2005.
[516] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 94-95.
[517] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens*, 94.
[518] Thomas C. Oden, *Early Libyan Christianity*, 280.
[519] On the reasons, see also: Bernd Brandl, *Wenn Kirchen sterben.*

Over time, it became socially and culturally convenient to convert from Christianity to Islam, as doing so brought political, professional, and social advancement as well as opportunities. In addition, the inner state of Christianity often left much to be desired. For many Christians, a living faith shaped by personal convictions had given way to a nominal faith. Finally, internal conflicts, such as the Donatist conflict in North Africa, weakened the church immensely.[520] However, recent research assumes that there were still around five million Christians in Africa by the year 1000, decreasing to 2.5 million by the year 1200 (not including Egypt).[521]

5.4   Monasticism in the Occident

We have already seen in the case of the Christianisation of Ireland that a national church characterised by monasticism developed there, which also had a decisive influence on the Christianisation of the European continent through its missionaries.[522] Irish monasticism was characterised by a strict penitential system and the concept of "peregrination".[523]

> "All sins had to be confessed, and books of penance, a completely new genre, listed the compensations the Christian had to make for them. The decisive factor for the entire Middle Ages was that penance was understood primarily as a punishment and not as a corrective and healing task. It was not the intention but the deed that was asked for, and thus external works and achievements came to the fore. Piety became countable. Since it was not so much a question of ethical improvement but of compensation for the tariff, one could also buy oneself off from the penance by having a substitute atone for one's own sins. Punishment and penance followed the deed, repentance was not asked for. The trade in indulgences, which was to herald the end of

---

[520] Cf. Thomas C. Oden, *Early Libyan Christianity*,280-281.

[521] Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica: A History of the Church in Europe and Africa*, Wellington (RSA): Christian Literature fund, 2016, 293.

[522] Cf. on this and the following: Pierre-Yves Lambert, "II. Der Beginn der Kirche in Irland", in: Luce Pietri (ed.), *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431 bis 642)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums: Religion, Kultur, Politik 3, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001, 871-880; Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*, 65-69; Juan Maria Laboa, "Das irische Mönchtum" in: Juan Maria Laboa (ed.), *Atlas des Mönchtums,* license edition, Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, 72-75.

[523] Cf. Friedrich Prinz, "Peregrinatio, Mönchtum und Mission" in: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.), *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, Erster Halbband, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 445-465.

the Middle Ages about a thousand years later, was the culmination of the development thus initiated."[524]

With the Irish monks, this way of thinking was introduced into Christianity on the European continent. From the fourth century onwards, asceticism was also introduced.[525]

Benedict of Nursia (480/490-550/560) was of decisive importance and formative influence for Western monasticism.[526] Biographically, much about Benedict remains obscure. We know that after studying in Rome he withdrew to a cave in Subiaco, some 75 km east of Rome; later other monks gathered around him and he led the monastic community there, but as things didn't work out as anticipated, he again withdrew to a life as a hermit. Again, monks sought him out and eventually he founded a monastery on Monte Cassino in the 520s. His "Rule of Benedict"[527] became normative:

> "Benedict streamlined and clarified the extensive set of rules of Basil the Great and freed it from the overly strict rules on ascetic life. Benedict's Rule contains moderate requirements for a functioning communal life of the monks in the monastery. Precisely for this reason, the Rule of Benedict became the most important and widely used book after the Bible in the Middle Ages."[528]

---

[524] Lutz E. von Padberg, *Die Christianisierung Europa sim Mittelalter*, 66-67.

[525] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 74-75.

[526] Cf. K. Suso Frank, "Benedikt von Nursia", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 35-46; Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 76-80; Klaus Merkt (ed.), *Das frühe christliche Mönchtum: Quellen und Dokumente, Von den Anfängen bis Benedikt.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2008, 195-211; and on monasticism in the Western Middle Ages in principle: Jacques Biarne, "Der Aufschwung des abendländischen Mönchtums (430-610)", in: Luce Pietri (ed.), *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431 bis 642)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 3, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001, 965-1010 and Karl Baus, "Lateinisches Mönchtum von der Mitte des 5. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts", in: Karl Baus, Hans-Georg Beck, Eugen Ewig and Hermann Josef Vogt, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen, Zweiter Halbband: Die Kirche in Ost und West von Chalkedon bis zum Frühmittelalter (451-700)*, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte II/1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1975, 266-282; Columba Steward, "Der hl. Benedikt", in: Juan Maria Laboa (ed.), *Atlas des Mönchtums*, license edition, Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, 76-79.

[527] Cf. Columba Steward, "Die Heilige Regel", in: Juan Maria Laboa (ed.), *Atlas des Mönchtums*, license edition, Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, 80-83; Juan Maria Laboa, "Verbreitung der Regel des hl. Benedikts", in: Juan Maria Laboa (ed.), *Atlas des Mönchtums*, license edition, Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007, 84-87.

[528] Edgar Lein, *Mittelalterliche Klöster in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009, 18.

Peter Uhlmann summarises the Rule of Benedict:

> "Through the three vows of 'constancy, monastic life and obedience' he [the monk] submits himself to the abbot. With constancy, the 'stabilitas', the monk commits himself to remaining settled. Benedict thus opposes the clusters of monks and erratic spirits who roam the forests and mountains begging and scrounging and are often more of a nuisance than a benefit. The vow of 'conversion of morals', or better the monastic way of life, includes propertylessness and the renunciation of marriage. With the vow of obedience, the monk submits to the absolute right of disposal of the abbot. [...]
>
> Benedict precisely regulates the activity and daily routine of the monks. The praise of God, which finds its expression in Gregorian chant, prayer, the reading of the Bible and the church fathers, may not be replaced by any other activity. All 150 psalms are sung and prayed through in one week. Since Gregory VIII (around 1120), prayers are recited from the breviary (= prayer book). In contrast to the East, however, monastic life does not consist only of religious exercises; the founder of Monte Cassino also demanded practical work in agriculture, trade, the library, the monastery school or pastoral care. Benedict's principle is 'Idleness is the enemy of the soul.' With this biblical work ethic, he dispels the ancient notion that physical labour is unworthy of the free man. The day is divided into the following seven horen (hours of prayer):

1. matins	2 a.m.
2. prim	6 a.m.
3. terce	9 a.m.
4. sixth	12 p.m.
5. ninth	3 p.m.
6. vespers	6 p.m.
7. completorium	9 p.m.
8. often a Vigilia or Noctorum	12 a.m.

> The content of the Benedictine Rule can be reduced to the command 'Ora et labora' – 'Pray and work!' The Occident will be shaped for centuries by Benedictine craft culture."[529]

The rules laid down by Benedict became widely accepted for monastic life in the Middle Ages. Here, too, unconditional obedience to the abbot was demanded. The Rule also mentioned four "professional sins" of monks: stubbornness, pride, disobedience, and grumbling. The punishment for disobedience was regulated:

> "Four levels of punishment:
>   1.   Admonition by the abbot in private.

---

[529]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* Niederbüren: Esras.net, 2020, 32.

2. Public rebuke before the monastic community.
3. Corporal punishment with the rod.
4. Ban on singing along.

For very serious offences:
1. Exclusion from table fellowship.
2. Exclusion from choir prayer.
3. Loss of fraternal fellowship.
4. If the guilty still does not repent, there is only one remedy: the prayer of all the brothers for the erring one."[530]

In the West, new monasteries mushroomed in the fifth and sixth centuries. This may have had not only spiritual or religious causes, but also the general time situation (the migration of peoples) played a significant role.[531] This growth of monasticism demanded an internal organisation, which was provided by Benedict.

"We are thus at the beginning of an institution that played a major role in the history of the Western Middle Ages."[532] Monasteries ensured the preservation of tradition[533] and at the same time became cultural carriers and training centres for both secular and ecclesiastical future leaders. The first European universities later grew out of them, they gave decisive impulses for the reclamation of cultivated land, and monasteries also provided important medical services.[534] The important contribution of monasticism to mission and Christianisation has already been mentioned.

5.5   Papal Politics in the Early Middle Ages

The early Middle Ages saw a further expansion of papal power. Pope Gelasius I (492-496) developed the doctrine of the two powers, according to which both the kingship and the priesthood are of divine origin, but their tasks are demarcated from one another. Gelasius I recognised the emperor's authority over the secular sphere but emphasised his subordination in terms of responsibility before God to the *sacerdotium*, the spiritual power.[535] He also rejected state intervention in ecclesiastical affairs. Under

---

[530] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 153.
[531] Cf. Klaus Merkt (ed.), *Das frühe christliche Mönchtum*, 194.
[532] Jacques Biarne, "Der Aufschwung des abendländischen Mönchtums (430-610)", 1005.
[533] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 82.
[534] Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 32-33;
[535] Cf. Mario Spinelli, "Gelasius, Päpste: Gelasius I", in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 4, Freiburg, Basel, Rom and Vienna: Herder, ³1995, 401-402.

Pope Symmachus (498-514), a synod in 501 rejected all accusations against the Pope on the grounds that "as Pope, he is not subject to any human judgement, but to the judgement of God alone."[536]

Another decisive milestone in the further development of the papacy was its aforementioned alliance with the Carolingian rulers. "Pepin the Younger (714-768) [...] had himself crowned king by the pope and in 756 snatched the territories of Ravenna and the Pentapolis from the Lombards, which had just been conquered by the Byzantines, in order to hand them over to the Pope."[537] This so-called "Pepin Donation" laid the territorial foundation for the Papal States and thus the pope was at the same time a political ruler of a state and the spiritual head of a church.[538] "In this for-mation of states lies one of the main causes of the secularisation of the papacy in the High and Late Middle Ages as well as in modern times."[539]

Whether, as traditionally assumed, this document originated in Rome at this time or in France at a later date is irrelevant. A forged document was circulated as Constantine's last will and testament, claiming that the emperor had transferred spiritual and temporal rule over the whole earth to the Pope:

> "We decree: He [the earthly throne] shall have the principate both over the excellent sees [i.e., the patriarchates] of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantino-ple, and Jerusalem, and over the other churches throughout the world. And we lay down: Let the priest who for a time presides over that most holy church be more exalted and as princeps superior to all the priests of the whole world. And let all matters be subject to his judgment which are for the worship of God or the fortification of the Christian faith."[540]

Not until the 15th century was this forgery exposed as such.

5.6   The Development of the Byzantine Church in the East

We now turn to the further development of the Eastern church. Let us recall:

---

[536] Georg Schwaiger, "Symmachus, Papst", in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 9, Frei-burg, Basel, Rom and Vienna: Herder, ³2000, 1166.
[537] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 41.
[538] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 116-117.
[539] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 41.
[540] Quoted from the translation by Marie-Luise Hackmann. Source: https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/14Jh/GoldeneBulle/Kaiser-tum.htm#Constitutum_Constantini [03.11.2021]

> "After the division of the Roman Empire into Eastern and Western Rome in
> 395, the Eastern Roman emperors regarded themselves as Romans. The Ro-
> man state merged closely with Christianity and Hellenistic culture, creating
> a state with a new identity. These three elements characterise the Byzantine
> Empire that emerged from Eastern Rome."[541]

On the whole, development in the Eastern church was characterised by
much greater continuity than in the West. Emperor Justinian I (reigned
527-565) is considered one of the most capable and dedicated rulers.[542] His
goal was the complete restoration of a prosperous empire.

> "He was inspired by this goal in his domestic policy, in his efforts to
> strengthen the state through legislative and administrative reform. How-
> ever, this goal also dominated his foreign policy, which was characterised
> by the reconquest of the lost provinces in the West, namely North Africa,
> Italy and part of Spain. This objective also predominated in Justinian's reli-
> gious policy, with which he constantly worked to restore and strengthen
> ecclesiastical unity.
>   In fact, for Justinian, 'the empire was a divinely created administrative
> structure, with the emperor at its head, governed exclusively by the truth
> of a single Christian orthodoxy as defined by the ecumenical councils'. Like
> his predecessors, he did not tolerate deviations from this orthodoxy. [...]
>   His duty to defend the faith naturally gave the emperor the right to in-
> tervene within the church, since according to the Eusebian programme he
> had to be the guarantor and even the organiser of its unity."[543]

"By linking ecclesiastical leadership with state power, he became a classic
representative of caesaropapism."[544] Thus Justinian not only interfered in
theological disputes, but also saw himself as responsible for the appoint-
ment or even dismissal of bishops.[545] At the same time, he also appeared as
a builder of churches and monasteries. One of his main emphases, how-
ever, was the fight against religious dissidents. Pagans who refused to con-
vert to Christianity despite instruction lost not only their rights as citizens,
but also all their possessions. Christians who turned back to paganism fell
under the death penalty. Heretics of various kinds, such as Manichaeans,

---

[541] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 74.
[542] Cf. Pierre Maraval, "Die Religionspolitik unter Justinian I." in: Luce Pietri (ed.), *Der
lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431 bis 642),* Die Geschichte des Chris-
tentums 3, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001, 421-461.
[543] Pierre Maraval, "Die Religionspolitik unter Justinian I.", 421.
[544] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 75.
[545] Cf. Pierre Maraval, "Die Religionspolitik unter Justinian I.", 423-425.

Montcivil service government offices, were not allowed to write a will or accept an inheritance and were not allowed to perform any religious act.

Justinian was also heavily involved in the disputes with the Monophysites, who opposed the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. We do not have sufficient space to discuss the attempts at reconciliation and compromise, which failed and ended, among other things, in the condemnation of Origen (543). Pierre Maraval concludes:

> "Justinian's reign ended as it had begun, under the aegis of the orthodoxy defined at Chalcedon. This council was confirmed in Constantinople in 553 […]. Nevertheless, the Monophysites had not disappeared, but they did pose a more and more external problem for the Byzantine Church, because they gradually organised themselves into separate churches under Justinian's successors – a separation that would eventually seal the political fate of certain regions of the Empire during the Arab conquest. On the other hand, although Justinian, obsessed by his desire to reconquer the West, had restored the bonds between the church of Constantinople and the Roman church, these bonds remained fragile, partly because of Rome's attitude (sometimes brusque under Hormisdas, sometimes fickle under Vigil), and partly because of the cultural drifting apart of the two worlds. This policy, marked by the ambition of unification, eventually led to the separation from the Eastern church and became the seed of future conflicts with the West."[546]

Byzantium experienced its greatest crisis in the course of the seventh century and significant territories were lost. Avars and Slavs conquered the Balkans,[547] Jerusalem was lost to the Persians in 614,[548] and in 626 even Constantinople was besieged by Avars but did not fall.[549] However, Jerusalem was reconquered by Byzantium in 630.

> "The victorious outcome of the war [for the reconquest of Jerusalem], which admittedly did not lead to a final strengthening of the empire in the long term, also had consequences for religious development. First of all, there was a completely new significance that the events of the war gave to sym-

---

[546]   Pierre Maraval, "Die Religionspolitik unter Justinian I.", 460.

[547]   Gilbert Dagron, "Byzantinische Kirche und byzantinische Christenheit zwischen Invasion und Ikonoklasmus (von der Mitte des 7. bis zum Beginn des 8. Jahrhunderts)", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1994, 4-13.

[548]   Gilbert Dagron, "Byzantinische Kirche und byzantinische Christenheit zwischen Invasion und Ikonoklasmus", 14.

[549]   Gilbert Dagron, "Byzantinische Kirche und byzantinische Christenheit zwischen Invasion und Ikonoklasmus", 18-20.

bols of faith: icons and crosses were publicly carried ahead of the troops, served as field signs and thus turned the reconquest into a kind of 'crusade'."[550]

The veneration of God and the saints in form of images gained importance in the East and eventually became key to Orthodoxy.[551] Yet this development was also marked by numerous disputes surrounding the so called "iconoclastic controversy". In 730, Emperor Leo III banned all veneration of images,

> "causing fierce battles to break out between the friends of icons and the iconoclasts. Leo's son, the energetic Constantine V, condemned image worship as idolatry and the work of Satan at the Council of Constantinople in 754. He expelled the image worshippers from the church. At the beginning of the 8th century, John of Damascus established image veneration on a theological level: veneration is not for the image, but for the representation of the holy person depicted. When Constantine's daughter-in-law Irene became empress, the image worshippers had their turn. She convened the 7th Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 787. The Orthodox and Catholic churches approved the veneration of saints and images."[552]

Similar to the church in the West, the church in the East also experienced a flourishing of monasticism, and monasteries also developed into an essential factor of church life in the Byzantine church. However, monastic life increasingly shifted from Egypt to Syria and Palestine.[553] "Monks saw themselves as keepers of the genuine faith tradition"[554] and demanded a say in theological questions, and "the self-confidence and influence of the monks had been substantially promoted by the iconoclastic controversy and its defeat."[555]

---

[550] Gilbert Dagron, "Byzantinische Kirche und byzantinische Christenheit zwischen Invasion und Ikonoklasmus", 23.

[551] Gilbert Dragon, "Der Ikonoklasmus und die Begründung der Orthodoxie (726-847)", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1994, 97.

[552] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 74.

[553] Hans-Georg Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im Byzantinischen Reich,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 1D1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980, 43-47.

[554] Hans-Dieter Döpmann, *Die Ostkirchen vom Bilderstreit bis zur Kirchenspaltung von 1054,* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/8, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1990, 108.

[555] Hans-Dieter Döpmann, *Die Ostkirchen vom Bilderstreit bis zur Kirchenspaltung von 1054*, 108.

6 The Further Development of the Western Church in High Medieval Europe and the Development in Eastern Churches (900-1250)

Christianity increasingly developed into the majority religion in most of Europe while at the same time Christianity in Asia and North Africa was pushed back by Islam. Despite the danger of taking an ethnocentric European approach, more emphasis in this chapter is placed on developments within the Western church, though combined with the effort to adequately present and appreciate non-European developments.

6.1 The Schism Between the Eastern and Western Churches

Of decisive importance in church history is the so-called schism between the Western and Eastern churches in 1054. Already since the fifth or sixth century, a slow but progressive drifting apart of the two Christian worlds had been occurring, "each of which had its own history, its own preferred language, its own religious practices, its own orthodoxy".[556]

It would therefore be short-sighted to reduce the events of 1054 to a conflict between two strong personalities that ultimately led to a schism. With the papal elevation of Leo IX (1049-1054), a critical attitude towards Byzantium prevailed in Rome. Added to this were diplomatic failures on the part of Byzantium in Italy. Thus, on the initiative of Michael Kerullarios, the patriarch in Constantinople, a letter was sent to the "Latins" urging them to "turn away from practices characterised as 'Jewish': communion in the form of unleavened bread and fasting on Saturdays."[557] It is noteworthy that Constantinople placed liturgical rather than dogmatic issues at the centre of the conflict. Pope Leo IX replied at length, invoking, among other things, the Donation of Constantine and the primacy of Rome. Probably under pressure from the emperor, Michael Kerullarios adopted a conciliatory tone for the time being. To settle the dispute, Rome sent a diplo-

---

[556] Gilbert Dagron, "Die Zeit des Wandels (Ende 10. bis 11. Jahrhundert)", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1994, 352.

[557] Gilbert Dagron, "Die Zeit des Wandels (Ende 10. bis 11. Jahrhundert)", 354.

matic delegation to Constantinople, which reached the city exactly in the month when Leo IX died. Gilbert Dagron describes the further events:

> "Received with honour by the emperor and lodged in the palace of Pege, they at the same time encountered Kerullarios, who had not been officially informed of their coming by the pope. He was treated by them like an accused and had to put up with gross insults as well as breaches of protocol. [...]
>
> The outcome was theatrical. On Saturday 16 July, at the third hour, the legates went to the Hagia Sophia and preached a short sermon to the clergy and the stunned faithful, then laid a bull of excommunication against the patriarch and his partisans on the altar. They then went out and shook the dust off their shoes in a biblical gesture with the words 'May God see and judge' (Matt 10:14)."[558]

In return, the pope was excommunicated by Kerullarios. Pointedly, Dagron notes, "It was two vengeful and ambitious people facing each other, not two churches."[559] Other reasons that eventually led to the schism lay in Rome's development into an imperial church with increasingly formulated dogmatic positions that remained alien to the Eastern church. Further areas of conflict lay in priestly celibacy, which Rome pushed and Byzantium rejected, and in the Pope's claim to primacy. Theologically, the different views on the *filioque* clause remained a bone of contention. While the Western church teaches that God the Father and the Son sent the Holy Spirit, Byzantium teaches that the Holy Spirit was sent by the Father through Christ.[560]

Peter Uhlmann concludes:

> "More far-reaching than all the divergences is the intellectual and spiritual dimension of this mutual cursing. Both churches deny each other the right to be the church of Christ! If one understands these excommunications not only as a macabre theatre, then all believers, including the clergy, have been cursed until the dissolution of the ban on 7 December 1965, which, among other things, precludes any prospect of divine salvation! Rome's curses against dissident Christians (e.g. Waldensians, Wyclif, Hus) and also against the Reformation churches (Luther etc.) were legally ineffective because the Catholic Church itself was excommunicated! Do such power intrigues still correspond to the church that Jesus wanted?"[561]

---

[558]   Gilbert Dagron, "Die Zeit des Wandels (Ende 10. bis 11. Jahrhundert)", 355.
[559]   Gilbert Dagron, "Die Zeit des Wandels (Ende 10. bis 11. Jahrhundert)", 357.
[560]   Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 112.
[561]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 112.

6.2   The Papacy

Uhlmann succinctly characterizes the situation of the papacy at the begin-
ning of the European High Middle Ages: "abominations on the papal
throne".[562] This phase of the papacy, which began with Sergius III in 904
and ended in 963 with the death of Pope John XII, is also referred to in
scholarly circles as "pornocracy", a papal rule influenced by mistresses.[563]
I will deliberately let a renowned Roman Catholic church historian, Karl
Bihlmeyer, speak at this point, who can certainly not be accused of any
anti-Catholic basic attitude and who summarises the development aptly:

> "In the wild party struggles of Italy, the papacy sank into the deepest impo-
> tence and became a plaything of the noble factions, who placed their family
> members and favourites on Peter's chair without regard to fitness. Popes
> Leo V (903) and Christophorus (903-904) died in prison after a short reign.
> They were strangled by Pope Sergius III (904-911), who owed his elevation
> to a powerful noble party headed by [...] Theodora and her daughters Ma-
> rozia and Theodora the Younger. These highly gifted but utterly inbred
> women exerted a dominant influence on the history of Rome and the papacy
> in the decades that followed. [...] Through the influence of the 'senatrix' The-
> odora the Elder, John of Ravenna was elevated as John X (914-928). [...] He
> finally succumbed to Marozia's second husband [...] and died in a dungeon.
> After Leo VI (928) and Stephen VII (929-931), Marozia's 'Senatrix et Patricia'
> raised her [...] son John XI (931-935), born of a relationship with Pope Pius
> Sergius III, to rule through him. Alberich, who then ruled Rome with a
> strong hand for 22 years, made the Romans swear on his deathbed that they
> would elect his 17-year-old son and heir Octavian as pope at the next va-
> cancy. And so it happened in December 955. As John XII (955-964), the young
> prince, a notoriously unworthy personality, once again united the spiritual
> and temporal power of Rome in his hands."[564]

---

[562] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 109.
[563] Cf. on this phase also: Pierre Riché with the collaboration of Jean Marie Martin and
       Michel Parisse, "Die westliche Christenheit im 10. und in der ersten Hälfte des 11.
       Jahrhunderts", in: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.), *Bischöfe,
       Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel,
       Vienna, 1994, 820-832; Friedrich Kempf, "Abendländische Völkergemeinschaft
       und Kirche von 900 bis 1046", in: Friedrich Kempf, Hans-Georg Beck, Eugen Ewig
       and Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Die mittelalterliche Kirche,* Erster Halbband, Handbuch
       der Kirchengeschichte III/1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1966, 225-228.
[564] Karl Bihlmeyer, *Kirchengeschichte* 2, Paderborn: Schöningh, [19]1996, 64-65. Quoted
       from Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 109-110. The connecting parentheses also
       comes from Uhlmann.

John XII was not only considered a notorious womaniser, but at the same time lived in an incestuous relationship with his sister. In 1032, an eighteen-year-old layman was elevated to the papacy: Benedict IX (1032-1044). In Bihlmeyer's words, he even surpassed the "moral inferiority" of John XII.

However, "In the history of the Church, periods of crisis have always been followed by phases of intensified reform efforts: *Ecclesia semper reformanda est.*"[565] At the centre of the reform efforts was above all the fight against simony – the purchase or sale of a spiritual or ecclesiastical office, benefices, sacraments, relics or the like – as well as against priestly marriage. In this context we even find the term "clerogamy", which led, for example, to the hereditary transmission of bishoprics. The following section should be read in the context of this concern for reform.

6.2.1 The Investiture Dispute

The "investiture dispute" summarises developments in German but also Western European history in the years between 1046 and 1122/25. It was a "turning point"[566] in both political and ecclesiastical terms.

For general church history, the starting point would be the aforementioned schism of 1054. Wilfried Hartmann summarises the changes operative during this period: ministerials and cities as helpers of the kings, a territorial formation of both ecclesiastical and secular princes, population growth, an improvement in agricultural technology, changed eating habits, increased building activity, increased mobility of the rural population and, in the ecclesiastical sphere, an increasing orientation towards the papacy.[567]

This growing alignment with the papacy was accompanied by church reform,[568] which the German King Henry III promoted.

> "The event that was to bring reform to Rome and, above all, thoroughly changed the papacy and its role in the Church, was the deposition of Benedict IX in September 1044. It is not clear on what grounds this pope was deposed after a twelve-year pontificate; what is certain is that he had become pope at the age of 18, against the rules of canon law, because he belonged to

---

[565] Pierre Riché with the collaboration of Jean Marie Martin and Michel Parisse, "Die westliche Christenheit im 10. und in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts", 869.
[566] Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 21, Munich: Oldenbourg, ³2007, 1.
[567] Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit,* 2-5.
[568] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Das mittelalterliche Christentum*, 213.

the Tusculan family, which was influential in Rome at the time. The end of his pontificate came when a revolt by the nobility of a quite conventional nature ended the thirty-year dominance of the Tusculans in Rome. Their opponents elevated the Bishop of Sabina as the new Pope (Sylvester III). Benedict IX initially held his own against him quite well. On 1 May 1045, however, he ceded his papacy to his relative John Gratianus, who took the name Gregory VI. The latter behaved in a manner customary for the time when he compensated the former followers of Benedict IX with monetary payments [...].

When King Henry III went to Italy for his imperial coronation in 1046, the papal schism already seemed to have been eliminated, for Gregory VI had come to an agreement with Sylvester III. Nevertheless, at two synods held in Sutri and Rome, all three popes were removed from office and Bishop Suidger of Bamberg was appointed pope by Henry III. This procedure was probably mainly due to the fact that the German king did not want to receive the imperial crown from a pope who could possibly be described as illegitimate."[569]

Suidger of Bamberg called himself Pope Clement II and already indicated with his choice of name that he wanted to reform the church according to the model of the early church; however, he died in 1047. His successors were also Germans; Pope Damasus II, however, held office for only three weeks and the nobleman Bruno of Toul was chosen as his successor by Henry III in February 1049 as Pope Leo IX and immediately tackled reforms. He was particularly active in the fight against simony and priestly marriages, and he held numerous synods in Italy, France and Germany.[570] When the Normans threatened the possessions of the Papal States in lower Italy and the emperor was unable to come to his aid, Leo IX began to recruit his own troops and received a large influx, especially from Swabia, as he was offered a temporal indulgence for taking part in the papal campaign. However, the pope's army suffered a severe defeat in June 1053 and the pope was imprisoned until the spring of 1054. Shortly afterwards, Leo IX died on 19 April 1054. Once again, a German, Bishop Gebhard of Eichstätt, was elected pope and took the name Victor II (1055-1057). In October, the dying emperor even entrusted him with the guardianship of his minor son Henry IV; however, Victor II died of malaria in the summer of 1057, and so the supremacy of the imperium over the papacy came to an end.

---

[569] Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit,* 9.
[570] Cf. Pierre Riché with the collaboration of Jean Marie Martin and Michel Parisse, "Die westliche Christenheit im 10. und in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts", 872-874; Volker Leppin, *Das mittelalterliche Christentum*, 213-215.

Emperor Henry IV, born on 11 November 1050, was elected king at age three and crowned in Aachen on 17 July 1054. One year later, at Christmas 1055, he was betrothed to Bertha, the daughter of Margrave Otto of Turin. For the time being, the regency was carried out by his mother. However, she came into conflict with the nobility and in November 1061 took the veil, i.e., from then on she devoted herself only to spiritual matters. In March 1062, Archbishop Anno of Cologne kidnapped the young Henry and a coup d'état took place, which subsequently led to great mistrust on Henry's part towards the princes. Further developments in German politics as well as in the Roman papacy cannot be discussed in detail here.[571] Mention should be made, however, of Pope Alexander II (1061-1073), under whose influence the papacy greatly expanded its influence in the sphere of the Western church and who did not shy away from conflict with the German king and nobility.[572] Subsequently, there were also conflicts within Germany, especially with the Saxons, which further weakened the position of the young Henry IV and led to military conflicts. In the ecclesiastical sphere, a monk named Hildebrand was elected as pope on 22 April 1073, and he took the name Gregory VII.[573] While he initially tried to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards Henry IV, his statements, which went down in history as the "Dictatus Papae", soon caused quite a stir.

> "The most important tendency of these propositions is the assertion of the absolute special position of the Roman church, attributed to its institution by Christ Himself, and the leading position of the Bishop of Rome [...]. According to proposition 23, every pope is already holy in his lifetime because the greatness of St. Peter's merits radiates to him; in proposition 26, only he who agrees with the Roman church is called orthodox."[574]

Other propositions stated that papal jurisdiction over bishops wee just as little dependent on synodal decisions as the fact that papal legates were

---

[571] Cf. however: Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit*, 16-21; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. "Die römische Kirche 1054-1124: Reform und Erstarken des Papsttums", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 33-39.

[572] Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Die römische Kirche 1054-1124: Reform und Erstarken des Papsttums", 39-46.

[573] On the life and work of Gregory VII, cf. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *Gregor VII: Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2001; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. "Die römische Kirche 1054-1124: Reform und Erstarken des Papsttums", 46-67 Volker Leppin, *Das mittelalterliche Christentum,* 219-226.

[574] Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit,* 22.

above bishops. The possible intervention of the Pope in the secular sphere is addressed in proposition six, where the Pope ascribes to himself the right to depose the emperor.[575] Gregory VII did not shy away from conflict with the bishops, who, however, offered resolute resistance.

> "The king initially kept out of Gregory's conflict with the bishops and was still praised by the pope in the summer of 1075 for his commitment to [papal] reform. A confrontation arose only when Henry IV intervened in the bishops' dispute in the autumn of 1075 and elevated Tedald, a member of his court chapel, to Archbishop of Milan. When Henry then also appointed new bishops for Spoletto and Fermo, whose seats were in the Papal States, Gregory had to act. In December 1075, he sent a letter to the king [...] in which he called on Henry, in an almost threatening tone, to reverse the measures and to obey the 'Prince of the Apostles' Peter."[576]

Henry IV, however, did not think of submitting to the pope but formed an alliance himself with the German bishops, who opposed the pope and refused to obey him because his elevation to the papacy had been illegal and he was leading an immoral lifestyle – precisely the accusation that the pope usually levelled against his opponents. In addition, an assassination attempt was made against Gregory VII at Christmas 1075. Completely unexpectedly, Gregory subsequently resorted to an unprecedented measure and declared Henry IV deposed and excommunicated at the Lenten Synod of 1074. Most of the bishops subsequently sided with the pope, and the attempt at a trial of the pope, combined with a new election, also failed. As Henry IV was in danger of being deposed as king if he did not reconcile with the pope, he travelled across the Alps in the middle of winter with a small retinue.

> "On 25 January 1077 [... he] appeared before the castle of Canossa, to which Gregory VII had withdrawn on his way to his kingdom. On this and the following days, the king stood barefoot in the snow, dressed in heretical penitential robes, and, through the intercession of the Margravine Matilda and his godfather Hugh of Cluny, who was present in Canossa, managed to have him released from his ban and readmitted to the communion of the Church (28 January 1077). Henry had to promise to submit to the Pope's judgement because of his conflict with the princes.
>
>   Thus Henry had saved his crown for the time being, but he had given up the claim he had formulated in the letter of January 1076 that the king, as the 'Anointed of the Lord', was not responsible to any earthly judge. Like an

---

[575] Cf. Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit,* 22.
[576] Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit*, 23.

ordinary layman, Henry had taken upon himself an ecclesiastical penance, thus demonstrating that even kings are subject to the spiritual magistracy of the pope."[577]

I will not go into detail here about the intrigues that took place in the following years. However, the dispute over investiture did not end there. Not until the Concordat of Worms in September 1121 was a compromise reached:[578] "The pope conceded to the king that he may first perform the scepter investiture [before consecration] in Germany [though not that with ring and staff]; conversely, Henry IV undertook that he will not confirm the investiture until the pope had installed the bishops in Italy and Burgundy."[579] Furthermore, the church conceded to the emperor to be allowed to be present at all elections of bishops and abbots, but without exercising simony and violence. Despite the compromise that was reached, Michel Parisse and Jerzy Kloszowski conclude that the investiture question remained basically unresolved[580] What remained at the end of a conflict that lasted several decades? Rolf Legaler summarises the conflict and its long-term consequences:

> "Under Gregory VII, the papacy had finally succumbed to megalomania. The New Testament was suspended. Humility was no longer the noblest virtue of the supreme Christian. Christ's words 'My kingdom is not of this world' and 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's' were no longer used. The ultimate goal was now a Christian theocracy with the pope at the top of the hierarchical pyramid. Possibly the papacy in its delusion had not seen through the demonised circular argument that one cannot free the church from secular influence if one simultaneously makes it the supreme secular ruler. The Gregorian reform, contrary to its intention, led from one disaster to another: Instead of strengthening the universal power of the church, it helped to accelerate the formation of territorial states and their churches; as a feudal lord, it itself took part in the oppression of the masses; instead of drawing the faithful to itself, it began

---

[577]   Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit*, 24-25. See also: Michel Parisse and Jerzy Kloszowski, "Die christlichen Reiche in Auseinandersetzung mit der Kirche: Der Investiturstreit und sein Ergebnis", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 107-22.

[578]   Cf. Wilfried Hartmann, *Der Investiturstreit,* 40-41.

[579]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 125.

[580]   Cf. on the evaluation of the compromise reached: Michel Parisse and Jerzy Kloszowski, "Die christlichen Reiche in Auseinandersetzung mit der Kirche: Der Investiturstreit und sein Ergebnis" 122; Volker Leppin, *Das mittelalterliche Christentum,* 228-229.

to repel them by their partial exclusion from important religious decisions and processes, and one 'heresy' after another appeared on the scene; [...] it strengthened French royalty, with the result of the Babylonian captivity at Avignon; the popes of the Gregorian reform plunged the Occident into the madness of the Crusades, at the end of which was the destruction of Byzantium and Occitania [southwest France], the two most flourishing centres of Christian culture"[581]

6.2.2   Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council

The pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216) was the high point of papal power in the Western Middle Ages.[582] As a young man he had studied theology in Rome, Paris, and Bologna; he was highly educated and also well versed in law. He tried to expand papal influence above all in the political sphere, so that Peter Uhlmann speaks of a "universal monarchy of the papacy".[583]

> "The background for the comprehensive political action was the further development of the pope's ideology under Innocent III. The title 'vicarius Christi', representative of Christ, which had its roots in antiquity and was occasionally used in the reform papacy, now became a permanent part of the pope's title. This was a consequence of the Petrine mandate, but at the same time the idea of the vicar was directly related to Christ as the world ruler. Innocent saw himself not only as the head of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but also as ruler over all peoples. In practice, he was able to put this into practice by a mixture of political skill and programmatic legislation."[584]

For Pope Innocent III, papal power rested on the authority to bind and loose, which also applied to the sins of kings and princes. He understood any worldly rulers only as his fief holders. "As the moon receives its radiance from the sun, so kings receive their radiance from papal authority."[585] The culmination of his pontificate was the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215, attended by 402 cardinals, patriarchs and bishops representing 80 ecclesiastical provinces.[586] In addition, there were over 800 other

---

[581]   Rolf Legler, *Südwest-Frankreich,* DuMont Kunst-Reiseführer, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, ⁶1985, 46. Quoted from Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 124.

[582]   Volker Leppin, *Das mittelalterliche Christentum*, 277.

[583]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 160.

[584]   Volker Leppin, *Das mittelalterliche Christentum*, 279.

[585]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 160-161.

[586]   Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Die römische Kirche von Innozenz III. bis Gregor X.", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 581-594.

ecclesiastical dignitaries such as abbots, priors, provosts and deans. Among the important decisions of the Council[587] was the doctrine of transubstantiation, namely that in the Eucharist bread and wine are transformed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, while preserving the outward taste and appearance. Believers were obliged to make auricular confession, which they had to undergo at least once a year during the Easter season, in order to participate in the Eucharist afterwards. With regard to the Inquisition, provisions were enacted that enabled bishops to use secular power for this purpose, and rulers had to carry out the sentences imposed by the church.

6.3   Monasticism in the Occident

At the beginning of the tenth century, monastic reform movements emerged, which in church historiography are primarily associated with the foundation of the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy in 910.

6.3.1   The Cluniac Movement

The monastery of Cluny was founded by the Duke of Aquitaine (886-926) in 910. "In his deed of foundation, he stipulated that neither he nor any other noble or ecclesiastical prince should have access to the possessions of the monastery."[588] Instead, he placed it under the control of the Pope and obliged the monastery to freely elect abbots and to strictly follow the Benedictine rule.

In monastic life, manual work receded and was replaced by solemn liturgy, prayers of intercession and remembrance of the dead.

> "The merit of perpetual reward also put the economic aspects of founding a monastery at the service of memoria. William had no children and so could not count on descendants who would of their own free will secure him a liturgical memory. Through the monastery of Cluny, he secured his memory in prayer in perpetuity. The monks were to preserve his memory before the living in the presence of God."[589]

The feast of All Souls also originated from Cluny. Peter Uhlmann remarks on the further spread of the Cluniac reform:

---

[587]   Cf. on the Council Decrees as a whole: Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Die römische Kirche von Innozenz III. bis Gregor X.", 586-589.
[588]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 175.
[589]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 176-177.

"Part of the reform is that Cluny creates for itself the headship for the hitherto independent monasteries, thus creating a graded federation of abbeys. A little later, the Cluniac also became the bearers of the Reconquista in Spain and of the Crusade idea. Abbot Odon (927-942), educated as a writer, poet and musician, causes hundreds of monasteries in the Kingdom of Burgundy, France and Italy to join Cluny, creating a broad reform movement. The monasteries escape secular exploitation."[590]

Later, the movement spread to Spain, Germany and England and had a formative influence on Popes Leo IX and Gregory VII.

6.3.2   Reform Orders

Around 200 years later, at the turn of the twelfth century, new reform orders emerged that were characterised above all by a rigorous piety. Volker Leppin notes the reasons for their emergence:

"Cluny's success, which was also an economic success, had caused the monasteries to grow into ever larger convents and thus exposed the monastic way of life to considerable dangers. The large-scale operation of the monastery hardly allowed it to be distinguished from the world anymore. This discrepancy gave rise to new reform approaches whose concern was to revive the original ascetic ideals."[591]

In southern Italy, for example, a new hermitism developed under the influence of Byzantium, from which a mixture of eremitical and communal lifestyles subsequently developed.[592] It was possible to live personal asceticism and at the same time to organise prayer and liturgy together.

From Italy, the hermit movement also spread to the French region and influenced the founding of the Carthusian Order by the Cologne canon Bruno, who founded the hermitage La Chartreuse – a church with hermit cells – in a remote mountain gorge near Grenoble around 1084. The number of members of a charterhouse was usually limited to sixteen converse (lay brothers) and twelve monks.

"On weekdays, they lived a strictly eremitical life: meals and most of the hourly prayers took place in their own cell; only Vigil [nocturnal prayer time], Lauds [morning praise] and Vespers [evening prayer] were sung together in the church. On Sundays, on the other hand, the monks gathered

---

[590]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 117.
[591]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 258.
[592]   Cf. Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 258.

for services and hourly prayers in the church for meals in the refectory. Only at Compline [evening and final prayer of the hours] did they retire to their cells again."[593]

Uhlmann speaks of a lifestyle of "unprecedented radicalism of renunciation and solitude"[594] of the Carthusians.

The first monastery of the Cistercian Order was founded in 1098 in Cîteaux, Burgundy, France, and it broke away from the Benedictines in 1118.[595] However, it was guided by a rigorous interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, endeavoured to isolate itself from the outside world, simplified the Clunian liturgy, committed itself to poverty and emphasised agricultural work. As early as 1112, a second monastery was founded in Clairvaux and in 1115 Bernard, who was only 24 years old, was elected its abbot.[596] Uhlmann describes Bernard of Clairvaux as "one of the most pioneering and eloquent figures of the Middle Ages".[597] Bernard emphasised a belief in miracles, the veneration of Mary, and intercession for the dead; the so-called Bernardine mysticism dates back to him. "Inspired by Bernard, the Cistercians live a strictly ascetic life. Their piety is borne by a mystical spirit. They immerse themselves in a fervent devotion to Christ (humble surrender) and know a pronounced devotion to Mary."[598] The order spread rapidly throughout Europe and by 1150 there were already almost 400 Cistercian monasteries, many of which quickly attained great wealth in the following century.

The last reform order to be mentioned at this point is the Premonstratensian Order.[599] It was founded around 1120/1121 under the influence of Norbert of Xanten[600] and its core was initially formed by a group of clerics who committed themselves to the Augustinian rule and strict asceticism. The first abbot, Hugo of Fosses (d. 1161/1164), who gave the order a taut

[593] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 259.
[594] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 128.
[595] Cf. on the Cistercians: Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 260-265; Michel Parisse, "Zwischen actio und contemplatio: die Orden im 12. Jahrhundert", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 409-416.
[596] Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 129.
[597] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 129.
[598] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 130.
[599] Cf. Michel Parisse, "Zwischen actio und contemplatio: die Orden im 12. Jahrhundert", 421-422; Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 265-266,
[600] Cf. Kaspar Elm, "Norbert von Xanten", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 161-172.

form and otherwise oriented himself in many respects to the Cistercians, whereby there were initially double monasteries "in which men and women were to be gathered around the priests as an image of the original community".[601]

6.3.3   The Mendicant and Inquisitorial Orders

About one hundred years later, around 1210, two further orders were founded, namely

> "the Order of Friars Minor initiated by Francis of Assisi and the Order of Friars Preachers founded by Dominic. Although the differences between the two movements were already considerable in the early days, contemporaries were struck by their similar orientation as well as their radically new approach compared to the existing orders."[602]

Whereas the previous monastic orders had built their monasteries in rural or even barren areas, the new orders sought urban proximity. Whereas the previous monasteries ran an almost self-sufficient business, the new orders engaged in spiritual and charitable activities among the population. Whereas in the older orders the principle applied that the individual monk should remain propertyless, the new orders extended this principle to the order itself: for example, the order should also not own any real estate.

Francis of Assisi was born at the end of the year 1181 or beginning of 1182 as the son of a rich cloth merchant in the small Umbrian town of Assisi.[603] However, he showed little interest in commercial activity, but more in the fun-loving society of the better circles and adopted the ideals of courtly culture from them. In 1205, fascinated by warfare and knightly life, he joined a campaign initiated by Innocent III against the emperor, but broke it off due to illness and a vision and returned to Assisi.

> "This was the beginning of a long process of conversion that led him to seek the only way in seclusion and prayer. After his father had reproached him for his generosity towards the poor and the churches, the break came: Fran-

---

[601]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 266.

[602]   André Vauchez, "Die Bettelorden und ihr Wirken in der städtischen Gesellschaft", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 833.

[603]   Cf. Ulrich Köpf, "Franz von Assisi" in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 282-302.

cis renounced his inheritance and placed himself as a penitent under the protection of the Bishop of Assisi. In February 1208, during a sermon, he heard the passage from Matthew (Matt 10:5-16), which speaks of sending out the disciples without money and shoes, and became aware of his true vocation: a life of evangelical poverty. The break was to be radical. He renounced lavish clothing, kept only one tunic, replaced the belt with a rope and began to call his fellow citizens to conversion. He was soon joined by a number of residents – lay and clerical alike – from Assisi and the surrounding area. The first small walking community was born."[604]

Francis subsequently sought and received the pope's support, and the group expanded its preaching activities in central Italy. Above all, Francis' charisma captivated people and a female association was founded alongside the male order. From 1217, the Franciscan Order was organised into provinces in order to better coordinate and manage the growing work. Soon the friars were active in Germany, France, England, Spain, Morocco and Syria.[605]

Francis himself set off for the Holy Land in the year 1219 and joined the fifth Crusade in Egypt. There, during a truce, he sought out the Sultan and tried, with little success, to convince him of the superiority of the Christian faith. On his return, he had to revise some measures introduced by his deputies during his absence, mainly concerning the vow of poverty. Francis subsequently withdrew from the leadership of the order and was also not in agreement with its further development in some respects. In poor health, he withdrew to various hermitages. Francis died on 3 October 1226. André Vauchez pays tribute to his life and work:

"A personality of great charisma, the Poverello ["the little poor" – a term used to describe the young Francis] of Assisi impressed his contemporaries above all by the absolute coherence between his words and deeds, between the message he spread and its de facto implementation. The core of this message was poverty. In Francis' eyes, poverty was not merely a social condition or a virtue, but the very essence of evangelical life. With him, the old ascetic motto 'to follow the naked Christ naked', so widespread in 12th-century Europe, was transformed into a concrete lifestyle on an individual and collective level."[606]

---

[604] André Vauchez, "Die Bettelorden und ihr Wirken in der städtischen Gesellschaft", 834.
[605] Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 197.
[606] André Vauchez, "Die Bettelorden und ihr Wirken in der städtischen Gesellschaft", 837.

About six years before Francis' birth, Domingo de Guzman was born in Castile around 1175.[607] He came from a noble family and was destined for an ecclesiastical career at an early age. As a young cleric, he accompanied his bishop on a journey to northern Germany and saw the devastation wrought there by the pagan tribe of Cumans, who came from Central Europe and had been used as mercenaries by the princes. Back in Spain, both wanted to devote themselves to missionary work among the Cumans, but first obtained permission from the pope. On their way back, they realised in the Toulouse area (France) how successful the teachings of the Cathars were there.

> "In August 1206, the two men encountered the papal mission of the Cistercians against the heretics in Montpellier, which, discouraged by the negative reception from the local population, wanted to abandon its mission. Shocked by the luxury of dress and the size of the entourage of the papal representatives, which contrasted fiercely with the ascetic and humble lifestyle of the perfecti (perfect ones), they decided to stay in Languedoc and try to bring the faithful there back to the Orthodox faith through 'apostolic' itinerant preaching, that is, by preaching the Word of God in humility and poverty."[608]

They engaged in public disputations with Cathars and Waldensians and also succeeded in winning back some believers. With the increase of his followers, Dominic founded a monastery for women and an order of preachers, which was finally confirmed in 1217. "Dominic's ingenious idea was to send his companions, who were still few in number, to some of the great urban centres which were also university towns […] where they could devote themselves to study with a view to future preaching activity."[609] Their ascetic lifestyle and apostolic zeal won them many followers and supporters, especially among the elites. When Dominic died in 1221, the order numbered several hundred friars in 25 convents.

Vauchez summarises the importance of the mendicant orders:

> "Even more than by the mendicant, to which they owe their name, the mendicant orders define themselves by their orientation towards the apostolate,

---

[607] Cf. M.-H. Vicaire, "Dominikus", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 267-281.

[608] André Vauchez, "Die Bettelorden und ihr Wirken in der städtischen Gesellschaft", 838.

[609] André Vauchez, "Die Bettelorden und ihr Wirken in der städtischen Gesellschaft", 839.

i.e. their determination to devote themselves entirely to the salvation of souls in danger, be they simple believers, heretics or pagans. Thus, unlike the old orders, the mendicants showed much openness towards the world they wanted to do minister to. Although they led a communal life in convents, they did not stay behind the monastery walls, but went out into the world whenever it was appropriate to care for people. Unlike the monks, the followers of Francis and Dominic renounced worldly life only in order to turn more strongly to their fellow human beings and to address them more intensively to God. The mendicants did not feel called primarily to atone for their own missteps or violations of the Rule, but to lead the faithful to repentance and the unbelievers to the true faith."[610]

6.4   The Crusades

The Crusade movement had multiple causes.[611] Friedhelm Winkelmann speaks of "preparatory lines" and names the following:

"On one hand, there was the ideological reorientation, which became particularly visible in the reform movement, the concept of peace with God and the Christian conception of history. This was linked to the idea of a Christian Restauratio and Reconquista of the formerly Christian areas of the Occident conquered by Muslims, i.e. Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, but above all Spain. Another important factor was the threat to Christian pilgrims going to the holy places in Palestine and Jerusalem. The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was a particularly striking example of this for the West. Finally, the oppressed situation of the Byzantine Christians in the areas of Asia Minor conquered by the Seljuks should be mentioned."[612]

The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on 22 September 1009 shook the Roman church more than the Eastern church, which had be-

---

[610] André Vauchez, "Die Bettelorden und ihr Wirken in der städtischen Gesellschaft", 841.

[611] Cf. on the crusade movement: Steven Runciman, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* Munich: C. H. Beck, ⁴1983; Nikolas Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, ⁶2013; Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/10, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1994; Rodney Stark, *Gottes Krieger: Die Kreuzzüge im neuen Licht,* Berlin: Haffmann & Tolkemitt, 2014; Paul M. Cobb, *The Rise for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014; Marcus Bull, "Christian Life and Movement: Crusade and Conquest", in Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.), *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 340-352.

[612] Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, 44.

come accustomed to difficult relations with Muslim rulers. Although Byzantium quickly succeeded in reaching an agreement with the Fatimid Caliph Al-Hakim (996-1021) that it would be granted protective rule over Orthodox Christianity in the Holy Land and permission to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other destroyed churches, it was soon caught between the fronts within Islam. Since the tenth century, Turkmen Seljuks had been on the advance, conquering Baghdad in 1055 and subsequently penetrating deep into Byzantine territory, demanding tribute payments from the defeated emperor and subsequently establishing the Sultanate of Iconia, under which large parts of Asia Minor fell. Finally, in 1076, they conquered Jerusalem and Damascus.

Due to the growing threat, Byzantium once again drew closer to the Western church. Even before the conquest of Jerusalem, Emperor Michael VII Ducas had turned to Pope Gregory VII for help. However, his successors took the opportunity to strengthen their own precarious situation in Europe by becoming involved, and it is likely that Pope Urban II himself was surprised by the enthusiasm that his call for an armed pilgrimage at the request of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), made at the Synod of Clermont in 1095, aroused.[613] Here are excerpts from his speech:

> "For it is necessary for you to hasten to the aid of your brothers who dwell in the East as quickly as possible, since your help has already been called for and desired many times. The Turks, a Persian people, have penetrated as far as the Mediterranean, as far as the so-called Arm of St. George [the Bosporus and Sea of Marmara], as most of you have already been told. They have broken through the borders of Romania [the Byzantine Empire], occupied more and more land of the Greeks, defeated them in battle several times, killed and captured many, destroyed churches, and laid waste the Kingdom of God. If you leave them alone for a while, they will continue to subjugate believers. For this reason, I implore you – not I, but the Lord – as heralds of Christ, to advise all ranks – knights and footmen, rich and poor – by frequent proclamation, that they endeavour to help the Christians now, to drive this useless people from our lands. I say it to those present; those absent I charge – but Christ gives the command. But all who go there and lose their lives on the march or by sea or in battle against the heathen – their sins will be forgiven in that hour. What I proclaim to those who go there is given by God as a great gift. What a shame it would be if such a despised, degenerate and demon-surrendered people [the Seljuks] should surpass the people of Almighty God who possess faith and over whom

---

613   Cf. Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des christlichen Mittelalters*, 269.

Christ's name shines! In how great a disgrace will you stand before God if you do not help those who, like you, are also Christians."[614]

The Pope had called neither for the conversion of the Seljuks nor for their destruction, but only for the liberation of the Christians and of Jerusalem. Common apocalyptic-eschatological concepts may also have played a role here.[615] After all, the crusaders saw themselves as an armed band of pilgrims connected with the penitential system which was associated with pilgrimage, again with the idea of merit or reward, and this again was linked to the developing system of indulgences. Therefore, social-historical aspects must also be taken into account: "Obviously, there were quite a number of people who hoped that the crusade would provide them with a solution to their oppressive economic and social circumstances."[616] The so-called "Peasants' Crusade" offers a tragic example of this:

> "Under the leadership of the itinerant preachers Peter of Amiens and Walter Senzavohir, several bands of poorly armed men, women and children gathered in central and eastern France, in the Netherlands and in the Rhineland. They set out for Constantinople by land and suffered many losses already on the march; they plundered, scorched and murdered in Christian lands. Quickly ferried to Asia Minor by the Byzantines for this reason, they perished there – barely equipped – under false guiding principles and bad leadership."[617]

Winkelmann speaks of this peasant crusade of 1096 as a trauma for the Occident, and in Hungary, Bulgaria and Byzantium in particular, these experiences shaped the relationship to the Crusades from then on.

Byzantium as well responded to the Crusade movement with a certain ambivalence, fearing an expansion of the Western church's sphere of power, and so the Byzantine emperor obliged the Western princes not only to swear an oath of allegiance, but also to return to Byzantium any territories to be conquered in the future that had formerly belonged to Byzantium.[618]

Despite heavy losses, the first Crusade reached Jerusalem in the year 1097 and took the city after several weeks of fighting, but the crusaders

---

[614]   Quoted from Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, 45.
[615]   Cf. Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, 47.
[616]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des christlichen Mittelalters*, 269.
[617]   Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, 51.
[618]   Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, 51.

caused a bloodbath among the Muslim and Jewish population. Subsequently, the crusaders established their own "states" in the Middle East. In general, one must imagine the situation in the Middle East as characterised by a wide variety of alliances of interest as well as conflicts of interest. This was true for both Christian and Muslim parties, and the fronts ran across all groups.

When a Muslim army captured Edessa (present-day Urfah or Orfah, close to Aleppo, Syria) in Mesopotamia in 1144, the crusade idea flourished again in the West. Pope Eugene III called for another crusade at Christmas 1145, and both King Louis VII of France and King Conrad III in the German-Roman Empire eventually agreed to lead the army. Pope Eugene III commissioned Bernard of Clairvaux to write a call to crusade, the so-called "Crusade Sermon." Again, the focus was once own spiritual purification, while at the same time Bernard also rejected pogroms against the Jews.[619] The second Crusade turned out to be a fiasco: neither Edessa could be recaptured nor Damascus taken, and it also deepened the rift between the Eastern and Western churches, since the French in particular saw the Eastern Christian Emperor Manuel as a traitor in a pact with the Muslim enemy.

Three Christian powers fought for supremacy in the twelfth century: Byzantium, the German Empire and the Pope. "The real beneficiaries of the development, however, were the Normans and the Italian maritime republics. They were joined by an increasing strengthening of political forces in the Muslim world."[620] Between 1189 and 1192, under the leadership of the German Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, King Philip II of France and King Richard the Lionhearted of England, a third Crusade was launched, triggered by the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 by Saladin of Egypt. However, Frederick Barbarossa drowned in Asia Minor in 1190 and the crusaders succeeded only in reconquering the Palestinian coast, not Jerusalem.

"The culmination of the reversal of the crusade idea was the so-called Fourth Crusade. Even the actual goal was less religious than strategic: in Egypt, the current centre of Muslim power was to be hit. But even the start was unsuccessful: the crusaders were supposed to be transported from the rich city of Venice to Egypt in exchange for a contractually agreed sum of money, but they were unable to raise the amount. As compensation, they

---

[619] Cited from: Adolf Martin Ritter and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Mittelalter*, Kirchen und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen 2, Neukirchen-Vlujn: Neukirchener Verlag, ⁹2021, 133-34.
[620] Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert)*, 57.

conquered the city of Zara in Dalmatia, which had been the focus of Venetian interests for some time but had been taken by Hungary in 1186; there, the Crusader army turned against Christians, and it continued to do so. Together with the Venetian leaders, the crusaders followed the request for help from Alexios, the son of the ousted emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185-1193 and again 1203-1204), and moved to Constantinople. In 1204 they took the city and plundered it. Instead of the Holy Land, Latin Christendom had conquered the capital of the East and, in a traumatising process for the Greeks, established a Latin empire complete with a patriarchate and petty empires in Greece."[621]

There were seven crusades in all, including the ones directed towards the East, the description of which. I will close by referencing the so-called Children's Crusades. The term itself is misleading, since it was not a papally confirmed crusade, nor was it a crusade composed solely of children.

"Rather, the 'Children's Crusades' comprised several groups composed of the destitute, the lowly clergy, the elderly, women and youth, who joined leaders committed to the ideas of poverty. One of these, Nicholas of Cologne, went preaching up the Rhine in 1212 and gathered a growing band of followers with the assurance that the sea would open of its own accord to the followers of Christ and clear the way to Palestine. In July/August 1212 they crossed the Alps. When the prediction did not come true and Pope Innocent III did not take up the initiative either, the groups disbanded. Most returned home without having achieved anything or settled in Italy. A similar fate had befallen a second group under the young shepherd Stephen near Orleans shortly before; they handed King Philip II a supposed letter from God calling for a crusade, but soon disbanded. According to an unconfirmed legend, some who nevertheless attempted the crossing to Palestine were cheated by ship owners and sold as slaves in the Levant."[622]

How is the Crusade movement to be assessed? Here are the words of Lutz von Padberg:

"To classify the crusade movement as un-Christian in principle is certainly justified but overlooks the historical reality. Pope Urban's call could have such overwhelming success only because it met with an enthusiasm for God's cause that is difficult for today's minds to comprehend. God's cause was, of course, defined by the church, and that did not necessarily have to agree with what the Bible said. But one must not arrogantly reproach the people of that time for that from the perspective of the later know-it-all.

---

[621]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des christlichen Mittelalters*, 271.
[622]   Nikolaus Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge*, 51.

Because the crusaders didn't know any different, they had to trust that the statements of the popes and priests corresponded to Christian truth. They had no possibility of checking, as reading the Bible was alien to laymen, and the monopoly of interpretation lay with the church. The Crusades are a side branch of a significant spiritual renewal of the High Middle Ages, and their participants earnestly wanted to fulfil God's will. [...]

Is it possible to gain positive aspects from the crusade epoch despite rejection of the massacres? Certainly, if one is prepared to think in a differentiated way and does not only use the killer arguments. Despite the wars, the Christian and Islamic worlds entered into economic and cultural exchange, which would promote innovative developments in the following period. Orders of knighthood and hospitals such as the Knights of St. John emerged, which shaped the religious life of Latin Christendom in the crusader states and continue to exist in modified form to this day. In the astonishingly modern hospitals of the Order of Saint John, Christians were treated equally to Muslims. Moreover, the era at least set in motion thoughts of religious tolerance and peace among nations."[623]

6.5   Scholasticism

Scholasticism refers to Western medieval science from the ninth to the fourteenth century, which also incorporated ancient Aristotelian philosophy into Christian theology and created systems of thought and doctrine in the area of tension between revelation and reason. Scholasticism was not limited to theology, however, but encompassed the entire field of science, including such fields as jurisprudence and medicine. Parallel to this, numerous universities were established.[624]

In theology, the traditional synthesis between Christianity and Platonism was now called into question by the rediscovery of Aristotelian thought. "Alongside the authority of tradition came the ratio, the critical examination of the multifaceted tradition."[625] A first important cornerstone of early scholasticism was the universalist controversy in the eleventh century. Behind the question, "Where and how can the real, the ac-

---

[623] Lutz E. von Padberg, *In Gottes Namen? Von Kreuzzügen, Inquisition und gerechten Kriegen: Die 10 häufigsten Vorwürfe gegen das Christentum,* Giessen and Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 2010, 131-132.

[624] Cf. Andrè Vauchez and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, "Der Aufstieg der Universitäten und die Blüte der scholastischen Theologie", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 861-885.

[625] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr; *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 105.

tual, be grasped?"[626] was the question of the reality of statements of faith. The universalist controversy was thus about fundamental epistemological questions and problems. Armin Sierszyn explains the significance of this philosophical question using the example of goodness and sin:

> "Does goodness exist? The nominalist says: No, there are only individual good deeds, good people. But the good itself, the idea of the good, has no essence in itself. The good is something that fluctuates. Today we may call good what we will find bad tomorrow. Also, what is good to one is bad to another (relativism!). The realist, on the other hand, says: On the contrary, the good has its definite essence, namely in God himself. God himself is the good. That is why goodness is timelessly valid. It is the same with sin: The nominalists know only individual sinful deeds, sinful people, but no sin as such. Forgiveness of sins means forgiveness of individual bad deeds. The conversion of a human soul from the sinful being, from the power of sin, can hardly happen. It is enough for a person to be aware of individual sinful acts and to ensure that they are forgiven. Indulgences, pilgrimages and works righteousness fit this view perfectly."[627]

Three influential figures of scholasticism should be mentioned. Anselm (1033-1109)[628] was prior of the monastery of Bec and archbishop of Canterbury. In the Augustinian-Platonic tradition, he attributed actual being to general concepts: "universalia ante res (the general comes before things). A higher reality is assigned to the general, which also has a counterpart located in God."[629] Opposed to this is nominalism, "which postulates: 'universalia post res' (the general comes after things)."[630] Anselm was a realist and subordinated thinking entirely to faith.

> "According to his insight there is no true knowledge without faith: 'credo ut intelligam' – 'I believe in order to know.' At the same time, however, he uses reason to establish faith. On the basis of this knowledge, he uses reason to prove God's existence. This ontological proof of God assumes that God is the greatest, greater than he can even be thought. Even then, this proof is fiercely opposed because it is too rationalistic."[631]

---

[626]   Karl-Hermann Kandler, *Christliches Denken im Mittelalter,* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/11, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1993, 55.
[627]   Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* Witten: SCM Brockhaus, 2012, 316.
[628]   Cf. Martin Anton Schmidt, "Anselm von Canterbury", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 123-147.
[629]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 145.
[630]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 145.
[631]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 148.

A second important figure of scholasticism was the Parisian professor *Peter Abelard* (1079-1142).[632] His basic formula was *Intelligo ut credam* – "I recognise in order to believe."

> "The universals are for him neither before nor after the individual things, but in the things 'universalia in rebus'. A real equality of essence corresponds to the individual things that make up the general concepts. Only in the individual things is there the general, not outside them. [...] With this synthesis Abelard brought together irreconcilable opposites. His position is called 'moderate realism'. He tries to explain faith in rational terms."[633]

Third, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)[634] is considered the most important scholastic theologian; his main work was the *Summa Theologica*.

> "In Thomas there is a harmonious double layeredness. In questions of philosophical insight, he follows Aristotle; in theological questions, the Augustinian tradition. The Aristotelian influence can be seen above all in the doctrine of knowledge, the metaphysics and the external form of presentation. Augustinian influence is particularly visible in the doctrine of God and the doctrine of justification. In Thomistic thought, every theological problem could be solved in terms of content according to ecclesiastical dogmatics by following Augustine, while the presentation of this problem took place in the terms of Aristotelian logic.
>
> His great system presents itself in a harmonious way. The basis for this harmony is the overcoming of the dualism of God and world: all things created by God reflect his being, but only in a broken way ('per analogiam'). Reason's natural knowledge of God needs supernatural revelation to supplement and complete it. Philosophy and theology, nature and grace, knowledge and faith can thus be described in the image of a two-storey house. The lower part of philosophy provides auxiliary services for the upper part of theology. All knowledge and faith statements thus stand in a differentiated, holistic relationship to each other."[635]

---

[632] Cf. Arnold Angenendt, "Peter Abaelard", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 148-160.

[633] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 149.

[634] Cf. Ulrich Kühn, "Thomas von Aquin", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 38-62.

[635] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr; *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 109.

Other scholastic theologians include Bernard of Clairvaux,[636] Albertus Magnus,[637] Bonaventure,[638] and Duns Scotus.[639]

6.6   Protest and Renewal Movements

From the end of the twelfth century at the latest, the papacy opted for rigorous intervention against any kind of deviation from the faith, even where the real concern of groups may have been reform and renewal, since these were seen as a threat to the unity of Christendom.[640]

Those who study protest and renewal movements of Western medieval times[641] – commonly referred to as heretics in ecclesiastical understanding – find two groups in the High Middle Ages: The Cathars,[642] who were particularly widespread in the French and Italian regions and represented the largest group dissenting from the Roman imperial church, and the Waldensians, who spread beyond Italy and France.

6.6.1   The Cathars

The name Cathar is derived from the Greek word *katharos* (pure) and describes both the self-designation and the foreign designation of this movement. Other common names for this movement are Albigensians (France) or Patarenes (Italy). The Cathars first appeared in Cologne in 1143 and then spread rapidly, especially to southern France and to northern and central Italy.

---

[636] Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Bernhard von Fontaines, Abbot of Clairvaux", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 173-191.

[637] Georg Schwaiger, "Albertus Magnus", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 317-331.

[638] Cf. Alexander Gerken, "Bonaventura", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 15-37.

[639] Cf. Hans-Joachim Werner, "Johannes Duns Scotus", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 73-91.

[640] Cf. André Vauchez, "Der Kampf gegen Häresie und Abweichungen von der Norm im Westen", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 886-890.

[641] Cf. in general especially: Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter: Eine Geschichte von Gewalt und Scheitern*, Freiburg: Herder, 1991.

[642] Cf. on the Cathars above all: Gerhard Rottenwöhrer, *Die Katharer: Was sie glaubten, wie sie lebten,* Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2007.

"Promoted by the lay movement of the time, which aimed at poverty, preaching and criticism of the clergy, they had a large following and consciously formed a counter-church with bishops and dioceses. The starting point was the desire for a practice of faith that corresponded to the gospel. Therefore, the Albigensians [...] impressed others with their knowledge of the Scriptures, ascetic lifestyle and simple explanatory patterns. Increasingly radicalised by pressure from Rome, the Council of the Cathars in 1167 consolidated their doctrine, determined by their dualistic basic conviction. According to this, the otherworldly spiritual world created by God as the good principle stands in contrast to the earthly material world created by the principle of evil. Through body and soul, man belonged to both realms, but his soul could come into contact with the heavenly spirit through the baptism of the spirit instituted by Christ, which, of course, was only possible on earth for the elect. Jesus appears as a pure angel, which is why the Albigensians reject his humanity and thus also his death on the cross."[643]

However, it was not so much the dualistic worldview of the Cathars that attracted people, but their ascetically strict way of life. As early as 1167, the Cathars organised themselves as a church with districts and an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and to some extent they also experienced social acceptance. For example, the condemnation of a patrician in Toulouse in 1178 led to tumults and a popular uprising that could be quelled only with difficulty.[644] The western imperial church had no alternative but to take action against the Cathars in the form of crusades against heresy (Albigensian Wars 1209-1229). In June 1209, for example, around 20,000 armed men marched from Lyon to Béziers, which was taken on 22 July, and during which a large part of the inhabitants were murdered by the marauding crusaders.[645]

The wars came to an end only with the armistice of Meaux in January 1229 and the peace treaty of Paris in April 1229, but the rulers of the affected areas were obliged to take action against the heretics from then on.[646] The final course of action regarding the persecution and punishment of heretics was determined at the Synod of Toulouse in November 1229.

---

[643] Lutz E. von Padberg, "Albigenser", *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1, Holzgerlingen: SCM R. Brockhaus, [2]2017, 89.

[644] Cf. Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, [2]2012, 52-53.

[645] Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* 83.

[646] Cf. Jörg Oberste, *Der "Kreuzzug" gegen die Albigenser: Ketzerei und Machtpolitik im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2016, 173-180.

"Whoever was discovered and convicted of heresy had to be handed over to the secular arm to inflict the deserved punishment (animadversio debita) for the offence. Anyone who knowingly gave refuge to heretics was to lose his possessions and be sentenced to corporal punishment. His house was to be destroyed and the property confiscated. Repentant heretics were to be given life, but severe prison sentences were imposed on them. Those who recanted only out of fear of the death penalty were sentenced to life imprisonment (the so-called wall penalty), while the laws already in force provided for death by fire as the punishment for recidivist heretics. If simple believers were sympathisers of a movement, they were threatened with infamous punishments, above all the lifelong wearing of clothes marked with a cross, so that they could be easily recognised even outside their place of residence."[647]

The pope remained dependent on the help of regional rulers and bishops in persecuting the heretics, but in many cases they themselves had too close a relationship to the families concerned to actively pursue the persecution. Mainly the Dominicans took action against the Cathars, sometimes with great arbitrariness and brutality. However, Catharism survived in the Italian cities until the beginning of the fourteenth century and in the Pyrenees even until the 1330s.[648]

As for how to classify the Cathars, the German church historian von Padberg concludes:

"Due to the precarious state of the sources, it remains controversial in research whether the Albigensians were a legitimate form of Christianity, a heterodoxy or a non-Christian religion. The rapid spread and sustained success of the Albigensians was certainly a legitimate challenge to the conformity of the Roman church with the gospel."[649]

6.6.2   The Waldensians

In contrast to the Cathars, the Waldensians were clearly a precursor movement of the Reformation.[650] Their origins go back to the rich merchant of

---

[647] André Vauchez, "Der Kampf gegen Häresie und Abweichungen von der Norm im Westen", 891-892.
[648] Cf. André Vauchez, "Der Kampf gegen Häresie und Abweichungen von der Norm im Westen", 898.
[649] Lutz E. von Padberg, "Albigenser", 89-90.
[650] Daniel Heinz, "Waldenser in Oberösterreich: Zum Gedenken an die Ketzerverbrennungen in Steyr vor 600 Jahren", *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter*, 52 (1998), 134-147.

Lyon, Petrus Waldus (ca. 1140-ca. 1218),[651] who decided to give away his wealth and henceforth live a life of poverty and preaching. What prompted him to take this step?

> "In his church, Waldes heard bishops and priests read and preach the gospel and from them he received instruction in the Holy Scriptures. Since he did not fully master the Latin language, he had the priest Stephen of Anse translate the Gospels and some other books of the Bible, as well as a selection of writings of the church fathers. He read these translations many times, so that he soon knew everything by heart. The word of the gospel gradually led the rich merchant to conversion. He decided to live Christian perfection and felt called by God to the apostolic mission of preaching."[652]

In theological terms, Waldus and his followers were initially an orthodox Catholic renewal movement that also sought ecclesiastical recognition.[653] But in 1183, a breach occurred after the Waldensians refused to recognise a provost assigned to them and were banned from preaching. Many then left their homeland and spread the Waldensian ideas. Pope Lucius III (1181-1185) banned them in 1184.

The Waldensians spread rapidly across Western Europe.[654] Their main concern was to spread the biblical message, which required a vernacular translation of the Latin New Testament and parts of the Old Testament. From the beginning, the Waldensians were thus a Bible-driven movement. The so-called "Passau Anonymus," a clergyman involved in the Inquisition, reported of

> "Austrian Waldensians who knew the entire New Testament by heart. This deep knowledge of the Holy Scriptures not only gave the Waldensians a relatively uniform conviction of faith, but also gave them the strength and courage to openly criticise the dogmas of the church. Thus the Waldensians rejected the veneration of Mary, the saints and relics, they harboured doubts about the efficacy of sacraments administered by

---

[651] Valdo Vinary, "Valdes" in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 238-248.

[652] Valdo Vinary, "Valdes", 238.

[653] Cf. Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* 55.

[654] Cf. Marc Venard supplemented by Barbara Henze, "Die Waldenser", in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 440-460.

unworthy priests and were of the opinion that masses for souls, prayers and alms were of no further use to the dead."[655]

In terms of doctrine, the Waldensians subsequently rejected the doctrine of indulgences, masses for souls, purgatory, the veneration of saints, oaths and military service, but they held to the Catholic understanding of the Lord's Supper, celibacy, and a works-righteousness understanding of human responsibility for salvation.

> "Despite their Christocentric approach, the Pauline Reformation understanding of God's omnipotence in salvation, an understanding that led Luther to the Reformation breakthrough, initially remained closed to them. This is one of the reasons why the Waldensian movement, despite its great reform efforts, can at best be classified only [...] as a pre-Reformation movement."[656]

6.7   The Further Development of the Assyrian Church of the East

The Assyrian Church of the East also had to cope with severe setbacks due to the advance of Islam. Nevertheless, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries it once again experienced thoroughly astonishing growth.[657]

While in northern Syria and parts of Mesopotamia the majority of the population were still Christians during the first half of the eleventh century, their numbers steadily declined. In northern Persia and in India, however, congregations survived. In Central and East Asia, mission work even increased once again.

> "The conversion of the Keraites south of Lake Baikal and the Naiman living northwest of them can be seen as the beginning of the second phase of the mission of the Apostolic Church of the East. In the Tarim Basin, they were able to link up with still existing congregations from the first phase of the Central Asian mission."[658]

---

[655]   Daniel Heinz, "Waldenser in Oberösterreich", 136-137.
[656]   Daniel Heinz, "Waldenser in Oberösterreich", 137-138.
[657]   Cf. on this and the following: Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 241-244.
[658]   Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 241.

The Church also enjoyed certain favour among the Mongols,[659] and with the Mongol expansion into China, a second phase of mission work began in China in 1215, which would last until 1368. Thus, a separate church province was established for the Öngüt or Ongud people in northern China (a Turkish tribe which later assimilated with Mongols), and Markos, a monk from the Öngüt, even acted as patriarch of the Apostolic Church of the East from 1281 to 1317. Congregations were also planted in northern and southern China, with most of the members of the congregations remaining members of migrant minorities. However, the congregations in China in particular showed a certain tendency towards syncretism.[660]

With the conversion of the Mongols to Islam around 1300, the situation changed for the Christians, as Christian congregations were first pushed back and then completely wiped out.

---

[659] Cf. André Vauchez, "Christen und Nichtchristen", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274)*, Geschichte des Christentums 5, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994, 791-794.

[660] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 242.

7 The Western Church in Late Medieval Europe and the Eastern Churches Pressured by Islam (1250-1500)

Especially for the Western church, the so called late Middle Ages are characterised by ambivalence. On one hand, it was a time of crisis, but at the same time it was a phase of new beginnings and reform efforts. Michael Basse writes with regard to the fourteenth century:

> "Due to climatic changes, devastating epidemics, and social and political conflicts, the 14th century was a time of crisis that not only left deep marks on the church and theology, but whose problems were exacerbated by internal church disputes. A great famine gripped large parts of Europe from 1315 to 1317, and people also suffered from regional crop failures as well as famine in the years 1340 to 1350 and 1365 to 1370. The demographic slump, which was already evident at the beginning of the 14th century and then intensified as a result of the plague wave in the middle of the century, when a third of the population of Central Europe was swept away within a short period of time, caused stagnating grain prices and rising wages in agriculture as well as an increase in prices, especially for industrial products in the cities. [...] The social conflicts, which resulted from the economic crisis but could also be motivated by power politics [...], erupted in revolts. [...] Moreover, the everyday life of the people was marked by acts of violence in various forms, which are vividly reported in the contemporary sources.
>
> The economic hardships and social conflicts were accompanied by a cultural crisis, insofar as traditional patterns of interpretation and action became questionable. In their desperation, people sought support in astrological explanations, magical rituals and exaggerated ideas of the end times."[661]

7.1 The Further Development of the Papacy

The middle of the fourteenth century saw the completion of the papacy's victory over worldly rulers.[662] However, this status could not be maintained for long and – to use the words of church historian Michael Basse –

---

[661] Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/1, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2011, 33-34.
[662] Heinrich Holze, *Die abendländische Kirche im hohen Mittelalter (12./13. Jahrhundert)*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/12, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2003, 245.

subsequently there was a "disempowerment and self-destruction of the papacy."[663] At the same time, the papacy should not necessarily be understood as entirely congruent with the Western church, as there were currents and sub-systems that had divergent emphases.[664]

7.1.1   The Collapse of Papal Power

In February 1300, Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) proclaimed a "Holy Year" and granted all pilgrims to Rome complete forgiveness of their sins in that year. This decree institutionalised the practice of indulgence that would shape the Western church in the following centuries,[665] and that would ultimately plunge it into a deep crisis. Some sources speak of around two million pilgrims to Rome that year, although a figure of around 200,000 is probably closer to the truth.[666] Boniface's election was due not primarily to his spiritual and intellectual abilities, but to a conflict between various Italian noble families and a common enmity against France. Hort Fuhrmann explains:

> "What seemed important to the new pope [...] was the material care for the papacy and his lineage. At that time, there was a hint of what was later formulated like a rule of thumb: a Roman or Italian noble family that wanted to become rich would have to provide a pope – the Medici, the Barberini, the della Rovere, the Carafa, the Borghese, and so on. [...] No pope before him or after him has been able to increase private property as he did, and most of it has remained in the Gaetani family until the 20th century."[667]

Boniface saw one of his main tasks as fighting in the fight against the hostile Italian noble Colonna family, as well as overcoming French supremacy. King Philip IV had already ruled France since 1285, and by 1296 the relationship between Boniface and Philip had escalated, because to finance his wars, Philip had also imposed taxes on French churches and claimed their tithes. "In a bull Boniface forbade this taxation practice, but Philip did not care. Not only did he continue the taxation; he blocked the Pope from all levies going to Rome, thus hitting Boniface in his sensitive spot."[668] In a letter to the French king in 1301, the pope wrote, "Hear, my son [...], God

---

[663]   This is the title of his book. Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*.

[664]   Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 34.

[665]   Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 39

[666]   Cf. Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 145.

[667]   Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 142-143.

[668]   Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 147.

has set the pope over kings and their kingdoms. [...] Therefore, O king, you cannot say that you have no one over you; you too are subject to the Pope. He who says otherwise is a fool or an infidel."[669] However, the Pope had underestimated Philip. Not only did he prevent the publication of the genuine papal bull a year later, he even exchanged it for a falsified version and published this one together with his reply: "Philip to Boniface no greeting. May your stupidity know that we are subject to no one in worldly matters. [...] Those who believe otherwise are fools."[670] The bull "Unam Sanctam" can arguably be classified as one of the most famous medieval bulls, presenting itself as the most comprehensive justification of papal universal rule: "Driven by faith, we are compelled to confess and hold fast that there is but one catholic and apostolic church."[671] The bull culminates in the sentence: "But now we declare, we say, we establish, and we proclaim: It is absolutely indispensable for the salvation of every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff."[672]

On 7 September 1303, Boniface was assassinated in his native town of Anagni by a member of the Colonna family and the influential advisor to the French king, William of Nogaret, whose parents had been burned as victims of the Inquisition. A month later, the pope died in Rome. "Never again did a pope strike such notes of world domination as Boniface VII, who had challenged worldly power with his immoderately exaggerated self-confidence."[673]

7.1.2 The Papal Schism

"The Anagni assassination marked [...] a break in the history of the papacy. It fell into the dependency of France and moved to Avignon, and the argument flourished that the pope, who embodied the universal church, did not necessarily have to have his seat in Rome. [...] The dispute over the pope and the right location led to the great Western schism, which in the end saw three popes acting against each other."[674]

---

[669] Quoted from: Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II,* 148.

[670] Quoted from: Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II,* 148

[671] Quoted from: Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II,* 148. Cf. further the source printed in full in: Adolf Martin Ritter, Bernhard Lohse and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Mittelalter,* 198-200.

[672] Quoted from: Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II,* 148. Cf. further the source printed in full in: Adolf Martin Ritter, Bernhard Lohse and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Mittelalter,* 200.

[673] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II,* 151.

[674] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II,* 151.

As Boniface's successor, the Cardinal of Ostia was elected pope, calling himself Benedict XI, but he died only eight months later.[675] A Frenchman was imposed in his place, Pope Clement V (1305-1314).[676] He was consecrated in Lyon. "Even if the pope had no intention of shaking Rome's role as the centre of the papal church and moving the seat of the Curia, he never left France until the end of his life."[677] He moved his seat to Avignon, but there he was subject to increased pressure from the French king, who also served as his protector. The following six popes were also all French.

> "The means used by the French king are revealed by the election of Clement V's successor. For two years, the cardinals could not even agree on the place of election. The Italians demanded that he return to Rome, the French that he remain in Avignon. The French king resorted to a ruse: he invited each cardinal individually to Lyon without the knowledge of the others, imprisoned them for 40 days and thus forced the election of John XXII (1316-1334)."[678]

This man, who was already 71 years old when he was elected, was intended as a transitional pope, but he ruled for 18 years. He endeavoured to expand papal power once again,[679] and he restructured and expanded the papal administration, thus decisively determining the future history of the church. But he also increased the income from benefices and provided his family with good posts. Fuhrmann's assessment of his work is trenchant: "At his death, this rapacious pope, who sold dispensations to usurers for their dubious business, left behind the enormous treasure of 800,000 gold florins."[680]

Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362) planned a return from Avignon to Rome but was unable to fulfil his wish due to the political power situation.[681] The Benedictine Urban V (1362-1370), although himself French, returned to Rome and moved into the Vatican. However, Avignon could not be eliminated so easily, and a great schism resulted in 1378, when in Rome, under pressure from the Romans, the Archbishop of Bari was elected as pope (1378-1396) under chaotic circumstances, becoming Ur-

---

[675] Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 40.
[676] On the background to the election, see Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 40-41.
[677] Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 41.
[678] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 152.
[679] Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 45-48.
[680] Cf. Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 153.
[681] Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 51-52.

ban VI.[682] His "paranoid,"[683] high-handed and obstinate behaviour, as well as his proposed reforms to curtail the privileges of the cardinals, led in September 1378 to the French cardinals returning from Rome, declaring Urban's election invalid, placing him under ecclesiastical ban,[684] and electing Robert of Geneva as pope, who carried out his office as Clement VII (1378-1394) of Avignon. "With the mutual excommunication of the two rival popes, the division of Western Christendom was completed."[685] "Aligned with Avignon were France, Savoy, Burgundy, Scotland, Castile, Aragon and individual German princes, while Rome had backing in Italy, in Central, Eastern and Northern Europe, but above all in England, which was hostile to the French."[686] However, the orientation of the rulers could also change depending on which pope they hoped to gain more political and material advantages from.

Although there were numerous efforts to overcome the schism – Heribert Müller counted up to 32[687] – quite a few of them were not at all interested in a solution, as the various groupings put their own interests first.

> "In any case, such an attitude, which exploited the situation solely to one's own advantage, was probably more widespread than is reflected in the written tradition, and it therefore belongs just as much to the diverse spectrum of contemporary reactions to the Great Schism as the statement of the procurator of the Teutonic Order in Rome in 1429, i.e. much later, that a schism would be politically more favourable to the Order than even a pope who was well-disposed towards them."[688]

Only the conciliar path could eventually overcome the schism.[689] The cardinal colleges of both obediences (the followers who had promised obedience to both popes) called a council for the period from March to August

---

[682] Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 156-157; Paul Ourliac, "Das Schisma und die Konzilien (1378-1449)" in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 75-90.

[683] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 154.

[684] Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 157; Heribert Müller, *Die kirchliche Krise des Spätmittelalters,* Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012, 6-7.

[685] Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 157.

[686] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus bis Johannes Paul II*, 154.

[687] Heribert Müller, *Die kirchliche Krise des Spätmittelalters*, 12.

[688] Heribert Müller, *Die kirchliche Krise des Spätmittelalters*, 12.

[689] Cf. Paul Ourliac, "Das Schisma und die Konzilien (1378-1449)" 90-131.

1408 in Pisa.[690] The aim was to settle the question of the pope, but the council exacerbated the problem by declaring both incumbents, Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1417) of Avignon and Pope Gregory XII (1406-1415) of Rome, deposed and electing Bishop Petros Philargis as pope. He took the name Alexander V but died shortly afterwards and was replaced by Pope John XXIII. Volker Leppin notes, "In any case, his election had not settled the schism, but now three popes ruled, even if the Pisan pope had by far the greatest obedience."[691] The importance of the Council in Pisa, however, lay in the promotion of the conciliar idea.

Not until the Council of Constance (1414-1418) was the schism finally overcome.[692]

> "The main task of the Council was to restore the church to its regular state. As early as 1415, John XXIII submitted to the Council and was declared deposed by it. Gregory XII resigned his office, and the continuing claims of Benedict XIII no longer played a relevant role, so with the election of Oddo Colonna as Pope, the church could be reunited. The new Pope Martin V admittedly had to orient himself to the framework set by the Council."[693]

Overall, the councils limited the power of the popes for the time being.

7.1.3   The Renaissance Papacy

The election of Nicholas V (1447-1455) marked the beginning of the era of the so-called "Renaissance popes." Depending on the perspective from which the work of these popes is viewed and judged, one arrives at very different conclusions.

In terms of cultural history, there were great artistic achievements such as the Sistine Chapel or St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. "Their construction and design owe much to the extensive patronage of the highest lords of the church."[694] Rome would shine anew as a glittering metropolis in the sense of a rebirth of antiquity. Only a few of the artists whose works have survived to this day can be mentioned here: Sandro Butticelli (1445-1510), Domenici Ghirlandaio (1449-1494), Luca Signorelli (d. 1523) and Michel-

---

[690] Cf. Heribert Müller, *Die kirchliche Krise des Spätmittelalters*, 19-21; Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des Christentums im Mittelalter,* 390-391.

[691] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des Christentums im Mittelalter*, 391.

[692] On the Council, cf. Badisches Landesmuseum (ed.), *Das Konstanzer Konzil, 1414-1418: Weltereignis des Mittelalters,* 2 vols, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2014.

[693] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des Christentums im Mittelalter*, 392-393.

[694] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des Christentums im Mittelalter*, 399.

angelo (1475-1564). At the same time, humanistic education was promoted, and the establishment of the Vatican library can be attributed to this era.

Politically, the Renaissance popes focused on their power base in the Papal States. Family interests began to eclipse the papal all-church leadership functions. "Under Alexander VI, parts of the Papal States were about to be transformed into a hereditary principality of the Borgia family."[695]

On the ethical and moral side, Volker Leppin writes cautiously, "Measured against the moral demands that are to be made on a pope as well as on a clerical dignitary in general, it may have been a time of moral decay in which the papacy sank into sexual misdemeanours, luxury addiction and nepotism."[696] Horst Fuhrmann is more explicit in describing the immorality of Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503):

> "In the foreground of his activities was the ruthless care for his family, especially for the children born to him, already in the clerical state, by the Roman aristocrat Vanozza de Cattanei. His daughter Lucrezia (1480-1519) was married three times: her first marriage was annulled by her papal father when her husband was politically sidelined; her second husband was poisoned by her own brother Cesare, whose thoughtless character was the model for Machiavelli's writing The Prince; as the wife of Duke Alfonso D'Este, Lucrezia became the great lady of Italian artistic life at the beginning of the 16th century. That we know so much in detail about the scandalous life at the court of Alexander VI, who probably perished from a poisonous drink mixed for a guest, is thanks to the [...] master of ceremonies Johannes Burckhard (died 1506), who kept a private diary untouched by all indecencies."[697]

Pope Leo X's secretary spoke of Christ as "Minerva sprung from the head of Zeus" or could proclaim that repentance "can reconcile gods and ancestors and superiors"[698] without being held accountable. The papacy swam in the wake of the Renaissance and even became its driving force with its return to Greek ideals and Greek philosophy, without noticing that it had long ago betrayed the central core teachings and beliefs of Christianity.

---

[695] Hellmut Zschoch, *Die Christenheit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004, 269.

[696] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des Christentums im Mittelalter*, 399.

[697] Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Päpste: Von Petrus zu Johannes Paul II*, 156-157; cf. Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des Christentums im Mittelalter,* 341.

[698] Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, 259.

7.2   Reform Movements

In the late Middle Ages, too, there were movements that worked towards reform. The "Brothers of the Common Life," a semi-monastic community that emerged in Deventer at the end of the fourteenth century and spread mainly in the Netherlands and northwestern Germany, combined mystical piety with a humanistic openness to the world.[699] In the following, however, the focus will be on two people and movements that in historical theology are referred to as "pre-reformatory".

7.2.1   John Wyclif and the Lollards

John Wyclif (c. 1330-1384), born in Oxford, criticised the constitution, doctrine, and life of the church in the late Middle Ages and rigorously called for reforms.[700] In his two writings, *De ecclesia* (1378) and *De potestate pape*, he fundamentally questioned the authority of the church and the pope. As a result, he was dismissed from university service in 1378 and banned from teaching in 1382.[701] However, Wyclif did not let this intimidate or deter him from expanding his criticism. He described monasticism and religious orders as sects and rejected "the dogma of transubstantiation and the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, as well as the cult of the saints, indulgences and memorial culture, which were of great importance in late medieval piety."[702] Wyclif also became involved in the universalist controversy and vehemently attacked the nominalist side.

Although a synod had condemned his doctrines as heretical, no charges were brought against Wyclif for fear of a popular uprising, so he was able to continue his ministry. His collection of early English translations of the Bible from the Vulgate, published in 1383, made him famous.

---

[699]   Cf. Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 123; Erwin Iserloh, "Die Devotio moderna", in: Hans-Georg Beck, Karl August Fink, Josef Glazik, Erwin Iserloh and Hans Wolter, *Die mittelalterliche Kirche, Zweiter Halbband: Vom kirchlichen Hochmittelalter bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte III/2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, Herder, 1968, 523-526.

[700]   On the life and work of John Wyclif, cf. Gustav Adolf Benrath, "John Wyclif", in: Martin Greschat (ed.) *Mittelalter II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 219-233; Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 319-342; André Vauchez, "Neue Häresien und national-religiöse Bewegungen (1378-1449)", in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 338-340.

[701]   Cf. Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 139.

[702]   Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 139.

"A translation into the language of the people was a natural consequence of Wyclif's dogmatic attitude. If the visible church had lost its authority as the mediator of salvation for the people, then the rightly interpreted Word of God was the only certainty that remained. The entirely new relationship between Bible and church in Wyclif's view required a broader approach to the Scriptures. [...] The reform Wyclif had in mind was to be based on the Scriptures; then it had to be known to the secular rulers, [...] and to those clergy who were willing to take the call to repentance to heart."[703]

Wyclif's teachings critical of the church, however, were not widely disseminated until after his death by the Lollards,[704] which triggered fierce opposition from the church. What was the success of the movement?

"Part of the traction of the Lollard movement was in appealing to individuals to find out for themselves the truth of Scripture."[705]

"The tracts of the Lollards invited the reader to teach himself. In this process, there was to be a direct experience of the Holy Spirit inspiring the devout reader. Preaching came first in winning converts; tracts and the Bible in the language of the people came second. These provided arguments for the preachers and strengthened the converts in their faith."[706]

Despite a systematic persecution of the Lollards that began in 1401, Lollardism could not be completely eradicated.[707] This was due on one hand to a lack of interest on the part of the English episcopate, and on the other hand to the structural nature of the Lollards. In this context, Lambert speaks of a "community of readers,"[708] who could practise their faith more easily in secret.

Jörg Oberste convincingly traced the line of connection between Wyclifs and the later reformers:

"From this general insight [his understanding of Scripture], Wyclif drew two conclusions that connected him with the later Reformers and caused him to collide with the church of his time: First, he considered precise knowledge of the Scriptures to be necessary and thus gave a decisive impetus to the

---

703 Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 334.
704 Cf. Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 343-394.
705 Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 350.
706 Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 353.
707 Cf. Viviane Barrie-Curien, "Die Lollarden" in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 447-460.
708 Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 370.

first translation of the Bible in English. Second, he declared the radical re-
nunciation of possession and power to be a prerequisite for ecclesiastical
authority. Should the church be unwilling or unable to do so, it would have
lost its authority over the faithful. Moreover, anyone who did not follow
Christ in poverty, humility, suffering and love did not belong to the holy
church. He thus exposed popes, bishops, and abbots to the accusation of
heresy."[709]

7.2.2   Jan Hus and the Bohemian Brethren

"Jan Hus took over essential impulses and basic ideas from Wyclif but trans-
ferred them to the Bohemian context and thus initiated a movement that
played an important role in European church history beyond his martyr-
dom, even if it remained limited to Bohemia."[710]

Who was Jan Hus?[711] Apart from his birth around 1370 in Husinec in south-
ern Bohemia (present-day Czech Republic), we know little about his child-
hood and youth or his background and schooling. Hus was ordained a
priest in 1400 and was introduced in 1402 as rector of Prague's Bethlehem
Chapel, a preaching chapel that held around 2,000 listeners.[712] "Hus' cur-
riculum vitae reflects the social and economic upheavals of the 'Golden
Age', which had dawned in Bohemia under Charles IV, but which brought
with it great social problems in addition to growing prosperity and cultural
flourishing."[713] Volker Leppin speaks of an "explosive situation" in this
context.[714] A little later, Hus became a spokesman in the universalist con-
troversy at Prague University, where German professors (nominalists)
were in the majority but were increasingly pushed back by the Czech side
(realists), so that ultimately Hus and the Czech side won a complete vic-
tory. The lines of connection to Wyclif can also be seen in this conflict.[715]

---

[709]   Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* 125.
[710]   Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 141; cf.
        also Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelalter,* 408-410.
[711]   Cf. on the life and work of Jan Hus: Ferdinand Seibt, "Jan Hus", in: Martin Greschat,
        (ed.) *Mittelalter II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne
        and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 251-266; Malcolm Lambert, *Ketzerei im Mittelal-
        ter*, 410-412; André Vauchez, "Neue Häresien und national-religiöse Bewegungen
        (1378-1449)", 340-336; Rudolf Říčan, *Die Böhmischen Brüder,* Berlin: Union-Verlag,
        1961, 7-17.
[712]   Ferdinand Seibt, "Jan Hus", 252.
[713]   Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 141.
[714]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 386.
[715]   Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* 127-128.

Hus and his followers turned ever more strongly against the church's claim to ownership and power. Wyclif's influence is also evident in the fact that his writings were finally confiscated and burned on the orders of the Prague archbishop. When the archbishop restricted Hus' preaching activities in 1410, Hus turned to the pope as an appeal authority. Hus withdrew from Prague to southern Bohemia, where he published his main work *De ecclesia* in 1413/14 and promoted the reading of a Czech translation of the Bible.

Eventually, Hus was invited to the Council of Constance to justify his theses. Provided with an escort letter from the Roman-German King Siegmund, Hus felt safe because of the assurance of free passage. Although he was excommunicated, he preached in several German towns on his journey to Lake Constance. But shortly after his arrival in Constance and the first interrogations, Hus was taken into custody.

> "Hus was reproached above all for his confession of Wyclif and the dissemination of his teachings, which the Council had officially condemned as heretical in May 1415. On closer examination, Hus had already distanced himself in his writings and interrogations from the majority of Wyclif's 45 sentences condemned by the Council. Nevertheless, he rejected the blanket retraction of all Wyclif's articles presented to him, as this would require him to 'either condemn truths or confess errors'."[716]

This was interpreted by the Council as stubborn adherence to heretical doctrine, and he was sentenced to death by fire. On 6 July 1415, the sentence was carried out and his ashes were scattered in the Rhine.

"The Hussite movement in Bohemia, however, had already developed so strongly that it could continue to operate and grow even after the death of its symbolic figure."[717] A report on Hus' interrogation, sentence and burning was made by his companions and brought back to the home country, strengthening the Hussite movement and creating an identity. However, religious, social and political motives were combined in the movement, which became increasingly radicalised and frag-

---

[716] Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* 129.

[717] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 389. Cf. also: Jerzy Kloczowski, "Die besondere Erfahrung Böhmens im 15. Jahrhundert: Jan Hus und die Hussiten", in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). Die Zeit *der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)* 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 804-806; Jerzy Kloczowski, "Das Erbe des Jan Hus" in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin andAndré Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 461-473.

mented.[718] Herbert Grundmann aptly notes that the "Hussites [were] united only in their resistance, not in their faith and goals."[719] Finally in 1420 the Hussite groups agreed on four central points, the so-called Prague Articles. They demanded free preaching of the word, administration of the Lord's Supper in both forms, free awarding of the priesthood without secular influence, and moral conduct by the priests in office.[720] Years of struggle followed, and not until the Peace of Kuttenberg in 1485 was the Hussite Church confirmed as a Czech church independent of the pope.[721]

7.3   The Further Development of Islam

Let us briefly turn to the further development of Islam in this period and its relationship to Christianity. Generally speaking, Christianity's relationship to Islam during this time was closely related to the Ottomans' expansionist policy, which led to the losses of Central Asia and Mongolia to Islam. Only on the Iberian peninsula did Christendom succeed in reconquering Islamic territories.

7.3.1   The Ottomans and the Fall of Byzantium

From as early as the end of the eleventh century, the immigrants of Turkic origin increasingly expanded their sphere of influence in Anatolia and the Balkans.[722] From the middle of the 14th century at the latest, the Ottomans – the name goes back to Emir Osman I, who ruled over a small emirate in northwestern Anatolia around 1300 – advanced into the Balkans, conquered Thrace (in present-day Bulgaria) and from 1390 onwards placed almost all the Balkan states under their control, initially as vassal states. In the fifteenth century, Greece (1456-1459), Bosnia (1463), Albania (1467-1479), Herzegovina (1482-1483) and Montenegro (1499) were conquered in

---

[718] Cf. Jörg Oberste, *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter,* 134-135; Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 389.

[719] Herbert Grundmann, *Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, Ein Handbuch 2G1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963, 64.

[720] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 389.

[721] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 390

[722] Alain Ducellier, "Die Orthodoxie in der Frühzeit der türkischen Herrschaft" in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530),* Geschichte des Christentums 7, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995, 6-68; David Nirenberg, "The Erection of Boundaries: Christendom and Islam" in: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.), *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 149-169.

their entirety. Already by 1400, however, the Byzantine Empire consisted only of Constantinople and its surroundings.[723]

> "Interesting seems to be the triumph of Islam, for example in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been associated with the cryptoheretic heritage of the Bogomils in this region. Although the willingness to convert was greater here than elsewhere, possibly due to the lack of ecclesiastical Orthodox structures, Islamisation proceeded very slowly. According to the tax registers, the number of Muslims in Bosnia in 1468/1469 was still below ten percent [...]. Conversion to Islam certainly brought advantages – not only in terms of official careers, but also as an improvement in legal status. Slaves and serfs were freed by conversion and contributed to the population growth of the new Muslim centres Mostar and Sarajevo. In addition, smaller states, such as Bosnia, feared Hungarian influence more than the Ottomans."[724]

The same was true for the Greek islands. Greek Orthodoxy saw itself as threatened more by Roman priests than by the Ottomans. "The Ottoman rulers pursued a tolerant religious policy, so that the population in the Balkans still remained predominantly Christian in the second half of the 15th century."[725]

> "But the Christian inhabitants in the Balkans had to pay higher taxes than the Muslims. In the so-called 'picking of boys', children from the European areas of the empire were taken away from their parents. They were Turkishized and Islamised and trained as 'janissaries', an elite unit, in the military schools of the Ottoman Empire. As military slaves of the Sultan, they were in a privileged service that often opened up opportunities for promotion, even to the post of grand vizier."[726]

In contrast, the "Ottoman conquest of Constantinople caused both horror and astonishment in the West."[727] Due to the division of faith between the Western and Eastern churches, there was less sympathy for the brothers and sisters of the faith and their fate in Constantinople than there was fear of a further advance of the Ottomans into Central Europe. In Constantinople, the Ottoman conquest brought fundamental and far-reaching changes.

---

[723] Michael North, *Europa expandiert,* Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 4, Stuttgart: UTB Verlag Eugen Ulme, 2007, 245-247.
[724] Michael North, *Europa expandiert*, 246.
[725] Michael Basse, *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, 205.
[726] Michael North, *Europa expandiert*, 247.
[727] Michael Basse, *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, 199.

"The main church, the Hagia Sophia, was immediately transformed into a mosque. [...] The patriarch of Constantinople thus went from being a participant in the consensual steering of fortunes by secular government and church to being the head of a legally regulated minority under the Ottoman millet system, which allowed Christians, as the religion of the book, limited self-government and imposed heavy tax payments."[728]

Above all, the position of the (Greek) patriarch within Orthodoxy was weakened and increased the influence of, for example, the Russian Orthodox patriarch, whose church was in the meantime autocephalous.

7.3.2   The Reconquest of Spain

Reconquista means the reconquest of the Muslim sphere of power and the expansion of the dominion by Christian empires of the Iberian peninsula in European Middle Ages. The final phase of the Reconquista began early in the fifteenth century. With the support of the church, a targeted displacement of the Muslims occurred. By the 1480s, Muslims made up around ten percent of the total population and were able to practise their faith unhindered in return for a tribute payment.[729]

With the conquest of Grenada in 1492, the Muslims lost their last bastion and, despite promises to the contrary, their position changed fundamentally. Despite assurances of continued freedom of worship, Islamic scriptures were burned, the reading of the Koran was banned, and mass baptisms took place. "The majority converted, but the Moriscos, as they were now called, remained Muslims according to their inner convictions."[730] This in turn called the Inquisition into action.

7.3.3   Christianity and Islam in Africa and Asia

The further spread of Islam as well as the spread of Buddhism in the second half of the fourteenth century led not only to the decline of the Roman Catholic mission in Asia, but also to the decline of the Oriental churches.[731]

---

[728]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 402.
[729]   Cf. Michael Basse, *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, 206; Jacqueline Guiral-Hadzhossif, "Das Problem der Arabisierung Spaniens: Der Fall Toledos", in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 840-851.
[730]   Michael Basse, *From the Reform Councils to the Eve of the Reformation*, 206.
[731]   Jean Richard, "Die orientalischen Kirchen Asiens und Afrikas", in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte

"In 1498, that is, at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in India, there were only a few Chaldean Christians left in some centres of the Middle East (Edessa [Urfa], Damascus, Jerusalem), in the mountains of Mesopotamia, in the area of Mosul, where the Catholicos had fled, on the island of Socotra, and above all on the Malabar coast."[732]

The situation of the Christians in northern Africa was somewhat different. Although the Copts suffered under the rule of the Muslim Mamluks, they were able to hold their own. On the other hand, the Christian kingdom of Nubia began a "century and a half of agony" with its conquest by the Sultan of Cairo in 1323.[733] In contrast, the church in Ethiopia experienced a period of revival in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[734]

7.4   The Renaissance and the Rise of Humanism

Renaissance and humanism emerged in Europe on the threshold of modern times. The term "Renaissance" comes from the French, meaning rebirth or reawakening; in this case, it refers to the rediscovery of the literature and art of antiquity. The term for this epoch arose in retrospect between 1515 and 1525, describing a new attitude towards the world and life.[735]

Humanism comes from the Latin term *humanitas* and means humanity or mankind. "Humanism is not a homogenous concept, but a broad current. This means that different scholars interpret the world, society and the human being differently."[736]

---

des Christentums 6, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 205-246; Francoise Micheau, "Eastern Christianities (Eleventh to Fourteenth Century: Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites", in: Michael Angold (ed.), *Eastern Christianity,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 373-403.

[732] Alain Milhou, "Die Entdeckung und Christianisierung der Fernen", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530),* Geschichte des Christentums 7, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995, 540.

[733] Alain Milhou, "Die Entdeckung und Christianisierung der Fernen", 540.

[734] Alain Milhou, "Die Entdeckung und Christianisierung der Fernen", 540-541; Donald Crummy, "Church and Nation: The Ethiopian Orthodox Täwahedo Church (From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century)", in: Michael Angold (ed.), *Eastern Christianity,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 417-487.

[735] Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 280-281; Marc Venard, "Das Europa der Renaissance", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530),* Geschichte des Christentums 7, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995, 497-520.

[736] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 283; cf. also: André Godin, "Humanismus und Christentum", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530),* Geschichte des Christentums 7, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995, 612-672.

Frencesco Petraca (1304-1374) was an important precursor of humanism, striving to realise the unity of wisdom and faith. For him, religion was piety of the heart and "not the worship of God in public cultus. The focus is no longer on the church, but on the individual human being. Thus the modern [Western] concept of man is born."[737]

Humanism was guided by reason and rationalism. In addition, there was a change of mood in humanism compared to the general situation during the medieval period. A new optimism took the place of pessimism, asceticism was replaced by an affirmation of the world, and inner-worldliness took the place of beyond-worldliness or other-worldliness.[738] Most of the coming reformers were influenced by humanism.

> "The Renaissance and humanism gave the individual and reason their own validity and freed people from ecclesiastical paternalism. The supremacy of the church diminishes. Individual thinkers question the absoluteness of Christianity and demand equal rights for the ancient ideal of education. The beginnings of the Enlightenment of the 18th century can be found in this modern attitude of mind."[739]

7.5   Popular Piety

Whereas the last section dealt with developments in intellectual history, especially among scholars, we now turn to the everyday beliefs of people in Western Europe in the late Middle Ages.[740] As we have already seen, the church also swam in the wake of the Renaissance with its return to Greek ideals and Greek philosophy. The secularisation of the Renaissance papacy has already been mentioned, which tended to run through the entire clergy, as the following examples illustrate. Archbishop Günther of Magdeburg (Germany, 1382-1445) celebrated his first mass after 35 years in office. However, he was surpassed by Bishop Robert of Strasbourg, who did not celebrate one single mass in his entire life.[741] As of the end of the Euro-

---

[737]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter* 284.
[738]   Cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 284.
[739]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 286. On the subject of atheism in the Middle Ages, cf. Peter Dinzelbacher, *Unglaube im 'Zeitalter des Glaubens': Atheismus und Skeptizismus im Mittelalter,* Badenweiler. Wissenschaftl. Verlag Bachmann, 2009.
[740]   See especially: Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1997; Andrè Vauchez, "Christian Life in Movement: Saints and Pilgrimages: New and Old", in: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.), *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 324-339.
[741]   Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, 260.

pean Middle Ages, one can speak of a decline in spiritual life, which continued through large sections of the clergy into the monasteries.

How did this situation, often so desolate from an ecclesiastical point of view, affect the general Christian population? Despite the contempt for the church and its conditions on one hand, the life of the ordinary Christian was often marked by a deep religiosity.

> "There has never been a greater enthusiasm for giving to the churches, but also for social purposes, than now; the – not small! – offer of indulgences has never been able to satisfy the need. More and more churches and chapels are being built, more and more masses are being founded, more and more relics of saints are being collected, more and more new saints are being venerated, more and more new brotherhoods are being joined, and even in them it is only a matter of mass prayers. Content and devotion are secondary, must be indifferent."[742]

For example, the Brotherhood of the 11,000 Virgins in Cologne (Germany) demanded 11,000 Lord's Prayers with Hail Mary as a condition of admission.[743] People at the end of the Middle Ages were deeply religious. They were driven by a longing for salvation, for which no price was too high, as the flourishing trade in indulgences at the time shows.

> "Much of these forms of piety can be explained by a fear of life that was fed by the awareness of the decrepitude of human existence. The encounter of three splendidly dressed young knights with three dead skeletons became a cautionary literary topos of transience: 'You are what we were. We are what you will be!' the dead call out to the living. [...]
>
> Wide areas of everyday life were given religious meaning. Thus blessings accompanied every action: the exit, the farewell, the beginning of work, the hunt. Blessings often replaced older superstitious practices and were not too far from magic."[744]

For people in the late Middle Ages – especially in light of the black plague – the finiteness of human life and death were real, everyday factors that could not be removed from everyday life, and religion gave people a spiritual option for coping. Large aspects of piety should be interpreted in this

---

[742] Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte,* 261.
[743] Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte,* 261.
[744] Georg Scheibelreiter, "Das Christentum in Spätantike und Mittelalter – von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit Friedrich III", 133.

context.[745] Since life and death belonged together for medieval man, provisions had to be made in this world for the hereafter "and sudden death was the worst thing that could happen to man."[746]

The ecclesiastical solution proposed and the path of salvation offered were through sacraments and clergy. This led to an increase in the importance of the Eucharist, in which above all the idea of sacrifice came more to the fore.

> "The idea of sacrifice, which had been associated with the Eucharist since the time of the early Church, was central. The shift from a communion to a show of piety, which was clearly carried out in the Feast of Corpus Christi, was connected with an interpretation of the Mass as an event between priest and God, in which the congregation was only of secondary importance. The priest had a double representative function: He stood for God, who gave himself in Christ for the believers, and at the same time he represented the congregation, which offered the Eucharist and Christ, who had become present in it, to God. Thus the two-natured Christology gained Eucharistic concreteness, but with the consequence that the symbolic event could be carried out without the congregation."[747]

Sponsored masses, performed by a priest without the congregation present, became fashionable. All in all, one can speak of a "quantification" of piety.[748] The veneration of saints,[749] the cult of relics,[750] the observance of church festivals, holidays, and pilgrimages,[751] and endowments and provisions for death[752] became increasingly important. Indulgences were only the tip of the increasing quantification and the hoped-for predictability of religiosity.

> "In it, the gradualism that characterised a broad stream of late medieval piety is strikingly evident [...], which understood the relationship to God in the

---

[745] Cf. Alan E. Bernstein, "The Erection of Boundaries: Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory: 1100-1500", in: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.), *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 200-216.

[746] Michael Basse, *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414)*, 121.

[747] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 418.

[748] Thus Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 407.

[749] Cf. Heinrich Holze, *Die abendländische Kirche im hohen Mittelalter (12./13. Jahrhundert)*, 281-283.

[750] Cf. Heinrich Holze, *Die abendländische Kirche im hohen Mittelalter (12./13. Jahrhundert)*, 283-284.

[751] Cf. Michael Basse, *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, 185-188.

[752] Cf. Michael Basse, *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, 190-192.

manner of a ladder on which man could move from the earthly and temporal to the heavenly and eternal through a multitude of small steps. Penance, to which indulgences belonged, was understood in this horizon as a gradual working off of the debts accumulated through sins – possibly with the help of the saints. [...]

The continuous predictability of the relationship to the heavenly shaped the veneration of saints, which also experienced a strong expansion and above all inner differentiation. A saint was found for almost every ailment [...]. The significance of the saints shifted from being role models for true Christian discipleship to their intercessory function. They provided all-around care for the faithful."[753]

Superstition and magical ideas and practices flourished.[754] The church did try to take action against such practices, especially from the fourteenth century onwards, initially in its preaching and later through the Inquisition. The persecution of witches, which should also be classified in this category, intensified in the fifteenth century.[755]

With mysticism, the tendency to externalise and quantify the life of faith was countered by a path of inner encounter with God.

7.6   Mysticism

The mysticism of the European Middle Ages – incidentally, not only a Christian phenomenon – can be understood as a protest and renewal movement against the secularisation of the church and the "headification of theology".[756]

"Mysticism penetrated early Christianity via Neoplatonism, where it found an initial form through Augustine (doctrine of enlightenment). Then it reached the West from the Middle East via medieval Byzantium. [...] The mystics want to be completely at one with God and want to encounter him in a completely internalised way. This is done through prayer and, depending on the mystic or school, through various ecstatic stages. The mystics not

---

[753]   Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 409.

[754]   Cf. Peter Dinzelbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels- Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie,* Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: Schöningh, 1996; Alain Boureau, "Reform and Renewal: Demons and Christian Community", in: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.), *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100 – c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 420-432,

[755]   Cf. Michael Basse, *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation*, 188-189.

[756]   Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 224.

only strive for the oneness of love and will with God but seek the 'birth of God in the bottom of the soul'; it is a 'mystical marriage' with God. Dreams, tears, raptures, visions, and ecstatic states often accompany the mystical experience, the so-called unio sancta."[757]

Early mystics included Hugh of St. Victor (1097-1141) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Alongside a devotion to the Passion, the so-called Aeropagite mysticism that comes to the fore: "Through the stages of purity and enlightenment, the believer, supported by the ecclesiastical sacraments, can reach the vision of God in ecstasy."[758] This form of mysticism was especially widespread in nunneries.[759] Thus Catherine of Siena (1347-1380), who received visions as a child, entered a convent at age thirteen, devoted herself there to the care of the sick and the poor and called Christians to repentance and conversion, taught, "I, God, became man and humanity became God through the union of my divine nature with that of your human nature. This sublimity is universally granted to every human being [...]."[760] Salvation was seen as happening not through the action of Christ, but ultimately through a deification of man.

The most important representative of mysticism was Meister Eckhart (ca. 1260-1328), who came from a noble family.[761] He initially worked as prior of the Dominican Order in Erfurt, but soon took on important leadership tasks for the order.

"According to Eckhart, there is a 'little spark' in the human being, the little soul, an innermost core, which at the same time constitutes the essence of the human being and is the place of his contact with God. It is the expression of man's likeness to God, which is imprinted in creation. This rather static figure of God's closeness is joined by a dynamic idea mediated by Christology: the birth of the Son in the soul. This imagery included the female corporeality in the spiritual interpretation [...]. Eckhart connected both images in that the birth of God in the soul was nothing other than the uncovering of the little soul – just as Jesus Christ had restored the true image of God. According to Eckhart, such an event became possible through man's withdrawal from the world, and above all through an inner detachment from all his soul faculties. Eckhart summarised this in the ideas of 'calmness' and

---

[757] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 225.
[758] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 112.
[759] Cf. Hellmut Zschoch, Die Christenheit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter, 206-210.
[760] Quoted from Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter,* 225.
[761] Dietmar Mieth, "Meister Eckart" in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 124-154.

'isolation': 'Man leaves his attachments to the world and separates himself from it, that there may be a true encounter with God.'"[762]

Other important mystics were Johannes Tauler (ca. 1300-1361)[763] and Heinrich Seuse (1295-1366) both disciples of Eckhart. How should mysticism be evaluated theologically?

> "The strength of the mystics of all times is the spiritual-inner richness they live and experience in faith. They preach repentance, contemplation, and sanctification – powerful, often also tenderly felt. Many of them have the gift of healing people or seeing things from a spatial and temporal distance, which is not only related to their connection with God and the spiritual world, but also to their refusal to accept modern nominalism and externalised materialism.
>
> Problematic are their often great distance from the literal sense of the Bible, their belief in the divine spark of the soul and the underestimation of sin [...]. This results in a kinship to idealism and modern liberalism, in which the soul spark of the mystics has long since become the autonomous individual."[764]

Also in soteriological terms, the question remains open as to whether the atoning death of Jesus Christ is appropriately respected. "Instead of justification through Christ, the deification of man takes place. God becomes a cosmic world force."[765]

7.7   The New Dawn of Christian Mission in the Age of Discovery

The Council of Lyon (1274) would be decisive for the history of Christian mission, but "not because a forgotten duty had been rediscovered [...]: the decisive factor was the European discovery of Asia, which opened up new horizons for missionaries and geographers alike."[766] At the beginning, this

---

[762] Volker Leppin, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums*, 342-343.

[763] Louise Gnädinger, "Johannes Tauler von Straßburg", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Mittelalter II*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 176-198.

[764] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 329.

[765] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Das Mittelalter*, 231.

[766] Jean Richard, "Die römische Kirche und die Nichtchristen außerhalb der Christenheit: Kreuzzüge und Missionierung", in: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreisproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991, 876.

mainly concerned regions under Mongolian rule. Around 1258, the first Franciscan missionaries reached the land of Characia, the region between the Don, the Black Sea and the Urals. The mission was quite successful. In 1287, for example, we read of the baptisms of high-ranking people and the establishment of several branches of the Order. In the thirteenth century, there were contacts and relations between the Mongol ruler in Persia and the Roman church, so that emissaries of Ilchan Abaka were even baptised at the second Council of Lyon. However, the church's hopes that any of the Mongol rulers would convert were not fulfilled. Also, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the first missionary journeys from the Western church to China were made.

Especially in Central Asia, missionary work was quite successful during the fourteenth century.

> "Clement V [learned] that John of Montecorvino, after a stay in India, had been very favourably received by the Great Khan and that he received a pension from him. After working in the Christian kingdom of Öngüt, he had returned to Chanbalyq (Beijing), where he founded a monastery; the inmates were young slaves ransomed by him, for whom he translated the liturgical prayer into the Uighur language. He had already administered more than a thousand baptisms."[767]

Various convents were established along the Silk Road, and the missionaries were able to demonstrate successful conversions among the Bashkirs and as far as Siberia. In the process, the missionaries learned Turkish and began to publish a "Codex Cumanicus" in 1330, which included a dictionary, a grammar, and also a chant and prayer book.[768] The Dominicans worked in Eastern Anatolia and present-day Azerbaijan, and the missionaries also had great success in present-day Dagestan (a Russian republic).

Various factors ultimately led to the decline of Western Christianity in these regions. These included the high losses due to the black plague among both missionaries and converts, as well as the lack of new missionaries to take their place; the conversion of additional rulers to Islam; and internal conflicts within the church. The great distances between the Asian bishoprics and the centres of Western Christianity were also a factor. In the late fifteenth century, "many of these bishoprics were by

---

[767]   Jean Richard, "Die römische Kirche und die Nichtchristen außerhalb der Christenheit: Kreuzzüge und Missionierung", 882.

[768]   Cf. Jean Richard, "Die römische Kirche und die Nichtchristen außerhalb der Christenheit: Kreuzzüge und Missionierung", 882.

now only small communities grouped around a modest monastery, where a bishop officiated as superior."[769]

New information about unknown countries reached Europe in the course of the late Middle Ages. While in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Venice and Genoa, Italy shaped trade at sea, in the fifteenth century Portugal and then Spain took over this role. Naturally, this led to rivalries between the two maritime powers. A mediator was sought and finally found in the pope. In 1493/1494, Pope Alexander VI drew a dividing line from the North to the South Pole, running west of the Azores. Everything west of this line would henceforth belong to Spain and everything east of the line to Portugal. The line was later moved another 1800 km westwards, so that Brazil, discovered by the Portuguese in 1500, became part of Portugal. But this privilege received from the pope also brought obligations. For example, Spain and Portugal had to find and send missionaries to lead the discovered countries and their people to Christianity, and then to establish bishoprics and appoint bishops.

The discovery of a sea passage to India in 1498 raised further hopes on the part of the church. It was no longer necessary to pass through Muslim territory to reach Asia. Europeans hoped to rediscover old Christian churches there, with whose help they could finally overcome the power of Islam. However, the mission that was now beginning falls into the next chapter.

---

[769] Jean Richard, "Die römische Kirche und die Nichtchristen außerhalb der Christenheit: Kreuzzüge und Missionierung", 885.

8   Beginnings and Course of the Reformation (1517-1550)

The Reformation – even if its beginnings were in Germany – was not a German but rather a pan-European phenomenon. Luther's writings and his Reformation ideas spread surprisingly fast throughout Europe. For instance, we know from a Swiss student of theology in Paris in 1519 that Luther's writings were already being read there.[770] In February 1519, the Swiss printer Johannes Froben reported to Luther that he had delivered around 600 copies of a complete edition of Luther's previous works to Spain and France and that further copies were destined for England.[771] We also know of great interest in Luther's works from the East, from Bohemia and Hungary.[772] Even if the Reformation subsequently developed differently and in different forms in different parts of Europe, it seems accurate to speak of a European phenomenon, a European Reformation.[773]

8.1   In Germany

To understand the emergence of the Reformation as well as its rapid spread across large parts of Europe, we must understand both the sociopolitical structures and everyday religious devotion in their historical context.

Political structures were shaped by feudal and vassal relationships rather than by geographical categories.[774] These relationships were determined by a complex structure of personal ties and dependencies, at the center of which was the mutual relationship of loyalty. However, the counties and principalities originally bound to an emperor by feudal law slowly began to change and dissolve, and the previous ideal of a universal monarchy receded into the background, leading to a strengthening of the regional dominions.

---

[770] Cf. Andrew Pettegree, "The Early Reformation in Europe: A German Affair or an International Movement?", in: Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ³1998, 1.

[771] Cf. Andrew Pettegree, "The Early Reformation in Europe", 1-2.

[772] Cf. Andrew Pettegree, "The Early Reformation in Europe", 2.

[773] This is also the title of a book by Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation,* 2nd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

[774] Cf. Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation,* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018, 17-18.

"Until the early modern period, the political community was a princely-state structure that functioned in interaction between the respective political head and his estates. The estates included the nobility, e.g., at the imperial level the electors and princes, then the high clergy, such as the prelates and bishops, and finally, again at the imperial level, the imperial cities. At the territorial level, the structure was similar and generally consisted of the knighthood, the high clergy and the towns of the respective territory."[775]

Of course, this relationship structure did not always function without friction, as each party sought to strengthen its own position. This struggle between the individual groups was a characteristic of this era.[776]

In this context, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, with its approximately 12 million inhabitants around the year 1500,[777] was the central political power[778] and framework, and it included the heartland of the coming Reformation. This empire covered more or less the geographic area of present-day Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland as well as parts of Italy. At the head of the empire stood an emperor crowned by the pope as the representative of Christ, who thus also assumed a task as "advocatus ecclesiae," or defender of the church. However, the borders remained unstable as they were threatened in the northeast by the Polish king and in the southeast by the Ottomans, among others. Since the reform of the imperial constitution at the end of the 15th century, the Imperial Diet (scheduled annually), the Imperial Chamber Court and the Imperial Regiment performed central political functions. Irene Dingel notes, "The dualism of emperor and estates thus remained and was characteristic of the entire Reformation era."[779]

Let us turn to the initial religious situation at the beginning of the 16th century. The ecclesiastical and political conditions[780] have already been described in the last chapter, so I will not repeat them. But we should remind ourselves of the nature of the everyday piety of the "com-

---

[775] Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 18.

[776] On the pan-European political situation, cf. Heinrich Lutz, *Reformation und Gegenreformation,* Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002, 15-22.

[777] Cf. Günter Vogler, *Europas Aufbruch in die Neuzeit 1500-1650,* Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 5. Stuttgart: UTB Ulmer, 2003, 45-51.

[778] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, 14-15; Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Europa,* Berlin: Suhrkamp and Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2009, 37-61.

[779] Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 24.

[780] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 16-18.

mon man," the average population.[781] Irene Dingel describes popular piety with these words:

"It was composed of the most diverse elements and formed a mixture of Christian ideas, superstitions and non-Christian ideas and practices. Witchcraft and magic, astrology and alchemy were closely linked to Christian ideas. [...] But what fundamentally determined everyone's life was the thought of temporal death and the end of the world. [...] This awareness of the limitedness and unpredictability of life was strengthened and confirmed by everyday experiences, such as the constant threat of epidemics or the political threat of the Ottomans standing before the borders as enemies of Christendom (which fell in 1453). This in turn led to a remarkable increase in piety. In view of the fact that death could break into one's life immediately and unexpectedly, it was important to prepare for a good end in good time through repentance and pious actions in order to be able to stand before God's judgement. Christ, too, was first and foremost a judge in people's minds. [...] Mary, who was thought to have more understanding, compassion, and mercy than Christ, came more and more to the fore. [...] In addition, new cults of the saints emerged, for the saints – like Mary – were also supposed to intercede for sinful man before God with their merits and thus build a bridge between the sinner and the righteously judging God. [...] In addition, the veneration of relics grew, for through the mortal remains of saints or through sacred objects, the transcendent reached into this world, bringing salvation. Those who could afford it collected relics themselves, such as the Saxon Elector Frederick the Wise, Luther's sovereign, who possessed one of the largest collections of relics of his time. Behind the veneration of relics was the idea that they could pave the way to salvation, especially as they were often endowed with indulgences that could be gained through venerated contemplation."[782]

At the same time, we must not idealize the religious life of the time and pretend that everyone was pious. Francis Rapp notes:

"There was no question of unanimous and constant piety even in the countries considered to be religious. In 1499, in a parish in the Black Forest [Germany], the pastor found that 200 of his flock had not fulfilled their Easter obligation, which was probably a not insignificant part of his flock. [...] Even worse than the attendance at church services and the participation

---

[781] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 18-20; Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Europa,* 62-92; Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*. Religionen der Menschheit 31, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006, 178-240.

[782] Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 34-35.

in the receiving of the sacraments was probably the observance of the moral rules. Only the sixth commandment should be mentioned here: the number of illegitimate children proves that marital fidelity or the vowed chastity were not always observed. The clergy did not exactly set a good example in this respect. In many cities, prostitution not only had to be tolerated but also regulated, for it was an unavoidable evil. Even if homosexuality was punishable by death, it could not be completely eradicated – not only in Florence, which was known for it, but fornication of this kind was also not uncommon."[783]

Such a differentiated political, social, and religious initial situation must be kept in mind as we now turn to the birth of the Reformation.[784]

8.1.1   Martin Luther – Biography until 1517

"In the beginning was the word. Just as the cry of a single person can trigger an avalanche, so Martin Luther's sermons and writings unleashed the Reformation and in a short time profoundly changed the face of Western Christendom. But how did the monk, how did the professor of theology come to rebel against and shake the powerful structure in whose seemingly solid fabric he had been carved out?"[785]

Martin Luther was born in Eisleben on 10 November 1483.[786] His parents had left their hometown of Möhra in Thuringia (present-day Germany) because his father had found work in the ore mines in Eisleben. But after only six months, the Luther family moved to Mansfelden. Here Martin spent his childhood in a parental home that was poor at first, but later worked its way up to modest wealth.[787] In March 1488, at age four and a half, Luther

---

[783]   Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*, 221.

[784]   On the concept of the reformation, cf. Rainer Wohlfeil, *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982.

[785]   Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*, 306.

[786]   On Luther's life and work, cf. in selection: Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther,* 3 vols. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1981-1987; Reinhard Schwarz, *Martin Luther,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3I, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986; Volker Leppin, *Marin Luther,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2006; Lyndal Roper, *Der Mensch Martin Luther: Die Biographie,* Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 2016 as well as of a more popular nature: Armin Kohnle, *Martin Luther: Reformator, Ketzer, Ehemann,* Leipzig and Holzgerlingen: Evang. Verlagsanstalt and SCM Hänssler, 2015; Eric Metaxas, *Luther: Der Mann, der Gott neu entdeckte,* Holzgerlingen, SCM Hänssler, 2019.

[787]   Opinions in research differ on the question of economic circumstances. While Martin Jung speaks of Luther's father as a "wealthy mining entrepreneur", most researchers, like Volker Leppin, assume a "low, relative economic prosperity". Cf.

sat for the first time at a school desk, where he learned Latin and singing as well as writing, in accordance with the school education of the time. He was a child of his time, including the spirituality of his time, and was influenced by a deep popular piety with its intensive veneration of the saints. Luther himself confessed how difficult it was later to tear himself away from the saints, as he was "deeply immersed" in them and literally "drowned" in them.[788] Yet he also became acquainted with a deep superstition, combined with a fear of witches and ghosts, in his parental home.[789] In 1497, Luther transferred to the Latin school in Magdeburg, but he moved on to Eisenach less than a year later, possibly because several relatives lived there.[790] At age 18, Luther began his studies at the University of Erfurt. He quickly and quite early earned his first academic honours. Just one year later, in 1502, he received his bachelor's degree, and three years later his master's degree. His father was so enthusiastic about his offspring's academic achievements that from then on, he addressed him only with the polite German "Ihr"[791] and vigorously made plans for his son's future.

Three options were open to the young Luther. He could study medicine, but that didn't count for much in those days; he could choose theology, but that was usually associated with joining a religious order and the theologian was thus removed from his family. So Luther's best choice seemed to be law, as it offered the best opportunities for advancement and a reasonable income. Luther seemed to have agreed with his father's plans, or at least he did not oppose them much. He therefore began his study of law in 1505, but this lasted for only four weeks. On his return from a family visit, Luther was caught in a thunderstorm near Stotternheim close to Erfurt. When lightning struck close to him, he became terrified and made a vow on the spot: "Help Saint Anne, I want to become a monk!"[792] Fourteen days later, Luther reported to the gate of the Black

---

Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 25 as well as Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 15. Cf. furthermore the detailed discussion in Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1981, 15-17.

[788] Joachim Rogge, Anfänge *der Reformation: Der junge Luther 1483-1521; Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/3-4; Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1983, 61.

[789] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 20-21; Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,*23-24.

[790] Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther*, 23.

[791] Cf. Joachim Rogge, Anfänge *der Reformation,* 70-71.

[792] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 28-34; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 55-58.

Monastery in Erfurt and entered the monastery to spend his life behind monastery walls from then on. The fact that his friends advised him against it and that his father, full of anger, saw his beautiful plans destroyed could not change Luther's mind. From now on he was a monk with the Augustinian Hermits. The church historian Rogge writes in summary: "Entering a monastery is the signal of readiness to follow the path and the offer of the medieval church. Luther was now a particularly inward, serious medieval man seeking God's grace. Countless others before him, beside him, had done the same."[793]

The first period of his monastic life was quite normal. A good year later, Luther completed his novitiate in September 1506 and his profession (taking the vows of the order) took place.[794] Six months after that, he was also ordained as a priest. Looking back, Luther wrote about this early monastic period: "He had experienced himself like many others how peaceful and calm Satan used to be in the first year of priesthood and monasticism, so that nothing seemed sweeter than chastity."[795] But this state did not last long. Soon Luther began to experience severe temptations.[796] Here, however, it is important to note that Luther wrestled with genuine Catholicism and not with a partially degenerated Catholicism. It was not abuses of Catholic piety around him, but Catholic doctrine itself that troubled the young monk. Above all, the sacrament of confession drove him into ever deeper despair, for he realized that despite all his own efforts, he was plunging into deeper uncertainty of salvation. Especially when he had to deal with the question of predestination in his theological studies, he fell into a deep fear of being damned by God.

In the course of his preparations for a lecture on the book of Psalms and the epistle to the Romans in the years 1513 to 1515, Luther finally had his Reformation breakthrough.[797] The so-called "tower experience," named after the tower of the Wittenberg monastery in which Luther's monk's cell was located, needs to be mentioned here. Martin Jung notes:

> "In connection with his work on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, Luther reflected on his own experiences as a monk, especially his feeling that he did not meet divine standards. He wrestled with the question of how to un-

---

[793] Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation,* 73.
[794] Cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521*, 65-70.
[795] Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 79; cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 70-77.
[796] Cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521*, 82-88.
[797] Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 105-138; Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 107-117.

derstand the talk of 'God's justice' found in the Psalms and in Paul. Luther had learned that God is just in that he judges."[798]

At this point, Luther made a grammatical discovery: the term *justice of God* can be understood as *genetivus subjectivus* and *genetivus objectivus.* He realized that the righteousness of God means not only the righteousness that belongs to God but can also mean the righteousness that God bestows on man in his love. He learned and became convinced that justice is a gift of God, which God grants to man without preconditions. Men's faith as a human precondition was therefore not a prerequisite for salvation. This discovery brought Luther out of his temptations, and he finally found assurance of salvation. Luther's Reformation breakthrough, however, should not be understood as a singular event (tower experience), but as a process lasting several years.[799]

Let us read Luther himself. In a dedicatory letter to his confessor, Staupitz, Luther wrote on 30 May 1518 about his discoveries on the subject of repentance (*poenitentia*):

> "I remember, venerable Father, that during your so attractive and wholesome talks, with which the Lord Jesus used to console me wonderfully, the word 'penance' (poenitentia) was sometimes mentioned. It pities us the consciences of many and of those executioners who, with intolerable commandments, present a rule of confession (as they call it). But we received you as if you spoke from heaven (te velut e caelo sonantem excepimus): that true repentance alone begins with love of justice and of God. What those thought to be the goal and the completion of repentance was rather the beginning.
>
> This word of yours stuck in me 'like the sharp arrow of a strong man' (Ps 120:4), and I began to compare it in turn with passages of Scripture which teach about repentance. And this was an exceedingly pleasant occupation (iucundissimus ludus). For words came at me from all sides, completely assimilating and subscribing to this view.
>
> The result was: As in former times there was nothing more bitter to me in all Scripture than the word 'repentance' (admittedly I assiduously dissembled before God and tried to show a feigned and forced love), now nothing can ring sweeter and more pleasant (nihil dulcius aut gratius) in my ears than the word 'repentance'. For then the commandments of God become sweet when we realize that they must be read not merely in books but in the wounds of the beloved Saviour (in vulneribus dulcissimi Salvatoris).

---

[798]   Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 27.
[799]   Cf. Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 51; Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation Deutschland,* 148-151.

Later on, through the efforts and favour of very learned men who eagerly taught us Greek and Hebrew, I learned that this word in Greek is μετάνοια, from μετά and νοῦν, that is, from 'post' and 'mentem'. So repentance, or metanoia, means a coming to one's senses again, and the realisation of one's evil, after one has suffered the penalty and realized the error. But this cannot possibly happen without a change of mind and (orientation of) love. All this corresponds so exactly to Paul's theology that – at least in my opinion – nothing can explain Paul more fittingly. Yea, I made progress, and saw that metanoia could be derived not merely from 'post' and 'mentem', but also from 'trans' and 'mentem' (though this might be admittedly forcible), so that metanoia signified a complete change of thought and mind, which seemed to include not only the change of mind, but also the nature of the change, that is, the grace of God. For that change of mind – which is namely true repentance – Is highly praised in the Scriptures [...].

I clung to this and dared to think that those were in error who attached so much to the works of penance that they left us little of penance except, for instance, the minor works of satisfaction and the exceedingly burdensome confession. For they have allowed themselves to be misled by the Latin word 'poenitentiam agere', which sounds more like an action than a change of meaning and in no way satisfies the Greek metanoia. When my reflection (meditatio) was thus going to and for, behold, suddenly the fanfares of the new indulgence began to sound, yea, to blare, around us, and pardons were trumpeted, by which, however, we were yet animated to a right zeal for this war. In short, they simply pushed aside the doctrine of true penance and presumed to praise, not the penance, not even its very smallest part, the satisfaction, but precisely the remission of this very smallest part, as one has never heard it praised before. Yes, they taught ungodly, false and heretical things with such great authority (presumption, I should say) that he who even grumbled against them was immediately condemned as a heretic to death by fire and eternal damnation."[800]

In the preface to his *Latin Works* of 1545, Luther reports the discovery of a new understanding of the concept of justice (*iustitia*).[801]

"In the meantime, I had returned (eo anno iam redieram ad Psalterium) to the Psalter that year (1519) to interpret it anew, trusting that I was more practiced after having treated St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and Galatians and that to the Hebrews in lectures. I had been seized with a wondrous passion (miro certe ardore captus fueram) to know Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, but until then it was not the coldness of my heart but a single word that stood

[800] Quoted from: Volker Leppin, *Reformation*, Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen III, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [7]2021, 17-18.

[801] For a scholarly discussion of this late reflection by Luther, see Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther*, 107-117.

in my way, which is in the first chapter: 'The righteousness of God is revealed in him (i.e., in the Gospel)' (Rom 1:17). For I hated this word 'righteousness of God', which, according to the common usage of all doctors, I had learned to understand philosophically as the so-called formal or active righteousness (de iustitia ut vocant formal i seu activa), by which God is just, according to which he punishes sinners and the unjust.

But I, who, in spite of my blameless life as a monk, felt myself a sinner before God, with a thoroughly troubled conscience, and could not trust that I was reconciled to God by my satisfaction: I loved not, yea, I hated this righteous God that punisheth sinners; if not with outright blasphemy, yet certainly with a tremendous murmuring I was indignant against God, saying, 'Shall it not yet be enough that wretched sinners, eternally lost through original sin, are oppressed with all manner of mischief by the Decalogue? Must God then add pain to pain through the gospel, and threaten us with his justice and wrath in addition through the gospel?' So I raced in my angry, thoroughly confused conscience, and ruthlessly knocked on Paul's door at this point, with the hottest thirst to know what Saint Paul was trying to say. At last, in day and night's meditation, I paid attention, by God's mercy, to the connection of the words (connexionem verborum attenderem), namely: 'The righteousness of God is revealed in him, as it is written: ›The righteous lives by faith‹ (Hab 2:4)'. Then I began to understand the righteousness of God as that by which the just man lives as by God's gift, namely, by faith (qua iustus dono Dei vivit, nempe ex fide); I understood that this is the meaning: Revealed through the Gospel is the righteousness of God, namely the passive (revelari per Evangelium iustitiam Dei, scilicet passivam), by which God the Merciful justifies us through faith, as it is written: 'The just lives by faith.' Now I felt completely reborn and entered through open gates into paradise itself. Immediately the whole Scripture showed itself to me from another side. Hence I went through the Scriptures as I had remembered them, and read also in other expressions the same structure (analogia), such as 'the work of God', i.e. what God works in us; 'the power of God', with which He makes us strong; 'the wisdom of God', with which He makes us wise; 'the strength of God'; 'the salvation of God', 'the glory of God'. Well, with how much hatred I used to hate the word 'righteousness of God', with all the greater love I praised this word as the sweetest for me; so much was this Pauline passage really the gateway to paradise for me. Later I read Augustine's 'De spiritu et littera', unexpectedly coming upon the fact that he too interprets the righteousness of God similarly, as the righteousness with which God clothes us by justifying us. And though this is still imperfectly stated, and Augustine does not clearly explicate everything from imputation (de imputatione), yet it pleased me that the righteousness of God is taught by which we are justified."[802]

---

[802] Quoted from: Volker Leppin, *Reformation*, Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen III, 18-19.

8.1.2   Beginning and Breakthrough of the Reformation

When Luther triggered the Reformation in 1517, it was out of a pastoral concern, without any intention to start a movement. He was confronted in the confessional by the devastating consequences of the sale of indulgences and therefore, on the eve of All Saints Day in 1517, he posted his 95 Theses[803] on the castle church in Wittenberg. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt writes about this:

> "The day was deliberately chosen because on All Saints' Day the huge collection of relics from the castle church was put on public display in Wittenberg; their devout contemplation yielded over 1,370 years of indulgences. So the visitors who wanted to acquire this indulgence now had Luther's theses staring at them at the door."[804]

More recent research, however, has disputed whether there was actually ever a posting of the theses as such. Rather, some scholars believe that Luther only sent his theses to Albrecht of Brandenburg, at the same time Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, and to Hieronymus Schultz, the Bishop of Brandenburg responsible for Wittenberg, on 31 October 1517.[805] Whether he actually nailed them to the gate or just sent them to his superior doesn't make much difference, as the result is key: Luther's theses spread throughout the country in no time at all, without Luther himself being aware of what he had caused. Artistically produced leaflets (woodcuts) publicized his life and work. The theses caused quite a stir. And at this point it became apparent how important the invention of the printing press only a few decades ago would be for the Reformation. "From the time the theses were printed, Luther's later statement that they had passed through almost the whole of Germany in 14 days was true, 'as if the angels themselves were messengers and carried it before the eyes of all men'."[806]

---

[803] On Luther's theses in their historical context, cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Der Anfang der Reformation,* Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 67, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 166-184.

[804] Kurt-Dietrich Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte,* 8th enlarged edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, 329.

[805] Cf. Volker Leppin, *Die Reformation*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2013, 12; Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 117-126; Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation,* 52; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 187-197. Thomas Kaufmann, however, is different, holding to the historicity of the posting of the theses: Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 182.

[806] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 200.

"When Luther got involved in the indulgence controversy, he was not yet 'Protestant'."[807] Only gradually did the inner turn and the Reformation breakthrough occur. At a disputation of his order in Heidelberg in April 1518, Luther again put forward some theses and now also criticized the dependence of theology on an Aristotelian philosophy, claiming "that man was entirely passive towards God and had no free will towards him."[808] Only in the dispute over his theses did it became clear that Luther had abandoned the Catholic doctrine of the sacrament of penance. In addition to this, the question of the Pope's position soon arose.[809] Even though the dispute with the Curia intensified and Rome officially opened a trial against Luther in summer 1518,[810] there were no consequences for Luther for the time being, because in 1519 Emperor Maximilian died.

The Vatican wanted Elector Frederick, Luther's ruler, to use his influence to prevent the election of Charles of Spain as the new emperor and did not want to antagonize him by taking vigorous action against Luther.[811] Luther was able to continue to work in great freedom, albeit under hostility, which he exploited to the full. Thus, in 1520, three of Luther's most important writings came into being:

8.1.2.1 To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Betterment of the Christian Estate

In this work,[812] published in summer 1520, Luther unfolded his Reformation program and challenged three basic Catholic convictions: the superiority of spiritual power over secular power, that the interpretation of Scripture was the sole responsibility of the Pope, and that a council could be convened only by the Pope. In contrast, Luther advocated a general priesthood of all believers, which eliminated the distinction between clergy and laity. In the second part of this work, he explained his reform program: abolition of the church state, and of compulsory celibacy and beggary. Instead, he called for a planned care for the poor, a reform of the education system and the fight against monopoly societies.

---

[807] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 215.
[808] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter* (1517-1648), 33.
[809] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter* (1517-1648), 34.
[810] Cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521*, 232-237.
[811] Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 165-166;
[812] Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 194-199; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 352-361.

8.1.2.2   On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church

This writing was dedicated above all to the doctrine of the sacraments.[813] For Luther, the sacrament is determined by the promise (*promissio*) and by faith (*fides*). For him, the most important thing about the sacrament is the word of promise, which is confirmed by a sign. The number of sacraments was irrelevant for him, since a sacrament can be instituted only by Christ himself and has an outward sign to which the promise is added. He therefore rejected, for example, the denial of the lay chalice, the doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrificial character of the Mass, thus breaking with the Catholic Church's understanding of the sacraments.

8.1.2.3   On Christian Freedom[814]

This writing, addressed to general Christianity, offered a "concise summary of the Reformation doctrine of justification."[815] For Luther, the Christian is both free lord and servant of all things (according to 1 Cor. 9:19).

> "Justification theology and Christology are placed in the tension of the inner and outer man: through the 'joyful change' the believing soul gains a share in all the goods of Christ, while laying its sin, for righteousness and dishonour on Christ. In this faith man is free from all so-called pious works. The outward man serves as a servant in the next with good works. But it is not good works that make a man good, but only faith."[816]

However, after Charles V was finally crowned as the new emperor, the Curia finally took up the overdue case and, after five months of deliberation, issued a bull of excommunication against Luther in summer 1520.[817] Although Luther thereby exposed himself to mortal danger, on 10 October 1520 he burned the bull of excommunication of the "Antichrist" – Luther's unflattering terms for the Pope – In front of an assembled student body

---

[813]   Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 199-206; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 362-366.
[814]   Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 206-209.
[815]   Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 62.
[816]   Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium,* 131.
[817]   Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 212-213; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 371-378.

along with several other Catholic writings. "Luther was clear about how consequential this public act could become."[818]

Understandably, the Pope was displeased by Luther's less than respectful gesture. On 21 January 1521, Luther was put under ban. Thomas Kaufmann notes:

> "The Wittenberg monk, who had set out to save the Roman Church, whose credibility was endangered by certain practices of indulgences, carried out, in the last months of 1520, as a legally duly condemned heretic, a historically unprecedented act of annihilation and exorcism, with which he wanted to eliminate the wickedness and corruption no longer correctable. That church which Luther had condemned and deprived of its right to life was not reformable. It was based on sacraments which the Bible did not know and which Christ had not instituted; it had profoundly corrupted the Lord's Supper through the withdrawal of the chalice, a theory of the sacrifice of the Mass based on the accumulation of merits before God, and the doctrine of transubstantiation; and also with regard to baptism and repentance, it had mutilated beyond recognition or pushed into the background the word of promise which awakens faith and is affirmed by an outward sign."[819]

Actually, Luther would have automatically fallen into imperial suspension as a result of the ban, but Luther was allowed to defend himself at the Diet in Worms in April 1521. Luther was prepared to recant if it could be proven from the Bible that he was advocating false doctrine.[820] Rudolf Mau brilliantly summarizes Luther's defense speech:

> "As someone who had hitherto lived in monastic corners, he asked to be excused in advance in case he did not address someone with the proper title or otherwise violated courtly customs.
>
>   On the question of a retraction, Luther differentiated between three types of his books. One dealt with faith and morals. He had written about them so simply and evangelically that even his opponents had recognized them as useful and worth reading for Christians. It was therefore impossible for him to be the only one to recant. A second group of writings was directed against the papacy. These were terrible teachings and examples that were destroying Christianity spiritually and physically. The Pope's laws would imprison and torture the consciences of the faithful and devour their possessions, especially in the German nation. If he were to revoke these writ-

---

[818]   Joachim Rogge, *Anfänge der Reformation*, 219, cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 403-406.
[819]   Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 286-287.
[820]   Cf. Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 171-181; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521,* 413-453.

ings, tyranny would become even worse than before, and he himself would then be an instrument of such wickedness.

The third group of his writings was directed against those who questioned the Christian faith and defended Roman tyranny. Here he admitted that he was sometimes harsher than he should have been as a professor and monk. But it was not about his behaviour as a person, but the teaching of Christ that was at issue. To recant here would again only strengthen godlessness and tyranny. Like Christ before the High Council, however, he was ready, if he had erred, to be refuted by anyone from the Holy Scriptures. Then he himself would be the first to throw his books into the fire. He had also considered the admonition of the day before to no longer insist on his own opinion for the sake of the unity of the Church. But one should not want to settle disputes by condemning God's word. That would have disastrous consequences."[821]

Since the church was in no way prepared to comply with Luther's demands for an examination of the Holy Scriptures, Luther did not recant and so in May 1521 the imperial sentence was imposed,[822] meaning that he was outlawed and could be killed by anyone. On his way back from Worms, Elector Frederick "kidnapped" Luther and hid him for his own protection at Wartburg Castle,[823] where Luther stayed for over a year and translated the New Testament into German in about eleven weeks.[824]

During Luther's absence from Wittenberg, changes in the old church system (abolition of celibacy, mass services and veneration of images) took place. However, Andreas von Karlstadt[825] and the so-called "Zwickau prophets"[826] Nikolaus Storch and Thomas Drexel also caused some unrest in Wittenberg,[827] as they referred to some personal spiritual revelations and demanded, for example, the abolition of infant baptism. At the end, against the will of the Elector, Luther felt compelled to return to Witten-

---

[821]   Rudolf Mau, *Evangelische Bewegung und frühe Reformation 1521 bis 1532,* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/5, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000, 27-28.

[822]   Rudolf Mau, *Evangelische Bewegung und frühe Reformation 1521 bis 1532*, 31-33.

[823]   Cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521-1532,* Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1986, 11-15; Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther*, 181-192.

[824]   Cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521-1532*, 53-63; Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 68. The entire Bible was available in a German translation in 1534.

[825]   Cf. on Karlstadt's life and work: Ulrich Bubenheimer, "Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Reformationszeit I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1981, 105-116.

[826]   Cf. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zwickauer_Propheten [17.11.2017].

[827]   Cf. Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 193-204; Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*, 330-332.

berg and deliver his so-called *Invocavit* sermons in the Wittenberg city church on 9 March 1522.[828] He finally succeeded in steering the reforms in an orderly direction. Although he did not criticize the content of the reforms, he did criticize the way in which they had been carried out, and this eventually led to a break with Karlstadt. From then on, Luther was a vehement and determined opponent of Karlstadt, who was expelled from Saxony in 1524 und who also maintained contacts with Anabaptist circles. Karlstadt later worked in Zurich and Basel.

However, the Reformation progressed with giant strides during these years and continued to spread, especially in Electoral Saxony, Upper Germany[829] and the free imperial cities. For various reasons, the emperor and the Curia could not do much, since the Ottomans were at the gates of Vienna and the emperor desperately needed the support of the fragmented territorial rulers, quite a few of whom had embraced Luther's Protestant teachings. In addition, the emperor himself had to leave Germany immediately after the Diet of Worms to deal with an uprising in Spain and the threat posed by King Francis I of France, as well as the Ottoman threat.

8.1.3 The Peasants' War and Its Consequences

The so-called Peasants' War of 1524-1525 proved to be a temporary threat to the Reformation and led to a rift within the young Protestant movement.[830] It is certainly not correct to call it a Peasants' War; instead, we should acknowledge numerous regional uprisings of peasants and other underprivileged groups. There had already been peasant uprisings time and again since the 14th century, but now the groups were increasingly arguing in religious terms in the wake of the Reformation. The "Twelve Articles" of the Swabian peasantry summarized an authoritative program of the peasants.[831] In the introduction to these Twelve Articles, "the claim that the gospel caused the uprising was refuted with all vigor. The gospel teaches nothing but peace, patience, and unity. Since the peasants sought to put the teaching of the gospel into practice, they could not be called

---

[828] Cf. Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521-1532*, 66-72.

[829] More or less covers the geographical area of Germany south of the Main River.

[830] See Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*, 340-353; Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland,* 487-504; Rudolf Mau, *Evangelische Bewegung und frühe Reformation 1521 bis 1532,* 145-163; Martin Brecht, Martin *Luther: Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521-1532,* 139-193.

[831] Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 488.

seditious."[832] However, it also falls short in understanding the Peasants' War as purely religiously motivated. Rather, religious causes were mixed with economic, social, and political ones. Francis Rapp states:

> "The peasant revolution took the decisive run-up when the religious innovation celebrated triumphs. At the end of 1524, the uprising broke out and developed into a conflagration in the first months of the following year. [...] It is also significant that the rebels' flags often bore the motto 'Verbum Dei manet in aeternum' and the peasants called themselves 'brothers'. In any case, Martin Luther could not have been indifferent to this revolution. Nor was he cold-blooded."[833]

The uprisings spread more and more – from Upper Swabia to Franconia, Thuringia, and Alsace as well as Tyrol, Salzburg, and Inner Austria in 1525. The number of insurgents was estimated at around 300,000.[834] Luther dedicated three writings to the peasant revolts, which left less and less to be desired in terms of clarity as the events unfolded. Torn between the fronts and because Luther saw the Reformation as a whole at risk, he, who was initially proposed by the peasants as an arbitrator, increasingly sided with the authorities and called on them to put down the uprisings by force. He saw the Peasants' War as the devil's last stand against the victory of the gospel. On 15 May 1525, the battle of Frankenhausen took place, in which the peasants were crushed by the army of the Catholic and the Reformation rulers, and around 6,000 people died. In his letter of July 1525 about his criticisms of the peasants, Luther justified his harsh attitude towards them. The fact that Luther and his Reformation were held partly responsible for the peasant uprisings may have played a role here.

8.1.4   The Further Course of the Reformation

The brutal suppression of the peasant uprisings paved the way for a princely Reformation,[835] implemented and supported by the rulers. In addition, in certain regions one can also speak of a community Reformation,

---

[832] Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*, 340.
[833] Francis Rapp, *Christentum IV: Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552)*, 342-343.
[834] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 494.
[835] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 504-506; Erwin Iserloh, "Der Kampf um das Verständnis der Freiheit des Christenmenschen", in: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin, *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1967, 145.

carried by citizens and peasants.[836] Overall, however, disillusionment and disappointment remained.

At the first Diet of Speyer in 1526, the Catholic majority tried to prevent the Reformation from spreading any further and fought to enforce the decisions of the Edict of Worms.[837] However, they succeeded only in agreeing on a compromise formula, as Reformation ideas had already spread too far in the meantime. This was the compromise reached:

> "After this, we [the Emperor], also the electors, princes and estates of the right and their envoys, have now unanimously come to an understanding and agreed here at the Imperial Diet that until a Council or a National Assembly, each of us will nevertheless live with our subjects in the matters concerning the edict issued by the Imperial Majesty at the Imperial Diet in Worms, to live, govern and proceed for themselves as each hopes and believes to be able to answer for such against God and the Imperial Majesty."[838]

At the second Diet of Speyer in 1529,[839] Emperor Charles V tried to repeal the compromise formula reached in 1526, but again without success. Instead, there was an open rift between the religious camps. "By exchanging assurances of peace [...] it was, however, ensured at the end of the Imperial Diet that each of the parties was prepared for the time being to refrain from enforcing its position by force."[840] The protest of the Protestant rulers against the demands of the "Old Believers" (Catholics) subsequently earned them the name *Protestants*.[841]

One year later, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, the *Confessio Augustana*, a summary of the Reformation doctrine of the Lutheran confession, was introduced.[842] It would form the basis of Lutheran theology from then on. Emperor Charles had invited people to this imperial diet in a conciliatory tone, and Melanchthon had prepared this confessional document on behalf of Elector Johann of Saxony. Thomas Kaufmann notes:

---

[836] Thus Peter Blickle, *Gemeindereformation: Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil*, Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987. Thomas Kaufmann discusses the relationship of the princely to the communal Reformation. Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 504-506.

[837] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 62-64.

[838] Quoted from Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 63.

[839] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 72-74.

[840] Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 372.

[841] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 73.

[842] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 577-593; Rudolf Mau, *Evangelische Bewegung und frühe Reformation 1521 bis 1532*, 213-227.

"In the Confessio Augustana, the responsible theologians and imperial estates met the Old Believer counterpart to the limit of theological self-denial. [...] Despite an imperial ban, the Confessio Augustana appeared in print as early as September 1530. If the strongest conceivable concession by the Protestants, who professed the main strand of the authentic Roman Catholic tradition, renounced any harsh judgement on the Pope – for Luther and many others the Antichrist – and tried to play down the dissent to the evaluation of individual abuses, was not taken up and accepted by the other side, the break had to be a definite one."[843]

When Johann Eck and other theologians presented a refutation of the Augsburg Confession on behalf of the Emperor, Charles V considered the *Confessio Augustana* refuted and demanded submission.[844] Melanchthon formulated a rebuttal (*Apology for the Augsburg Confession*). However, at the Diet of Augsburg the diversity of Protestantism became apparent for the first time.[845] People did not all come together, but rather several confessional documents were presented in Augsburg. The cities of Strasbourg, Memmingen, Constance and Lindau submitted the *Tetrapolitana*,[846] a confession written by Martin Bucer, and Zwingli also submitted his own confession.[847]

After the departure from Augsburg, the Protestant estates reckoned with a military intervention by the emperor and the Catholic princes, and in February 1531 they formed a protective alliance, the Schmalkaldic League.[848] The alliance's tasks included mutual assistance in arms in the event of attack, the formation of a federal army and joint action against trials at the Imperial Chamber Court. Luther himself had great misgivings about armed resistance against the emperor, but he was convinced by the ruler's lawyer, who taught him that the real authority lay with the regional rulers and not with the emperor they had elected. The Schmalkaldic League would shape the history of the Reformation for the next decade and a half.[849]

---

[843] Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 592. Similarly: Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther,* 302-303.

[844] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 593-594.

[845] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 74-75.

[846] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 597-598.

[847] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 595-597.

[848] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 603-608; Volker Leppin, Martin *Luther,* 305-318; Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 77-79.

[849] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 615-623; Rudolf Mau, *Evangelische Bewegung und frühe Reformation 1521 bis 1532*, 228-231.

Both the founding of the Schmalkaldic League and the ongoing Ottoman threat led the emperor to finally agreeing to a first temporary religious peace, the Nuremberg Decree, in 1532, as he was dependent on the support of the Protestant rulers. In theological terms, the Wittenberg Concord in 1536 brought an end to the Lord's Supper dispute, on the initiative of Martin Bucer in close collaboration with Philip Melanchthon in Germany. However, the Swiss Reformation remained outside this agreement.

During the 1540s, again on the initiative of the emperor, several religious consultations took place, but they remained unsuccessful.[850] When Charles V succeeded in isolating two important princes of the Schmalkaldic League (Landgrave Philip of Hesse as well as Duke Moritz of Saxony), the League was decisively weakened, motivating the emperor to start a religious war in 1546.[851] In April 1547, the Protestant side had to capitulate. At the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1548, the emperor proclaimed the so-called Augsburg Interim,[852] which only allowed Protestants to have communion with both elements, and priests to marry until a Council decision.

It was not until 1555, at the Diet of Augsburg, that an indefinite religious peace was reached with the return of religious unity in the framework of a council.[853] However, this agreement applied only to Lutherans and Catholics and by no means represented general religious freedom, because the principle applied was *cuius regio, eius religio*" ("whose realm, their religion" – meaning that the religion of the ruler was to dictate the religion of those ruled). Only the sovereigns could choose between the confessions, while their subjects had to follow them. At the same time, however, people of other faiths were granted the right to emigrate to a territory of their

---

[850] Hubert Kirchner, *Reformationsgeschichte von 1532-1555/1566, Festigung der Reformation, Calvin, katholisches Konzil von Trient*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/6, Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1987, 78-83; Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, *Reformationsgeschichte* Deutschlands, Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3K, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964, 118-121.

[851] Cf. Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation*, 238,246; Hubert Kirchner, *Reformationsgeschichte von 1532-1555/1566*, 89-93; Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, *Reformationsgeschichte* Deutschlands, 145-149.

[852] Cf. Franz Lau and Ernst Bizer, *Reformationsgeschichte* Deutschlands, 153-157.

[853] Cf. Heinz Schilling and Heribert Smolinsky (eds.), Der Augsburger Religionsfrieden 1555, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 206, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007; Irene Dingel, *Geschichte der Reformation,* 249-254; Hubert Kirchner, *Reformationsgeschichte von 1532-1555/1566,* 94-96; Erwin Isterloh, "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation", in: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin, *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1967, 308-312.

own confession and were promised that their property and that of their family would be protected.

With the Augsburg Religious Peace, the time of a uniform Christian confession ended in the German Empire.

> "The Imperial Diet's agreement signed on 25 September 1555, which contained the religious peace, was issued in the name of the absent emperor, who had rejected from the outset any agreement detrimental to the Catholic religion. Charles V, now convinced of the ultimate failure of his imperial policy, resigned his offices, and also renounced the imperial crown in 1556. He retired to the solitude of San Yuste in Spain, where he died in 1558. He had failed to achieve the highest goal of his life, which was to reunite the empire on the foundation of the religion of his fathers. The Religious Peace of Augsburg finally dissolved the religious unity of the German Empire. The confessional age began."[854]

Luther himself had been bound to the Electorate of Saxony since the Diet of Worms in 1521, as the imperial ban on him had never been lifted.

> "If Luther had travelled to Speyer in 1526 or 1529 or to Augsburg in 1530, Old Believer authorities would have arrested him on the way, and he would have ended up at the stake sooner or later. However, the reformer had other things in mind than becoming a martyr. In Wittenberg, he continued his teaching duties, interpreting the Bible, preaching regularly, and intervening in Reformation disputes here and there through writings. He also wrote numerous letters and expert opinions with which he exerted influence elsewhere."[855]

On 18 February 1546, Martin Luther, who had already been suffering from illness for some time, died while travelling in his birthplace, Eisleben.[856]

8.2   In Switzerland

Alongside the Reformation, which was shaped by Martin Luther, an independent Reformation movement developed in Switzerland, which would lead to the founding of the Reformed Protestant confession. Key figures in

---

[854] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation,* 2nd corrected edition, Tübingen: UTB Mohr Siebeck, 1985, 96-97.
[855] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 79.
[856] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Die Erhaltung der Kirche 1532-1546,* Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1987, 229-234, 362-375; Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 79.

this movement were Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli, John Calvin and Zwingli's successor in Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger.[857]

8.2.1 Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) and the Beginnings of the Swiss Reformation

Let us begin by taking a brief look at the political and social environment in Switzerland at the time of Zwingli.

> "The 'Swiss Confederation of the Thirteen Ancient Places', the 'Great Confederation in Upper German Lands', was in the 16th century a complicated structure of peasant 'rural communities', aristocratic-temperate city republics, 'Zugewandten', i.e. semi-confederates, and 'General dominions' ('Gemeine Herrschaften' or subordinated dominions) governed by one or more places in rotation, which, however, also jealously guarded over their precisely circumscribed liberties and rights. [...]
>
> Following the victorious Burgundian Wars, a phenomenal military rise had succeeded, but at the same time it caused dangerous political and economic weaknesses. The rulers of Europe secured permission to recruit the much sought-after Swiss mercenaries ('Reiser', 'Reisläufer') by regularly paying pensions to councillors and other influential people in countries or cities. In the first and second decades, the Pope and the King of France in particular were cutting off each other's water. Thus, authorities, troop leaders, and the people got into mostly opaque dependencies and were torn apart by the respective parties. In the valleys of their homeland, hunger reigned, and in the cities, trade was at a standstill, because the young men were chasing the booty in the theatres of war in Upper Italy and, as Zwingli said, were 'killing people for money'; in the process, for the most part, they were wasting away physically and mentally."[858]

Huldrych or Ulrich Zwingli[859] was born on New Year's Day 1484 in the high valley of Toggenburg. He was of peasant origin and grew up in a family that was "numerous, strict in morals, wealthy"[860] and respected. At age five, the gifted boy moved in with his uncle, a priest in order to be educated, and four

---

[857] Tim Dowley, *Atlas of the Reformation in Europe*, 76.

[858] Gottfried W. Locher, "Huldrych Zwingli", in: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte* 5, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz, 1981, 187-188.

[859] On the life and work of Zwingli, cf: Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983; Gottfried W. Locher, "Huldrych Zwingli", 187-216; Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli und die schweizerische Reformation,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3 J1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982; Joachim Rogge, *Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523,* 225-231.

[860] Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli und die schweizerische Reformation*, 12.

years later he moved to a young schoolmaster in Basel.[861] In 1497 he moved again, this time to Bern. "When the Dominicans lured the boy with the beautiful voice into their monastery, his uncle and father intervened and sent him to Vienna in the winter of 1498,"[862] a popular place of study for the Swiss at that time. In Vienna and later probably in Paris (1499-1500), the young Zwingli was strongly influenced by humanism as part of his theological studies. In 1502 Zwingli moved back to Basel[863] and, at the age of just 18, took on a position as schoolmaster while continuing with his studies. In 1504 he graduated with a bachelor's degree and two years later with a master's degree. "Like many of his contemporaries, Zwingli switched to church service soon after the master's examination and without thorough theological study."[864] From 1506 to 1516, he worked as a pastor in Glarus.[865]

> "The acquisition of the pastorate in Glarus brought Zwingli into contact with the world of ecclesiastical post hunters. Since a notorious benefit hunter, Heinrich Göldli of Zurich, was legally in possession of the pastorate, Zwingli had to satisfy his claims with a settlement. He paid ten guilders annually from his own income to the office collector."[866]

In 1516, Zwingli met Erasmus of Rotterdam in Basel, an encounter that was to shape him for life. Unlike other priests, Zwingli continued to educate himself through self-study, read scholastic works, worked through the works of Duns Scotus and owned around two dozen books by Erasmus of Rotterdam, who influenced him with his humanistic approach.[867] Through him Zwingli came across the church fathers and was inspired to read the Scriptures.[868] After working briefly as a parish priest in Einsied-

---

[861] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 29.

[862] Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli und die schweizerische Reformation*, 12. Cf. also Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 29-30; Joachim Rogge, *Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523,* 249.

[863]   Joachim Rogge, *Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523*, 250-251.

[864] Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 33.

[865] Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523*, 252-262.

[866] Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 33.

[867] Cf. Urs B. Leu, "Auf dem Weg zum Reformator: Zwinglis Lektüre des Römerbrief-Kommentars von Origenes (1517)", in: Ariane Albisser and Peter Opitz (eds.), *Die Zürcher Reformation in Europa: Beiträge der Tagung des Instituts für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte 6.-8. Februar 2019 in Zürich*, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 29, Zurich: TVZ, 2021, 103-195.

[868] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 41; Urs B. Leu, "Auf dem Weg zum Reformator", 103-121; Joachim Rogge, *Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523,* 263-266.

eln (1516-1518),[869] he moved in 1519 to the Grossmünster in Zurich (the main church of the city) as a lieutenant priest.[870]

Zwingli probably first became aware of Martin Luther and the events in Germany at the beginning of 1519. Initially, he spread Luther's writings with great zeal and had probably freed himself inwardly from the papacy since the Leipzig disputation between Luther and Eck in summer 1519. A "serious plague infection in the autumn of 1519, combined with an existential crisis [...] led Zwingli to an ever-stronger emphasis on the sinfulness of man and his salvation through divine grace alone."[871]

> "The decisive factor for this realization of his own sinfulness and need for mercy was apparently the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer in Mt 6:12: 'And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.' Zwingli wrote about this in retrospect in the 21st article of his Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden (Interpreting and Reasons for the Final Addresses) of 1523 that this biblical passage had repeatedly accused him and that he had ultimately surrendered and entrusted himself completely to God and his mercy."[872]

After Zwingli had come to terms with the knowledge of his sinfulness and after he had experienced forgiveness of his sins, he did not hold back with his new discovery. In the second half of 1520 at the latest, Zwingli crossed the threshold from humanistic reform to the Protestant Reformation. In contrast to Luther, Zwingli thought through the various problems more rationally, since he had never been as closely bound to the Roman Catholic Church as the monk Luther due to his humanistic background. So he immediately put what he had recognized into practice, even if this could have radical consequences.

During Lent in spring 1522, against the practices of which Zwingli had already preached many times, he took part in a "sausage dinner" of Zurich citizens, which was quite rightly understood as a deliberate declaration of war against the Catholic Church and the Bishop of Constance. Zwingli defended the breaking of the fast in a sermon afterwards.[873] He also married that spring, though he kept his marriage secret to the outside world for the time being. When the Bishop of Constance heard about the sausage dinner, he sued Zwingli at the highest judicial authority in Switzerland.

---

[869] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 35-36.
[870] Cf. Joachim Rogge, *Der junge Zwingli 1484-1523*, 267-290.
[871] Emidio Campi, "Die Reformation in Zürich", in: Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi (eds.), *Die Schweizer Reformation: Ein Handbuch,* Zurich: TVZ, 2017, 81.
[872] Urs B. Leu, "Auf dem Weg zum Reformator", 122-123.
[873] Cf. Emidio Campi, "Die Reformation in Zürich", 81-82.

Further conflicts arose and the city council increasingly took Zwingli's side. Zwingli had already resigned his priesthood on 10 November 1522 and had been commissioned by the Zurich City Council to work as a Protestant preacher. The bishop did not respond to the city's wish to convene a diocesan council in view of the growing tensions with the bishopric and the Confederates. Therefore, at Zwingli's suggestion, the city council scheduled a religious disputation for 29 January 1523. This religious discussion, which went down in history as the first one in Zurich, was attended by 212 city councilors, around 400 clergy from the city and the countryside, and a delegation from the Bishop of Constance.[874] Zwingli formulated a summary of his theological position in 67 articles. As a result, all parties were obliged by the city council to preach according to the Scriptures, without the city council being able to fundamentally resolve the tensions. "With this [procedure], a consultation procedure on religious innovations was applied, which became exemplary for many cities throughout Europe during the introduction of the Reformation",[875] according to Urs Leu's assessment following Bernd Möller.

The Second Zurich Disputation occurred in November 1523 and also ended without any profound changes.[876] Further disputations followed. In a mandate of 15 June 1524, the Council approved the removal of images from churches, and, above all, the abolition of the monasteries accelerated the Reformation breakthrough.[877] The systematic implementation of the Zurich Reformation[878] finally found its conclusion in the celebration of the Lord's Supper with both elements at Easter 1525.

> "At Easter 1525, according to a council resolution of 12 April 1525, which was approved by only a small majority, the mass was abolished and the Protestant Lord's Supper introduced. Zwingli designed a German liturgy, which in its simplicity and at the same time dignity would represent 'a small liturgical piece of art'. The Lord's Supper was no longer considered an independent cult practice but was integrated into the sermon service and celebrated in the vernacular, without an altar, at a white-covered table with plain wooden dishes. The congregation was gathered in the nave and had bread and wine handed to them by the helpers walking around. Each mem-

---

[874] Cf. Emidio Campi, "Die Reformation in Zürich", 84-85; Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 61-72.
[875] Emidio Campi, "Die Reformation in Zürich", 86.
[876] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 77.
[877] Cf. Emidio Campi, "Die Reformation in Zürich", 87
[878] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk,* 85-102.

ber of the congregation broke off a piece of the bread and drank from the wine. The order of the Lord's Supper reflected Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper: The sacrament is a communal commemorative meal celebrated out of gratitude."[879]

With the Bern Disputation *of* 1528, it became apparent that the Reformation had now reached beyond Zurich to Geneva.[880] The Swiss cities that turned to the Reformation included St. Gallen, Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, and Neuchâtel.[881] But in other parts of Switzerland, the Reformation could not be easily imposed. The Bishop of Constance rallied behind him a whole series of cantons that fought against the influence of the Reformation. Zwingli now tried to enforce the Reformation by political means and the Kappel Wars ensued. On 11 October 1531, Zwingli was killed in battle against the Catholic cantons in the Second Kappel War,[882] and a confessional split in Switzerland followed.

A conflict between Luther and Zwingli over the Lord's Supper needs to be mentioned at this point. Both Luther and Zwingli continued to understand the Lord's Supper as a sacrament, but differences arose on the question of theological interpretation and practical implementation. While Luther held to the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine, Zwingli understood bread and wine as symbols: "Christ is indeed present at the celebration, but not in the flesh and blood and bread and wine, but in that the congregation remembers him and confesses him."[883]

"In the background of the dispute over the Lord's Supper were not simply theological differences and differences in the interpretation of Scripture, but also different experiences of piety. Luther, as a priest-monk, cultivated a daily, intimate contact with the sacrament of the altar for many years and took this aspect of his monastic and priestly life as seriously as anyone else. The real presence of Christ in the sacrament meant help and comfort to him. This was not changed by his Reformation turn. Zwingli, on the other hand, had never had such experiences. As a lay priest, he was characterized by an externalized practice of piety [...]. A radical break with traditional communion theology and piety was easy for him because his religious existence was not affected by it."[884]

---

[879] Cf. Emidio Campi, "Die Reformation in Zürich", 89.
[880] Cf. Gottfried W. Locher, "Huldrych Zwingli", 191.
[881] Cf. Gottfried W. Locher, *Zwingli und die schweizerische Reformation*, 72-75.
[882] Gottfried W. Locher, "Huldrych Zwingli", 192-193.
[883] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation and Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 94.
[884] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation and Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 94.

Philip of Hesse, who for political and strategic reasons was interested in the unity of the Protestant movements, sought clarification and a common understanding of the Lord's Supper between Luther and Zwingli. In 1529, Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingli held a religious discussion in the presence of the landgrave, but no compromise could be reached on the issue of the Lord's Supper.[885]

8.2.2   Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575)

After the unexpected death of Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger[886] was appointed his successor in Zurich. He was born on 18 July 1504 in Bremgarten, west of Zurich, where his father of the same name worked as a lay priest and dean. At age five, he began his schooling at the Latin School in Bremgarten. "He left his hometown in November 1516 to embark on his first – and only – major journey."[887] At first, he went to Emmerich on the Lower Rhine near Cologne, Germany), where he attended the collegiate school. In September 1519, at age 15, he transferred to the University of Cologne, where he received his master's degree two and a half years later.

> "In addition to the traditional teaching that still dominated in Cologne, he encountered a humanism there that was to shape him for life. Confronted towards the end of his studies with the controversy that had also broken out in Cologne over Luther's criticism of the church, he decided as a religiously serious student – for a time he had considered joining the Carthusian order – to take the reformist side. This was preceded by a phase of independent truth-seeking. Probably not without impulses from his humanist teachers, the leading question was that of the origin and the pure sources of Christian doctrine. Thus, on one hand, he read the writings of Luther and Melanchthon's Loci communes of 1521 and, on the other hand, through his study of the aphorisms of Peter Lombard, through which he wanted to become better acquainted with the foundations of Roman doctrine, he came to read im-

---

[885] Cf. Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland*, 522-537.

[886] On Bullinger's life and work cf. Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz (eds.), *Heinrich Bullinger: Life – Thought – Influence, Zurich, August, 25-29, 2004 International Congress Heinrich Bullinger (1504.1575),* 2 vols, Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 24, Zurich: TVZ, 2007; Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, 2016, 82-90; Ulrich Gäbler, "Heinrich Bullinger", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Reformationszeit II*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 6, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1981, 197-209; Andreas Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik*, Bern et al.: Verlag Peter Lang, 2001.

[887] Ulrich Gäbler, "Heinrich Bullinger", 199.

portant church fathers such as Chrysostom, Ambrose, Origin, Lactantius and Augustin, and increasingly the biblical texts themselves. The growing conviction of their normative significance for Christian truth was the consequence. The existential consequence of no longer attending mass came in 1522, in his eighteenth year."[888]

After completing his studies, Bullinger accepted an appointment in January 1523, immediately before the first Zurich disputation, to the Cistercian monastery in Kappel, southwest of Zurich, to work there as a monastic teacher. Bullinger soon met Zwingli and his colleague Leo Jud; friendships and a theological fellowship developed and Bullinger became more and more involved in the Reformation movement that originated in Zurich. In 1529 Bullinger married Anna Adlischwyler, a former nun, and their marriage produced eleven children, eight of whom reached adulthood.

After Zwingli's death, Bullinger was elected by the Zurich city councilors on 9 December 1531 as Zwingli's successor and as the "First Pastor" (Antistes) of the Zurich Church.[889]

> "In a phase of deep political crisis, in which the relationship between church and state in particular had to be rebalanced, he had succeeded, after lengthy negotiations, in convincing the councils of his position, which was oriented towards peace and cooperation, and at the same time in obtaining the promise of freedom of church preaching against all political paternalism. In the context of a close organizational interdependency of church and state governed by a Christian authority, which was also constantly deepened at this level through friendships and kinship relationships such as baptismal sponsorships, Bullinger succeeded in creating an institutional place of a critical counterpart of the church to the political authority with the establishment of the 'Fürträge' [presentations]: The highest pastor was granted the right to appear before the council at will and to present to it a 'prophetic' view of things on certain issues, derived from the interpretation of the 'divine word'."[890]

Bullinger quickly tackled the new task and from then on contributed significantly to the consolidation of Protestantism in Zurich and the Swiss Confederation. As early as the end of 1532, a preaching and synodal order was passed that would form the basis for the institutional establishment of the Zurich Reformation. Here the synod formed the highest ecclesiastical body, which met twice a year under the joint chairmanship of the

---

[888] Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 82-83.
[889] Cf. Hubert Kirchner, *Reformationsgeschichte von 1532-1555/1566*, 97-101.
[890] Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 84.

mayor and the leading pastor, and which was composed of all pastors, church teachers and eight representatives from the councils. Its duties mainly included the election as well as the supervision of the conduct of the parish priests. Bullinger's work also led to a school order in 1532 and a church service order in 1535.

Beyond the borders of Zurich, Bullinger was strongly involved in the establishment of Protestantism in the Swiss Confederation and was a friend, advisor and teacher to his colleagues and students in reformed towns. His literary output is also remarkable, as evidenced by 124 books with a total print run of 591.[891]

> "Bullinger's entire thinking and work as a reformer was nourished by his uninterrupted activity as an interpreter of the Bible. He had already devoted himself to this task as a young monastery teacher in Kappel. Only a small part of the surviving manuscripts has been edited yet. After he took up his post at the Grossmünster in Zurich, commentaries on all the New Testament books appeared successively in print. In addition, there were interpretations of Old Testament books, which arose mainly from his series of sermons and were only partially printed. Bullinger's commentaries were not intended as a contribution to scholarly discourse, but as an aid to preaching according to the Scriptures for his comrades-in-arms. His various catechetical writings were also intended to serve the edification of the church. Depending on the addressees and purpose, these could take different forms."[892]

Bullinger also exercised a decisive influence on Reformed movements in various parts of Europe,[893] although he had never left the geographic sphere of the Protestant Swiss Confederation since he had moved to Zurich. In addition to his publications, his influence was mainly achieved through an intensive correspondence.

> "Approximately 12,000 letters have been preserved, of which about 10,000 are addressed to Bullinger. In terms of numbers, this corresponds roughly to the correspondence of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Erasmus put together. So far, 1,174 different persons and groups of persons are known to have been in correspondence with Bullinger from 438 different places in Europe. It is a network of correspondence stretching from France to Belarus and from England to Italy. The diversity of correspondents and the thematic emphases

---

[891]   Cf. Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 85.
[892]   Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 85-86.
[893]   Cf. Andreas Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik*; Andreas Mühling, "Bullingers Bedeutung für die europäische Reformationsgeschichte", in: *Evangelische Theologie*, 64.2 (2004), 94-105.

reveal something of Bullinger's outstanding role as counsellor and com-
forter of entire churches and of countless individuals, both eminent and
lowly."[894]

Bullinger's most important works are the *Confessio Helvetica prior* (1526) and
above all the *Confessio Helvetica posterior* from 1566.[895] Although it was writ-
ten as a private confession by Heinrich Bullinger, this confession quickly
became "probably the most widespread Reformed confession of all."[896] It
was not only adopted by the entire Protestant part of the Confederation –
with the exception of Basel, which was under Lutheran influence at the
time – but also signed by the Scottish Synod in Glasgow in 1566, the Synod
of the Hungarian Church in 1567 and the Polish Reformed Church in
1570.[897]

> "It is not always taken into account that Bullinger also played a decisive
> role in the Consensus Tigurinus, the agreement formulated in 1549 on the
> disputed question of the Lord's Supper between Calvin and Bullinger or
> the church of Geneva and the church of Zurich, both in the process of
> drafting and even more so in the theological content of this second basic
> document of the Reformed confessions alongside the Confessio Helvetica
> posterior."[898]

In theological terms, special reference should be made to Bullinger's cov-
enant theology. Bullinger understood God's saving action as a sequence
of different covenants and this shaped his understanding of the relation-
ship between the Old and New Testaments as well as the relationship be-
tween Israel and the church, an important theological aspect of Reformed
theology.[899]

8.2.3   John Calvin (1509-1564)

John Calvin, born on 10 July 1509 in Noyon in Picardy, along with Heinrich
Bullinger and Martin Bucer, had a lasting influence on the Reformed

---

[894]   Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 87.
[895]   Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 99.
[896]   Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 89.
[897]   Cf. Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 89.
[898]   Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger", 82-90.
[899]   Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 98; Heinrich
        Assel, "'Bund' – souveränes Leben mit Gott im Gebot und Gesetz: Heinrich Bullin-
        gers 'Von dem einigen und ewigen Testament oder Pundt Gottes' (1534)", in: *Evan-
        gelische Theologie*, 64.2 (2004)148-158.

branch of Protestantism and thus also on large parts of other Protestant denominations.[900] Armin Sierszyn notes on Calvin's family background:

> "His father Gérard Cauvin, a classic social climber, rose to the position of notary and administrator of the bishop's and local clergy's assets. In this position, he provided John with his benefice. This financial basis gave the 14-year-old the opportunity to acquire an excellent basic humanistic education at the colléges De La Marche and Montaigu in Paris with two childhood friends of the noble Montmor family. In this way, John learned to associate with aristocrats at an early age."[901]

Like Zwingli, Calvin was also initially influenced by humanism. He studied law in Paris, Orleans and Bourges and from 1533 was a member of a humanist circle at the University of Paris that was also gripped by Reformation thoughts. Calvin had probably already come in touch with Luther's writings around the year 1530, and he experienced a conversion and a turn to Reformation thought at the end of the 1520s[902] or in 1533 at the latest. Van't Spijker writes:

> "His conversion was guided by God himself. The frankness with which he describes how stiff-necked he was to the superstitions of the papacy is striking, so that it was not easy to pull him out of the deep mud. [...] Only through conversio could he be forced ad docilitatem [to teachability]. Calvin indicates by the expression subita [unexpectedly] that it was not only a resolute change, but also an unexpected, gracious conversion that was due to God's own gracious intervention. Thus, he became a disciple who, touched by the taste of true piety, became receptive to pure doctrine. Even in the first year, those who sought this kind of teaching came to him for instruction. A radical change took place."[903]

---

[900] Cf. on John Calvin especially: Herman Selderhuis, *Johannes Calvin: Mensch zwischen Zuversicht und Zweifel, Eine Biographie,* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009; Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3 J2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001; Hubert Kirchner, *Reformationsgeschichte 1532-1555/1566,* 101-122; the good summary in Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648),* 100-117.

[901] Armin Sierszyn, "Mein Herz dem Herrn zum Opfer: Eine kurze Einführung in Calvins Leben und Werk", in: Sven Grosse and Armin Sierszyn (eds.), *Johannes Calvin – Streiflichter auf den Menschen und Theologen: Vorträge und Tagungsbeiträge an der Staatsunabhängigen Theologischen Hochschule Basel zum Calvin-Jahr 2009,* Studien zu Theologie und Bibel 5, Berlin and Vienna: LIT-Verlag, 13. Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin,* 1.

[902] Thus Herman Selderhuis, *Johannes Calvin: Mensch zwischen Zuversicht und Zweifel, Eine Biografie,* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009, 25-28.

[903] Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin,* 116.

Although Calvin's *subita conversio* refers to a specific moment, it was preceded by a longer development leading up to a definitive decision.[904] This development was closely connected with Calvin's changing understanding of God. Whereas he had previously known God primarily as a judge, he now experienced God as a merciful Father.[905] This had long-term effects as Herman Selderhuis put it succinctly: *"Calvin's conversion actually describes the rest of his life. Calvin found God, although he himself would probably have said that God found him. No matter how one looks at it, however, Calvin became God's advocate. He spent every minute of his life defending God and His cause."*[906] He immediately became a zealous follower and advocate of the new doctrine. When the rector of the University of Paris gave a speech on the occasion of the feast of All Saints on 1 November 1533 that resembled an invitation to accept the teachings of the Reformation, not only did the rector have to flee the following night but Calvin as well, since he had at least been involved in the drafting of the speech.[907]

First, he retreated to Angoulême in France, then moved on to Strasbourg, but stayed there only briefly too and finally settled in Basel at the beginning of 1535. Here he met up again with the former rector of the University in Paris. Basel had turned to the Reformation as a city, but it was also not far from France, so he could watch the further developments in his homeland well from there. Two writings fall into Calvin's Basel period. One was an introduction to the New Testament for a French translation of the Bible by Olivetanus, and also the first edition of the *Institutio Christianae Religionis was* published.[908] A second edition followed in Strasbourg in 1539, now more of a handbook of theology in 17 chapters. The last edition of 1559 is a textbook of theology in 80 chapters. This *Institutio* suddenly made Calvin a well-known man.

> "Calvin was a man of the second generation. Thus, he was able to take the writings of Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Oekolampadius and many others into his own world of thought and transform them into a new whole. Calvin has been called unoriginal. In a sense, this is true. But in presentation, form, and method of teaching he is quite independent. Without having enjoyed a theological education in the proper sense, he possessed the ability to absorb a classical tradition and reproduce it harmoniously in a profound unity."[909]

---

[904] Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin*, 117.
[905] Herman Selderhuis, *John Calvin*, 27.
[906] Herman Selderhuis, *John Calvin*, 29.
[907] Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin*, 118.
[908] Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin*, 122-125.
[909] Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin,* 125-126. Cf. Herman Selderhuis, *John Calvin,*59-60.

Calvin's period of activity in Geneva began in 1536.[910] There he was able to push through his reformatory ideas, even against great resistance, which also led to his expulsion from the city for several years.[911]

> "In Geneva, Calvin wrote an order of worship, a catechism and a confession of faith. Farel and Calvin intended to commit all the citizens of the city to the new doctrine by oath. But this went too far for the city council. Disputes arose with the two reformers, in which the question of whether the Lord's Supper should be held in Geneva according to the Bernese Reformation Order also played a role."[912]

Calvin was expelled from Geneva in spring 1538 and moved back to Strasbourg.[913] There, at Bucer's urging, he took over the leadership of the French refugee community. During this time, he took part in the religious consultations initiated by the emperor in the early 1540s in Hagenau, Worms and Regensburg and also maintained contact with Melanchthon in Wittenberg. In 1541, Calvin was able to return to Geneva and, despite resistance, implemented a new church order with the support of the city council.

> "Unlike Luther and the Wittenbergers, he placed great emphasis on the moral life of Christians. Four different offices were created, and the laity were thus involved in church leadership to a far greater extent than in Lutheranism, where the church was on the way to becoming a purely pastoral church. [...] His concern was to organize the church as prescribed in the Word of God and as it had been practiced in the early days of the church.
>   The first of the four offices was that of shepherd or – in Latin – pastor. He was responsible for the proclamation of the word, the administration of the sacraments and pastoral care. The prerequisites for admission to this office were purity of doctrine, the ability to teach and organize, and a blameless life. The Geneva pastors had to be role models for their congregation. Bible texts were discussed in weekly meetings and the teaching and life of each pastor was reviewed every three months. The second office was that of scholars or doctors. Their task was to teach in the schools. The third group of office bearers were the elders. They supervised the lives of each member of the congregation and reported on them to the pastors. The deacons, the fourth group of church ministers, were responsible for collecting and ad-

---

[910] Cf. Robert M. Kingdon, "The Calvinist Reformation in Geneva", in: R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *Reform and Expansion 1500-1660,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 6, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 90-103.
[911] Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin*, 131-141, 152-202.
[912] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 103.
[913] Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin*, 142-155.

ministering money and distributing it to the needy. They were also responsible for the hospital, which was also a home for the elderly and children. These things were regulated in the church order of 1541."[914]

From 1555 onwards, Calvin completely asserted himself against all opposition and increasingly became the Reformation leader for many churches in Europe. Calvin died in Geneva on 27 May 1564.

In contrast to Luther, two theological shifts in emphasis are noticeable in Calvin: in his understanding of Scripture and in his understanding of God. The doctrinal synopsis of the entire biblical testimony in the Old and New Testaments was important to him. For him, the authority of Scripture grew out of the inner self-attestation of the Holy Spirit (*testimonium spiritus sancti internum*), and thus his understanding of Scripture is also classified by theologians as biblical.[915] Furthermore, Calvin emphasized God's complete free grace,[916] which precedes one's calling through the Word and faith. In the doctrine of election, we are presented with a complex picture:

> "Calvin teaches two doctrines of predestination which are different in approach. In church it is election by grace, in the Institutes it is double predestination. Nevertheless, there is no contradiction between the two doctrines. For double predestination can be added to the election of grace. They form two stages. In his sermons he teaches only election and mentions the rejected only to oblige the elect to give thanks. In the Institutio, he also confronts the objections of opponents and does not shy away from going into all the consequences. That is, he defends double predestination logically and in a limited way. This also includes the hiddenness of the decretum aeternum [God's eternal counsel]. The second form of teaching is therefore the more detailed. The rich imagery of the sermon appealed more to the reader and is more convincing. The thesis expressed in recent research that the final form of the doctrine of predestination in the Institutio of 1559 must not be overrated and that it is not the only authoritative form of doctrine is proven true."[917]

On the issue of the Lord's Supper, Calvin took a mediating position between Zwingli and Luther. He assumed a spiritual presence of the risen

---

[914] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 107.
[915] Cf. Heiko A. Obermann, *Zwei Reformatoren: Luther und Calvin, Alte und neue Welt,* Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 2003, 229-233.
[916] Cf. Willem van't Spijker, *Calvin*, 212-214.
[917] Wilhelm H. Neuser, "Prädestination", in: Herman J. Selderhuis (ed.) *Calvin Handbuch*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008, 317.

Lord in a pneumatological sense.[918] Furthermore, Calvin emphasized the sovereignty, majesty, and the glory of God, from which an obedience of faith was derived.

The Geneva Reformation had a great impact on the Reformation in other countries, especially France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, and later America. In Germany, the Electoral Palatinate, Brandenburg, and counties in Hesse as well as in the northwest and also Bremen joined the Reformed wing of Protestantism.[919]

To summarize:

"Wittenberg and Geneva were the two most important centers of the Reformation and Luther and Calvin the two leading figures. At the end of the Reformation epoch, two Reformation traditions, theologians and church types stood above all opposite each other: Lutheranism and Calvinism."[920]

Reformed Protestantism, which would compete with Lutheran Protestantism in the long run, was influenced by John Calvin as well as by Zwingli, Bullinger and Martin Bucer.

8.3   Strasbourg: Martin Bucer (1491-1551)

In addition to the centers of Wittenberg around Martin Luther, Zurich around Zwingli and Bullinger, and Geneva around Calvin, another center of the Reformation developed in Strasbourg around Martin Bucer,[921] who acted as a mediator between the different wings of the Reformation, even in Catholic circles, and strove for balance and mediation. One researcher pointedly described him as a "fanatic of unity".[922]

---

[918] Cf. Wim Janse, "Sakramente", in: Herman J. Selderhuis (ed.), *Calvin Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008; 345-349.

[919] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 116.

[920] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 115.

[921] Cf. on Martin Bucer's life and work: Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: Ein Reformator und seine Zeit 1491-1551,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990; Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Reformationszeit II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 6, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz, 1981, 7-28; Gottfried Hammann, *Martin Bucer: Zwischen Volkskirche und Bekenntnisgemeinschaft*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989; Christoph Strohm, "Marin Bucer", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016, 65-73; Reinhold Friedrich, *Martin Bucer – 'Fanatiker der Einheit'? Seine Stellungnahme zu theologischen Fragen seiner Zeit (Abendmahls- und Kirchenverständnis) insbesondere nach seinem Briefwechsel der Jahre 1524-1541,* Bonn: VKW, 2002.

[922] Thus the question-marked title of Reinhold Friedrich's work, *Martin Bucer – 'Fanatiker der Einheit'?*

Martin Bucer was born on 11 November 1491 in the Alsatian imperial city of Schlettstadt (present-day France) and grew up in rather poor circumstances. At the beginning of the 16th century, his parents moved to Strasbourg, where his father wanted to build up an economic existence as a craftsman, while Martin stayed behind with his grandfather in Schlettstadt and attended the local Latin school.[923] In late summer or autumn 1507, the next fundamental decision had to be made. As the grandfather lacked the financial means for studies, he decided to send the gifted young man to the local Dominican order, which could offer him an academic career.[924]

> "The Dominicans trained Bucer and educated him academically. As early as 1507, he received the ordination of an acolyte, which was the prerequisite for studying theology. Then we meet him again in the register of the University of Heidelberg, where he was enrolled on 31 January 1517. Members of orders were enrolled only if they were to obtain an academic degree. Bucer had by then gone through the lower courses of study in his home convent and then in the general studies of the order in Heidelberg, where an intellectual leadership class was being formed, had been ordained a priest in Mainz, and was now, due to his matriculation in Heidelberg, in the final stage of his theological education, which was to be crowned by the solemn doctorate in theology. Before this could happen, however, Bucer fled the monastery at the end of January 1521."[925]

Bucer's escape should be understood as the result of a longer process. Influenced by Alsatian humanism, he became acquainted with the thought world of Erasmus in Heidelberg. In addition, Bucer met Luther in Heidelberg in spring 1518, when Luther had travelled there for the disputation, and soon became an enthusiastic follower of Luther, even describing himself as a "Martian" and "thus in effect as an opponent of his order, which had now initiated the heresy trial against the Wittenberg monk."[926] However, Bucer still applied to the Pope for dispensation from his religious vows and received it in April 1521, shortly before a heresy trial would have been opened against him. From then on, he ministered as a secular priest. Greschat speaks of turbulent and obscure years that followed.[927] Bucer stayed for a time under the protection of Franz von Sickingen in Landstuhl

---

[923] Cf. Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 8-9, Reinhold Friedrich, *Martin Bucer –'Fanatiker der Einheit'?*, 7.
[924] Reinhold Friedrich, *Martin Bucer – 'Fanatiker der Einheit'?*, 7.
[925] Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 9.
[926] Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 10.
[927] Cf. Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 10.

and also married the former nun Elisabeth Silbereisen in summer 1522. From there he went on to Weissenburg in Alsace but was excommunicated by the Bishop of Speyer for his preaching and marriage and left the town at the request of the town council.

> "In May 1523 he came to Strasbourg. Although his father lived here and he had good friends in the city, the council was naturally not very fond of the burden that the stay of a married and excommunicated priest represented. Nevertheless, Bucer succeeded step by step in gaining a foothold in Strasbourg. With dedication and skill, he engaged himself on the side of the young Reformation movement, taking great care not to interfere with the political power of the magistrate. In March 1524, the gardeners of Strasbourg elected him as their pastor. On 24 August, the council dared to officially approve this breach of current ecclesiastical law. With this, Bucer had finally found the position that enabled him to advance the Reformation in one of the largest and most respected, also politically powerful cities of the German Empire – and far beyond."[928]

In many respects, Bucer was a mediation theologian per excellence. Martin Jung calls him "Germany's leading Protestant mediation theologian"[929] of the 1530s and 1540s. As early as the 1520s, he sought dialogue with Anabaptists who had fled to Strasbourg, including the Swiss Wilhelm Reublin and Hans Denck.[930] When the dispute between Luther and Zwingli over the correct understanding of the Lord's Supper broke out in 1525, Bucer again tried to mediate. Even though no compromise could be found at the Marburg Religious Dialogue in 1529, Bucer did not give up but continued to seek dialogue.

> "From then on, he tirelessly devoted his time and energy to the goal of reaching a common understanding on the Lord's Supper in the Reformation camp. For this purpose he rode and drove thousands of kilometres on bad roads through Germany and Switzerland, had innumerable conversations and arguments, dispelled ever new disagreements, mistrust and suspicions, or tried to do so, and in the process proved himself to be an almost inexhaustible master in the art of convincing as well as persuading, of formulating as well as construing and interpreting formulations."[931]

---

[928] Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 11.
[929] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 105.
[930] Cf. Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: Ein Reformator und seine Zeit*, 81-82.
[931] Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 19.

Although he achieved partial success in 1536 when he reached an agreement with Melanchthon in the Wittenberg Concord, he ultimately had to recognize that there was no interest on the Swiss side in his union project.

Another reform project of Bucer is also worth mentioning. At the invitation of the Catholic Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann von Wied, who as Elector was one of the most powerful rulers of the empire, he drew up a reform program in the form of a church order that provided for moderate steps along this path. However, this reform met with resistance from the cathedral chapter. When the archbishop renounced the pope in 1544, he was deposed and excommunicated in 1546. The reform program had failed.[932]

In April 1549, Bucer had to flee Strasbourg, having lost the support of the city council through his uncompromising fight against the enforcement of the interim Augsburg Diet of 1548. His tireless advocacy of stricter church discipline had not helped his popularity either. Despite several offers from different places, Bucer decided to relocate to Cambridge and was there awarded a doctorate in theology a few months later, in September 1549. In England, he wrote expert opinions at the request of the English church, but his opinions created opposition among both Catholics and Bullinger's supporters. He finally turned all his remaining strength to enforcing the Reformation in England, and to this end published his last major work, *De regno Christi*, in October 1550. "Here, too, everything was once again aimed at a Christian life in order and discipline, i.e., at the concretization of charity in the individual and overarching sense, supported and shaped by state and church together."[933] Bucer died on 28 February 1551, not yet 60 years of age, and was buried in Cambridge. Martin Jung pays tribute to his life:

> "Bucer himself did not directly found a confession. Nor did he present a comprehensive systematic account of theology. Nevertheless, he is of eminent importance in the history of theology, because Calvin adopted essential doctrines from him, to such an extent that one would actually have to call Bucer the more original of the two Reformers. Calvin expressed his gratitude to his older friend on several occasions. Calvin's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans of 1540 explicitly leaned on that of the Strasbourg reformer. Both shared the ethical interest resulting from the humanistic orientation. Like Bucer, Calvin emphasized God's election and work of the Spirit as the decisive starting points of the event of salvation, while Luther placed the emphasis entirely on the preaching of the Word that takes hold of faith. Cal-

---

[932]   Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 24-25.
[933]   Martin Greschat, "Martin Bucer", 27.

vin also took over from Bucer the idea of the continuity of the Old and New Covenants as well as the positive reception of the Old Testament law. [...] In this way, Bucer, through Calvin, contributed significantly to the shaping of Reformed theology."[934]

Reinhard Friedrich adds:

"B[ucer] has to be counted as a theologian, religious politician, reformer, advisor, ecclesiastical mediator and ecumenist; he was one of the highly respected and influential authorities of his time who were consulted far beyond the borders of the empire. Transcending national and denominational boundaries was a basic feature of B[ucer]'s thinking and actions. As a thinker committed to unprejudiced openness, he strove to conduct dialogue on different sides in an age of division. B[ucer] combines a clear and distinctive position of his own with trans-confessional and trans-national thinking and action in a pan-European dimension."[935]

8.4   Other European Countries

This chapter provides an overview of Reformation dissemination in other European countries.

8.4.1   Austria

Reformation ideas reached Austria early on through students, merchants, and craftsmen. Between 1519 and 1522, 15 of Luther's writings were reprinted in Vienna. The Protestant faith spread quickly throughout the country. Crucial to the spread of the Reformation in Austria was the nobility, many of whom turned to the Reformation early on.

Overall, the Reformation developed quite differently in different regions. However, towards the end of the 16th century, the majority of the population in Austria and up to 90 percent of the nobility had turned to the Protestant faith.

Above all, the dissemination of pamphlets helped the new doctrine to spread rapidly in the Austrian sphere. Not surprisingly, the first decrees issued by King Ferdinand I against the new doctrine were aimed at preventing the production and distribution of pamphlets. From about 1524

---

[934]   Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 106; cf. Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: Ein Reformator und seine Zeit*, 57-260.

[935]   R. Friedrich, "Bucer (Butzer), Martin (1491-1551)", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2, Holzgerlingen: SCM Brockhaus, [2]2017, 1079.

onwards, no Protestant writings were allowed to be printed in Austria for about 50 years, even if this did not constitute a real obstacle to their dissemination. For example, in 1521, the abbot of the monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg complained that his unruly monks had many of Luther's books and were constantly reading them. In 1525, during a visitation in the monastery of Stams (Tyrol), heretical writings were found in practically every monk's cell. In 1524, some 2,400 Reformation pamphlets with a circulation of over two million were in circulation. In 1525, Luther's 287 works alone reached a circulation of around 1.7 million. With the exception of Tyrol, the vast majority of Austrian nobility turned to the new faith. Especially because the emperor was dependent on the support of the Protestant nobility in the fight against the Ottomans, he was unable to push back the Reformation at an early stage.

8.4.2 France

Luther's reformist ideas also spread early in French humanist circles, which shared his criticism of the Catholic Church and therefore embraced his thoughts enthusiastically.[936] These Reformation ideas reached as far as the court of King Francis I, who opposed the pope and the emperor and therefore sympathized with German Lutheranism. However, Lutheranism did not succeed in gaining a lasting foothold in France.[937] Soon, Protestants were persecuted. Later, John Calvin had a formative influence on the further development of Protestantism in France.[938] He himself had fled France, but strong French exile congregations were formed in Basel, Strasbourg and later in Geneva. From Geneva, Calvin accompanied the French Reformed Church with advice and support, so that Martin Jung concludes, "The Geneva Academy became the planting place of French Protestantism."[939]

> "Calvinism found supporters, or at least promoters, even in the circles of the high nobility, even the royal house. The Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albert, her husband Antoine of Bourbon together with his brother Prince Louis of

---

[936] On the history of Protestantism in France, see: Joseph Chambon, *Der französische Protestantismus: Sein Weg bis zur französischen Revolution*, Reprint, Neuhausen: Hänssler Verlag, 1977; David Nicholls, "France", in: Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ³1998, 120-141.

[937] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 157; Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, reprinted, Oxford and Malden, 1997, 275-297.

[938] Cf. Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen, "The Sixteenth Century", in: Herman J. Selderhuis (ed.), *Handbook of Dutch Church History*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, 191-215.

[939] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 157.

Condé and the Colingny brothers, i.e. admiral Gaspard, infantry general François d'Andelot and cardinal Odet de Colingny, and other influential personalities were among Calvin's followers."[940]

8.4.3 The Netherlands

Early on, Luther's ideas also found their way into the 17 provinces of the Netherlands (Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and northern France), which were united under the rule of Charles V.[941] However, the Reformation met strong opposition in the Netherlands and in 1525, the first Lutheran Protestant was burned alive in the Hague.

As in France, the Reformed branch of Protestantism, shaped by Calvin, would gain formative influence in the country.[942] Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen list three main lines of connection between Calvin and the Netherlands that need to be considered.[943] A first connection was the influence of Calvin's writings in the Netherlands, which reached the Netherlands via the French-speaking part of the country. In 1554, the first Flemish translations also followed. A second line of connection was the personal contacts. Not only did Calvin's wife Idelette van Buren come from Liege (present-day Belgium), but Calvin also maintained a lively correspondence with various leaders in the Netherlands. A third line was formed by the students and subsequently graduates who went from the Netherlands to Geneva to study and later returned to the Netherlands as preachers. In contrast to France, the Reformation movement in the Netherlands was primarily a "movement from below", from the common people.[944]

8.4.4 England

"Luther's ideas took root early in England and were combined with the impulses of humanism as well as with an undercurrent of ecclesiastical

---

[940] Cf. on the Reformation in the Netherlands: Erwin Iserloh "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen", in: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin, *Reformation, Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1967, 411; Alastair Duke, "The Netherlands", in: Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ³1998, 142-165.

[941] Cf. Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen, "The Sixteenth Century", 171-177; Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 298-308.

[942] Cf. Erwin Iserloh "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen", 415-420.

[943] Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen, "The Sixteenth Century", 203.

[944] Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen, "The Sixteenth Century", 205.

criticism dating back to the time of John Wyclif."[945] Luther's ideas had been discussed in the Augustinian monastery and at Cambridge University since 1520. However, in 1525 the "Cambridge Group" was expelled; some of its members went into exile, for King Henry VIII persecuted these Reformation followers around Cambridge University with great vehemence, and in 1521 Henry VIII even published a paper against Luther's doctrine of the sacraments, for which the Pope awarded him the title of Defender of the Faith (*defensor fidei*). However, in 1531 he fell out with Pope Clement VII.

> "The reason, however, was not theological or ecclesiastical, but private. Henry wanted a divorce and asked the Pope for an ecclesiastical annulment of his marriage. But the Pope refused. Henry then renounced Rome and declared himself head of English Christendom. This 'supremacy' was confirmed to him by Parliament in 1534. Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, helped him to divorce."[946]

Cranmer became an advocate and the driving force of the Reformation, as he was strongly impressed by Luther's ideas. He even secretly married a niece of a Lutheran theologian. Although he did not play a major political role, as a theologian he became increasingly influential after the dissolution of the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. In the political realm, monasteries were dissolved and their property sold without much public opposition.[947] However, this decision may have been taken primarily for political reasons.

> "This [the dissolution of the monasteries] was highly rational in terms of stabilizing power: in the Middle Ages, the monasteries formed enclaves within the territorial rule, which Henry was able to consolidate in this way. In addition, rich economic possessions were thus freed up, which accrued to the king and his faithful."[948]

---

[945] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 154; cf. also on developments in England: Viviane Barrie-Curien, "Die anglikanische Reformation" in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992, 191-238; Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 309-334; W. Ian P. Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland: An Introduction*, London and New York: T& T Clark, 2003.

[946] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 155. Cf. Erwin Iserloh, "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen", 343-344.

[947] Erwin Iserloh, "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen", 347-351.

[948] Volker Leppin, *Die Reformation*, 93.

Even though King Henry VIII decreed that every parish should purchase a Bible in English, after the New Testament had been translated by Tyndale in 1526 and the Old Testament by Coverdale in 1535, he remained closely attached to Catholicism and in 1539 put forward six articles ("Bloody Statute") sharply rejecting Luther's ideas and had them enacted by the Parliament.

When King Henry VIII died in 1547, his son Edward VI was only nine years old. His Regency Council as well as Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, now opened England completely to the Reformation[949] and invited numerous reformers from the European continent to England. John Knox became chaplain to Edward VI, and Martin Bucer, the reformer of Strasbourg, became a professor at Cambridge University. Bucer convinced Cranmer to adopt Reformed theology in its entirety. In 1549, the Catholic Mass was finally abolished in England and a new English order of worship was introduced: the Common Prayer Book.[950] This was the major work of Thomas Cranmer and remained in use in the Anglican Church until the 20th century. Martin Jung summarizes pointedly:

> "The Reformation in England developed a highly individual character. It was a combination of Catholicism and Calvinism and also received powerful impulses from Bullinger. The English Reformation Church or Anglicanism combined Calvinist theology with Catholic liturgy and Catholic ministerial structures."[951]

8.4.5   Scotland

The first impulses of the Reformation reached Scotland as early as the 1520s.[952] In 1528, Patrick Hamilton, who had brought the new doctrines with him from his studies in Marburg, was executed in St. Andrews. King James V fought Protestant efforts, especially after the start of the English Reformation in 1531. Anti-Reformation religious politics continued after James's death; an attempt at reformation by George Wishart ended in his execution in 1546.

---

[949]   Cf. Erwin Iserloh, "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen", 351-353.
[950]   Volker Leppin, *Die Reformation*, 94.
[951]   Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 156.
[952]   See W. Ian P. Hazlett, "Settlements: The British Isles", in: Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996, 477; W. Ian P. Hazlett, *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, 135-168.

John Knox,[953] who had taken over the leadership of the Reformation movement following Wishart's death, and who was influenced by John Calvin during his temporary exile in Geneva, was finally able to establish the Scottish Reformation.[954] He returned to Scotland in 1555 and won over large parts of both the population and the influential nobility to Reformation beliefs. In 1556, Knox returned to Geneva as preacher of the English-speaking congregation before coming back to Scotland in 1559.[955] In August 1560, he persuaded the Scottish Parliament to adopt the Reformed *Confessio Scotica.*

> "From 10 July 1560, the Scottish Parliament passed several Acts invalidating papal claims to authority, banning the Latin Mass and introducing a Confession of Faith, which six Protestant ministers – including Knox – had drafted on behalf of Parliament in four days. In January 1561, Parliament passed the First Book of Discipline, drafted by the same six ministers, which set out the order for a national Reformed Church."[956]

The Catholic Queen Mary Stuart, who had returned from France in 1561, did not ratify her country's transition to the Reformation, but she initially did not fight it either, so the ecclesiastical situation remained unsettled for the time being. Thus W. Ian P. Hazlett concludes: "After 1560 in Scotland, moderate Calvinist or Reformed theology was essentially uncontested."[957]

8.4.6   Scandinavia

At the beginning of the 16th century, Northern Europe (including parts of the Baltic) consisted of three countries with a surface area of around three million square kilometers, on which fewer than four million people lived.

> "In the Scandinavian countries, the introduction of the Reformation and the establishment of the new church system took place even more under the pressure of political forces than in Central Europe. The Nordic kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway with their peripheral countries Iceland and Finland had been united in the Kalmar Union since 1397. This was more a personal union under the Danish king than a viable political entity. National

---

[953] Charlotte Methuen, "John Knox", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016, 138-146.

[954] On the foregoing, see especially: W. Ian P. Hazlett, "Settlements: The British Isles", 478-479.

[955] Gl. Charlotte Methuen, "John Knox", 142-145

[956] Charlotte Methuen, "John Knox", 143.

[957] W. Ian P. Hazlett, "Settlements: The British Isles", 477.

rivalries led to constant strife. If the king of Denmark sought to break the power of the nobility, especially the bishops, by way of religious innovation, then for Sweden the Reformation was the way to shake off Danish rule."[958]

Reformation ideas had already reached Scandinavia around 1520.[959] Cities like Copenhagen, Malmö, Stockholm and even Bergen in Norway were closely connected to Germany.[960]

8.4.6.1 Denmark

"The thoughts of the Reformation took the same path that intellectual life had always taken: from Germany via the duchies to Jutland",[961] while the movement reached eastern Denmark – Zealand and Scania with the cities of Copenhagen and Malmö – via trade with the northern German Hanse-atic cities. In these cities, it was mainly the burghers who took the initia-tive for a Reformation and pushed it through. In Denmark, too, the politi-cal interests already mentioned played a decisive role. Regarding the developments from 1527 onwards:

> "In 1527, the prelate party not only had to accept a considerable loss of prop-erty, but also had to come to terms with the fact that the church was in fact dividing into a Catholic national church and a large number of Protestant free congregations that were withdrawing from episcopal jurisdiction. The

---

[958] Erwin Iserloh, "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation", 314.

[959] Cf. on the history of the Reformation in Scandinavia: Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Kirchengeschichte Skandinaviens,* license edition, Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1983; Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3M3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982; Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institu-tional Reform*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Michael F. Metcalf, "Settlements: Scandinavia", in: Thomas A Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996, 523-550.

[960] Cf. Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 237.

[961] Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 237; on the history of the Reformation in Denmark, see also: Erwin Iserloh, "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation", 315-317; Poul Georg Lindthardt, *Kirchengeschichte Skandinavi-ens*, 10-23; Martin Schwarz, "The Early Reformation in Denmark and Norway 1520-1559", in: Ole Peter Grell (ed.). The *Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Move-ment to Institutionalisation of Reform*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 12-41; Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Die Reformation in Dänemark*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 208, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008.

tolerance, which was politically necessary, was defended by the king with quotations from Luther's writing 'Von weltlicher Obrigkeit' [On Secular Authority]. The flight from the monasteries could continue unhindered."[962]

In 1536, King Christian III emerged victorious from further political and even military conflicts:[963] "The king's victory meant that the Lutheran-princely Reformation brought the democratic biblical-humanist Reformation to a complete halt."[964] The king was in regular communication with Luther and took advice from him. A church order, which was submitted in advance to Luther and Melanchthon for their consideration, was adopted. The effect was the following: "The church lost all legal and institutional autonomy and became, in effect, a state religious department."[965]

8.4.6.2 Norway

"Norway has no real history of the Reformation. Politically, the country was weak compared to Denmark, and the Roman Church, through powerful archbishops among others, had a firm grip on the population."[966] But when King Christian III of Denmark sent a fleet to Norway in 1537, the Catholic archbishop had to flee to the Netherlands, and Norway was thus virtually demoted to a Danish province, which also led to the introduction of the Reformation. From then on, the Reformation ran parallel to developments in Denmark.

8.4.6.3 Sweden

Sweden's turn towards the Reformation took place over a longer period of time, and the situation changed several times.[967] Sweden's position within

---

[962] Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 237.

[963] Cf. Martin Schwarz, "The Early Reformation in Denmark and Norway 1520-1559", 29-32.

[964] Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 239.

[965] Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 239.

[966] Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Scandinavian Church History since the 16th Century,* 263. Cf. on the history of the Reformation in Norway: Cf. Erwin Iserloh, "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation", 317-318; Poul Georg Lindthardt, *Kirchengeschichte Skandinaviens,* 23-26; Martin Schwarz, "The Early Reformation in Denmark and Norway 1520-1559", 12-41.

[967] Cf. Erwin Iserloh, "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation", 319-323; Poul Georg Lindthardt, *Kirchengeschichte Skandinaviens,* 26-37; Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 276-282; E. I. Kouri, "The Early in Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520-1560", in: Ole Peter Grell (ed.). The

the Northern European Union was rather weak and unstable, and it often found itself at war with Denmark. When Gustav Wasa ascended the throne in 1521, first as imperial administrator and from 1523 as king, he pursued active church politics and also influenced the appointment of bishops. He subsequently forbade all bishops to have contact with Rome, thus promoting the further spread of the Reformation. As in other countries, political and economic reasons also played a decisive role. However, Sweden's attitude towards the Reformation remained ambivalent, and it was only at the Diet of Uppsala in 1593 that the church order that had already been approved by John III in 1571 was finally adopted, making Sweden a Lutheran country.[968]

8.4.6.4 Finland

Finland was part of Sweden until the beginning of the 19th century. Similar to the Scandinavian countries, the introduction of the Reformation began with the expropriation of church property, and the reform-friendly Bishop of Åbo sent young students for theological training to Wittenberg as early as the late 1520s. Finland's great reformer was Mikael Agricola (1509-1557),[969] a graduate of Wittenberg, who published both liturgical books and the New Testament (1549) in Finnish and is regarded as the founder of the Finnish written language.[970] Lindhardt summarizes the developments in Finland as follows: "The Reformation had a very conservative character, and Catholicism still retained strong support throughout the 16th century, especially among the nobility."[971]

8.4.7   Poland

As in many other countries, Lutheran influences were the first to bring Reformation ideas to Poland.[972] However, compared to other countries,

---

Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 42-69.

[968] Cf. Poul Georg Lindthardt, *Kirchengeschichte Skandinaviens*, 36.

[969] Cf. on Agricola: Simo Heininen, "Michael Agricola", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016, 9-15.

[970] Cf. Erwin Iserloh, "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation", 324.

[971] Poul Georg Lindhardt, *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert,* 302.

[972] Cf. Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe", in: Thomas A Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996, 571-576; Martin H. Jung, *Reformation and Confessional Age (1517-1648)*, 159.

Reformation influences appeared rather late. As in Hungary, German settlers in royal Prussia spread Luther's writings; they stormed the monasteries in Gdansk in the first half of the 1520s and introduced the Protestant faith there. However, King Sigismund, who ruled from 1506 to 1548, threatened those who would fall away from the Catholic faith with the death penalty.[973] Another center of the Reformation was Kaliningrad.

The Reformed branch of Protestantism later took root in Poland, and as in other countries, the nobility became the bearers of the Reformation. However, the spread of the Protestant faith varied greatly from region to region and remained confessionally fragmented (between Lutheran and Reformed). A key leader was John à Lasco, born in Lask[974] in 1499, who had turned to the Reformation in the 1540s and, after two decades of exile in various European countries, returned to Poland at the end of 1557 and was elected Superintendent of the Reformed Church of Lesser Poland.

> "He tried to overcome the fragmentation of the Polish Protestants, to achieve theological union with the Protestant Church in the Duchy of Prussia by travelling to Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and Vilnius, and to win the Polish king over to the Reformation. However, all attempts were unsuccessful."[975]

A Polish Protestant national church never came into being and failed precisely because of the resistance of the Lutherans.[976]

8.4.8   Hungary

Luther's ideas reached Hungary as early as 1520,[977] as the trade routes between East and West ran through the country. Queen Mary of Habsburg,

---

[973] Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe", 572.

[974] Cf. on Lasco: Henning P. Jürgens, "Johannes à Lasco", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016, 147-152.

[975] Henning P. Jürgens, "Johannes à Lasco", 150.

[976] Cf. Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe", 174.

[977] On the Reformation in Hungary, see especially: Pál Ács, *Reformations in Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest, Academic Studies* 52, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019; Mihály Bucsay, D*er Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978: Ungarns Reformkirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Teil 1: Im Zeitalter der Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte und Geschichte, Erste Reihe, vol. III/1, Vienna, Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1977; Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe", 562-571.

the wife of King Louis II, was won over to the Reformation and subsequently even corresponded with Luther.[978] Through her influence, Protestant theologians came to the Academy of Buda or as preachers to the congregation of the royal family. Another link between Germany and Hungary was the numerous German settlers there, among whom Reformation ideas spread quickly. Here too, the dissemination of writings played an essential role. At the same time, the new Protestants faced opposition from the Catholic Church from the very beginning, as a resolution against the Lutherans was passed at the 1523 Diet in Ofen (the name of the western part of present-day Budapest).

The defeat of the Ottoman army at Mohács in 1526 marked a turning point. King Louis II and other key figures of the Roman Catholic hierarchy – six of the twelve participating bishops[979] – died fighting the Turks. Hungary was divided into a western part under the House of Habsburg, a central part under the Ottomans, and Transylvania with a relative autonomy, even if high taxes had to be paid to the Ottomans. Under these political conditions, the Reformation spread rapidly, as the central power was too weak, and a certain degree of tolerance by the Ottomans prevailed in the occupied territories.

> "The people, deeply concerned about their fatherland and their Christianity, found a new and strong hope in the Reformation when they got to know it in its pure form. The Reformation guaranteed what was particularly needed under the conditions of the time: certainty of salvation in the constant danger of life in which one found oneself."[980]

In 1541, the New Testament was published in Hungarian, followed by the entire Bible in 1590.[981] In Hungary, the translation of the Bible had a far-reaching influence on the shaping of Hungarian literature, language, and culture. It is estimated that up to 90% of the Hungarian population had turned to the Protestant faith by the latter half on the sixteenth century. However, after Luther's death, people mainly turned to the Reformed wing of the Reformation, led by Bullinger and Calvin.[982]

---

[978] See Ferenc Szücs, "*The* Reformation in Hungary and Its Relevance for Today", in: *FEET Newsletter* (October 2017), 10; Mihály Bucsay, *Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978,* 43.

[979] Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978*, 47.

[980] Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978*, 47.

[981] See Ferenc Szücs, "The Reformation in Hungary and Its Relevance for Today", 11; Pál Ács, *Reformations in Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest,* 67-69.

[982] Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978,* 87.

Mihály Bucsay summarizes:

"In Hungary, the reformation had essentially prevailed by the middle of the 16th century, although neither of the two Christian rulers of the country, which was torn into three parts, sided with the Reformation. The reasons for its rapid progress are to be found in the fact that Luther's Reformation was so well prepared in the spiritual and ecclesiastical life of Hungary and that the Gospel newly opened up by Luther was felt to be a very special inner help in the terrible conflict of the Hungarians with the Turks."[983]

8.4.9   Bohemia and Moravia

In Bohemia and Moravia, the Reformation connected with the Hussite movement of the years 1419 to 1436, and especially with the Church of the Brethren.[984] However, Luther was initially skeptical of the Hussites and saw them as heretics. Only later did he realize that he himself had adopted many of Jan Hus's positions.[985] After Luther mentioned the Hussites positively at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519, first contacts were made, and the Lutheran Reformation movement quickly gained a foothold in the Church of the Brethren.[986] There were also limited contacts with Zwingli and later with Martin Bucer. However, internal church and political conflicts as well as the vehement action of Charles V against Reformation influences prevented the Reformation from spreading nationwide until the middle of the 16th century.

8.5   The Anabaptist Movements

The term *Anabaptist movements* is deliberately used here to refer to the historical fact that "the various Anabaptist groups sometimes dealt with each other in a rather confrontational and exclusionary way – and did not see themselves as one community."[987] Therefore, one must assume a plurality of movements when speaking of Anabaptists. Terms used in historiog-

---

[983]   Mihály Bucsay, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978*, 36.
[984]   On the history of the Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia cf: Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe", 553-562; Rudolf Řičan, *Die böhmischen Brüder*, Berlin: Union-Verlag 1961, 82-161.
[985]   Cf. Rudolf Řičan, *Die böhmischen Brüder*, 82.
[986]   Cf. Winfried Eberhard, "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe", 555.
[987]   Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation bis ins 21 Jahrhundert,* Tübingen: UTB Narr Francke Attempto, 2020, 11.

raphy such as "left wing of the Reformation" or "radical Reformation" should be avoided, as they suggest political categories that were alien to the movements.[988] Despite the diversity of Anabaptism[989] during the Reformation, the common feature that united all groups was the rejection of infant baptism and the baptism of adults as a sign of personal faith and as a conscious entry into the body of Christ (the church).

The exact point or origin of Anabaptism remains controversial.[990] Traditionally, especially in older research, Zurich[991] is identified as the birthplace of Anabaptism. Yet Astrid von Schlachta noted:

"Although the first Anabaptist baptism of faith on 21 January 1525 in Zurich marks a starting point, it was only the visible sign of long-simmering discussions. The group around Ulrich Zwingli's followers, who later became Anabaptists, stood in the dynamic of a time that was marked by the desire for religious-confessional renewal and by demands for a just balance between nobility, church, and subjects. Much was intertwined in the socio-political life of the early 16th century. Theological insights and justifications flashed through between social reformist ideas, and spiritual awakenings brought forth a new image of man that challenged patterns of the old order."[992]

---

[988] For a discussion of the terminology used, see Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation bis ins 21 Jahrhundert,* 11-12.

[989] On the history of the Anabaptists, see Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*; George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation,* Third Edition, Kirksville: Truman State University Press 2000; Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525-1618 – Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany,* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972; Andrea Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli: Die frühe Täuferbewegung in der Schweiz,* Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003; Urs B. Leu and Christian Scheidegger (eds.), *Die Zürcher Täufer 1525-1700,* Zurich: TVZ, 2007; Georg Tumbült Die Wiedertäufer: *Die socialen und religiösen Bewegungen zur Zeit der Reformation*, Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1899; Werner O. Packull, *Die Hutterer in Tirol: Frühes Täufertum in der Schweiz, Tirol und Mähren,* Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2000; Marc Lienhard, "Die Wiedertäufer", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992, 122-190; James M. Stayer, "The Radical Reformation", in: Thomas A Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation. Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*, Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996, 249-282.

[990] Cf. Andrea Strübing, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 121.

[991] On the history of Anabaptism in Zurich, see above all: Andrea Strübing, *Eifriger als Zwingli.*

[992] Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation bis ins 21 Jahrhundert,* 22-23.

A group of discontented followers of Zwingli, led by Konrad Grebel, for whom Zwingli's reforms in Zurich did not go fast and far enough and who can be described as so-called "proto-Anabaptists",[993] spread rapidly throughout Zurich and the surrounding region and increasingly brought the question of baptism to the fore.[994] Parallel to this development, there were contacts between the group led by Thomas Müntzer and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt,[995] who had been expelled from Wittenberg. A mutual influence in the radicalization is obvious, but there was never any concrete cooperation between the proto-Baptists and Karlstadt or Müntzer.

"The first Anabaptist baptism of faith took place in Zurich on 21 January 1525."[996] Others were to follow in Zurich and the surrounding area. However, 1525 has also gone down in history as the year of the peasant wars or uprisings. After the defeat of the peasants of Thuringia and Saxony at the Battle of Frankenhausen in May 1525, Thomas Müntzer[997] was captured and executed as their leader. Astrid von Schlachta pointed out connections between peasant revolts and Anabaptist movements, concluding:

> "It is not surprising that peasant warriors later became Anabaptists; the ideas were too compatible. The notion of a more just society, of freely available grace and the upgrading of the laity, but also the idea of the near end of the world gave the militant peasants the legitimacy to act but can then also be found in the Anabaptist movement, under non-violent auspices. These connections, however, became a portent for the Anabaptists, as they paved the way for defamation and criminalization."[998]

In the following years, Anabaptist ideas spread to numerous regions in Europe, partly due to the strategic travel activities of Anabaptist leaders. We

---

[993] Cf. Andrea Strübing, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 203; Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 23.

[994] Cf. Andrea Strübing, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 203.

[995] Cf. on the life and work of Andreas Bodenstein von Karstadt: Amy Nelson Burnett, "Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016, 45-51.

[996] Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation bis ins 21 Jahrhundert,* 35.

[997] Cf. on Thomas Müntzer's life and work: Hans-Jürgen Goertz, *Thomas Müntzer: Revolutionär am Ende der Zeiten, Eine Biographie,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 2015; Ulrich Bubbenheimer, *Thomas Müntzer: Herkunft und Bildung,* Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought XLVI, Leiden, New York, Copenhagen and Cologne, E. J. Brill, 1989; Walter Elliger, *Thomas Müntzer: Leben und Werk,* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ³1976; Elke Wolgast, *Thomas Müntzer: Ein Verstörer der Ungläubigen,* Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1988; Elke Wolgast, "Thomas Müntzer", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.), *Das Reformatorenlexikon,* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016, 174-182.

[998] Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation bis ins 21 Jahrhundert,* 37.

know that the Swabian furrier and Anabaptist leader Melchior Hoffmann[999] visited Livonia (Baltic States), Stockholm (Sweden), Lübeck, Schleswig-Holstein, East Frisia (all in northern Germany) and the Netherlands.[1000] In Switzerland, Anabaptist groups came into being outside Zurich and its environs in Schaffhausen, St. Gallen and Aargau. Anabaptism was also very popular in large parts of Germany, and it spread rapidly, especially in Austria. "Austria was one of the main areas, if not the main area of Anabaptism in Europe."[1001] Overall, two main strands of Anabaptism can be observed in Austria:

> "One, which was mainly represented by the Swiss and Upper Germans, pursued a quasi-free-church concept of the small flock, which saw itself as the true church and separated itself from society, because this was seen as abandoned to damnation. Oaths and military service were therefore refused, and the Lord's Supper was celebrated as a communal and confessional meal in the tradition of Zwingli. [...] The other direction completed the exodus from society through an 'inward exodus'; it turned to spiritualism and mystical traditions."[1002]

The representative of the second movement was Hans Hut, who exerted considerable influence in Austria. The center of Austrian Anabaptism was undoubtedly Tyrol, where it is estimated that during the heyday of the Anabaptist movement, 5 percent of the population adhered to it, and it became a popular movement.

However, the rapid spread of the Anabaptists was accompanied by immediate radical persecution. As early as March 1526, the city of Zurich issued a mandate that punished Anabaptists with the death penalty.[1003] For the Habsburg lands, Ferdinand I issued the first mandate for the persecution of Anabaptists on 20 August 1927 with the Heresy Mandate of Ofen, which was further tightened in 1528. A "roving squad" consisting of about 20 horsemen was set up in Lower Austria and began a hunt for Anabaptists. Many were mercilessly slaughtered on the spot.

---

[999] Cf. on Hoffmann: Klaus Deppermann and Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Melchior Hoffmann: Ein apokalyptischer Visionär als Begründer des niederdeutschen Täufertums", in: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Täufer: Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer, Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts*, Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021, 83-86; Klaus Deppermann, "Melchior Hoffmann", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Reformation I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1981, 323-334.

[1000] Marc Lienhard, "Die Wiedertäufer", 123-124.

[1001] Rudolf Leeb et al., "Streit um den wahren Glauben", 185.

[1002] Rudolf Leeb et al., "Streit um den wahren Glauben", 185-186.

[1003] Cf. Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 56-57.

"In 1529/1530 the persecutions reached their climax. The governments took action against the Anabaptists with a severity that is hardly comprehensible today. According to medieval heresy law, the houses were burned down, in two cases in Salzburg and Tyrol together with the inhabitants imprisoned inside. Spies and informers were paid; in a mandate issued for Lienz, between 60 and 100 guilders were offered for information about Anabaptist leaders, so to speak as a bounty. It was not uncommon for the local authorities to try to pass lenient sentences, knowing the lifestyle and piety of the persons concerned, who were often respected persons. However, these were overturned by the government authorities, and at the same time the jurors were put under massive pressure. Often, even a retraction of a conviction did not save a person from the death penalty; this can be seen above all in Salzburg. The executioners did not like to perform their duties. The condemned men went to the place of execution in good spirits and still loudly confessed their faith when the flames were already blazing; girls laughed at the water in the well trough in which they were to be drowned. It was not uncommon for demonstrations of displeasure and solidarity to take place during executions. From 1532 onwards, therefore, the public began to be excluded from trials in Tyrol."[1004]

The Mandate of Speyer in 1529, adopted by all the imperial estates, was used to persecute Anabaptists until the 18th century. An important motive in the political stance against the Anabaptists was a feared threat to public order.[1005]

"It is not easy to obtain reliable total figures for the persecution of the Anabaptists. A list of martyrs handed down by the Hutterite 'history book' assumes that there were just under 1,600 martyrs to be mourned in the Old Empire, with over 500 in the Habsburg hereditary lands alone. The last martyr in Zurich was Hans Landis in 1614; in Bregenz, Christina Brennerin was executed in 1618, and an unnamed Anabaptist woman died in Rheinfelden in July 1626."[1006]

The Anabaptist kingdom at Münster (1534-1535) certainly contributed to the negative reputation of Anabaptism in the sixteenth century.[1007] It is in this context that we meet Melchior Hoffmann again.

[1004] Rudolf Leeb et al, "Streit um den wahren Glauben", 190.

[1005] Cf. Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 57.

[1006] Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 59.

[1007] Cf. on this, among others: Richard van Dülmen, *Das Täuferreich zu Münster 1534-1535: Berichte und Dokumente,* Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1974; Stadtmuseum Münster (ed.). *Das Königreich der Täufer*, 2 vol. Münster: Stadtmuseum Münster, 2000; Günter Vogler, *Die Täuferherrschaft in Münster und die Reichsstände: Die po-*

"Because of his militant commitment, his inclination towards spiritualism and his apocalyptic visions, he broke with the Wittenberg reformers. A stay in Strasbourg at the end of the 1920s brought Hoffmann into contact with the Anabaptist groups, which were represented there in greater numbers than anywhere else. However, his pronounced sense of mission made it impossible for him to join one of the existing congregations. Instead, he gathered a circle of his own around him with the aim of persuading people to repent, and to incorporate them into the end-time congregation of the saints through baptism. Although Hoffmann was convinced of God's imminent reckoning with the unbelievers, he did not call his followers to violent promotion and support of this approaching final judgement."[1008]

After fleeing Strasbourg, Hoffmann settled in Emden in East Frisia (in northwest Germany) and founded the first large Anabaptist congregation in 1530. His ideas spread from there to the Netherlands and many people were baptized, followed immediately by persecution. In 1533 Hoffmann was again in Strasbourg and was arrested there. The leadership of Hoffmann's groups was taken over by the Dutch baker Jan Matthijs from Haarlem.[1009] He increasingly combined his apocalyptic call to conversion and repentance as well as baptism with the proclamation of the coming of the New Jerusalem according to Revelation 21, which was clearly associated with the Westphalian city of Münster. "In droves, Dutch and Lower Germans set out for there seeking protection."[1010] The Reformation had been introduced in the episcopal city at the beginning of 1530, but developments took a radical turn only a short time later.

"In a council election, the Anabaptists received the majority. The Bishop of Münster and other authorities, however, massed their troops. From February 1534 to June 1535 Münster was besieged, which increased the eschatological mood among the Anabaptists. The polity was radically transformed, and the Dutchman Jan Bockelsohn ruled as 'King of Israel' in the 'New Jerusalem'. Dissenters were expelled or killed, and marriage with several women – demonized by opponents as polygamy – was introduced, invoking the Old Testament. Bockelsohn alone is said to have taken 16 wives.

Catholic and Protestant authorities, financially supported by the Fuggers, put a bloody end to Anabaptist rule. Münster became strictly Catholic

---

litische, religiöse und militärische Dimension eines Konflikts in den Jahren 1534 bis 1536, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 88, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014.

[1008] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 126.

[1009] Cf. Marc Lienhard, "Die Wiedertäufer", 136-138.

[1010] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 127.

again. The leaders died under the torment of red-hot tongs and were then hung in cages on the church tower. Anabaptism, which was widely pacifist, was permanently discredited by the events in Münster. Henceforth, 'Anabaptism' was synonymous with anarchy, sedition, and fornication."[1011]

Two common theological characteristics besides the question of baptism should be mentioned at this point. On one hand, it is important to mention an inwardness of faith that was emphasized in the sense of mysticism, as it was also reflected, for example, in the readiness to suffer.[1012] In addition to the Reformation doctrine of justification, the Anabaptists also put a strong emphasis on sanctification.

> "The Anabaptists accused the Reformers of putting too much emphasis on the forgiveness of sins in their understanding of the gospel and neglecting the new life given in Christ. The forgiveness of sins was promised only to those who mend their ways. From this perspective, faith is a total transformation of the believer's life, not a simple acceptance of the gift of salvation."[1013]

A central confessional document of early Swiss Anabaptism was the Schleitheim Confession of 1527,[1014] which was intended to give "direction and norm"[1015] to the different groups. The seven articles deal with the topics of baptism, church discipline, the Lord's Supper, separation, pastoral service, sword, and oath. The significance of the Schleitheim Articles remains controversial among scholars, as it hardly introduced any fundamental new aspects into Anabaptism, nor did it contribute to uniting the diverse movements.[1016]

Finally, three personalities of the Anabaptist movements will be presented as examples: Balthasar Hubmaier, Hans Hut and Menno Simons.

8.5.1   Balthasar Hubmaier (1480/1485-1528)

Balthasar Hubmaier[1017] was born in Friedberg, Bavaria. He attended the Latin School in Augsburg and then studied theology under the influence of

---

[1011] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 127-128.

[1012] Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 113-119.

[1013] Marc Lienhard, "Die Wiedertäufer", 147. Cf. Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 119-124.

[1014] Urs B. Leu and Christian Scheidegger (eds.), *Das Schleitheimer Bekenntnis 1527: Einleitung,* Faksimile*, Übersetzung und Kommentar,* Zug: Achius Verlag, n. d. [2004].

[1015] Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 43.

[1016] Cf. Astrid von Schlachta, *Täufer: Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert,* 43.

[1017] On the life and work of Balthasar Hubmaier, see H. Wayne Pipki and John H. Yoder (eds.), *Balthasar Hubmaier: Theologian of Anabaptism,* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1989;

Johannes Eck and was ordained a priest. In 1512 he received his doctorate in theology and worked as a professor in Ingolstadt. In 1520, probably due to an outbreak of plague, he moved to Waldshut, which belonged to Austria, where he came into contact with humanist circles and subsequently with the writings of Luther. He had been in contact with Zwingli since 1523 and also took part in the second Zurich disputation. From 1524 at the latest, he was in contact with the Zurich Anabaptists, including Konrad Grebel[1018] and Wilhelm Reublin.[1019] "At Easter [1525] Hubmaier was baptized by Reublin and, in agreement with the town council, introduced an Anabaptist Reformation in Waldshut in the following months."[1020] After the surrender of Waldshut in the battle against the troops of the Swabian League in December 1525, Hubmaier had to flee and turned to Zurich. The city council did not extradite him to Austria but forced him under torture to recant his Anabaptist convictions. After his release in April 1526, he moved to Nikolsburg (Mikulov) in Moravia (present-day Czech Republic) at the invitation of the sovereign Leonhard von Liechtenstein to carry out an Anabaptist Reformation there along the lines of Landshut. During this phase, Hubmaier devoted himself to consolidating the theological foundations of Anabaptist congregational formation through publications. However, in Nikolsburg an Anabaptist dispute between Hubmaier and Hans Hut over the question of attitude towards the authorities took place, which subsequently led to a fragmentation of Moravian Anabaptism. In July 1527 Hubmaier was transferred to Vienna by Ferdinand I – since February 1527 also King of Bohemia – and he was burned to death in Vienna on 10 March 1528. His wife was also drowned in the Danube a few days later.

Hubmaier occupies an exceptional position among Anabaptist leaders, as he was the only theologian with a degree and doctorate and could therefore meet other theologians like Zwingli on equal terms. Another unique

---

Anselm Schubert, "Balthasar Hubmaier", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*, Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016, 133-137; James M. Stayer, "Balthasar Hubmaier: Der herausragendste Theologe der Täufer", in: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Täufer: Aufrührer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer: Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts*, Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021, 25-31.

[1018] Cf. on Konrad Grebel: Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Konrad Grebel: Am Anfang einer radikalen Reformation in Zürich", in: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Täufer: Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer: Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts,* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021, 9-12.

[1019] Peter Bührer, "Wilhelm Reublin: Als Täuferapostel unterwegs", in: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Täufer: Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer: Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts,* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021, 17-20.

[1020] Anselm Schubert, "Balthasar Hubmaier", 134.

feature was his approach to an Anabaptist Reformation based on the support of the authorities. He can rightly be described as the "most outstanding theologian of early Anabaptism",[1021] exerting a formative influence above all among the Anabaptists in Switzerland, southern Germany and Moravia. "His vision of an Anabaptist Reformation and social constitution through the authorities was not compatible with the militant apocalypticism of Hut, Hoffmann or the Münsterites, nor with the pacifist separatism of the Hutterites or Mennonites."[1022]

8.5.2   Hans Hut (1490-1527)

In the case of Hans Hut, we are confronted with a contradictory curriculum vitae.[1023] Born around 1490 in Haina in the county of Henneberg (central Germany), he worked as a merchant and came into contact with Reformation ideas between 1521 and 1522, especially with the circles around Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt and Thomas Müntzer. Thus, after fleeing from Mühlhausen in September 1524, Müntzer stayed with Hut in Bibra and asked him to find a printer for one of his writings. Hut's refusal to have his third child baptized led to his expulsion from Bibra at the end of 1524. He joined the rebellious peasants and took part in the battle of Frankenhausen but managed to escape after the defeat and probably found shelter in Nuremberg. Hut subsequently moved to Augsburg and was baptized there by Hans Denck around Whitsunday 1526.

"This was the beginning of a far-reaching missionary activity that reached from Central and Upper Germany to Moravia and Austria and gave rise to an Anabaptism of its own kind."[1024] Hut also succeeded in winning disappointed sympathizers of the lost Peasants' War for Anabaptism. As in Nikolsburg, tensions arose between the different Anabaptist groupings in Augsburg. To overcome doctrinal differences, a meeting was called in Augsburg in August 1527 with about 60 delegates from various Anabaptist persuasions. The main issue was to clarify the central differences in Ana-

---

[1021] James M. Stayer, "Balthasar Hubmaier: The Most Outstanding Anabaptist Theologian", 30.

[1022] Anselm Schubert, "Balthasar Hubmaier", 136.

[1023] Cf. on the life and work of Hans Hut above all: Gottfried Seebaß, *Müntzers Erbe: Werk, Leben und Theologie des Hans Hut,* Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 73, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002; Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Hans Hut: Ein Veteran des Bauernkriegs wird Täufer", in: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Täufer: Aufrührer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer: Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts,* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021, 37-45.

[1024] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Hans Hut: Ein Veteran des Bauernkriegs wird Täufer", 39.

baptist doctrinal views between the pacifist Swiss Anabaptists (Schleitheim Confession) and the apocalyptic-militant southern German Anabaptists around Hans Hut. "Hut agreed to keep his precisely dated expectation of the end times to himself or to tell of it only when he was expressly asked about it."[1025] On the question of sword content and the oath, however, he could not agree with the Schleitheim articles in any way. "On all the points mentioned, he held a thorough Lutheran view of the freedom a Christian had in regard to his political actions and the shaping of the outside world."[1026] A real agreement failed to materialize.

On 15 September 1527, Hut was arrested while trying to leave the city. However, the following trial was less about his Anabaptist teachings than about his acquaintance with Thomas Müntzer and his involvement in the Peasants' War. Hut died in a fire that he had probably set himself during an escape attempt. "Hut's Anabaptism soon dissolved after the loss of its leaders and the waning of apocalyptic expectations of the near future."[1027]

8.5.3   Menno Simons (1496-1561)

Menno Simons was born around 1496 in Witmarsum[1028] in West Frisia in the Netherlands. Little is known about his family background or his childhood and youth. He grew up in a peasant home and attended a monastic school, entered the Premonstratensian order, and was ordained as a priest in 1524. Soon after that, he began to have doubts about the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments, and when he heard about the execution of an Anabaptist in 1531, he also began to question infant baptism.

> "The misery of the Anabaptists, who were beaten up and killed by magisterial troops after the storming of the Oldeklooster near Bolsward in the spring of 1535, possibly together with his brother (Peter Simons) who had returned from Münster, deeply moved him and caused him to leave the old church and join the Anabaptists in January 1536."[1029]

[1025] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Hans Hut: Ein Veteran des Bauernkriegs wird Täufer", 43.

[1026] Gottfried Seebaß, *Müntzers Erbe*, 313.

[1027] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Hans Hut: Ein Veteran des Bauernkriegs wird Täufer", 43.

[1028] Cf. on the life and work of Menno Simons, among others: Astrid von Schlachta, "Menno Simons", in: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (ed.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*, Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016, 231-238; Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Menno Simons: Lehrer, Seelsorger und Missionar im Norden", in: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.), *Täufer: Aufrührer, Friedfertige, Märtyrer: Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts,* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021, 105-113.

[1029] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Menno Simons: Lehrer, Seelsorger und Missionar im Norden", 106.

Subsequently, Simons had to lead an unsteady life as an Anabaptist and remained constantly on the move. He published a number of works of an apologetic-polemical nature, directed against the opponents of Anabaptism, as well as of a paraenetic nature, intended to edify his own followers. However, Simons was not a systematic theologian, even though researchers have repeatedly searched for the center of Simons' theology. "While his congregations were on the way to becoming a free church denomination, he did not develop into a free church denominationalist theologian, but rather still remained a radical reformer; he wanted to draw all people out of 'carnal' Babylon into 'spiritual' Jerusalem."[1030] Astrid von Schlachta, citing James Stayer, noted in summary:

> "With Menno Simons a man became godfather and the name-giver of a movement who was neither the founder of the movement nor its most important theologian nor an early martyr […]. Nevertheless, his works, written in Dutch, have been of the greatest importance for the Mennonite Anabaptists named after him […].
>
> The merit of Menno Simons is that he pacified the Anabaptists after the events of Münster and led the movement into calmer waters. However, many discussions and disputes remained internally, which characterized Menno Simons' time and in which Simons initially took a moderate position. […] It was only towards the end of his life that he swung to the more uncompromising line advocated by his opponents."[1031]

Menno Simons died in January 1561 at Gut Freseburg near Oldesloe in Schleswig-Holstein (northern Germany).

[1030] Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Menno Simons: Lehrer, Seelsorger und Missionar im Norden", 111.

[1031] Astrid von Schlachta, "Menno Simons", 237-238.

9 Counter-Reformation and Catholic Reform: The Confessional Age (1550-1650)

Three terms used in the title of this chapter need clarification: Counter-Reformation, Catholic Reform, and Confessional Age.

While Protestant church historians have generally used the term *Counter-Reformation* to characterize the events described below, Roman Catholics have preferred the term *Catholic reform*. Both terms are a correct description and reflection of the actual events. On one hand, there were concrete Counter-Reformation measures in Catholic domains with the aim of eradicating Protestantism; on the other hand, there were simultaneously targeted Catholic reform measures,[1032] such as those initiated by the Jesuit Order. It is not surprising that the boundaries between Counter-Reformation and Catholic reform remained blurred.

The term "confessional age" was coined in the 20th century by the historians Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923) and Otto Brunner (1898-1982). With regard to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the term describes a period that began with the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555 and concluded with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. However, this dating again is strongly influenced by events within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. In other European countries, one would come across other temporal demarcations. And this epochal designation is to be regarded as a phenomenon of the Western church, which for example did not affect Orthodoxy to any great extent.

Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr remark on the characteristics of the era:

"What is really new in comparison with the late Middle Ages and the Reformation since 1555 is that the whole of life has come under the signature of the confessional, i.e. of confessional antagonisms. The religious movements of the late Middle Ages and also the beginnings of the Reformation do not

---

[1032] Cf. Hubert Jedin, "Katholische Reformation und Gegenreformation", in: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin, *Reformation, Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 4, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1967, 445-446; Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992, 239.

know this confessional polarization. The splitting of the medieval Christian culture of unity [in the West] into a multiplicity of denominations and churches, states, and political designs, which delimit and differentiate themselves from one another, is the actual defining feature of this epoch. The basic confessional trait of the age is evident in politics in the great wars of the 16th and 17th centuries, but also in Christian missions and the colonial expansion of the European powers into foreign continents. In the church history of this age, the processes of Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic confessionalization are taking place."[1033]

9.1   The Reform and Restoration of the Roman Catholic Church

The roots of the Catholic reform can be found in the late Middle Ages, before the Reformation era, and there above all in the Latin countries, on the Iberian peninsula as well as Italy – countries that were hardly touched by the Reformation.[1034] "As a second component, the new challenges of the Reformation were added, which had itself taken up parts of the call for reform and now forced the Catholic side to intensify piety and, in the long run, to confessionalize."[1035]

9.1.1   The Council of Trent

Efforts by the Catholic Church to convene a council in Mantua as early as 1537 failed, and eight years would pass before the Council of Trent opened.[1036] Several difficulties had to be overcome along the way. Marc Venard notes:

> "One was to win over the Protestants to participate, which they refused to do at the Schmalkaldic Day in 1537 on the grounds that it was a 'papal' council, therefore unfree and not arguing from Scripture. A second question concerned the place of the council, a third the inevitable consent of the Christian rulers, first and foremost the Emperor and the king of France."[1037]

[1033] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 157.
[1034] Cf. Hubert Jedin, "Katholische Reformation und Gegenreformation", 452; Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 239-240.
[1035] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 239.
[1036] Cf. Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient 1; Der Kampf ums Konzil,* Reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017, 232-286.
[1037] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 254.

However, when another war broke out between Emperor Charles V and the French King Francis I in 1536, this finally put an end to such undertaking. Thus, the Council could only start nine years later, on 13 December 1545 in Trent;[1038] it would drag on over several sessions until its conclusion in 1563. The low number of participants in the Council is remarkable. For example, only four cardinals, 21 bishops and five superiors general of religious orders attended the opening session, and two other invitees showed up later. Marc Venard elaborates:

> "Under Pius IV, nine cardinals, 39 patriarchs and archbishops, 236 bishops and seventeen abbots and superiors general took part in the Council, albeit without all sitting together. The final document was signed by a good 200 fathers, only a fraction of the total number of the Catholic episcopate of that time of 700."[1039]

This is all the more remarkable, as it was presented as a general and ecumenical council. Three tasks of the Council had been listed in the vocation bull *Laetare Jerusalem*: "to eliminate discord in the faith, to reform the Christian people and to restore peace among the peoples of the Christian West, and then to restore the holy places in Jerusalem to the possession of the 'faithful'."[1040] It is beyond the scope of this book to describe the individual sessions of the Council. The Council did not meet continuously, but in multiple sessions: from 1545 to 1549, 1551-1552 and 1562-1563. However, some of the important doctrinal decisions as well as the results of the Council deserve attention. This concerns foremost the doctrine of justification, as the *Decree on Justification* of 6 January 1547 condemns the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone, and at the same time condemns

> "also the nominalistic doctrine of man's ability to earn the grace of justification by good works. [...] But even if there is no merit of justification (meritum de congruto), there are nevertheless merits of the justified (merito de condigno), good works by which man, placed in the state of grace and using his free will, can acquire greater graces with God. Man's participation in his

---

[1038] On the history and yield of the Council of Trent, cf. especially the monumental work by Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient,* 4 vol. in 5, Reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017.

[1039] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 256.

[1040] Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient IV/2: Dritte Tagungsperiode und Abschluss: Überwindung der Krise durch Morone, Schließung und Bestätigung,* Reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017, 242.

salvation is thus preserved, and the 'sola fide' of the Reformation must therefore become heresy."[1041]

From a Protestant point of view, a further fundamental decision of the Council was of far-reaching importance: the question of the position of Holy Scripture or the Reformation understanding of "Scripture alone" (sola scriptura).[1042] Once again in the words of Johannes Wallmann, the Council

"had placed alongside sacred Scripture tradition, the extra-biblical ecclesiastical tradition derived from the Apostles, which is to be accepted with the same spirit of reverence (pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia). The Bible, whose canonical scope (including the Apocrypha) was now bindingly established, was authentic only in the Latin version of the Vulgate. The right interpretation of Scripture and tradition was watched over by the Church's magisterium."[1043]

Other decrees that have caused opposition among Protestants concern the doctrines of original sin,[1044] purgatory[1045] and the sacraments.[1046] Hubert Jedin, a Roman Catholic church historian and an expert on the council, provides a balanced summary of its importance:

"The Council of Trent, however, had not only this negative [confirmation and final codification of the confessional division], but also a positive effect. Both together gave it world-historical significance. Not only did it seal the already existing division of the church through its doctrinal decrees, it also gave a new impulse to inner-church life through its reform decrees. However, they became effective only because the papacy made the Council the palladium [sanctuary, jewel] of Catholic reform and the Counter-Reformation."[1047]

[1041] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 126; Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient II,* 139-164, 201-237, 238-268; cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 265-268.

[1042] Cf. Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient. II: Die erste Tagungsperiode 1545/47,* Reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017, 42-82.

[1043] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 126; Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 264-265.

[1044] Cf. Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient II,* 104-138; Marc Venard, "Die Katholische Kirche", 265.

[1045] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 271-272

[1046] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 268-269.

[1047] Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient IV/2*, 251.

9.1.2   The Jesuit Order

The founding of a new order, the Society of Jesus, commonly known as the Jesuit order, would have a formative influence on the Roman Catholic Church for the following centuries.

The order was founded by Iñigo López de Loyola (1491-1556), better known as Ignatius of Loyola.[1048] Loyola grew up in one of the leading Basque families and was given a chivalrous, courtly upbringing from an early age. At age 14, he came to a relative as a page and received an education befitting his social standing:

> "He loved the life of a gallant and elegant courtier. Not infrequently he was involved in duels, riots and brawls. [...] With great ambition, the Spanish hidalgo Iñigo prepared for his career as a soldier; he devoted himself to gambling and cultivated a licentious relationships with women."[1049]

In 1517 he joined the service of the Duke of Nájera as an officer, yet in May 1521 he was seriously wounded in the legs by French units, and the healing process took months. Reading the *Life of Christ* by Ludolf of Saxony as well as a book about saints awakened in him the desire to "do great things in the kingdom of God" instead of martial exploits.[1050] Further mystical experiences and visions marked the next stage of his life, which was followed in 1523 by a pilgrimage via Rome to Jerusalem. From 1528 he studied theology in Paris and graduated in 1535 with a master's degree. In June 1537, he was ordained as priest in Venice and then settled in Rome. Here, in 1539, the Society of Jesus was founded with its own rule,[1051] which was confirmed by Pope Paul III in 1540, but initially limited to 60 members. This restriction was abolished a few years later (1553/1554). The "growth [of the order] was astonishing: one thousand Jesuits at the death of Ignatius of Loyola in 1556, 5,000 in 1581, 13,000 in 1615. The twelve novices and 144 colleges in 1581 would become 49 and 518, respectively, in 1640."[1052]

[1048] Cf. Helmut Feld, *Ignatius von Loyola: Gründer des Jesuitenordens, Eine Biographie,* Cologne, Vienna and Weimar: Böhlau, 2006; Fr. Paul Imhof, "Ignatius von Loyola", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Reformation II,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 6, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1981, 29-58.

[1049] P. Paul Imhof, "Ignatius of Loyola", 30.

[1050] Hubert Jedin, "Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation", 467.

[1051] Cf. on the Jesuits: Rita Haub, *Die Geschichte der Jesuiten*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2007.

[1052] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 289; cf. Hubert Jedin, "Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation", 474-476.

Above all, the education of young men in the colleges quickly became a focal point of the order, and quite successfully so, as their teaching was considered modern and innovative, and in many cases saved cities the obligation to build schools of a similar standard at their own expense.[1053] Marc Venard notes:

> "With their colleges and schools, the Jesuits helped to educate the Catholic bourgeoisie, while the gratuitousness of their teaching also allowed access to pupils from modest backgrounds. They were able to attract many sons from Protestant families, whom they thus won over to Catholicism."[1054]

Martin H. Jung adds with regard to the Jesuits' contribution to Catholic piety:

> "Ignatius and his order had a decisive influence on the face of Catholic piety in the following centuries. Inwardness on the one hand was combined with outwardly sensual forms on the other. This included the veneration of the saints, the regular reception of communion, the perpetual adoration of the host. The Heart-of-Jesus cult – a devotion specifically directed to the heart of Jesus as a symbol of His love – and the intensification of the practice of confession, supported by casuistic confessional instructions were also part of this."[1055]

As we shall see, the order was also as decisively involved in world missions in Latin America and Asia as in the Counter-Reformation measures against Protestantism in Europe.

9.1.3   Catholic Reforms

If one looks for specific reform approaches, one will find various types. In the first place, reference should be made to a new spiritual movement that was subsequently institutionalized. The "use of the printing press in the service of shaping and spreading piety or as a carrier of a new piety"[1056] played an important role in this. In addition, penitential movements gained popularity[1057] and new social-charitable movements arose to meet the needs of the time in a practical way. To name one example:

[1053] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 289-290.
[1054] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 290.
[1055] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 188.
[1056] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 240.
[1057] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 244-245.

"The pawnshops (montes pietatis) developed out of the awareness of social-financial problems. [...] Confraternities arose for their administration. [...] Apart from pawnshops, other brotherhoods could be named as bearers of charitable activity. Throughout the Catholic world, old or newly established institutions of this kind administered hospitals, distributed alms and buried the dead."[1058]

Alongside these spiritual-charitable approaches, there were also efforts to clarify intra-Catholic theological and doctrinal disputes. Thomism, originating in Spain, increasingly gained influence at theological universities and displaced the previously common aphorisms of Peter Lombard.[1059] On the ecclesiastical-hierarchical side, initiatives arose to reform the clergy, such as a "clerical community", which spread rapidly, especially in Italy. "Through their austere lives, daily celebration of Mass, prayer of the breviary, preaching and spiritual works, they were seen as 'reformed priests' who were to exemplify a new model of the Catholic priesthood to others."[1060] Priestly formation was also put on a new footing, and new pastoral-theological manuals supported these efforts.[1061] The outstanding contribution and importance of the Jesuit Order in this process has already been mentioned.

The papacy also changed. Paul III, elected pope in 1534 (even though he was the father of several children), became convinced that peace and unity could be restored to the church only through a council. While on one hand he strengthened the position of the papacy, he also appointed reformers to the preparatory commission alongside veteran cardinals.[1062] The Council of Trent has already been mentioned above. However, Pope Paul III died in 1550, followed by Julius III (1550-1555), Pope Marcellus II (who exercised his pontificate in 1555 for only 22 days before his death), Pope Paul IV (1555-1559), and Pope Pius IV (1559-1565), during whose pontificate the Council was concluded[1063] and who ratified all the decisions of the Council with his signature a few months after its completion, thus putting them into effect. A series of popes followed who implemented the council reforms with great commitment and thus also strengthened the

---

[1058] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 243-244.
[1059] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 247.
[1060] Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 247.
[1061] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 248; Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter – Katholizismus, Luthertum, Calvinismus (1563-1675)*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/8, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000, 84-86.
[1062] Cf. Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 251-255.
[1063] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation and Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 188.

authority of the papal see. These include Pius V (1566-1572),[1064] Gregory XIII (1572-1585),[1065] Sixtus V (1585-1590),[1066] Clement VIII (1592-1605)[1067] and Paul V (1605-1621).[1068]

9.2   The Counter-Reformation and the Wars of Religion

As we have already seen, the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555 sealed the confessional division of Western Christendom. An indefinite, perpetual peace was agreed on until a possible return to religious unity. Johannes Wallmann notes that the religious Peace of Augsburg

> "granted religious freedom to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession and stipulated that no one may be subject to war because of his adherence to the Augsburg Confession or the 'Old Religion'. The religious peace did not apply to the adherents of confessions other than the Augsburg Confession [Lutherans]. The entire left wing of the Reformation, Anabaptism, anti-Trinitarians, plus the Zwinglians – they all remained outside the peace treaty and were not tolerated in the empire.
>
> But even the members of the two recognized 'religions' did not all have the same rights of freedom. Full religious freedom without legal discrimination was granted only to the sovereigns and the wealthy knighthood, not to the subjects. The sovereigns received the jus reformandi, according to which each prince could determine the religious status for his territory and freely choose between the two religions recognized in the empire. The subjects had to follow this decision. This is the principle later referred to as cuius regio, eius religio, which guaranteed the religious unity of the individual territories."[1069]

We'll now take a closer look at further developments in different parts of Europe.

[1064] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 69-71.
[1065] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 71-72.
[1066] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 72-74.
[1067] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 74.
[1068] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 74-76; cf. on the whole section Marc Venard, "Die katholische Kirche", 273-278.
[1069] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 95-96.

9.2.1   Germany

In Germany, especially from 1560 onwards, Counter-Reformation measures began. Johannes Wallmann observes, "The history of the Counter-Reformation [in Germany] is to a large extent identical with the history of the Jesuits"[1070] under the leadership of the first German Jesuit Petrus Canisius (1521-1597). From around 1570 onwards, Protestants were no longer able to gain any new ground geographically, especially since the Counter-Reformation measures were first and foremost concerned with containing the Reformation movement. However, the main aim was to "destroy Protestantism in the mixed territories and towns that had been infiltrated by the Reformation but were mostly still ruled by Catholics."[1071] The pioneers were the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty and the House of Habsburg (Austria).

> "In Bavaria, immediately after the closing of the Council of Trent, Duke Albrecht V began to implement the Council's decisions and systematically eradicated Protestantism, which had penetrated the nobility and the bourgeoisie, more with the help of the Jesuits than of episcopal authority."[1072]

By 1575 at the latest, Bavaria could once again be considered a purely Catholic state.[1073] In the other parts of the empire, initially Fulda and Eichsfeld, and shortly afterwards Würzburg[1074] and the archbishopric of Cologne, enforced the Catholic faith. Paderborn and Münster also became entirely Catholic, while Württemberg or Braunschweig turned to the Protestant faith.

In the course of the Counter-Reformation, the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) began in Bohemia, triggered by the Habsburg Ferdinand II, also king of Bohemia, who was guilty of breaking the so-called Letter of Majesty.[1075] The Czech nobility had obtained this right only in 1609. The nobility reacted with an uprising and pushed two imperial councillors and a secretary out of a window of Prague Castle into the moat. In addition, in August 1619, the nobility elected the Protestant Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate as the new king of Bohemia.

[1070] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 128.

[1071] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 130.

[1072] Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, 130.

[1073] Cf. on the development in Bavaria: Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 86-90.

[1074] Cf. on the development in Würzburg: Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 90-92.

[1075] On the Thirty Years' War, see Günter Vogler, *Europas Aufbruch in die Neuzeit 1500-1650*, 62-68.

"But Ferdinand, who was elected emperor in the same year, defeated the 'Winter King' [Frederick V]as early as 1620 and set about with all his might to re-Catholicize not only Bohemia, but also the Rhine Palatinate and the Upper Palatinate. [...] The imperial troops also turned to northern Germany, where the Protestant Danish King Christian IV intervened in favour of the Protestants but was also defeated. [...]

In 1629, the emperor, who was successful and victorious across the board, issued an edict of restitution, in which he ordered the Protestants to return all ecclesiastical property confiscated since the Treaty of Passau in 1552 [...]. The right to emigrate granted to the confessional minorities in 1555 was reinterpreted as an obligation to leave their homeland. [...] The ecclesiastical property confiscated from the Protestants was often given to the Jesuits, who used it to establish educational institutions committed to the Counter-Reformation."[1076]

With the entry of the Protestant Swedish King Gustav II into the war in 1630, the course of the war changed and turned in favour of the Protestant side. "The Swede, whose soldiers fell on their knees praying before battles, won great victories and reached as far as southern Germany."[1077] Using new war tactics, the Swedes and their allies achieved a spectacular victory at the Battle of Breitenfeld near Leipzig on 17 September 1631, with some 20,000 soldiers of the imperial (Catholic) forces lying dead or wounded on the battlefield.[1078] But 14 months later, the celebrated king fell in the battle of Lützen. When the French also intervened in 1635, the war had finally developed into a European war.

From 1640 onwards, negotiated solutions were sought. Although concrete peace negotiations were agreed to as early as 1641, not until 1644 did they actually start. Eventually, the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648.[1079] The most important results were the confirmation of the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555 and the extension of the peace treaty to the adherents of the Reformed confession. The new feature here was that religious minorities would henceforth also be tolerated and that a change of confession by a ruler could not force the population to change their confession as well. The Habsburg hereditary lands, however, remained exempt from this agreement.[1080] "One of the most important general political decisions of the peace treaty was the recognition of the independence of the

---

[1076] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 223.
[1077] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 223.
[1078] Cf. Mark Greengrass, *Das verlorene Paradies: Europa 1517-1648,* Darmstadt: Theiss Verlag, 2018, 660.
[1079] Cf. on the Peace of Westphalia: Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 328-332.
[1080] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 693.

Netherlands and Switzerland. Both countries were henceforth no longer part of the [Holy Roman] Empire [of the German Nation]."[1081] Besides the religious and political implications, the war itself had an enormous number of victims. Around 20,000 people died in the battle for Magdeburg alone in 1631.[1082] The areas where actual warfare took place suffered high numbers of casualties, also among the civilian population, because in some cases there was also a scorched-earth strategy. *"Since agricultural production was severely affected by war, climatic instability ['little ice age'] and the temporary flight of the rural population to the cities, grain prices rose to record levels. [...] There were some areas where the population decreased by more than 30 percent."*[1083] Other estimates put the numbers even higher. It was also necessary to demobilize up to 150,000 soldiers at the settlement of peace.[1084]

9.2.2 Switzerland

Counter-Reformation measures were also taken in Switzerland.[1085] In Basel, they were under the leadership of the Prince-Bishop Jakob Christoph Blarer (1542-1608). He was able to celebrate the new consecration of the parish church in Laufen in 1589, and Protestantism was considered eradicated by 1591 at the latest.[1086] This is also true for other regions:

> "Protestantism suffered a crushing defeat in Valais, where there were no Protestant preachers, but there were considerable groups of followers of the Reformation, for example in the episcopal town of Sion. They had their children baptized in the neighbouring area of Bern. [...] The activity of French-speaking Capuchins and secular priests put an end to Protestantism in the canton of Valais by 1640."[1087]

[1081] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 225.

[1082] Mark Greengrass, *Das verlorene Paradies: Europa 1517-1648,* 660.

[1083] Mark Greengrass, *Das verlorene Paradies: Europa 1517-1648*, 667; cf. Hartmut Lehmann, "Hungersnot, Seuchen, Krieg: Die dreifache Herausforderung der mitteleuropäischen Christenheit, 1570-1720", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hejlm (eds.), *Geschichte des globalen Christentums, 1. Teil: Frühe Neuzeit*, Religionen der Neuzeit 32, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2017, 493-496.

[1084] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 332.

[1085] Cf, on developments in Switzerland: Bernhard Vogler, "Die deutschen, schweizerischen und skandinavischen Gebiete", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992, 426-438; Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 115-132.

[1086] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 115.

[1087] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 115.

In Switzerland, above all the Capuchin order, along with the Jesuits, was responsible for the Counter-Reformation measures, achieved through the founding of new branches and colleges.[1088] The monasteries played an important role as well. The abbots of Einsiedeln and St. Gall, for example, boasted as early as 1560 that they had implemented the decisions of the Council of Trent in their entirety. Ernst Koch points out a remarkable connection:

> "Possibly the Counter-Reformation in the Confederation was also favoured by the fact that there was no institutional link between the individual Protestant places. The Protestant conferences of the Reformed places, which met on the fringes of the Tagsatzungen, the representative assemblies of the entire Confederation, did not negotiate internal church issues."[1089]

However, Counter-Reformation measures were also carried out by the Protestant camp against Anabaptist groups that had stabilized again in the course of the 16th century.

> "A mandate issued by the Zurich city council in 1601, which prescribed attendance at church services on pain of a heavy fine, failed to have any effect on the Anabaptists. They preferred to pay the fine rather than bow to the pressure of the authorities.
>
> In 1608, some Anabaptist preachers were arrested, and in 1612, their followers were threatened with imprisonment if they stubbornly defied the order to attend church. A discussion between a mixed commission of the Council and the clergy of Zurich and representatives of the Anabaptist groups on 26 January 1613 remained inconclusive. Six Anabaptists, three of whom recanted, were sold as galley slaves to the Republic of Venice. Hans Landis, who had escaped from imprisonment in Solothurn, was beheaded on 29 September 1614. However, these coercive measures were disapproved of by some clergymen."[1090]

Further measures followed a few years later, and in Bern too, measures were taken against Anabaptist followers until the middle of the 17th century.

[1088] Cf. Hubert Jedin, "Katholische Reformation und Gegenreformation", 559; Bernhard Vogler, "Die deutschen, schweizerischen und skandinavischen Gebiete", 433.

[1089] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 116.

[1090] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 116-117.

9.2.3 Austria

Even though Counter-Reformation actions had already occurred earlier, the accession of Ferdinand II to the throne as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in 1619 marked the final turning point in the history of the Protestants in Austria. However, developments varied considerably in the individual regions. Inner Austria,[1091] which was seen as the "court fence of the empire",[1092] was under special threat from the Ottoman army. Here there was the only structured national church on present-day Austrian soil during the Reformation period. From 1579 onwards, the first Counter-Reformation actions occurred, such as the expulsion of individual Protestants. In December 1580, the sovereign attempted to ban the practice of the Protestant faith in all sovereign towns and markets but failed due to protests from the estates. The ban on the practice of religion was renewed in 1582 and there were more expulsions and reprisals. Previous privileges of the cities were increasingly restricted or revoked. When Archduke Charles II died in 1590, Ferdinand III, later Emperor Ferdinand II, was only nine years old and Archduke Ernst was appointed governor in his place.

When Ferdinand took over the regency at age 16 in 1596, he adopted a distinctly Counter-Reformation course. On 29 February 1598, all Protestant preachers were expelled from Graz. While the nobility was still granted some freedom for the time being, the measures against citizens and sub-

---

[1091] Cf. on the Counter-Reformation in Inner Austria above all: Regina Pörtner, "Die Gegenreformation in der Steiermark (Innerösterreich)", in: Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil: Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie,* Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007, 376-385; Rudolf K. Höfer, "Geheimprotestantismus in der Steiermark", in: Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz and Dietmar Weikl (eds.), *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert),* Vienna and Munich: Böhlau and Oldenbourg, 2009, 93-121; Christine Tropper, "Geheimprotestantismus in Kärnten", in: Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz and Dietmar Weikl (eds.), *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert)*, Vienna and Munich: Böhlau and Oldenbourg, 2009, 123-154 as well as Peter G. Tropper, "Rekatholisierungsmaßnahmen – Bedrängung – Transmigration", in: Wilhelm Wadl (ed.), *Glaubwürdig bleiben: 500 Jahre protestantisches Abenteuer. Wissenschaftlicher Begleitband zur Kärntner Landesausstellung 2011 in Fresach*, Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten, 2011, 284-294 as well as Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht,* 48-55.

[1092] Peter F. Barton, *Evangelisch in Österreich*, Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte, 2. Reihe XI, Vienna, Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1987, 54.

jects proved to be increasingly harsh. Anyone who stayed away from Catholic services in Graz was punished with a fine of 100 ducats. One hundred citizens resisted this measure, and as a result, 61 of them emigrated. Finally, in 1601, all Protestant preachers, teachers and clerks were expelled from the country. Even the so-called "running away", or attending an evangelical church service in another place, was forbidden and disobedience punished. Reformation commissions were set up to force the citizens to re-Catholicize.

In 1628, the nobility was finally confronted with the decision: faith or homeland.[1093] As a result, 754 nobles left Inner Austria.[1094] As books were an important and often the only source of spiritual support and nourishment for many Protestants, Catholic supporters sought to seize as many Protestant books as possible and to stop the ongoing smuggling. In August 1600, 10,000 Protestant books were confiscated and burned in Graz alone.[1095] On the Catholic side, Ferdinand's measure of bringing members of the Jesuit Order into the country was strategically sustainable. They increasingly succeeded in taking over and shaping the school and church system, thus dealing a decisive blow to the Protestant cause.[1096]

Those who study the Counter-Reformation in Salzburg[1097] – and the same applies to Tyrol and Vorarlberg – quickly discover that the Reformation had never been legalized in either province,[1098] even though the

---

[1093] Cf. Rudolf K. Höfer, "Gegenreformatorische Maßnahmen in Kärnten 1590-1650", 216-217.

[1094] Peter F. Barton, *Evangelisch in Österreich*, 77.

[1095] Peter F. Barton, *Evangelisch in Österreich*, 77.

[1096] Superintendentur Kärnten (ed.), *Die evangelische Kirche in Kärnten einst und heute*, Otto Bünker, Paul Pellar and Franz Reischer (eds.), Klagenfurt: Kärntner Druck- u. Verlagsgesellschaft, 1981, 17.

[1097] Cf. on the Counter-Reformation in the Archdiocese of Salzburg, among others: Franz Ortner, *Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation im Erzstift Salzburg,* Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1981; Gerhard Florey, *Bischöfe, Ketzer, Emigranten: Der Protestantismus im Lande Salzburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Graz, Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau, 1967 as well as the various essays in: Salzburger Landesregierung (ed.), *Reformation, Emigration: Protestanten in Salzburg. Ausstellung 21. Mai – 26. Oktober 1981 Schloss Goldegg, Pongau, Land Salzburg*, Salzburg: Amt der Salzburger Landesregierung, 1981 as well as: Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht,* 32ff.

[1098] Rudolf Leeb, "Widerstand und leidender Ungehorsam gegen die katholische Konfessionalisierung in den österreichischen Ländern", in: Rudolf Leeb, Susanne, Claudine Pils and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil: Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie,* Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007, 188.

Archdiocese of Salzburg was initially considered the gateway to the Reformation in Austria. In the context of the Counter-Reformation, all schooling in the countryside was temporarily discontinued and forbidden, as the great influence of Protestant literature was noticed. The fact that this action promoted illiteracy over several generations was accepted with approval.[1099] At the same time, a system of informers was established.

The year 1569 was as a turning point in Salzburg's Reformation history with the convening of a Salzburg provincial synod. From then on, Counter-Reformation measures increased. At first, only a few Protestants were willing to follow the call of "faith or homeland" and instead decided to go underground. In 1582, all Protestants were expelled from the city of Salzburg or at least outwardly re-Catholicized.

In 1588, the new Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau ordered the expulsion of all Protestants from the archdiocese, but he also made sure that for economic reasons his order was not enforced in the mountains for the time being. But the expulsion mainly affected the citizens of Salzburg as well as the inhabitants of the Flachgau. Quite a few of them had to leave their children behind. When the archbishop showed some tolerance towards the Protestants, especially in the last years of his life before his death in 1617, this encouraged his subjects to ask the archbishop for Protestant preachers. However, the archbishop reacted to this request with great harshness and numerous Protestants, especially from the Pongau, left their homes after the forced sale of their houses and farms and the payment of an emigration tax. Subsequently, "the archbishop had all marriages between Protestant and Catholic Christians officially declared separate."[1100]

According to recent research, a total of between 100,000[1101] and 200,000 people, including children, left Austria as their homeland for reasons of their faith. Leeb commented:

> "The question of the consequences for the economy and trade, which resulted above all from the emigration of the townspeople (loss of capital and entrepreneurial spirit), has hardly been asked by researchers, but it can be indirectly inferred from the significant role played by the emigrants in the southern German imperial towns, for example."[1102]

[1099] Cf. on this and the following: Peter F. Barton, *Evangelisch in Österreich,* 51.

[1100] Peter F. Barton, *Evangelisch in Österreich,* 53.

[1101] Cf. on the figures, among others: Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht,* 182.

[1102] Rudolf Leeb, "Streit um den wahren Glauben", 266.

9.2.4 France

The history of Protestantism in France in the second half of the 16th century cannot be understood in isolation from the overall political situation. "At the end of the reign of Henry II (king from 1547-1559), French Protestantism, influenced by Calvin and Geneva theology, was stable and vital."[1103] Shortly before Henry II's death, he had concluded the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis with Spain under King Philip II, with the aim of turning his full attention to the fight against the Reformation.[1104] His death was followed by a period of political instability and weakness of the French monarchy, as his minor successor also died after only one year and his ten-year-old brother Charles IX took over the affairs of state under the regency of his mother, Catherine de Medici.[1105] Ernst Koch states:

> "In this sudden weakness of the royal power, the Huguenots, who made up about 50% of the nobility in southwestern France, saw an opportunity to spread further and gain influence over the power in the country. They succeeded in spreading French Calvinism to the greatest extent in the period up to 1565. The Huguenot center was in the southwest of the country. There, in addition to the share of the nobility already mentioned, a third of the bourgeoisie and 10-20% of the lower middle and lower classes belonged to Calvinism and formed about 700 individual congregations. The Huguenots' share of the population north of the Loire was not quite as strong and subsequently declined; it probably amounted to between 6% and 10%. In 1565, a total of about two million Huguenots lived there, which was just under 10% of the population. The main social stratum of the Huguenot faith was initially often the craftsmen, through whom Protestantism gradually found its way into the peasant population."[1106]

There were also still Waldensian congregations in the French-Savoy border region, many of which were in contact with the Huguenots but had not adopted their Reformed theology.

The years between 1559 and 1598 were marked by various armed conflicts between the Huguenot camp and the Catholic camp, especially a group of Lorraine nobles from the House of Guise. Civil wars took place in

---

[1103] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 132.

[1104] Cf. Marc Venard, "Frankreich und die Niederlande", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992, 476-477.

[1105] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 132; Marc Venard, "Frankreich und die Niederlande", 476.

[1106] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 133.

phases, interrupted by several shorter truces and sometimes also with the involvement of foreign powers. The conflict was triggered by riots by the Guises against the Huguenots in summer 1559, and in spring 1560 the Protestant nobility thought they saw an opportunity to eliminate the Guises and exert their own influence on the royal court. Calvin had learned of the rebellion plans and warned against them but was unable to stop the Huguenot plans, which for the time being ended in the defeat of the Protestant camp.

In January 1562, Catherine de Medici issued the Edict of St. Germain, which for the first time authorized the Huguenots to meet for worship, albeit only outside the gates of the cities, as well as to hold synods. "For the Guises, the Edict of St. Germain was unacceptable. After an agreement with the Lutheran Duke Christoph of Württemberg, whom they had already tried to win over to their side several times under the motto of fighting Calvinism",[1107] they committed several massacres among Huguenot worshippers in March and April 1562. Further military conflicts followed and in March 1570 the Huguenots reached the height of their political power, having almost all of southern France under their control.[1108] Again, a peace treaty was reached at St. Germain on 8 March 1570, in which the Huguenots were granted the right to practise their religion freely – but only outside Paris. To ensure peace, a wedding took place between the Protestant Henry of Navarre and the Catholic Marguerite of Valois, for which the Huguenot leaders arrived in Paris in August 1572. But the situation escalated here when an assassination attempt was made against the Huguenot Gaspard de Colingy on 22 August in the street at the instigation of Catherine de Medici. Although this failed, "In order to forestall the revenge of the Huguenots, Catherine de Medici ordered the immediate assassination of the Huguenot leadership group. It happened in the night of 23 to 24 August 1572",[1109] the so-called Bartholomew's Night. The Catholic church historian Hubert Jedin called the events a "mass murder".[1110]

> "The assassination grew into a bloodbath that was not confined to Paris. The total number of Huguenots killed has never been precisely established. Estimates vary between 10,000 and 40,000 dead. Only a few members of the Huguenot ruling class were able to escape to safety."[1111]

[1107] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 134.
[1108] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 135.
[1109] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter* 135.
[1110] Hubert Jedin, "Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation", 536.
[1111] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 136.

The Huguenots retreated to the south, where they virtually established their own state in 1573.[1112] Further military conflicts followed, and only the Edict of Nantes brought final clarification, characterized by a far-reaching tolerance towards the Huguenots while at the same time balancing Catholic interests.[1113] Ernst Koch summarized the significance of the Edict: *The importance of the Edict of Nantes lies in the fact that for the first time in a large European country a state of religious policy was achieved which came close to tolerance for Roman Catholics and Protestants, admittedly with clear advantages for the Roman Catholic side.*[1114]

9.2.5   Great Britain

Under the reign of Mary Tudor (1553-1558), England experienced a brief but brutal phase of re-Catholicization of the English national church, which, however, triggered the opposite: a fundamental anti-Catholic attitude among the population.

> "For the first time, Catholicism appeared as a foreign and detestable religion in England due to the Queen's loyalty to the papacy and her Spanish husband Philip II. Moreover, the period under 'bloody Mary' gave the English Reformers the opportunity to develop congregations independent of any hierarchy."[1115]

Barrie-Curien speaks of 282 funeral pyres under Mary Tudor's reign. She was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603). About two months after taking office, Elizabeth had changed 25 of the 26 bishops and thus revised the pro-Catholic course of her predecessor. With Matthew Parker, she appointed an Archbishop of Canterbury of the same theological persuasion as Thomas Cranmer, who had been murdered under Mary Tudor.[1116] Barrie-Curien pointedly summarized the initial situation of the English church under Elizabeth I: "The Church of England thus possessed a Catholic-influenced liturgy, a hierarchy combining tradition and Lutheranism with purely English elements, and a doctrine with Calvinist tendencies."[1117] Under King James I (1603-1625), there was a further consolidation of the church. However, since the middle of the sixteenth century,

[1112] Cf. Marc Venard, "Frankreich und die Niederlande", 482.
[1113] Cf: Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 137-138;
[1114] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 138.
[1115] Viviane Barrie-Curien, "Die anglikanische Reformation", 221.
[1116] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 159.
[1117] Viviane Barrie-Curien, "Die anglikanische Reformation", 232.

another current had been gaining influence within the church: the Puritans. Armin Sierszyn noted:

> "The Puritans (Presbyterians), especially repatriates, refugees from the Netherlands and Huguenots, represented a strict form of Protestantism. Their relationship with the state church was becoming increasingly difficult. Many could no longer stand the Catholicizing rite. Parish priests, who had been in accordance with the B[ook of] C[ommon] P[rayer], were being physically attacked. Instead of a lengthy liturgy, they preferred to hear more expansive sermons. In 1568, the first Puritans turned their backs on the state church and established their own congregations with communion. The government was initially undecided, and the number of Puritans increased."[1118]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, as well as in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Puritans were repeatedly persecuted and not a few emigrated, especially to the North American colonies. Under the reign of King Charles I, civil war broke out for political, religious, and economic reasons, culminating in the execution of the king on 30 January 1649. On 17 March the kingship was abolished, and on 19 May 1649 a republic was proclaimed. The new strongman was Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). Ernst Koch noted:

> "Cromwell's reign brought England a period of religious differentiation and fragmentation that was probably unique in the history of Christianity. This movement was carried by the old basic motives of Puritanism: expectation and realization of the kingdom of God and Christ in the millennial kingdom according to Acts 20:1-6, enforcement of the divine law in public life, and winning the inhabitants of the country to a life in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, i.e. the divine law, especially in sexual morality and family ethos. One strove to constantly deepen, intensify and internalize religious practice."[1119]

The first half of the 17th century also saw the emergence of another Protestant denomination, the Baptists. In 1612, Thomas Helwys returned to London from exile in Amsterdam, where a Baptist group had formed around the former Anglican clergyman John Smith. Another group formed around Henry Jacob. "In both Baptist groups, people who were able to profess their faith on their own responsibility were baptized by being immersed. [...] By 1660, the Baptists in England had about 25,000 adherents in about 250 congregations."[1120]

[1118] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 555; cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 170-173.
[1119] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 175.
[1120] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 176.

9.2.6   The Netherlands

Emperor Charles V wanted to resolutely counter the spread of Protestant-ism and issued the following decree around September 1550: "No one may print, copy, reproduce, keep, conceal, sell, buy or give away any book or writing by Martin Luther, Johannes Oecolampadius, Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin or other heretics rejected by the holy Church."[1121] How-ever, the decree triggered a contrary development:

> "This edict was aimed, among other things, at destroying the Calvinists in the Netherlands. In fact, however, the activity of Calvinist preachers and congregations was increased. Even the Dutch officials were very reluctant to support the implementation of the edict; certainly they did not want to give themselves up for the Inquisition, which they regarded as a Roman cause and thus as a measure of Spanish oppression. [...] Added to this was a special sympathy for Calvin, who always showed great understanding for the religious situation of the Netherlands."[1122]

In the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium), once again political and reli-gious motives were mixed, especially when in 1556 the rule over the Netherlands fell to the Spanish King Philip II, who made the return of Protestants to the Catholic Church his personal task. The first step was a reform of the diocesan division, in which Philip II created the arch-bishopric of Utrecht with its suffragan bishoprics of Mechelen (compris-ing the Flemish-speaking parts of the country) and Cambrai (comprising the French-speaking parts).[1123] "The new 'Spanish-Dutch hierarchy' was at the same time intended by Philip II as a basis to contain the Refor-mation movement. The king appointed two inquisitors to oversee each diocese."[1124]

In the meantime, the Protestant groups – apart from the Anabaptists – had predominantly turned towards the Reformed camp of Geneva. How-ever,

> "Meanwhile, the royal inquisitors of the Spanish Netherlands, with the help of publicly displayed posters, drew attention to the fact that all those who deviated from Roman Catholic teaching were threatened with death at the

---

[1121] Quoted from Erwin Iserloh "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessio-nen", 416.

[1122] Erwin Iserloh "Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen", 416.

[1123] Cf. Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter*, 145.

[1124] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 145.

stake. They included even those who possessed a heretical book or attended a single heretical meeting."[1125]

At the same time, this promoted the opposite development: congregations were formed and subsequently the Reformed camp took the lead.[1126]

The further development was mainly characterized by political and religious disputes. The Calvinist Prince William of Orange, who became governor of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, became the main leader on the national Dutch side. In 1573 he openly turned against the Catholic Spanish crown. Subsequently, there were numerous military conflicts, which ended in the so-called Eighty Years' War (1568-1648).[1127] In 1579, the predominantly Protestant northern provinces founded the Union of Utrecht, which finally declared its independence as a Protestant republic in 1581. While Catholics remained a minority in the north, the situation was different in the south. From the end of the 16th century, a fundamental Catholic reform succeeded in what later became Belgium, which, as in other parts of Europe, was mainly carried out by the religious orders.[1128]

9.3   Christianity Outside Europe

While few new missionary forays were made by Christianity between the 10th and the 15th century, this began to change again at the end of the 15th century.

> "In 1492, Christopher Columbus crossed the Atlantic, touched at the little island of Guanahari (San Salvador) in the Bahamas, believed himself to have reached the coast of India, and gave to the islands the name they have wrongly borne ever since – the West Indies. In 1497 Vasco da Gama, following in the footsteps of Bartholomew Diaz, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, struck out across the open ocean, and reached the west coast of true India at Calicut."[1129]

The age of European discoveries and with it a renewed spread of Christianity beyond European Christendom had begun. At the same time, however, there continued to be centuries-old Christian churches in other parts of the world.

[1125] Ernst Koch, *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter,* 146.
[1126] Cf. Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen, "The Sixteenth Century", 221-223.
[1127] Cf. Herman J. Selderhuis and Peter Nissen, "The Sixteenth Century", 215-218.
[1128] Cf. Bernhard Vogler, "Die deutschen, schweizerischen und skandinavischen Gebiete", 498-501.
[1129] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 120.

9.3.1   Asia

Let us first turn to the situation of Christianity in one of its oldest domains: Asia Minor as well as the Arab world, both of which were under Ottoman rule. There, Christians had to live under unique conditions, as a non-Christian regime ruled over a significant Christian minority of the population. There is consensus among scholars that during the reign of Sultan Süleymann I, ruler from 1520-1566, around 15% to 20% of the population in the Asian provinces (as well as in Egypt) were Christians, a total of around one million people.[1130] Most Asia Minor Christians were adherents of Byzantine Orthodoxy. In addition, there were strong enclaves of the Armenian Apostolic Church, especially in Anatolia.[1131] Christian minorities also existed in Iraq (around 10% of the population, predominantly adherents of the Assyrian Church of the East) as well as in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and in the region of present-day Israel and Palestine (around 20% of the population, predominantly Byzantine Orthodox but also significant minorities of Maronites and Jacobites).[1132]

> "Despite the turbulent history that gave rise to the myriad Christian traditions in the East, the theological divisions that lay behind their foundations were murky for most believers by the time of the Ottoman conquests […] . As a result, an individual's identity in a particular Christian community was tied to tradition and family and not to any firm religious certainty as to Christ's 'true nature', the issue that had given rise to the sects in the first place."[1133]

The aforementioned discovery of India by sea raised further hopes on the part of the Western church. It was no longer necessary to pass through Muslim territory to reach Asia. Western Christianity hoped to find old Christian churches, with whose help they hoped to be able to finally overcome the power of Islam. And they did not hope in vain. As early as 1500, a group of St. Thomas Christians was found on the coast of Malabar (India),[1134] whose congregations probably totalled around 100,000 people at the time.

[1130] Cf. Bruce Masters, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hejlm (eds.), *History of Global Christianity 1, European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 109.

[1131] Cf. Bruce Masters, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", 108-109.

[1132] Cf. Bruce Masters, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", 109.

[1133] Cf. Bruce Masters, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", 109.

[1134] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hejlm (eds.), *History of Global Christianity 1, European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 206.

> "The Portuguese were charmed by the simple dignity of these Christians. The 'Syrians' were at first delighted with the Portuguese, and warmly welcomed the possibility of having such strong allies against local tyranny and Muslim attacks. It was only gradually that theological difficulties became to appear. The Syrians had never heard of the Pope; the Portuguese naturally regarded it as inconceivable that any Christians should exist in independence of the Bishop of Rome, whom they regarded as the sole Vicar of Christ on earth."[1135]

Tensions would soon arise.

> "Tridentine Catholicism and Portuguese colonialism were the source of the tensions: one claimed exclusive doctrinal and liturgical orthodoxy, while the other pretended to a racial and cultural superiority, practicing a Eurocentric Christianity based on racial hierarchy that was intolerant of indigenous cults."[1136]

After prolonged intra-church intrigues of power and politics, the ancient St. Thomas Church finally lost its independence at the end of the 16th century and came under the rule of Rome.[1137]

In addition to the discovery of traditional Indian Christianity, the Portuguese also engaged with Catholic missionary activity by the Franciscan and Jesuit orders. An important milestone for missionary work in Asia was the arrival of the Jesuit Francis Xavier in India in 1542. He was both a representative of the Portuguese king and apostolic nuncio. Soon after his arrival, he left Goa and turned to a people of the coastal region, the Bharatas. They had turned to Christianity under Islamic attack, hoping for support and protection from the Portuguese. Francis Xavier focused on working with the youth and translated the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Apostolic Creed into the vernacular. In the introduction to a printed edition of his letters, we read:

> "When Francis landed in India in 1542, he did not yet know the extent of his field of action. For two years he worked in the limited area of the Malabar coast; when he realized that his task pointed him further, he sought to gain a foothold in Ceylon and, failing in this, decided to venture further east in 1545. The 'Call of the Macacars' led him to Malacca; from there he sailed to the Moluccas for two years of work. [...]

[1135] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 123.
[1136] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 206.
[1137] See Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 207.

On the way back from the Moluccas, during a second stopover in Malacca, a new 'call' led Xavier to a new and to the most serious decision of his life. Anjiro, a Japanese, asked to be baptized, and 'excellent news' received by Francis about the Japanese island empire, just discovered for the first time, awakened in him the desire to explore the most powerful independent empires of the East, Japan and China, as the first Christian priest."[1138]

For a firsthand impression, here is part of a letter from Francis Xavier to Ignatius of Loyola, Simao Rodriguez and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Europe on 22 June 1549:

"We embark full of confidence in the mercy of God our Lord, who will give us victory over our enemies. We have no hesitation in facing the Japanese scholars, for what can a man know if he does not know Jesus and God? But those who desire nothing but God's glory, Christ's glorification, and the salvation of souls, what should they fear and be afraid of, even if they were living not only among the heathen, but in the midst of hellish spirits? For neither barbarian nations, nor storms at sea, nor the demons of hell can harm us beyond the measure of what is permitted them by God and granted them in freedom of action."[1139]

Francis Xavier stayed in Japan for a total of 27 months. Almost 1,000 Japanese converted to Christianity through his ministry, who were gathered in three churches.[1140] But his main merit lay in the development of a mission strategy that was new in many ways. He said farewell to the missiological principle of *tabula rasa,* namely that there was nothing positive in a pagan culture and religion that the missionary could refer to in his mission efforts. Although Xavier remained convinced of the need to change pagan culture, he also saw positive elements on which he could built. He also developed the principle of accommodation and consciously advocated for the greatest possible adaptation.[1141] It was also important to Xavier to train and involve local believers in the ministry as soon as possible. The number of Christians in Japan therefore rose quickly to around 5,600 in the year 1571.

[1138] Francisco de Xavier, *Die Briefe des Francisco de Xavier, 1542 – 1552, Ausgewählt* und übertragen von Elisabeth Gräfin von Vitzthum, eingeleitet von Franz Peter Sonntag, Leipzig: St. Benno Verlag, 1977, 109.

[1139] Francisco de Xavier, *Die Briefe des Francisco de Xavier*, 144.

[1140] Josef Glazik, "Der Missionsfrühling zu Beginn der Neuzeit", In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin, *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation*, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1967, 632.

[1141] See, among others, Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* Korntaler Reihe 8, Nuremberg: VTR, ²2010, 208-209.

Alessandri Valigano (1537-1606) is of particular importance in the further development of the Jesuit mission in Japan. He arrived in Japan in 1579 and once again emphasized cultural adaptation; for example, he demanded that missionaries wear silk instead of woolen clothes.[1142] The missionary efforts fell on fertile ground and the Christian church grew rapidly to around 200,000 Roman Catholics in 1580 and around 750,000 at the turn of the century.[1143] However, a change in the political situation after 1614 and internal conflicts between Jesuits and Dominicans led to persecution of Christians during the 17th century and finally to the almost complete eradication of Christianity in Japan.[1144]

Although a few Portuguese missionaries travelled through Vietnam in the course of the sixteenth century, they did not leave any lasting traces. The first Christian church was established in 1604 in the port city of Hoi An by Japanese Christian merchants.[1145] Especially after missionary work in Japan came to a standstill in the 17th century, the Jesuit missionaries increasingly turned their attention to Vietnam. In addition, the country became a place of retreat for Japanese Christians who had fled persecution in their homeland. Alexandre de Rhodes (1591-1660), who worked in Vietnam for thirteen years between 1620 and 1645, was of decisive importance for missionary work in Vietnam. De Rhodes promoted above all the training of a native clergy and the production of Christian literature.[1146]

The first Koreans learned about Christianity again through Japanese Christians. In the course of the invasion of Korea by Japan in 1592, some Korean prisoners of war who had been taken to Japan converted to Christianity. At the beginning of the 17th century, Japan was a vassal state of China, and during the annual visits of Korean envoys to the Chinese imperial court, the Koreas got to know the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci and his writings and took them back to Korea. However, actual mission work in Korea had not yet started.[1147] It is noteworthy that not European Christians but Japanese believers brought the Christian gospel first to both Vietnam and Korea.

[1142] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 214-215.

[1143] On the figures, cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 209; Neill provides lower numbers; Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions,* 134; cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 216.

[1144] For a detailed account of the mission work in Japan, see Minako Debergh, "Japan", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Die Zeit der* Konfessionen *(1530-1620/50)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 8, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992, 912-932.

[1145] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 221.

[1146] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 221-222.

[1147] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 230-231.

The initial situation in China was different. Due to the prevailing fear of foreigners, the country remained mission-resistant for a long time, despite the great efforts of Roman Catholic mission.[1148]

> "But finally, in 1583, the Jesuits Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) succeeded in obtaining permission to stay in China. They settled in Chao-ch'ing near Canton and began their work in the garb of Buddhist monks. They diligently learned Chinese and studied the writings of Confucius and the other Chinese sages. Their successes were small by the standards of the time. By 1586, they had gathered no more than 40 believers around them. The attempt to expand their sphere of influence earned them a ban on staying longer in Chao-ch'ing. But they were allowed to settle in another place in the same province. Here, the missionaries changed their dress. They had realized that the Buddhist monks were little respected; from now on they appeared in the garb of scholars and knew how to use their profane scientific knowledge to spread the faith."[1149]

Matteo Ricci's ability to repair clocks won him the trust of the Chinese Emperor and he was asked to stay in China. When he died in 1610, around 2,000 Chinese had converted to Christianity, including a significant number from noble backgrounds, including members of the imperial family. The following phase between 1610 and 1644 was the heyday of the Jesuit mission in China. However, political, and social upheavals led to a setback for Christianity in China in the mid-17th century.[1150]

As for the Philippines:

> "In 1521 Ferdinand Magellan, sent by the Spanish crown, landed in Cebu in the central Philippines after an epic voyage across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Befriending and baptizing a local chieftain, Magellan erected a cross and persuaded the hastily baptized natives to destroy their statues of gods and sacred objects."[1151]

From 1565 onwards, other missionaries followed, most of them coming from Spain. Through their strong social and charitable work – building schools, hospitals, and orphanages – they quickly succeeded in establishing Christian villages. Many Filipinos converted to Christianity and the number of Christians rose to around 400,000 by 1586 and to 700,000 by

---

[1148] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 225-226.
[1149] Josef Glazik, "Der Missionsfrühling zu Beginn der Neuzeit", 636.
[1150] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 226-227.
[1151] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 210.

1595.[1152] "Nevertheless, coercion was present in Christianization at least until the end of the 17th century. To a large extent, however, Christianization was also Hispanicization."[1153]

In Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries followed in the wake of Portuguese conquerors and introduced Christianity in 1546. They shaped the face of Christianity for a good hundred years.

> "In 1580, King Dharmapala of Kanda, a Sinhalese-Buddhist kingdom, converted to Catholicism under the name Dom João Periya Pandar, cementing an alliance with Portugal initiated by his grandfather. [...] In the northern Tamil Kingdom of Jaffna, the political resistance to Christianity ended with the 1618 Portuguese conquest. A century of Portuguese influence resulted in about 100 000 converts, who were served by approximately one hundred missionaries."[1154]

In other Asian countries such as Siam (present-day Thailand) and the Malay world, we only know of isolated Christian church plants, which existed predominantly for the foreigners living there. Christians or missionaries were often persecuted and there was no widespread mission work in these countries until the middle of the 17th century.[1155]

9.3.2   Africa

In Africa, we encounter a similar starting point as in Asia. On one hand, there are old, long-established Christian churches in northern Africa, but on the other hand, we also find first mission initiatives in the context of Portuguese colonial expansion. Let us first turn to the old churches of Africa.

Egypt had fallen under Ottoman rule in 1517.[1156] Around the year 1500, the Christian Coptic minority comprised about 15% to 20% of the population.[1157] The Coptic Church, because of its conviction of the absolute unity and indivisibility of the incarnate Christ in one nature (Monophysites) in the tradition of the Alexandrian school, had not agreed to the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon and had taken an ecclesiastical path of its own.

[1152] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 216.
[1153] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 210.
[1154] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 210.
[1155] Cf. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", 218-219, 225.
[1156] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hejlm (ed.), *History of Global Christianity 1, European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 131.
[1157] Cf. Bruce Masters, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", 108.

Despite the conquest by Islamic, Arab rulers in the seventh century, the Copts were not forced to convert but were able to live in peace as Christians in a subordinate status, especially during the reign of the Shiite Fatimid rulers.

> "This restricted measure of tolerance and protection ensured that the Coptic Christians survived as a separate people, distinct from what became the dominant Arab and Muslim culture. But Christians gradually became a minority, as a result of both immigration and the gradual loss of members to Islam."[1158]

Coptic continued to be the liturgical and theological language, but the Copts adopted Arabic as their everyday language both at home and in public. During the reign of Suleyman the Great (1520-1566) the Christian church experienced a period of stabilization as external pressure on them eased somewhat.[1159]

In Nubia, the development was different.

> "When the Ottomans entered Nubia (present-day Sudan) in the early 16th century, they found few traces of what had once been a flourishing Christianity. The Christian kingdoms of medieval Sudan had been disintegrating since the 13th century. [...] The coup de grace for Christianity seems to have come a few years before the Ottomans, when in 1504 the city of Soba was overrun by warriors from the South who belonged to the Funj people."[1160]

Thus, from the 16th century onwards, only a few Christian churches may have still existed in Nubia. Kevin Ward quotes Adrian Hastings's ruthless and perhaps a little too harsh analysis of the reasons for the decline of Nubian Christianity: "Christianity, like an ill-adapted dinosaur, declined and expired in place after place, crushed essentially by its own limitations, its fossilized traditions, and the lack of a truly viable, self-renewing structure."[1161]

Again, the situation of Christianity in Ethiopia was completely different, because here the Christian empire had never disintegrated.[1162] After Islamic raids on the Ethiopian highlands between 1523 and 1543, the emperor asked the Portuguese for help, and in 1543 the Islamic army was de-

---

[1158] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 131.
[1159] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 131.
[1160] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 133.
[1161] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 133; Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 309.
[1162] Cf. Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 310-314,

feated. Since their commander-in-chief Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi also died, the Islamic army disintegrated.[1163]

Traditionally, there had been close ties between Ethiopian Christianity and the Coptic Church in Egypt, as the leader of the Ethiopian church (the Abuna) was always a Coptic monk. Like the Coptic Church, Ethiopian Christianity belonged to the Monophysite, non-Chalcedonian churches.

> "The Ethiopians had received the gospel from the Syrian church in the 4th century. It had its own Ge'ez Scriptures (with some unique books as part of the canon); its own style of churches (each of which was built around a tabod – a replica of the ark of the covenant which Ethiopia's first king was believed to have taken from King Solomon. The church incorporated many Jewish customs into its life and worship, including (at least among some parts of the church) the keeping of the Sabbath day in addition to the first day of the week."[1164]

As mentioned above, during the 16th century Ethiopia had contact with Catholic Portugal, which stood by the Ethiopian empire at an important time. The Catholic side was initially enthusiastic about this Christian country in the highlands of Africa, but "they became alarmed at what they considered to be its deviation from the norms of Catholic doctrine and practice."[1165] Nevertheless, efforts were made to increase their influence, and they succeeded in installing the Jesuit Alphonsus Mendes as Patriarch (Abuna) in 1625. However, his insensitive approach to local customs and a series of reforms ordered by him led eventually to a civil war and an end to the proclaimed union with Roman Catholics.[1166]

The Catholic Portuguese empire also showed an interest in other parts of Africa, especially since Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama had succeeded in sailing around the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the 15th century, thus opening up the sea route to Asia. Africa thus became of strategic interest as a stopover on the way to Asia.[1167] Forts were built on the coast in what is today Ghana, the Cape Verde Islands and Luanda in Angola,[1168] and efforts were made to establish good relations with local rulers, which found expression in written treaties of friendship and cooperation. In 1457, "Diogo Gomez converted a vassal king of Mali."[1169]

[1163] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 133.
[1164] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 133-134.
[1165] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 134.
[1166] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 134.
[1167] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 136.
[1168] Cf. Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 325-326.
[1169] Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 322.

> "A mark of these alliances was the acceptance of the Catholic faith, the baptism of the ruler, his wife and family, and the adoption of a Portuguese Christian name […] . For many African rulers, the significance of baptism was not primarily religious, but diplomatic – not least because the Portuguese at first would sell only to baptized Christians. For the Portuguese, it signified the power of their own culture and civilization, whose influence they hoped would gradually interpenetrate the societies with whom they came in contact"[1170]

For example, a son of the Congolese ruler Alfonso with the throne name Mvenga Nzinga (ruler from 1506 to 1543) called Henrique was sent to Portugal for education while still a child, after his father had been baptized and had entered into a cooperation agreement with the Portuguese.[1171] Henrique became a priest and returned to the Congo as Bishop of Utica and Vicar Apostolic for the Congo; he was to remain the only Roman Catholic bishop from sub-Saharan Africa until the 20th century.[1172] However, there was no large-scale missionary penetration of the country, as Alfonso's successors were rather critical of Christianity as well as of Portuguese influences. In addition, there was a lack of Christian priests.[1173]

In other parts of East Africa too, such as Mombasa (present day Kenya) or the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa in present-day Zimbabwe, all Christianization and missionary efforts met with only very limited response.[1174] Especially in comparison to Asia, we hardly find any long-term success of the Catholic mission for the time being.

9.3.3   The North American Colonies

> "A mere quarter-century elapsed between Columbus's landing in the Caribbean and Luther's […] publication of his 95 Theses on a Wittenberg church door. The further exploration and colonization of the New World thus coincided with the breaking apart of Western Christianity in the wake of the Reformation. […] [Europeans carried not only their] competing versions of Christianity, its confessional divisions and religious wars but also its struggles over hegemony, its socio-economic upheavals, and its insatiable hunger for resources and lands. […]

[1170] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 136.

[1171] Cf. Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 323-324.

[1172] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 138.

[1173] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 138-139.

[1174] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 140; Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 326-328.

The early history of Christianity in North America evolved in the rapidly changing, overlapping, and embattled spheres of interest claimed by four European powers: the Catholic monarchies of Spain and France, the predominantly Reformed Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, and Anglican, Protestant England."[1175]

A continuous European presence on the North American mainland began with the discovery of Florida by the Spanish in 1513, which was followed by numerous other expeditions that not only affected the region of present-day Florida but also included the present-day states of North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama.[1176] Further discoveries and conquests by the Spanish affected the southwestern part of the present-day United States, including the territory of New Mexico.

From the middle of the 16th century, there were efforts by English emigrants and the English crown to establish settlements in North America. English Puritans and Nonconformists founded the colony of New England. Plymouth Plantation was established in 1620, followed ten years later by the Massachusetts Bay Colony and two smaller Puritan colonies, the Connecticut colony (1636) and the New Haven colony(1638). There were differences between these Puritan groups, especially in terms of ecclesiology. While the majority favoured a Presbyterian church model, there were also strong congregationalist approaches, especially in Plymouth.[1177] The government-sponsored English colonization efforts failed at first, and not until the first half of the 17th century did the English succeed in colonizing Virginia.[1178] Here, the Anglican Church was elevated to the official church of the colony, while in the Spanish territories the Roman Catholic Church was elevated.

Successes of French settlement plans can be traced back to the early 17th century following the Edict of Nantes (1598). Thus, in 1608, a first settlement was founded in Quebec, from which numerous trading and mission posts were initiated. From the mid-1620s, the Huguenots were ex-

---

[1175] Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hejlm (eds.), *History of Global Christianity 1, European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 351.

[1176] Cf. Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 353-354.

[1177] Cf. Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 359-360.

[1178] Cf. Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 357-358.

pelled from these areas of New France.[1179] The Dutch settlements emerged in what are now the territories of New York, New Jersey and Delaware, which were later conquered by the English. In the Dutch territories, religious tolerance prevailed to a large extent, without any targeted missionary efforts among the indigenous peoples.[1180]

European settlement in North America was generally accompanied by targeted mission work among both the indigenous population and the slaves who had been taken to North America. "Numerous Christians, however, saw it as their sacred obligation to evangelize of Indians and Africans, and some missionaries did work hard to alleviate the suffering."[1181]

The Jesuits' missionary work in the French territories during the 1630s and 1640s in particular deserves mention:

> "From there they would go out, travel, and live with their potential converts in the tribal societies rather than push them, as both the Franciscans but also the Puritan missionaries had, to settle down in separate Christian farming villages. Even after baptism, there was no expectation to abandon the ancestral ways, as long as there were no fundamental conflicts with Christian teachings. This strategy of missionizing from within and the readiness to linguistic and cultural immersion, reflected the society's inherent philosophy and mobile structure as a "flying order", as well as the learning experiences achieved by Jesuits in other parts of the non-European world, such as Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) in China or Robert de Nobili (1577-1656) in India."[1182]

9.3.4   Latin America

In Latin America too, all mission was strongly linked with the colonization activity of Spain and of Portugal. Spain in particular pursued a policy of conquest that also included violence.[1183] The countries were to be conquered, the land settled, and the pagans Christianized. Around the year

---

[1179] Cf. Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 367.

[1180] Cf. Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 368-369.

[1181] Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 352.

[1182] Jan Stievermann, "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800", 367.

[1183] Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hejlm (eds.), *History of Global Christianity 1, European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 19.

1515, the entire West Indian islands were colonized and thus also Christianized. In 1519, first contacts were made with the Aztecs, who were subjugated only two years later.

> "Spain took the 1493 bull's commissioning of evangelization very seriously. In Spanish America and the Philippines around 1650, there were about 15,000 missionaries from male orders, almost half of them Franciscans. Here two aspects of the Spanish world mission must be distinguished: first, the planting of Europe (Plantatio Europae) overseas and secondly the religious, and thus Christian, and cultural assimilation (Plantatio Ecclesiae) of the subjected peoples."[1184]

The missionaries' effort to learn the language of their indigenous group is noteworthy. Already the first Council of Lima (1552) and the first Council of Mexico (1555) "prescribed that priests to the Indios should learn the relevant language within a given time, 'if they did not want to lose their pastoral office'."[1185] Since not all pastors were really willing to do this, in 1580 King Philip II issued an order banning the ordination of those who had not successfully passed the language examinations.[1186]

An important part of a peaceful Christianization strategy was the establishment of Indian villages (*doctrinas* or *reducciones*) by Catholic orders. Christianization and the "civilization" of the indigenous population coincided once again.

> "The mission villages were therefore a project of evangelization and civilization, and the Crown supported it with its legislation. It required the placing of indios together in settlements, specifying that the latter were to be founded on sites with water, hill forests' agricultural land, and good traffic connections, that they were to be furnished with a church, a school, and a hospital, and that such positions as cantor, catechists, sextons, mayors, and justices of the peace should be occupied by the indios. The residence of Spaniards, blacks, mulattos, and mestizos in these settlements was prohibited, and indios who opted for life in such villages on the basis of the work of the missionaries were for a time relieved of the need to pay tribute. The mission villages were the most successful Catholic mission project in the early modern period."[1187]

[1184] Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 22.
[1185] Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 24.
[1186] Cf. Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 24.
[1187] Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 29.

Brazil was the only Latin American country conquered by the Portuguese. Missionaries arrived in Brazil early on in the wake of the Portuguese conquest and devoted themselves to the indigenous peoples.

> "But their enterprises had little lasting success due to the cruelty of the Portuguese soldiers, traders, and settlers. The work of conversion took firm shape only with the entry of the Jesuits into missionary work, who in 1549 [...] set foot on American soil. [...] However, the first bishop [...] was not equal to the situation and the priests he brought with him. Their lack of discipline threatened to destroy all missionary efforts. Finally, the bishop fell into the hands of pagan Indians in 1556, who ate him up."[1188]

The Jesuit missionaries opposed the enslavement of the Indians (but kept Africans as slaves themselves),[1189] learned the local languages, taught children to read and write and translated prayers and catechisms.

> "From the point of view of missionary methodology, it is revealing that the Jesuit missionaries were very cautious in the administration of baptism; they required a long period of preparation and carefully selected the candidates for baptism from the number of catechumens. They were even more cautious in admitting their new Christians to receive the sacrament of the altar. It was not until 1573 that the first were allowed to go to Easter communion."[1190]

The missionaries often received opposition from the settlers, who saw their economic (exploitative) interests as threatened by the work of the missionaries, and who therefore often represented a serious obstacle to the missionary work. But overall, from a Western perspective, the colonization and Christianization project in the "New World" was extremely successful in the 16th century.

> "Neither the Spaniards nor the Portuguese had to face long and arduous campaigns in their easy and rapid conquest of this new world. The Aztecs, through their cruelty, had made themselves hated by the neighbouring peoples, among whom the Spaniards found ready allies. The rigid hierarchical rule of the Inca civilization had robbed the people of independence and initiative; their resistance was brief and ineffective. Similarly, when the gospel was introduced as an accompaniment of Spanish civilization, the peoples seem to have shown little unwillingness to receive it. Peter of Ghent, one of

---

[1188] Josef Glazik, "Der Missionsfrühling zu Beginn der Neuzeit", 640.
[1189] Cf. Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 35.
[1190] Josef Glazik, "Der Missionsfrühling zu Beginn der Neuzeit", 641.

the early Franciscan missionaries in Mexico, wrote in a letter of 27 June 1529: 'I and the brother who was with me baptized in this province of Mexico upwards of 200,000 persons ... so many in fact that I cannot give an accurate estimate of the number. Often we baptized in a single day 14,000 people, sometimes 10,000, sometimes 8000.'"[1191]

We can sum up the Roman Catholic missionary efforts of the 16th century in the words of Stephen Neill:

"If we compare the Christian situation in 1600 with that in 1500, we are aware at once of an immense difference. Europe had burst its bonds. Its military, political, and economic powers were about to impose themselves upon the whole inhabited world. Europeans are beginning to think that their civilization is the only civilization in the world that is worthy of the name, and to develop the strange complex of the superior people. With the expansion of Europe – and often in advance of it – has gone the expansion of the church. Now, as never before, the church has to face the challenge of the great religious systems in the Far East, in India, and in the Islamic lands. It has to decide whether its relation to simple peoples is to be one of destruction or of conservation, of the elimination of all that had gone before or the transformation of the old under the influence of Christ."[1192]

[1191] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 144.
[1192] Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 150.

10 The Age of Pietism and the Enlightenment (1650-1800)

In post-Reformation Protestantism, we see an increasing formalistic systematization of Protestant doctrine, both in the Lutheran and in the Reformed camp. The emphasis was on a confessionalist-dogmatic safeguarding of theological identity, often combined with a confessional polemic against other denominations.[1193] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild remarks that "the complicated intellectuality of Orthodoxy had grown more detached from the normal reality of life of the parishioners"[1194] and also speaks of a religious crisis phenomenon that characterises the period between 1600 and 1650:

> "The drastic economic and social changes and cultural losses shaped individual attitudes to life, which were also determined for a long time by famines and epidemics, but also by 'normal' signs of deficiency, illnesses and mortality rates. This had consequences for religion in its function as providing meaning and consolation, as was shown above all by the blossoming of a new inwardness and a new orientation towards transcendence."[1195]

Two movements need to be mentioned here. Kurt Aland comments:

> "Were we to ask what movement since the Reformation has had the greatest impact on overall spiritual life [the original German version speaks of "intellectual", not "spiritual" life] in general, including Protestantism, it undoubtedly would be the Enlightenment. But within the church, it is Pietism which clearly deserves first place for its effect and importance since the Reformation."[1196]

Although Aland addressed predominantly the German context, such an assessment does not only apply to the German-speaking regions; rather, Pietism must be regarded as a European and North American phenomenon,[1197]

[1193] Cf. Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2: Reformation und Neuzeit,* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999, 653.

[1194] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2*, 653.

[1195] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2*, 653.

[1196] Kurt Aland, *A History of Christianity 2: From the Reformation to the Present,* Philadelphia: Fortress Press,* 1986, 234.

[1197] Cf. Wolfgang Breul and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart, "Vorwort", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch*, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2021, V.

which encompassed the Protestant territories as well as some predominantly Catholic regions. It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at both Pietism and the Enlightenment. Yet before doing so, we need to turn to a movement already mentioned, which in many ways had a major influence on Pietism: Puritanism.

10.1   Forerunners: The Puritans

Similar to Pietisms, Puritanism[1198] should be understood first of all as a spiritual renewal movement,[1199] originating from the Anglican tradition in England. The term itself was introduced as a denigrating word during the 1560s in order to discredit a group of Protestants who were determined to "clean" the Anglican church of remaining catholic elements.[1200] As J. I. Packer worded it:

> "'Puritan' as a name was, in fact, mud from the start. Coined in the early 1560s, it was already a satirical smear word implying peevishness, censoriousness, conceit, and a measure of hypocrisy, sober and above its basic implication of religiously motivated discontent with what was seen as Elizabeth's Laodicean and compromising Church of England. Later the word gained the further, political connotation of being against the Stuart monarchy and for some sort of republicanism; its primary reference, however, was still to what was seen as an odd, furious, and ugly form of Protestant religion."[1201]

They called themselves the "godly". However, "Puritan was never a term of ecclesiological or confessionals precision."[1202] Already in 1641, a sympa-

---

[1198]   Cf. On Puritanism especially: Nick Needham, *2000 Years of Christ's Power 4: The Age of Religious Conflict: 16th to 18th Century*, Fearn: Christian Focus Publication, 2016, 175-353; Klaus Deppermann. "Der Englische Puritanismus", in Martin Brecht (ed.), *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 11-55; Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints: The Puritans as They Really Were*. Grand Rapids, Baker, ⁶1995; F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, Leiden: Brill, 1965, 24-108; August Lang, *Puritanismus und Pietismus*, Nachdruck, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972.

[1199]   Cf. August Lang, *Puritanismus und Pietismus*, 72.

[1200]   Cf. Charles I. Cohen, "Puritaner/Puritanismus: I. Begriff und Theologie", in: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 6, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ⁴2003, col. 1831-1833.

[1201]   Quoted from the foreword by James I. Packer in: Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints*, ix.

[1202]   Patrick Collison, "Puritans", in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* 3, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, 364.

thetic but controversial author described Puritans in the following way: "Those whom we ordinarily call puritans are men of strict life and precise opinions, which cannot be hated for anything but their singularity in zeal and piety."[1203] In theological terms, the Puritans were part of the reformed confessional camp, of the Reformation. As this is neither a book focusing on English nor an early American (church) history, our emphasis is put instead on the spiritual influence of the Puritans, not on their engagement with the political sphere. Packer summarises the political impact of the Puritans:

> "The Puritans lost, more or less, every public battle that they fought. Those who stayed in England did not change the Church of England as they hoped to do, nor did they revive more than a minority of its adherents, and eventually they were driven out of Anglicanism by calculated pressure on their consciences. Those who crossed the Atlantic failed to establish New Jerusalem in New England; for the first fifty years their little colonies barely survived, hanging on by the skin of their teeth. But the moral and spiritual victories that the Puritans won by keeping sweet, peaceful, patient, obedient, and hopeful under sustained and seemingly intolerable pressures and frustrations give them a place of high honor in the believers' hall of fame, where Hebrews 11 is the first gallery."[1204]

This spirituality Packer is referring to is of special interest to us as it had a major influence on European Pietism. The Puritans put a strong emphasis on the integration of their daily lives. For them, living as a Christian encompassed every aspect of life and they therefore rejected a division between the sacred and the secular; every aspect of life should be honouring God. Packer mentioned several other aspects to be considered: the emphasis they put on communion with God and the quality of their spiritual experience, their passion for effective action, their commitment to family stability, their sense of human worth and their striving for church renewal and spiritual awakening.[1205] Klaus Deppermann summarises the impact of Puritanism and its long-term effects:

> "1. Many of the values of Puritanism became established in English society, far beyond the circle of the actual Puritans. [...]
>   2. The Independents created the type of semi-separatist, 'gathered church', i.e., a religious community which united voluntarily on the basis of a covenant without completely separating from the national church. Along-

---

1203 Quoted from Patrick Collison, "Puritans", 365.
1204 Quoted from the foreword by James I. Packer in: Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints*, xi.
1205 Cf. the foreword by James I. Packer in: Leland Ryken, *Worldly Saints*, xi-xv.

side the actual separatists, these 'gathered churches' were prototypes of the Protestant free churches. They owed their attractiveness to the active participation of the church members, the implementation of the ideal of the general priesthood of all believers in practice, and the approximation to the original Christian church constitution according to 1 Corinthians 14.

3. Puritanism had an international impact mainly through its edification writings, i.e., through its program of disciplining and internalizing life, and through its models for a gathering of the pious in voluntary communities of mind, which kept a more or less large distance from the national church. It left the strongest impact on Dutch and German Pietism due to the numerous translations.

4. With Puritanism, a pluralistic society with different value systems developed in England."[1206]

Therefore, it seems appropriate to call the Puritans a forerunner of the subsequent Pietist movement.

10.2   Pietism as a Reform Movement of the Church

In the introduction to his four-volume *History of Pietism*, the Luther and Pietism scholar Martin Brecht offers "a preliminary circumscription"[1207] of the term Pietism. According to him, Pietism was not only a spirituality and piety movement[1208] but also a transnational and trans-confessional phenomenon.

What do we mean by Pietism? Brecht defines it as follows:

"The conceptual contents of Pietism show a certain, sometimes even tense range: Emphasis is placed on experientiality, verification and personal appropriation of faith. The reality of revelation, whether biblical or personal,

---

[1206] Klaus Deppermann. "Der Englische Puritanismus", 52.

[1207] Martin Brecht, "Einleitung", in: Martin Brecht (ed.), *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 1.

[1208] On the history of Pietism in general, see Martin Brecht, Klaus Deppermann, Ulrich Gäbler and Hartmut Lehmann. (eds.), *Geschichte des Pietismus,* 4 vols., Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993-2004; Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus,* Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1978; Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2021; Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus,* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 4 O1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1990; Peter Schicketanz, *Der Pietismus von 1675 bis 1800*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/1, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2001; Marton H. Schmidt, *Pietismus*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, [3]1983; F. Ernest Stoeffler. *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*. Studies in the History of Religions XXIV, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.

is reckoned with. The doctrine of faith must generally be simple and understandable, but this does not prevent the occasional formation of one's own speculation or even sophisticated systems. Christianity is understood as a personal turning away from sin, as conversion, rebirth and sanctification, willed and worked by God. Therefore, great importance is usually attached to strict ethics. This corresponds to a sharply defined view of the church as a practicing community, combined with missionary kingdom work and active charitable commitment for the lost and those in need. Through the transformation of the human being, there should be an improvement in world conditions. Finally, this is combined with a concrete eschatology that expects the soon coming of the Lord, often even chiliastically hoping for the reign of the pious with Christ."[1209]

The term "Pietism" or "Pietist" was – as is often the case in history – a derisive foreign term probably first used in Frankfurt.[1210] The roots of Pietism in the German-speaking world go back to the confessional age with the appearance of the first personal prayer and devotional books; the edifying devotional book by Johann Arndt (1555-1621) *Vom wahren Christentum* (On True Christianity) is worth mentioning here.[1211] The first edition was published in 1605, and by 1740, 123 editions of this work had appeared. It was also translated into numerous other languages and its influence reached as far as North America.[1212] For Arndt, "Having the right doctrine is not enough, the right way of life is also necessary. At the same time, Arndt stressed man's inner relationship with God with the goal of union with God."[1213] Arndt, who had intensively studied Catholic mysticism of the late Middle Ages, makes it obvious that another root of Pietism lays in medieval mysticism.[1214]

In addition, however, there were also other influences, especially Calvinist ones carried by Puritan refugees from England to the Netherlands and from there to Germany. As Martin Schmidt noted:

[1209] Martin Brecht, "Einleitung", in: Martin Brecht (ed.), *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1.

[1210] Cf. Martin Brecht, "Einleitung", in: Martin Brecht (ed.), *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4.

[1211] Cf. Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus,* 18; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 637.

[1212] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 249-251.

[1213] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation and Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 250.

[1214] Cf. Martin Brecht, "III. Das Aufkommen der neuen Frömmigkeitsbewegung in Deutschland", in: Martin Brecht (ed.), *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 127-128; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 637.

"Pietism was originally an ecumenical, world-wide phenomenon; it reached from England, where post-revolutionary Puritanism was quietly pushing forward, through the Netherlands to Germany, spreading in the East to Russia, in the North to Scandinavia, and even if the Roman Catholic-determined countries remained mostly closed to it, it nevertheless discovered analogies even there with great broad-mindedness, which it brought to the attention of its followers."[1215]

10.2.1 Pietism in the European Context

While church historians such as Johannes Wallmann have emphasised the autonomy and independence of German Pietism from foreign influences,[1216] other researchers such as F. Ernest Stoeffler[1217] identified the roots of German Pietism in Puritanism. In addition, a later generation of researchers such as William R. Ward[1218] or Hartmut Lehmann has pointed out the lines of connection and the interrelatedness between the different groups.

Finally, we should note that translations of Puritan writings from English into German increased rapidly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between 1600 and 1750 alone, some 690 translations were published, and many of these writings dealt with topics such as conversion and rebirth or *praxis pietatis* in everyday life.[1219] "For leading German Lutheran pietists such as Philipp Jacob Spener and August Hermann Francke, English edification writings were part of their youth reading."[1220]

In the Netherlands, two terms are used for Pietist movements: "Nadere Reformatie" and the German-Latin loan word "Piëtisme". For the sake of linguistic simplicity, we will stick to the collective term *Pietism* at this point. The influence of Puritanism on Pietism in the Netherlands is obvious.[1221] Key

---

[1215] Martin Schmidt, *Pietismus*, 11.

[1216] Cf. Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*; Jan van de Kamp, "2.1 Pietismus und Puritanismus", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021, 44.

[1217] *Ernest F. Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelical Pietism,* 27-29. Cf. August Lang, *Puritanismus und Pietismus*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1972. However, Lang defines the term Puritanism very broadly. On the relationship of Pietism to early North America, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity,* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976.

[1218] W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ²2002.

[1219] Cf. Jan van de Kamp, "2.1 Pietismus und Puritanismus", 45.

[1220] Jan van de Kamp, "2.1 Pietismus und Puritanismus", 46.

[1221] Cf. Johannes van den Berg, "II. Die Frömmigkeitsbestrebungen in den Niederlanden", 68-78.

figures of Dutch Pietism were ministers such as Jean Taffin (1528-1602), Willem Teelinck (1579-1629) and above all Gisbertus Voetius (1589-1676),[1222] all Reformed theologians concerned about the "praxis pietatis" of their parishioners who succeeded in bringing this concern into the Reformed Church.[1223]

For the French-speaking area, Jean de Labadie (1610-1674) must be mentioned.[1224] Although Aart de Groot calls Labadie a "cult leader" and a "distorted image of Calvin",[1225] the broad impact of this mystic on Pietism should not be underestimated. Even Philipp Jakob Spener met him in Geneva and translated one of his writings.[1226] As a young man, Labadie joined the Jesuit order, but he left for alleged health reasons and initially worked as a secular priest in various places. He later turned to Calvinism and worked in Geneva for a few years before moving to the Netherlands.

> "More and more, a new theme became noticeable in Labadie's thoughts and actions. Alongside the double striving for sanctification, both in the unification of the soul with God and in the purification of the Church before God, there now came an exceedingly lively expectation of the return of Jesus, and that in chiliastic form."[1227]

Labadie spent his twilight years in Altona, and in the judgement of Armin Sierszyn, "Apart from a few spiritualistic exaggerations [...] he remained attached to the Reformed confession."[1228]

There is no space to go into further details about the spread of Pietism in Northern and Eastern Europe. However, in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe Pietism met with a great response and was able to spread

---

[1222] Cf. Aart de Groot, "Gisbertus Voetius", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982, 149-162.

[1223] Cf. Johannes van den Berg, "II. Die Frömmigkeitsbestrebungen in den Niederlanden", 68-99.

[1224] Aart de Groot, "Jean de Labadie", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Orthodoxie und Pietismus,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982, 191-203.

[1225] Aart de Groot, "Jean de Labadie", 191.

[1226] Cf. on Spener's relationship to Labadie: Johannes Wallmann, "Labadismus und Pietismus: Die Einflüsse des nieerländischen Pietismus auf die Entstehung des Pietismus in Deutschland", in: J. van den Berg and J. P. van Dooren (eds.), *Pietismus und Reveil. Referate der internationalen Tagung: Der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und seine internationalen Beziehungen, Zeist 18-22 June 1974,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978, 141-168.

[1227] Aart de Groot, "Jean de Labadie", 196.

[1228] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 649.

over a large region.[1229] Let us briefly turn to Pietism in Germany and some of its main representatives.

10.2.2 German Pietism

10.2.2.1 Philipp Jakob Spener the "collegia pietatis"

Philipp Jakob Spener was born in 1635 in Rappoltsweiler (present-day Ribeauvillé) in Alsace.[1230] "The young Spener was initially shaped by the world of a small noble court, whose religious atmosphere was determined by Lutheran orthodoxy as well as the piety of Arndt and English devotional literature."[1231] The court preacher Joachim Stoll, later Spener's brother-in-law, directed his spiritual interest towards Arndt's *True Christianity*. He also read the English edificational writings of Emanuel Sonthom, Lewis Bayly[1232] and the Puritan Dyke.[1233] Later, the young Spener studied at the University of Strasbourg, Basel and Geneva, where he also met the Frenchman Labadie mentioned above. Spener had an academic career in Stras-

---

[1229] Cf. Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, "4.3.1 Dänemark and Norwegen", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021, 292-301; Urban Claesson, "4.3.2 Schweden und Finnland", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021, 301-309; Zoltán Csepergi, "4.3.3 Südosteuropa", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021, 310-318; Nicholas Hope, German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700 to 1918, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, 147-186; Carsten Bach-Nielsen, "Christianity in 18th Century Europé". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 401-443.

[1230] On Spener and his work, see, among others, Johannes Wallmann, "Philipp Jakob Spener", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Orthodoxie und Pietismus,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982, 205-223; Markus Matthias, "3.2. Philipp Jacob Spener (1635-1705)", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021, 101-114; Martin Brecht, "VI. Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen", in: Martin Brecht, *Das 17. und frühe 18. Jahrhundert,* Geschichte des Pietismus 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 281-389; Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ²1986, Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus,* 61-122.

[1231] Martin Brecht, "VI. Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen", 281. Cf. Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, 51-54.

[1232] Cf. Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, 48.

[1233] Cf. Martin Brecht, "VI Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen", 281.

bourg in mind and received his doctorate there in 1663, but in 1666 he was appointed to the position of senior Lutheran clergyman in Frankfurt am Main. He worked there from 1666 to 1686, and the Frankfurt period was the formative phase of his work. The first "Pietistic groups" were formed in Frankfurt.[1234]

In the year 1675, Spener published his main work, which from then on was regarded as the reform program of Pietism: *Pia desideria*.[1235] The work is divided into three parts. It begins with a diagnosis of the state of the church, which in Spener's view was corrupt. This is followed by the hope of better times for the church in the future,[1236] based on biblical promises. Only after that do proposals for a reform of the church follow.[1237] Peter H. Uhlmann summarises the contents of the reform program in six points:

1. "The Word of God is to be brought abundantly to the believers. The Bible is to be read diligently and – since many people do not own a Bible due to the cost factor – the preachers are to read the Holy Scriptures section by section. Because the people know only the Sunday, annually recurring text readings (pericopes), the whole Scripture is to be made known to them.

2. The general priesthood must be revived so as to move away from a pure clergy dependent church. Mature lay people are to correct the inflation of the parish office which Luther did not intend. Believers are to edify each other pastorally.

3. It should be impressed on the believers that Christianity does not only exist in knowledge but also in action. This should be especially visible in brotherly love.

4. In religious disputes, one should pray for the erring and be a credible example for them. Just as Christ and the apostles did, one should emphatically point out their error, but at the same time show heartfelt love.

[1234] Johannes Wallmann, "Philipp Jakob Spener", 209. Cf. Werner Bellardi, *Die Vorstufen der Collegia pietatis bei Philipp Jacob Spener,* Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 1994; Johannes Wallmann, "Das Collegium Pietatis". In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 167-223.

[1235] Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia desideria: Umkehr in die Zukunft: Reformprogramm des Pietismus*, neu bearb. von Erich Beyreuther, 5th revised edition, Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 1995. Cf. Martin Schmidt, "'Pia Desideria'. Versuch einer theologischen Interpretation", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 113-166.

[1236] Cf. Martin Greschat, "Die 'Hoffnung auf bessere Zeiten' für die Kirche", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 224-239.

[1237] Cf. Johannes Wallmann, "Philipp Jakob Spener", 213

5. To achieve an improvement of the church, the study of theology must be fundamentally reformed. The professors must be a good example to the students with their way of life. Besides the theoretical subjects, one should work in a practical way. Theology is not a mere science, but the Holy Spirit is the true teacher. Instead of Latin, the discourse should be in German.

6. The sermons should not only be doctrinal and rational, but also mission-minded and pastoral. The inner man should be addressed. Salvation in Christ should be proclaimed in such a way that faith is awakened and built up."[1238]

The publication of *Pia desideria* caused a storm[1239] of both approval and protest. Spener soon realised that many pastors were not interested in thorough reform. In addition, separatist tendencies of some Pietist circles harmed Pietism as well.

Wolf-Dieter Hauschild summarises the significance and impact of Spener:

"Spener had become famous as a scholar and churchman in Germany. Through contacts with influential theologians and the authorities, he sought to anchor the Pietist movement in the church, especially by means of educational reform and the appointment of pastors. [...] In Berlin, Spener found a suitable platform for the realisation of his plans from 1691 onwards. Until 1705 he developed such intensive activity in preaching, publishing, correspondence and church politics that he contributed decisively to the establishment of Pietism in Brandenburg-Prussia, but also beyond. With the new University of Halle (since 1690 [...]), he was able for the first time to influence the reform of the education of theologians and to help establish a centre of Pietism there. He supported persecuted Pietists (especially candidates for parish posts) throughout Germany through numerous personal connections. As a widely read and successful author, he influenced the mentality of considerable parts of Protestantism beyond Pietist circles, even though his work remained controversial among many orthodox Christians."[1240]

In theological terms, the doctrine of rebirth, the doctrine of sanctification and eschatology were important focal points. The "patron and patriarch of the Pietist movement" died on 5 February 1705.[1241]

[1238] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 4, Niederbüren: Esras.net, 2021, 20-21. Similarly: Armin Sierzyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 655-656.

[1239] Thus Erich Beyreuther in: Philipp Jakob Spener, *Pia desideria,* XII.

[1240] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 692.

[1241] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 692.

10.2.2.2 August Hermann Francke and Halle Pietism

Spener's student August Hermann Francke made the next decisive contributions to the further spread of Pietism as an evangelical renewal movement in Germany and beyond.[1242]

August Hermann Francke was born in 1663 as the son of a lawyer and was destined from the outset for a clerical career.[1243] His father died at an early age, and his older sister Anna would have strong influence on the spiritual development of the young August Hermann. In October 1687, Francke received a scholarship for in-depth exegetical studies with Superintendent Caspar Hermann Sandhagen in Lüneburg, and his "conversion"[1244] also fell into the Lüneburg period. The time in Lüneburg (a town in northern Germany) was followed by a stay of several months with Spener in Dresden, before Francke returned in 1689 to Leipzig and resumed his exegetical lectures there. Klaus Deppermann comments:

> "His [lecture on the] interpretation of the letter to the Philippians, however, was not determined by linguistic-scientific but by religious-practical interests. The Latin lecture was followed by a colloquium in German. Townspeople, including simple craftsmen, joined in after Francke had moved his lectures to the room of a baker. Francke's friends Magister Schade, Anton and Achilles did the same. Johann Caspar Schade's college in particular completely lost its scientific character and developed into a revival hour for listeners of all faculties. Since Schade's course became too large for personal discussions, the students set up dozens of small groups of about six to fifteen students. In these conventicles, Bible texts were interpreted and applied to their own lives without the supervision and correction of professors.

[1242] On the life and work of August Hermann Francke see, among others, Klaus Deppermann, "August Hermann Francke", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Orthodoxie und Pietismus,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982, 241-260; Wolfgang Breul, "3.4 August Hermann Francke", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021, 122-137; Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Fracke und der Hallische Pietismus", in: Martin Brecht (ed.), *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert,* Geschichte des Pietismus 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993, 440-539; Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus,* 123-176; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2: Reformation und Neuzeit,* 695-700.

[1243] Klaus Deppermann, "August Hermann Francke", 241.

[1244] Cf. the printed autobiographical account in: Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, Wolfgang Breul, Joachim Jacob, Markus Matthias, Alexander Schunka and Christian Soboth (eds.). *Pietismus: Eine Anthologie von Quellen des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2017, 261-264. Cf. also: Klaus Deppermann, "August Hermann Francke", 244.

Through this form of 'self-organised study', the professors lost their listeners and had to cancel some of their lectures. They feared the end of academic life and the ruin of Leipzig University if the enthusiastic mass movement was not stopped, whereby injured pride and declining college funds naturally played a considerable role. Craftsmen, even women, joined these student small groups. Since the members of the conventicles despised and avoided the public church services, the new movement inevitably came into conflict with the Leipzig city clergy. The latter felt particularly disturbed in their sphere of activity when the students also undertook pastoral visits to the sick. The Orthodox gave the new piety movement the derisive name 'Pietists', which was turned into an honorary name in a poem by the poetry professor Joachim Feller, a friend of the Pietists."[1245]

The ensuing dispute with the faculty in Leipzig made the Pietist movement widely known throughout Germany. With the help of Spener's intervention, Francke was finally appointed to a professorship in Greek and Oriental languages at the University of Halle, which was still in the process of being established, as well as to a pastorate in Glaucha (close to Halle).[1246] His efforts to support needy and poor children gave rise to the idea of founding an orphanage with an attached school, which he put into practice in 1695.[1247] Due to the good reputation of the school for the poor, wealthy citizens soon began to send their children there too. Thus, Francke developed a three-tier school system in the following years: "German schools" (primary schools) for peasants and craftsmen, the "Latin schools" for the children of the upper middle classes and the "Paedagogium Regium" as a school for the future ruling class. Francke recruited the teachers for his schools from among his students at the University of Halle, who could eat free of charge at the orphanage in return for daily lessons of between two and four hours. Francke subsequently also developed the first systematic teacher training in Germany.

A privilege from 1698 placed Francke's institutions under the direct control of the Elector and gave them greater freedom. To finance the work, Francke was dependent on donations – he saw the institutions as a faith ministry – but he also established successful businesses,[1248] which the state supported through far-reaching tax exemption.

[1245] Klaus Deppermann, "August Hermann Francke", 245.

[1246] Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", 453.

[1247] Klaus Deppermann, "August Hermann Francke", 249.

[1248] Cf. Gerhard Bondi, "Der Beitrag des hallischen Pietismus zur Entwicklung des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 259-293.

"They were granted a licence to set up a book printing business, a bookshop and a public pharmacy. Under the prudent management of Heinrich Julius Elers, the orphanage publishing house became one of the most important publishing enterprises in Germany in just a few years, publishing not only strictly scientific works, but above all edifying literature in large editions at low prices.[1249] The annual profits generated by the publishing house and the orphanage bookshop were between two thousand and three thousand thalers.[1250] The orphanage pharmacy brought in an even higher return. Christian Richter, the orphanage doctor, and Friedrich Hofmann, a professor of medicine who was a friend of Francke's, developed new medicines, of which the 'essentia dulcis' in particular generated high returns. Between 1710 and 1720, the net profit from the medicine expedition averaged 9,000 thalers annually, later rising to as much as 25,000-30,000 thalers. A farm in Giebichenstein, which supplied the institutions with food, and a large quarry, which supplied the building material, also served to provide economic security for the foundations."[1251]

It would go beyond the scope of this overview to go into more detail about Francke's pedagogical approaches.[1252] However, many orphanages established or reorganized during the eighteenth century tried to follow Halle's example. Also, other aspects of Francke's influence should be mentioned. In 1698, Francke finally received a theological professorship at the University of Halle; subsequently, the theological university was transformed in the spirit of Pietism and biblical exegesis became the focus of theological studies. This inevitably led to conflicts with enlightened theologians such as Christian Thomasius or later with Christian Wolff, which finally led to Wolff's expulsion in 1723.[1253]

[1249] On the role of literature distribution in Pietism, cf. Christian Soboth and Pia Schmid (eds.), *"Schrift soll leserlich seyn": Der Pietismus und die Medien. Contributions to the IVth International Congress for Pietism Research 2013*, 2 vol: Halle and Wiesbaden: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen and Harrasowitz, 2016.

[1250] By way of comparison: Schiller received 200 thaler a year as a history professor in Jena, then 400 thaler as a court counsellor in Weimar. Source: https://www.emuenzen.de/forum/threads/gegenwert-taler.22193/ [11.01.2022].

[1251] Klaus Deppermann, "August Hermann Francke", 251. Cf. Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", 483-490.

[1252] Cf. Wolfgang Breul, "3.4 August Hermann Francke", 133-136.

[1253] Cf. Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", 503-507.

Francke's vision of a general reform of society[1254] did not remain limited to the German-speaking world.[1255] "From the beginning, Pietism has not been limited to one country or one church. It has absorbed many influences and in turn has had a wide outreach."[1256] Francke maintained many contacts in Slavic[1257] as well as in Anglo-Saxon countries, e.g. with the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK).[1258] He also saw it as his spiritual duty to support persecuted Protestants in other European countries, and at the same time he felt obligated to carry the gospel to the pagans in distant lands. Through contacts with the Danish royal court, the first two Protestant German missionaries were sent to "the heathens" in India:[1259] Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1683-1719) and Heinrich Plütschau (1677-1746), who had both been students of Francke.[1260] "The connection between Pietism and mission that had been established in Halle was never to be broken. Here Pietism found a new, wide field of activity."[1261]

Francke died in Halle on 8 June 1727. Armin Sierszyn aptly summarises his impact:

> "It was not until August Hermann Francke, the enterprising student of Spener and energetic organiser, that Pietism succeeded in breaking through to become the formative spiritual power of the time. Halle became the religious, organisational and intellectual center of Lutheran Pietism in Germany. Francke cultivated relations in England, Holland, Denmark, Eastern Europe, Russia, America, South Africa, India, etc. He sent books and medicines to the immigrant Lutheran Palatines in Pennsylvania. A missionary cosmopolitanism opened. He sent his students everywhere, telling them what great things God was doing in Halle. His optimism about faith led him to hope that he could change the world through evangelism and systematic

---

[1254] Cf. Carl Hinrichs, "Der Beitrag des hallischen Pietismus zur Entwicklung des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977, 243-258.

[1255] Cf. Wolfgang Breul, "3.4 August Hermann Francke", 131-137.

[1256] Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", 514.

[1257] Cf. Ilmari Salomies, *Der Hallesche Pietismus in Russland zur Zeit Peters des Grossen*, Helsinki: n. d., 1936.

[1258] Cf. Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 29. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.

[1259] Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", 527-531.

[1260] Cf. Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission,* 384-388.

[1261] Martin Brecht, "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus", 529.

mission work. [...] Francke also recognised the effect of the printed word. Millions of Halle's writings fluttered into all corners of the world. Only now did the Bible become a book for every household in Germany. The wealthy Baron von Canstein [...] worked closely with Francke's printing ministry and bookshop. By subsidising cheap Bibles, he carried Francke's enthusiasm for the Bible far and wide. In 1717, 300 Halle titles by 70 authors were exhibited at the Leipzig Book Fair and thousands of thalers were turned over. In 1720, the Collegium Orientale published a critical edition of the Biblia Hebraica under Francke's direction."[1262]

10.2.3 Zinzendorf and the Moravian Movement

The third key Pietist is Nikolaus Ludwig Count of Zinzendorf, whose family originated from Austria and whose grandfather had left his Austrian homeland during the Counter-Reformation. Zinzendorf was born in Dresden on 26 May 1700.[1263] Unlike Spener and Francke, Zinzendorf came from the nobility and his "aristocratic origins shaped Zinzendorf throughout his life."[1264] Zinzendorf never undertook any formal theological studies but remained a self-taught theologian.

Only a few weeks after Nikolaus Ludwig was born, his father died and so the boy grew up with his maternal grandmother, Henriette Katharina von Gersdorf, after his mother remarried. The highly educated countess not only corresponded with philosophers such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, but was also in active contact with Spener and Francke. The young Zinzendorf thus became acquainted with pietistic spirituality at an early

---

[1262] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 668-669.

[1263] On the life and work of Zinzendorf, cf. among others Peter Zimmerling, *Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine: Geschichte, Spiritualität und Theologie,* Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 1999; Erich Beyreuther, *Die große Zinzendorf-Trilogie: Der junge Zinzendorf, Zinzendorf und die sich allhier beisammenfanden, Zinzendorf und die Christenheit,* Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1988; Dietrich Meyer, "I. Zinzendorf und Herrnhut", in: Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (eds.)., *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert,* Geschichte des Pietismus 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995, 5-106; Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Orthodoxie und Pietismus,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982, 347-372; Craig Atwood, "3.13 Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021, 184-197; Martin Brecht and Paul Peucker (eds.), *Neues Aspekte der Zinzendorf-Forschung,* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 47, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006; Wilhelm Faix, *Zinzendorf: Glaube und Identität eines Querdenkers,* Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 2012.

[1264] Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", 348.

age, even before moving to Halle in the year 1710 for further schooling. He spent the following six years at Francke's Paedagogium.

> "The Halle activism that Zinzendorf encountered in his formative years left a lasting mark on his spirit of enterprise. The young count, who took pride of place at Francke's table, was able to listen daily to 'edifying news from the Kingdom of God' at meals, which arrived here at the headquarters of Pietism, and to meet numerous visitors from Germany and other countries. His interest in missions was also kindled by missionary reports and his acquaintance with missionaries, thus laying the seed for Zinzendorf to later become a pioneer of world missions."[1265]

His time in Halle was followed by legal studies in Wittenberg, before Zinzendorf set off on a cavalier tour (1719-1720), the classic and befitting educational journey of a young nobleman. Here he received formative impulses for his further spiritual development.

> "If the young count had previously only become more closely acquainted with the world of Lutheranism and its theological-church-political factions, in the Netherlands he experienced the colourful denominational diversity that presented itself in the land of religious freedom; he encountered Western European Calvinism and its wings, met with Catholics, Anglicans, Mennonites and was even able to attend an Armenian service twice."[1266]

During his seven-month stay in Paris, he also gained a deeper knowledge of Roman Catholicism and became friends with the Archbishop of Paris, Louis-Antonie Cardinal de Noailles.[1267] "Zinzendorf regarded the encounter with Christians of other denominations as the most important gain of his educational journey; its conclusion was his resolution to 'discover the best in all religions' [denominations] from now on."[1268]

In 1722, Zinzendorf allowed a group of religious refugees from Catholic Moravia (present-day Czech Republic) to settle on one of his estates and named the new settlement Herrnhut. "In total, more than 500 people emigrated illegally from the Habsburg Empire to Herrnhut between 1722 and 1736",[1269] and at the same time the settlement also attracted Pietists from other parts of the Empire. When conflicts broke out locally, Zinzendorf resigned from his civil service job and moved his residence to the

---

[1265] Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", 350.
[1266] Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", 351.
[1267] Cf. Craig Atwood, "3.13 Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf", 185.
[1268] Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", 352.
[1269] Cf. Craig Atwood, "3.13 Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf", 186.

manor house not far from the Herrnhut settlement. From then on, he devoted himself entirely to the establishment and management of the settlement. He drafted a document that was to regulate coexistence in both civil and religious respects, which had to be signed by the residents of Herrnhut.

Shortly after the crisis, a spiritual awakening took place during a communion service on 13 August 1727. "Here, after the serious crises, those gathered experienced the inner unification of the 'Brüdergemeine.'"[1270]

> "The religious life that developed in Herrnhut from 1727 onwards is unique in the history of Protestant piety. The village in Upper Lusatia became a new center of Pietism. The center was formed by the meetings in the hall of the manor house, from which new forms of worship emerged such as the 'singing hour' (with a song sermon consisting of song stanzas strung together). Original Christian customs such as the love feast (agape) and foot washing were introduced [...].
>
> Internal structuring became characteristic of the Brüdergemeine [the German word for the Moravian congregation]. The separation according to gender and marital status into special 'choirs' was intended both to help avoid moral dangers and to enable group-specific pastoral care. The latter was also served by the small circles of 'gangs' united according to sympathy and the 'classes' classified according to spiritual growth (which soon disappeared again). Rigorous church discipline was to serve the preservation of the church in apostolic purity. [...]
>
> A special feature of the Brüdergemeine was the practice of casting the lot. Although it was also found in various forms in other pietistic circles, it was not practised so extensively and consistently anywhere else. [...]. To an almost inconceivable extent, after thorough consultation and regulated by a complicated system of rules, personnel decisions, marriages, travel plans and negotiations were left to the judgement of the lot."[1271]

From the 1730s onwards, the Moravians from Herrnhut began to engage in mission to heathen lands. The first Herrnhut missionaries were sent to Greenland in 1733 and were soon followed by missionaries to other parts of the world such as the Caribbean. In total, the local Herrnhut congregation sent out 1,199 missionaries within the first 100 years of its mission endeavor, including 740 men and 459 women.[1272] Many lost their lives on

---

[1270] Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", 356.
[1271] Hans Schneider, "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", 357.
[1272] Horst R. Flachsmeier, *Geschichte der evangelischen Weltmission*, Giessen and Basel: Brunnen, 1963, 152.

the mission field; others suffered persecution, hardship and deprivation. But the dedicated service was blessed by God, as thousands of people came to know Jesus Christ in a living relationship.[1273]

Armin Sierszyn comments:

"Zinzendorf was a true original who broke the usual patterns of thought. He overcame spiritualistic loneliness; joyful community belonged to faith. As a Christian and a brother, the count put himself on an equal footing with peasants and craftsmen. Class and denominational boundaries became irrelevant; Zinzendorf also ordained women for mission service in some cases.

Thus the first free church on European and American soil with diaconal, missionary and ecumenical objectives was born (Beyreuther)."[1274]

10.2.4 A preliminary summary

The spirituality of the Pietists, borne by the concern for a "praxis pietatis", not only succeeded in breaking through the encrusted structures of Orthodoxy but also triggered a spiritual movement that in many ways penetrated deeper into the community than the Reformation. People who turned to Pietism experienced a living relationship with God through a personal conversion and were motivated to live a life of sanctification. Personal and communal Bible reading – even in the absence of an ordained minister – gained great importance as part of the practiced general priesthood. The flip side was an increasing individualism – certainly also in the wake of the Enlightenment – which frequently also led to schisms. A tendency towards mysticism and eschatological speculation should also be critically questioned.[1275] Nevertheless, Pietism became a driving force for world mission, dealt with the social question within Protestantism, and initiated countless initiatives in the following centuries, thus carrying the Gospel in word and deed to all parts of the world.

[1273] Cf. on the history of the Moravian's missionary activity above all Hartmut Beck, *Brüder in vielen Ländern: 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeine,* Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-luth. Mission, 1981 and the numerous detailed accounts in the relevant mission histories, but here especially in Horst R. Flachsmeier, *Geschichte der evangelischen Weltmission,* 138-165.

[1274] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 682.

[1275] On the criticism of Pietism, cf. Siegfried Lodewigs, *Der Pietismus im Spiegel seiner theologischen Kritiker,* Göttingen: Unpublished dissertation, 1972.

10.3   The Enlightenment and Its Impact on Theology

More than any other intellectual movement, the Enlightenment would shape the following centuries, especially in the Western Protestant hemisphere, while at the same time heralding the beginning of modernity. Along with Pietism, it led to the end of the confessional age.[1276]

In this overview we cannot present a detailed account and discussion of the Enlightenment, its origins, its proponents, and its development in intellectual history. Also, the Enlightenment developed its own unique characteristics in countries such as France, England and Germany. The Enlightenment regarded itself as a European intellectual movement but did not see itself as a specifically Christian intellectual current while at the same time formulating its ideas against the background of a Judeo-Christian worldview.

In "What is Enlightenment?" the philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote:

> "Enlightenment is the exit of man from his self-inflicted dependency. Dependency is the inability to use one's intellect without the guidance of another. This immaturity is self-imposed if the cause of it lies not in the lack of understanding, but in the resolution and courage to use it without the guidance of another. 'Sapere aude! Have the courage to use your own intellect' is therefore the motto of the Enlightenment."[1277]

Rationalism, skepticism, and optimism characterise the Enlightenment in all of its different expressions. Here, however, it is of first and foremost importance to outline some common ideological characteristics of the Enlightenment epoch. The late South African missiologist David Bosch brilliantly sums up the core content of Enlightenment thought:

> "The Enlightenment was, preeminently, the Age of Reason. In the course of time, Descartes' cogito ergo sum [I think, therefore I am] came to mean that the human mind was viewed as the indubitable point of departure for all knowing. [...]
>
> The Enlightenment, secondly, operated with a subject-object scheme. This meant that it separated humans from their environment and enabled them to examine the animal and mineral world from the vantage-point of scientific objectivity. [...] In principle, then, the res cogitans was set no limits. The whole earth could be occupied and subdued with boldness. [...]

[1276] Cf. Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, 252.

[1277] Immanuel Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?", in: *Berliner Monatsschrift,* (1784) Issue 12, 481.

Linked with the above is a third characteristic of the Enlightenment: the elimination of purpose from science and the introduction of direct causality as the clue to the understanding of reality. [...] Modern science tends to be completely deterministic, since unchanging and mathematically stable laws guarantee the desired outcome. All that is needed is complete knowledge of these laws of cause and effect. The human mind becomes the master and initiator which meticulously plans ahead for every eventuality and all processes can be fully comprehended and controlled. [...]

This manifests itself especially in a fourth element of the Enlightenment: its belief in progress. [...] People now expressed joy and excitement at the possibility of traversing the earth and 'discovering' new territories, of seeing a new dawn over a dark world. [...] They were masters of their fate – a belief that was nourished from childhood by the history they studied. [...] They were convinced that they had both the ability and the will to remake the world in their own image. [...]

All along, however – and this is the fifth characteristic of the Enlightenment – It was contended that scientific knowledge was factual, value-free and neutral. [...]

Sixth: In the Enlightenment paradigm, all problems were in principle solvable. Of course, many problems were still unsolved, but this was simply due to the fact that we had not yet mastered all the relevant facts. Everything could be explained or at least made explicable. No gaps or mysteries would permanently resist the emancipated and probing human mind. [...]

Lastly, the Enlightenment regarded people as emancipated, autonomous individuals. [...] A central creed of the Enlightenment, therefore, was faith in humankind. [...] The free and 'natural' human being was infinitely perfectible and should be allowed to evolve along the lines of his or her own choice."[1278]

Martin Jung wrote regarding the Frenchman René Descartes (1596-1650),[1279] "What Arndt was to Pietism, Descartes was to the Enlightenment."[1280] With his programmatic statement "I think, therefore I am" (*cogito ergo sum*) "he founded philosophy on the self-certainty of the thinking subject and thus, after centuries of philosophy's dependence on theology, developed for the first time again an independent philosophical world order independent of theology."[1281]

[1278] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in theology of Mission,* Maryknoll: Orbis Books, ⁸1994, 264-267.

[1279] Cf. Gerhard Schmidt, "René Descartes", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 77-87.

[1280] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648),* 251.

[1281] Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648),* 251.

In England, John Locke (1632-1704)[1282] and later David Hume (1711-1776),[1283] and in France F. M. A. Voltaire (1694-1778)[1284] and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)[1285] were key representatives of the Enlightenment era. In Germany, apart from Immanuel Kant (1724-1804),[1286] philosophers such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1614-1716),[1287] Christian Wolff (1679-1754),[1288] and the poet and philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781)[1289] were formative for the Enlightenment.

However, the main question to be discussed in the context of church history is the impact of the Enlightenment on the Christian faith in general and Christian theology in particular. Theologians such as Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791)[1290] and Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-

---

[1282] Cf. Mark Adria Goldie, "John Locke", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 105-119; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, 65, 67; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 689.

[1283] Cf. Ernst Sandvoss, "David Hume", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 207-220; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 690.

[1284] Cf. Pierre Rétat, "Voltaire", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 221-235; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 67-68; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 691.

[1285] Iring Fetscher, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 237-253; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 72-73; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 691.

[1286] Cf. Gunter Scholtz, "Immanuel Kant", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 327-346; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, 71.

[1287] Cf. Carl Heinz Ratschow, "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 121-155; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 65-66; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 692.

[1288] Cf. Hans-Joachim Birkner, "Christian Wolff", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 187-198; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 68; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 692.

[1289] Rudolf Smend, "Gotthold Ephraim Lessing", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 281-297; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, 68-69.

[1290] Gottfried Hornig, "Johann Salomo Semler", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W.

1768)[1291] had a decisive influence on all further theological development. Semler founded the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation,[1292] while Reimarus completely rejected the doctrine of divine revelation and also denied the resurrection of Jesus.[1293] Bosch summarized the characteristics of the Enlightenment in relation to the Christian faith:

> "The dominant characteristic of the modern era is its radical anthropocentrism. Prior to the Enlightenment, life in all its stratifications and ramifications was pervaded with religion. [...] There was faith and unbelief both before and after the Enlightenment [...]. It can, however, not be denied that the Enlightenment provided people with a new 'plausibility structure', that the Christian faith (or any faith for that matter) no longer functioned in any direct way in informing scientific thinking. What distinguishes our culture from all cultures that have preceded it, is that it is, in its public philosophy, atheist [...].
>
> So even though the Christian faith continued to be practiced after the Enlightenment, it had lost its quiet self-evidence; it became strained and tended to overemphasize itself, for it felt itself to be operating in an alien and even hostile world."[1294]

Let us consider in a little more detail the impact of the Enlightenment paradigm on theology and Christian faith:[1295]

I.   Reason became a decisive factor both in Christian theology and for the Christian faith. Whereas faith had previously taken precedence over reason, this changed with the Enlightenment and reason replaced faith as the point of departure.

II.   More and more, religion was privatized. It was pushed out of the public square and only a small area remained for it. Faith became a purely personal matter.

III.   Theology itself was elevated to a science in the sense of Enlightenment understanding.

Kohlhammer, 1983, 267-279; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 84-85.

[1291] Günter Gwalick, "Hermann Samuel Reimarus", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die Aufklärung,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983, 299-311; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 85-87.

[1292] Cf. Gottfried Hornig, "Johann Salomo Semler", 277.

[1293] Günter Gwalick, "Hermann Samuel Reimarus", 300-307.

[1294] David Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 267-268.

[1295] The following is partly taken from: David Bosch, *Transforming Mission,* 269-273.

IV.   There was an elimination of all purpose from science. Purpose was replaced by direct causality as the key to understanding reality. Christian faith, however, is teleological in its essence and poses the question of "why?"

V.   The Enlightenment was characterised by a deep optimism and belief in progress. This for example had repercussions for Pietism with its eschatological "hope for better times".[1296] Also, large parts of the upcoming Protestant world mission movement were influenced by this idea of progress.

VI.   Closely related to this is an anthropology that is contrary to a biblical worldview. The anthropology of the Enlightenment was fundamentally positive and, in the context of an optimistic belief in progress, people believed in the improvement of man. There was no longer any question of man's depravity due to his sin.

VII. The strong anthropocentrism of the Enlightenment also led to increased individualism in Christianity. In Pietism, this manifested itself in the call to personal conversion. Christians' search for God's individual plan and will for their lives can be considered another example.

VIII. The belief in a supernatural world that influences events in this world was eliminated from enlightened Christianity. Although angels might still be granted a certain role, the demonic world was completely denied or at least negated.

There is no space for a detailed and encompassing critical appraisal of the Enlightenment.[1297] But we should also not overlook some positive impulses and effects of the Enlightenment. Again, we can only briefly touch on the relationship between Pietism and the Enlightenment.[1298] However, we can summarise the theological yield once again in the trenchant words of Armin Sierszyn:

"The weaknesses of the Enlightenment lie in the theological sphere with negative consequences for church and society.

[1296] Cf. Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 96.

[1297] Cf. Wolfgang Gericke, *Theologie und Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/2, Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1989; Margaret C. Jacob, "The Enlightenment Critique of Christianity", in: Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (eds.), *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815,* The Cambridge History of Christianity VIII, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 265-282.

[1298] See, among others, Walter Eberhardt, *Aufklärung und Pietismus 1648 bis 1800 ed. by* Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten, Berlin: Union Verlag, 1979; Albrecht Beutel, "6.4 Aufklärung", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021, 593-603.

I.   The image of man is flawed. Man is good. The biblical testimony of sin
      is the great disturbance for the enlightened image of man. If Pietism
      – In agreement with Augustine and Luther – painted the human heart
      black, for the enlightened it is white to light grey (no original sin).
      Human imperfection is due to a lack of education; through education
      man will be improved. The improvement of the environment also
      helps man to develop his nobility. Later, this idealism broke down be-
      cause of the illusionary view of evil.

II.   The unreal image of the world and creation. This world is wonderfully
      arranged. The physico-teleological proof of God arises from the won-
      derfully, usefully, and expediently arranged creation. The brokenness
      and the demonism of the world are hardly perceived. A shallow opti-
      mism generates utopias to which young people in particular succumb.
      Evil is considered a structurally controllable disorder.

III. The image of Christ is shallow and boring. Jesus Christ is a teacher of
      virtue and an ethical model. He is not the Redeemer, not God in the
      flesh, not the sacrificial lamb, not the bodily resurrected One and not
      the visibly and gloriously returning One. Jesus is not more than a no-
      ble man.

IV.   God is far away. He has withdrawn from the world. He does not inter-
      vene in history. The world runs according to brazen mechanical laws.
      [..]

V.   Correspondingly, their understanding of the Bible is dull and boring.
      Without a sense of the mystery of inspiration, they sit as know-it-all
      over Holy Scriptures, deleting everything that is, in their opinion, un-
      reasonable and unnatural. What they have left of the Bible is a code of
      relative enlightenment morality.

VI.   The driving force behind their criticism of the Bible and revelation is
      the missionary concern of the Enlightenment to make man better.
      This goal, however, remains unattained. On the contrary, the
      churches are emptying, Christian missionary zeal is waning, and the
      church is losing itself to the world. The selling out of the church's se-
      crets is sensibly paralleled by the rise of esoteric and occult circles.
      The erosion of Christian values in society and early industrialization
      led English cities in particular to the brink of moral and civilizing deg-
      radation. The Methodist revival put a stop to widespread drunkenness
      and social misery in England."[1299]

[1299] Armins Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 705-706.

10.4   Revival Movements

The term *revivalism* is widely discussed in academia.[1300] Ulrich Gäbler concluded that revivalism should be understood as a "collective term for renewal efforts within the entire Protestantism of the 18th and 19th centuries."[1301] He identified five features of revivalism that characterised revivalism theologically in both Europe and North America: a "prophetic motif" that related a "time analysis" to "salvation history", a "chiliastic motif" (in the form of either premillennialism or postmillennialism), a "universalistic motif", an "individualistic motif" and a "sociative [meaning the forming of societies] motif".[1302] Hartmut Lehmann also pointed to the interaction and interdependencies between emerging secularization and the revival movement,[1303] advocating that revivalism, like Pietism, should also be understood in a broader, typological sense.[1304]

[1300] A good research overview is provided by: Karsten Ernst, *Auferstehungsmorgen, Heinrich A. Chr. Hävernick: Erweckung zwischen Reformation, Reaktion und Revolution,* Giessen and Basel: TVG Brunnen, 1997, 1-39; Gustav Adolf Benrath, "Die Erweckung innerhalb der deutschen Landeskirchen 1815-1888. Ein Überblick", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 150-156; Andrew Alan Kloes, The *"Awakening Movement" in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Making of a Modern and Orthodox Protestantism*, Edinburgh: Unpublished disserstation, 2015, 13-35.

[1301] Ulrich Gäbler, "Erweckungsbewegung", in: *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* 1, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1986, 1081.

[1302] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, "'Erweckung' – Historische Einordnung und theologische Charakterisierung", in: Ulrich Gäbler, *Auferstehungszeit: Erweckungsprediger des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991, 169-178.

[1303] Hartmut Lehmann, "Neupietismus und Säkularisierung: Beobachtungen zum sozialen Umfeld und politischen Hintergrund von Erweckungsbewegung und Gemeinschaftsbewegung", in: Hartmut Lehmann, *Protestantische Weltsichten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, 84-91. See also: Hartmut Lehmann, "Der Platz der Erweckungsbewegung in der Geschichtsschreibung zur deutschen Geschichte", in: Thomas K. Kuhn and Veronika Albrecht-Birkner (eds.), *Zwischen Aufklärung und Moderne: Erweckungsbewegung als historiographische Herausforderung.* Religion – Kultur – Gesellschaft: Studien zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Christentums in Neuzeit und Moderne, Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2017, 13-26.

[1304] Cf. Hartmut Lehmann, "Erweckungsbewegung as Religious Experience or Historiographical Construct: The Case of Ludwig Hofacker", in: Hartmut Lehmann, *Religiöse Erweckung in gottferner Zeit. Studien zur Pietismusforschung*, Bausteine zu einer europäischen Religionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung 12, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010, 120-131, here 130-131. Cf. Thomas Hahn-Bruckart, "Transfergeschichtliche Ansätze in der Erforschung von Erwe-

I endorse this typological approach. The awakening/revival movement is thus a transnational and, to a large extent, also a trans-denominational phenomenon, which has to be understood in its interdependence with the Enlightenment and modernity, including the political upheavals and their consequences for the churches. Martin Greschat speaks in this context of a "defeudalisation of the church."[1305] At the same time, "Any attempt to understand the awakening movement must begin by considering the religious convictions of its proponents. Their beliefs profoundly shaped how they understood themselves."[1306] A personal and individualistic piety, which emphasizes the transformation of the individual on the basis of his or her personal religious renewal (conversion), sought like-minded people who voluntarily submitted to a self-chosen commitment to common action with the aim of proactively reshaping society in the spirit of the gospel.[1307] The emerging societies and networks provided the organizational form for this. Martin Greschat summarizes:

> "The center of all efforts was and remained the spreading of this piety. That was their mission. But to advance this, they also needed education as an exercise in firm rules and orders in addition to the preaching of the word and to witnessing and, for certain groups, social support, especially charitable support. The most important elements of this spiritual movement are thus named: missionary activity in their own country, but beyond that with special emphasis among the heathens, as well as the production and distribution of an immense flood of Bibles and Bible portions, tracts, calendars and edification writings of all kinds."[1308]

---

ckungsbewegung", in: Thomas K. Kuhn and Veronika Albrecht Birkner (eds.), *Zwischen Aufklärung und Moderne: Erweckungsbewegung als historiographische Herausforderung*. Religion – Kultur – Gesellschaft: Studien zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Christentums in Neuzeit und Moderne, Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2017, 43-62.

[1305] Martin Greschat, "Die neueste Zeit: Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, Einleitung", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit I*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.1 Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985, 19.

[1306] Andrew Alan Kloes, *The "Awakening movement" in early nineteenth-century Germany*, 20th *century*.

[1307] Cf. Martin Greschat, "Die neueste Zeit: Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, Einleitung", 24.

[1308] Cf. Martin Greschat, "Die neueste Zeit: Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg, Einleitung", 25.

10.4.1 The Evangelical Awakening in Great Britain

"The beginnings of the Protestant revival movement[1309] were undoubtedly in England."[1310] An initial but limited revival movement arose within the Anglican state church and mainly involved young men from the higher social circles. Here there were clear lines of connection to German Pietism.[1311]

The first large-scale revival movement in England is associated with three names: George Whitefield (1714-1770)[1312] and the brothers John Wesley (1703-1791)[1313] and Charles Wesley (1707-1788).[1314] Both Wesley brothers grew up in a high-church Anglican parsonage, although their parents had originally belonged to the Dissenters. Whitefield, on the other hand, had been brought up in an inn.[1315] All three young men studied theology at Oxford and met at the "Holy Club" founded by Charles Wesley in Oxford in the early 1730s. During a boat trip from England to the American colony of Georgia in 1735, the Wesley brothers met members of the Moravian Church.[1316] However, their stay in America was rather disappointing and they returned to England. In spring 1735, George Whitefield experienced his conversion.[1317] A year later, he was ordained as an Anglican priest and in the same year 1736 he also began his public preaching activities. When

---

[1309] Cf. on further development: Patrick Streiff, "XVI. Der Methodismus bis 1784/91", in: Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (eds.), *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert,* Geschichte des Pietismus 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995, 617-665; Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung,* 5-9; W. R. Ward, "John Wesley", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985, 45-48; Viviane Barrie, "III. Die Kirche von England (1689-1750)", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 455-459.

[1310] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 4.

[1311] Cf. Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 4.

[1312] Cf. Otto Riecker, *Ruf an alle: George Whitefield. Bahnbrecher der modernen Evangelisation und Erweckungsträger in zwei Kontinenten*, Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1962.

[1313] Cf. W. R. Ward, "John Wesley", 43-58; Jan Stiervermann, "Methodsimus", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021, 603-610.

[1314] Cf. Gary Best, *Charles Wesley (1707-1788): Eine Biografie*, Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2008.

[1315] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und das Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, 102.

[1316] Cf. David Ceri Jones, "5. Calvinistic Methodism and the Origins of Evangelicalism in England", in: Michael A. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart (eds.), *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities,* 107-108; Patrick Streiff, "XVI. Der Methodismus bis 1784/91", 621-622.

[1317] Cf. Otto Riecker, *Ruf an alle,* 20-21.

fellow parish ministers in London would not allow him to use their churches for his preaching, he sought new avenues. Harry S. Stout notes:

> "Whitefield rewrote the book on revivals and mass preaching. He combined itinerant ministry, outdoor preaching, weekday sermons, and extemporaneous speech to produce religious audiences and a level of religious enthusiasm without precedent in the English-speaking ministry.
> Whitefield's revival preaching was novel both for his shameless pathos and for his equally shameless self-promotion through the press and word-of-mouth. As he experimented with his delivery and with advertising, mass revival assumed ever-greater scope. [...]
> How did Whitefield make religion popular and entertaining? In a word, he made it dramatic, transforming the pulpit into a form of sacred theatre. More than any of his peers (and successors), Whitefield spoke to the passions of his hearers. Other revivalists – Stoddard, the Wesleys, Edwards – would speak to the 'affections', but none did so in as powerful and viceral a way as Whitefield."[1318]

Whitefield soon became a well-known personage. Two years later, in spring 1738, the two Wesley brothers also experienced their "conversion" in England in quick succession under the influence of the Moravian Peter Böhler.[1319] In February 1739, a first revival took place through the preaching of George Whitefield in Bristol and the surrounding area. The number of people attending the meetings, which were held outdoors, increased rapidly from several hundred to several thousand. When two months later John Wesley was asked to continue the meetings, it took great courage for him to preach outdoors, as this was not common at all during those days.[1320] In the following years there were

> "preaching campaigns throughout England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland [...]. In renewal of the Pauline itinerant apostolate, on horseback, preaching up to four times a day, preferably in the open air, visiting the most hidden villages, they reached tens of thousands. Under often explosive

---

[1318] Harry S. Stout, "George Whitefield in Three Countries", in: Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 58-59.

[1319] See Patrick Streiff, "XVI. Der Methodismus bis 1784/91", 622-623; John Walsh, "'Methodism' and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism", in: Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 20.

[1320] Cf. Patrick Streiff, "XVI. Der Methodismus bis 1784/91", 627.

convulsions, repentance and the breakthrough of grace took place in countless numbers."[1321]

However, theological differences arose between John Wesley and Whitefield around the question of predestination. While Wesley took an Arminian position, Whitefield held a classical Reformed position. Thus, there were initially two theological wings within Methodism.[1322]

The revivalists intentionally remained within the Anglican Church despite some conflicts about the numerous "Methodist" circles that had arisen in the meantime – already their student group "Holy Club" had been mocked as "Methodist" during their studies.[1323] They gathered the young awakened into small classes or societies and looked after them. These clear organizational structures provided an important key to the success of the revival movement and of Methodism in England.

> "In the 53 years between his conversion and his death, Wesley covered some 380,000 kilometres, mostly in the saddle, and preached 50,000 times in halls, in churches [...] on fairgrounds, in military camps or in the open country – wherever he found listeners. On his special saddle, Wesley did the mail that came in, wrote sermons and, until the end of his life, 233 smaller and larger books."[1324]

Only after the death of the founding generation in 1795 did the group, which had by then grown to around 70,000 Methodists, separate from the Anglican Church.[1325] At the same time, Reformed-minded revivalists remained within the Anglican Church and shaped its "low-church" wing, or the evangelical one of the three wings still existing today.[1326] Alongside the Anglican Church, and especially in Scotland through the preaching of Whitefield in Reformed circles, the Dissenters also experienced a spiritual awakening through the revival movement.[1327]

[1321] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 6.
[1322] See Patrick Streiff, "XVI. Der Methodismus bis 1784/91", 627-628; David Ceri Jones, "5. Calvinistic Methodism and the Origins of Evangelicalism in England", 103-18; in: Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Weselys,* A History of Evangelicalism 1. Leicester: IVP, 2004, 113-114.
[1323] On Wesley's conflict with the Anglican Church, see W. R. Ward, "John Wesley", 49-50; Patrick Streiff, "XVI Methodismus bis 1784/91", 629.
[1324] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Pietismus und Zeitalter der Aufklärung,* 109.
[1325] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung,* 7-8.
[1326] The other two wings are the "high church" (Anglo Catholics) and the "broad church", today the more liberal part.
[1327] See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s,* London, Boston, Sydney and Wellington: Unwin Hyman, 1989, 32-33.

10.4.2   The Great Awakening in the North American Colonies

In many ways, developments in North America paralleled those in England.[1328] The first local revival occurred in spring 1735 at Northampton, Massachusetts under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).[1329] In late summer 1739, George Whitefield arrived in the North American colonies and he remained there until the end of 1740. Mark Noll notes:

> "For one thing, he preached wherever people could be gathered, which usually meant outside churches, often not on Sunday but at any hour of the day or night, and sometimes to huge crowds. Secondly, he took his Anglican ordination lightly and worked assiduously with Protestants of all kinds who wished to support his work – whether Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Moravian Brethren, early Methodists or others. [...] Whitefield and his associates ventured into new territory by beginning to exploit newspapers, pamphlets, and other printed matter to their ends."[1330]

For almost a month, Whitefield spoke daily to an audience of around 8,000 in Boston, even though the city did not have many more than 8,000 citizens at the time.[1331] "If England marked the birth of new, mass-produced revivals, America presented the triumph," stated Harry S. Stout.[1332] Over the course of 1740, Whitefield travelled a distance of 800 miles on 73 days across New England and preached 130 sermons.[1333] Whitefield's success in the American colonies can be attributed to several factors. For one thing, his Reformed theology fitted the North American mould with its Puritan heritage. "For Americans to hear an Anglican priest extolling total de-

---

[1328] On the revival in North America see: Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of the Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007; Mark Noll, *Das Christentum* in *Nordamerika*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen IV.5, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000; Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, B. Eerdmans, ²1993; 85-114, Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung,* 9-16; W. R. Ward, "Evangelical Awakenings in the North Atlantic World", in: Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (eds.), *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815,* The Cambridge History of Christianity VIII, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 329-347.
[1329] Cf. George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003, 150-169.
[1330] Mark A. Noll, *Das Christentum in Nordamerika*, 81-82.
[1331] Cf. Mark A. Noll, *Das Christentum in Nordamerika*, 82
[1332] Harry S. Stout, "George Whitefield in Three Countries", 61
[1333] Cf. Nathan O. Hatch, Mark A. Noll and John D. Woodbridge, *The Gospel in America: Themes in the Story of America's Evangelicals*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982, 140.

pravity, predestination, and strict morality was, in Whitefield's words, like 'putting fire to tinder'."[1334]

Harry S. Stout summarizes Whitefield's work:

"Ultimately, Whitefield pioneered a new, evangelical conception of religious association that could accommodate many different theological traditions and orientations. His revivals were themselves a new religious form, neither 'church' nor 'sect'. [...] Central to that revival was the experience of the New Birth."[1335]

Until his death, Whitefield would return regularly to the American colonies for preaching services.

There were various reasons for the rapid spread of the revival movements both in England and in the North American colonies. First, it is important to note that God can sovereignly grant spiritual awakenings through the Holy Spirit. The revivals not only affected people without religious affiliation who experienced a conversion but also led to spiritual renewal among Christians.[1336] In theological terms, the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone was not only rediscovered but became an experiential reality through the call to conversion.[1337] The spiritual justification experienced became experiential in a subjectivist way, through an "immediate, self-affirming certainty imprinted on the heart."[1338] In addition, a strategically established network of journals, other publications, and correspondence brought about an exchange of information that carried news of local and regional revivals to all parts of the world.[1339]

10.4.3   The Beginnings of the Evangelical Movement

In church history, the "evangelical awakenings" are also considered the beginning of the evangelical movement. The historian David W. Bebbington concluded with regard to Great Britain, "Evangelical religion is a popular Protestant movement that has existed in Britain since the 1730s."[1340]

[1334] Harry S. Stout, "George Whitefield in Three Countries", 62.
[1335] Harry S. Stout, "George Whitefield in Three Countries", 68-69. On the long-term impact of the revival, see Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 97-103.
[1336] Cf. John Walsh, "Methodism and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism", 29.
[1337] Cf. John Walsh, "Methodism and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism", 27.
[1338] John Walsh, "Methodism and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism", 31.
[1339] John Walsh, "Methodism and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism", 21; cf. Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 107.
[1340] David. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* 1.

Mark Noll postulated something similar for the North American context.[1341] In his groundbreaking work on the history of the evangelical movement, Bebbington identified four characteristics which constitute evangelicalism: "conversionism",[1342] "activism",[1343] "biblicism"[1344] and "crucicentrism".[1345] Noll elaborated further on Bebbington's definition:

- "conversionism, or 'the belief that lives need to be changed';
- the Bible, or 'the belief that all spiritual truth is to be found in its pages';
- activism, or the dedication of all believers, including laypeople, to lives of service for God, especially as manifested in evangelism (spreading the good news) and mission (taking the gospel to other societies);
- crucicentrism, or the conviction that Christ's death was the crucial matter in providing atonement for sin (that is, providing reconciliation between a holy God and sinful humans)."[1346]

Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that the evangelical movement emerged from the revival movements and was also impacted by several earlier movements: Puritanism,[1347] Pietism and – for Great Britain – high-church Anglicanism.[1348]

Whitefield himself cited another characteristic which became decisive for the evangelical movement. He said, "It was best to preach the new birth, and the power of godliness, and not to insist so much on the form: for people would never be brought to one mind as to that; nor did Jesus Christ ever intend it."[1349] The trans-confessional and interdenominational approach, based on a common missionary concern, overruled for the first time inner-Protestant confessionalism.

We will return to the evangelical movement later. At this point I will summarize, with the words of Mark Noll, what distinguished the early "evangelicals"[1350] and how the early evangelical movement developed:

[1341] Mark A. Noll, *Das Christentum in Nordamerika*, 81.
[1342] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 5.
[1343] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 10.
[1344] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 12.
[1345] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* 14.
[1346] Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 16.
[1347] Cf. John Coffey, "Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the Protestant Evangelical Tradition", in: Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart (eds.), *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities,* Leicester: IVP, 2008, 252-277.
[1348] Cf. Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 61.
[1349] Quoted from: Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism,* 12.
[1350] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 8.

"In the simplest sort of summary, evangelicalism grew out of earlier forms of heart-felt British Protestantism and was stimulated by contact with heart-felt continental pietism. It was grounded religiously in the innovative preaching of justifying faith. It was promoted and maintained by the effective exertions of capable spiritual leaders. It offered a compelling picture of direct fellowship with God for believers as individuals and in groups. It represented a shift in religiosity away from the inherited established churches towards spiritual communities constructed by believers themselves. It featured a form of conversion as much focused on personal experience, as much preoccupied with claims of certainty as any manifestations of the Enlightenment. And because its spirituality was adjusted to an opening world of commerce, communications and empire, that spirituality effectively resolved the psychological dilemmas created by this opening world."[1351]

10.5 The Roman Catholic Church

The development of the Roman Catholic Church in the course of the eighteenth century will be only briefly presented.[1352] One can speak of a decline of the influence of the papacy and the Catholic Church as a whole. Thus, the papacy increasingly lost influence, the "curia became the plaything of the states' competing claims"[1353] and the Papal State got into trouble both politically and economically. Above all, Jesuit influence in countries such as France, Portugal and Spain was perceived as an even greater threat and was therefore steadily pushed back. This culminated in the temporary ban of the Jesuit order in 1773. Kurt Aland comments:

"The dissolution of the Society of Jesus, once the most important support of the papacy and the Catholic Church and one of the essential prerequisites for the Counter-Reformation's success, is the most striking expression of the decline and weakened condition of Catholicism in the Age of Enlightenment. The decline in all other areas cannot be overlooked either. Catholicism,

---

[1351] Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, 144.
[1352] See, among others, Bernhard Dompnier, "Die Fortdauer der katholischen Reform", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 211-347; Monique Cottret, "Der Jansenistenstreit", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 348-408; Carsten Bach-Nielsen, "Christianity in 18th Century Europe." In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 432-433.
[1353] Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity 2, 293.*

which until now had had a preeminent political position in Europe, now began to lose ground to Protestantism."[1354]

With the death of Louis XIV, the power of Catholic France steadily declined. At the same time, the sphere of power and influence of Protestant countries such as England, the Netherlands and Prussia increased. In the Catholic Habsburg Empire, Emperor Joseph II came to power, imbued with the spirit of the Enlightenment, and shaped a policy that would go down in history as "Josephinism":

> "As early as 1781, the emperor eliminated foreign administration over the orders and placed them under the native episcopate. [...] Ecclesiastical institutions for the training of clergy were replaced by state seminaries, where not only was the course of study prescribed by the state, but where they also made sure that the clergy were educated in the spirit of the Enlightenment. Soon thereafter, Joseph dissolved all the monasteries not engaged in education, care of the sick, or scholarly work. Of the 2,361 monasteries existing in Austria and Hungary at that time, there were only 1,425 left; when we look at the numbers of monks and nuns, the destruction was even greater: of the sixty thousand brothers and sisters in monastic orders, thirty-six thousand had to leave the monastery. The extensive wealth of the suppressed monasteries was expropriated for the state's purposes."[1355]

All interventions by Pope Pius VI (1775-1799) and even a visit by the Pope to Vienna were to no avail.

10.6   The Russian Orthodox Church

For the Russian Orthodox Church, state and church were closely intertwined, even if mutual relations were not always free of conflict.[1356] Above all, the reign of Tsar Peter the Great, who strove to reform state and

---

[1354] Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity 2,* 298.

[1355] Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity 2,* 301-302.

[1356] On the development in Russia cf: Alfons Brüning, "The Russian Church, 1448-1701", In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 77-105; Pierre Gonneau, "Die Russische Kirche: Unterjochung, Fortbestand und Glaubensspaltungen", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 502-538; Igor Smolitsch *Geschichte der Russischen Kirche,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964; Christian Gottlob, "Christianity in Russia, 1700-1917", In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 2. History of Christianity in the 19th Century.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 145-180.

church, brought multiple far-reaching consequences for the Russian church:

> "First, the transformation of institutions such as the service nobility [Dienstadel] brought down many customs that had been sanctioned by tradition or religion. For example, Russia abandoned the Russian calendar and went from 31 December 7208 to 1 January 1700. Second, the development of the country's economic sources of income, necessary mainly all because of the war in the north from 1700 to 1721, resulted in a very strong obligation to pay for church property. Finally, Peter the Great pursued the goal of restructuring the church itself, this not solely out of the intention of depriving it of any desire to resist imperial power, but in a sincere concern to improve its internal discipline and organization, and to lead it 'on the right path to salvation'."[1357]

The first half of the eighteenth century showed a slow opening and change in the state's policy towards non-Orthodox Christians. As early as 1702, the Tsar granted religious freedom to foreigners in the service of Russia. Here, however, what had long been the custom was only made official. Ten years later, after the conquest of the Baltic region, the Lutheran Church was granted complete freedom of worship. The Tsar was also said to have "a pronounced sympathy for the Reformation".[1358] "In summary, it should be noted that in the years between 1619 and 1764, the imperial state assumed a monopoly of action in all areas of ecclesiastical life in Russia."[1359]

In the course of the sixteenth and especially during the seventeenth century, there was a steady conquest of Siberia by the Russians. "Within just a little over seven decades, the whole of North Asia or Siberia became part of the Tsarist Empire."[1360] This geographic expansion also led to an expansion of the Russian Orthodox Church's sphere of influence, due to its self-understanding as the Russian national church. "Every new establishment of a town or village included the establishment of a Russian Orthodox Church."[1361] However, it took much longer before there was any targeted mission work in the conquered territories. "Peter the Great saw in the mission a means of establishing a close bond between the Russian people and the peoples of Siberia through a common faith. He ordered the resumption

---

[1357] Pierre Gonneau, "Die Russische Kirche: Unterjochung, Fortbestand und Glaubensspaltungen", 510. Cf. Igor Smolitsch, *Geschichte der Russischen Kirche*, 57-356.

[1358] Pierre Gonneau, "Die Russische Kirche: Unterjochung, Fortbestand und Glaubensspaltungen", 519; Igor Smolitsch, *Geschichte der Russischen Kirche*, 67.

[1359] Pierre Gonneau, "Die Russische Kirche: Unterjochung, Fortbestand und Glaubensspaltungen", 519.

[1360] Klaus Wetzel, *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 326.

[1361] Klaus Wetzel, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 326-327.

of the mission among the Eastern Yaks and the mission among the Voguls (Manses) and exempted new converts from taxation."[1362] In addition, Filofeij Leschtschinskij, Archbishop of Tobolsk from 1702, also launched targeted mission initiatives. He wanted to reach all of Siberia with the gospel and began a mission among the Eastern Yaks, Voguls and Yakuts.

> "Filofeij Leschtschinskij not only sent missionaries, he also personally undertook several extensive missionary journeys, e.g. in 1716 and 1718 to the Samoyeds on the northwest coast of Siberia, after which he visited the eastern part of his archdiocese. For Eastern Siberia, he founded a mission center in Irkutsk in 1706. His main area of activity remained the western part of the diocese. Leschtschinskij is said to have performed 40,000 baptisms, and during his time as archbishop the number of churches is said to have increased from 160 to 448, of which 37 were mission churches."[1363]

Even in the following decades, there were still a few further mission initiatives on the part of the Russian Orthodox Church.

10.7   The Further Development of Christianity Outside of Europe

In the Roman Catholic mission of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a "radical change in the organization of the missions, and in their relationship to the centre in Europe"[1364] took place.

On one hand, this was due to a changed political situation. Portugal and Spain had long since ceased to be the undisputed maritime world powers; rather, other European countries begun to play an increasingly important role in world trade. This required a rethinking on the part of the Roman Catholic Church. The church could no longer rely solely on Catholic rulers as the main bearers of mission. Thus, the Vatican established its own structure in which all existing mission work was brought under one central authority: the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (1622), later often referred to as Propaganda, was founded.

A turning point for Protestant world mission was the emergence of Pietism on the European continent. For the first time, Protestants began to actively pursue world mission. Although the beginnings of this Protestant movement were in the eighteenth century, not until the nineteenth century did it reach its full flourishing.

[1362] Klaus Wetzel, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 329.
[1363] Klaus Wetzel, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission*, 329-330.
[1364] Cf. Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 151.

At the same time, however, we should recall that in some parts of Asia, especially the Middle and Near East, historic Christian churches continued to exist.

10.7.1   Asia

Many Christians continued to live in the Middle and Near East, all ruled by Muslims, whether under the Ottoman Empire or under Arab rule.[1365] The situation of Christians in the Ottoman Empire remained difficult. Two terms help us to understand their situation: "dhimmi" and "millet". Giuseppe Croce notes:

> "They circumscribe the dual – the religious and the state – nature of the relations which the High Porte maintained with the Jews and Christians. Since they did not belong to the nation of true believers, the one, like the other, could only obtain the toleration and protection (dhimmi) of the Islamic power. This allowed them to exist, to practice their worship and even to have a certain administrative autonomy within their religious community (millet)."[1366]

In many cases, Christians had to pay an additional tax. The Christian minorities in the Middle and Near East, the Maronites, Melkites, Syrians, Armenians and the adherents of the Assyrian Church of the East, while experiencing a certain religious tolerance on one hand, were on the other hand also repeatedly confronted with hostility and persecution.[1367] In large parts, this led to an adapted, discreet behaviour, as one did not want to incur the wrath of the Muslims by provoking them. At the same time, some of these churches were also exposed to Roman Catholic, missionary-unionist efforts.[1368] From the perspective of the history of theology and piety, as Bruce Master noted:

> "Despite the turbulent history that gave rise to the myriad Christian traditions in the East, the theological divisions behind their foundations were

---

[1365] Cf. Bruce Master, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 107-127; Giuseppe Croce, "Die orientalischen Kirchen", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 539-609.
[1366] Giuseppe Croce, "Die orientalischen Kirchen", 547.
[1367] Giuseppe Croce, "Die orientalischen Kirchen", 549
[1368] Cf. Bruce Master, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", 115-116.

murky for most believers by the time of the Ottoman conquests as the education of both the clergy and the laity declined during the centuries of Muslim rule. As a result, an individual's identity in a particular Christian community was tied to tradition and family and not to any firm religious certainty [...]. Before the arrival of the Catholic missionaries, sectarian differences seemed to have been largely unimportant for Arabic-speaking Christians as marriages between members of differing Christian communities was common."[1369]

In other regions of Asia, there were further large-scale mission efforts by the Roman Catholic Church.[1370] In India, the arrival of the noble Jesuit Robert de Nobili in 1663 brought decisive progress. In his view, to win Indians for the Christian faith, a missionary should become an Indian to the Indians, especially in terms of language, clothing, and food. De Nobili was the first European to learn Sanskrit in addition to a good knowledge of Tamil. Although he led some Indians to the Christian faith, especially from the higher castes, he faced severe opposition from other missionaries, first because they rejected the cultural adaptation he demanded and second because they accused him of syncretism.

The Catholic Church also continued to minister in China. Matteo Ricci was succeeded by the German astronomer Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), who predicted two solar eclipses in 1623 and 1624. When these actually occurred, he fully won the favour of the emperor, who was deeply impressed by Bell's astronomical knowledge. Thus, under the protection of the Emperor, the Jesuits were able to further expand their missionary activities from Beijing, and even minor persecutions could not stop them. The year 1692 even saw an edict of tolerance for Christians.

Vietnam also experienced a new missionary push, mainly through the work of Alexander de Rhodes. De Rhodes learned the Vietnamese language and created a Latin alphabet. He invested intentionally in the training of native catechists and his efforts were rewarded. Already by 1658, the number of Christians in Vietnam exceeded 300,000.

Protestantism's entry into world mission was initiated by the Danish king, who requested two students from the Pietist August Hermann

---

[1369] Bruce Master, "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800", 109.
[1370] Cf. Philippe Lécrivan, "Die Faszination des Fernen Ostens oder der unterbrochene Traum", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750),* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 750-82; Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 205-232.

Francke in Halle for missionary work in India in the places overseen by the Danish East India Trading Company. In 1706, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau[1371] became the first Protestant missionaries to set foot on Indian soil when they docked in Tranquebar.[1372] Early on, despite his lack of missiological training, Ziegenbalg developed and outlined five principles that should underlie all missionary work.[1373]

1. "Church and school are to go together. Christians must be able to read the Word of God, and therefore all Christian children must be educated."[1374]
2. The Word of God must be available in the indigenous language.
3. Preaching requires knowledge and sensitivity towards the local culture and its tradition.
4. The goal of mission must be the conversion of people.
5. The mission work and the resulting communities must be handed over to locals as soon as possible.

The long-term influence and broad impact of Ziegenbalg and Plütschau on Protestant missions should be considered. Ziegenbalg in particular kept up an extensive correspondence, and his reports were published not only in German but also in English. As a result, the Anglican Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) aided Ziegenbalg's work by financing a printing press to print copies of the New Testament. Here we see the first joint ecumenical collaborations. The German Pietist Ziegenbalg, sent out by the Lutheran Danish king, supported by the high-church English Anglican SPCK, ministered as a military pastor for English soldiers while working as a German missionary among Indians. Among other influential missionaries who were to follow Ziegenbalg and Plütschau was Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1726-1798), who lived in India for 48 years. He was an

---

[1371] Cf. on Plütschau the article by Werner Raupp, "Plütschau, Heinrich, luth. Missionar", in: *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* VII, Herzberg: Bautz, 1994, 757-758.

[1372] On Ziegenbalg, see the rather popular biographies by Ann-Charlott Settgast, *Der Mann in Tranquebar: Ein Porträt des Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg,* Moers: Brendow, 1987 and Erich Beyreuther, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: Aus dem Leben des ersten deutschen Missionars in Indien,* Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1952. On a scholarly level, reference should be made to the articles by Hugald Grafe, "Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus", *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 36, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004, 666-668 and Werner Raupp, "Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus", *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* XIV, Herzberg: Bautz, 1998, 452-461.

[1373] Cf. Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions,* 195-196.

[1374] Cf. Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions,* 195.

extremely gifted and capable man who spoke fluent Portuguese, German, English, Tamil, Persian and Hindi and exerted a lasting influence in India. He was even called upon to act as a political mediator.[1375]

Through the missionary work of Hans Egede (1686-1758)[1376] in Greenland, Nikolaus Ludwig Count of Zinzendorf not only became aware of the spiritual need of the people in the north but also triggered one of the largest missionary movements in history. The Moravian missionaries from Herrnhut began work in Persia, China, the East Indies and the Caucasus, even though these initiatives did not enjoy lasting success during the eighteenth century.[1377] In spite of all difficulties, starting mission work in 28 regions within 28 years is more than a remarkable achievement.[1378] What was the secret of their success?

> "The sending agency was a congregation that called artisans to the ministry without ordination or theological training, independent of a colonial society. The missionaries' testimony was the message of Christ's suffering and death for poor and lost people. They were convincing through their solidarity with the slaves, their adaptation to the living conditions of the inhabitants, their simple Christian pastoral care, and their way of life as a brotherhood characterized by liturgy and the study of the Scriptures. Their goal, directed entirely towards the individual, was a search for the 'firstfruits whom Christ himself has called'."[1379]

For the Anglo-Saxon world, the work of William Carey (1761-1834)[1380] would lead to a rise of Protestant, Anglo-Saxon world mission towards the end of the eighteenth century and especially during the nineteenth century. With the publication in 1786 of his book *An Inquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Employ Means for the Conversion of the Heathen,*[1381] the skilled shoemaker set off a wave that found its first echo – despite all opposition – In the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. Carey himself

---

[1375] Cf. Hugald Grafe, "Indien", *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 16, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987, 102-116; Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 277.

[1376] Cf. on Egede the article by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Egede, Hans, 'Apostel der Eskimos'", *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* I, Hamm: Bautz, 1990, 1466-1468.

[1377] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens*, 280.

[1378] Horst R. Flachsmeier, *Geschichte der evangelischen Weltmission*, 145.

[1379] Dietrich Meyer, "Zinzendorf und Herrnhut", 37.

[1380] Cf. S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey. Der Vater der modernen Mission,* Bielefeld: CLV, 1998.

[1381] William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, Leicester: Ann Ireland, 1792.

travelled to India with his family in 1793 to work there as a missionary. His life's ministry as well as the further expansion of Protestant missionary work falls into the nineteenth century and is thus part of the next chapter.

10.7.2 Africa

In Africa, both the Coptic Church in Egypt and the Ethiopian Church continued to exist.[1382] The Coptic Church faced a similar situation to other Christians in the Middle and Near East. Especially from the seventeenth century onwards, the Ottoman permission to the Roman Catholic Church to settle wherever there were Christians also led to a weakening of the Coptic Church.[1383] In contrast, the Ethiopian Church had already expelled the Jesuits from the country in the seventeenth century and survived despite threats from neighbouring Islamic countries.

Roman Catholic missionary efforts in Africa were initially entirely in the hands of the Portuguese.[1384] Not until the fall of the Portuguese monopoly and the founding of the Mission Congregation in Rome did a larger-scale mission movement emerge. Even though the Roman Catholic Church baptized around 600,000 Africans in the Congo, Angola and neighbouring countries between 1645 and 1700, and after 1700 added another 12,000 baptisms a year, this cannot hide the fact that the mission rarely succeeded in establishing long-term congregations. Most of the missionaries never learned any of the local languages; they often did not attach any importance to any kind of follow-up work and did not do justice to their pastoral task. It is therefore no surprise that there were hardly any long-term successes in Africa.

> "On the Protestant side, the balance was no better. At the beginning of the 17th century, some preachers of the Dutch Reformed Church were sent to the Dutch possessions in West Africa. But they endured the climate badly; the spiritual care in the Dutch forts [...] was taken care of by laymen from 1645 onwards."[1385]

[1382] Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden andBoston: Brill, 2021, 129-247.

[1383] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa 1500-1800", 130-135.

[1384] On Africa, see Philippe Denis, "Afrika", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998, 732-749; Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 136-137.

[1385] Philippe Denis, "Afrika", 737-738.

Apart from the activities of Protestants in the Southern African settlements,[1386] there were only a few other Protestant mission initiatives in Africa during this phase, which were related to the so-called "Gold Coast", where from 1737 to 1775 missionaries of the Moravian Church ministered, along with missionaries of the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" from 1751 to 1816[1387] as well as some Dutch and a few converted Africans:

> "Jacobus Capitein, a Fante tribesman, was taken to Holland as a boy. He entered Leyden University in 1737. Five years later, he wrote his Doctoral Dissertation in which he put forward the Biblical defence of slavery. He was ordained in Amsterdam and returned to minister in Africa. He established a school, and he did much to promote the writing of the Fante language, e. g. by translating the Lord's Prayer, the Twelve Articles of Faith and the Ten Commandments, which were published in a booklet that was printed in Holland. Capitein also met with many difficulties that frustrated his work. He died at Fort Elmina in 1747 at the age of 30."[1388]

Philippe Dennis, referring to R. Gray, therefore asks a provocative question regarding the early African mission work:

> "Does this mean that the mission to Africa in the early modern period was a 'ridiculous, nonsensical enterprise, borne of an optimism bordering on mockery' and therefore 'doomed to failure' from the outset? Certainly, this assessment is too sweeping. But diseases, communication difficulties, lack of personnel, concessions by the church to the political authorities, the willingness to accept slavery as a fact – all this massively called into question the success of the first evangelisation in Africa. When the mission made a second attempt at the beginning of the 19th century, nothing – or almost nothing – of the Christianity awakened in the course of the previous three centuries was left. In the face of so much effort, this is a tragedy."[1389]

10.7.3 Latin America

The religious situation in Latin America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can again be grasped only in the context of the religious and po-

---

[1386] Cf. Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 143-146, Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 333-335.

[1387] Cf. Julius Richter, *Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika*, Allg. Evang. Missionsgeschichte 3, Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1922, 4; Kevin Ward, "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800", 142.

[1388] Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 329.

[1389] Philippe Denis, "Afrika", 747-748.

litical developments of the colonial ruling powers Spain and Portugal.[1390] It is therefore natural to present the history of Christianity in Latin America as part of Spanish and Portuguese church history and not as an independent development.[1391] What Mariano Delgado said about Spain applied similarly to Portugal:

> "In the Spanish world empire, world mission was from the beginning under the patronage of kings [...]. This not only promoted the 'imperial type' of mission, but also led to the church's becoming effectively a 'state church' in Spanish overseas territories, over which Rome had very little influence. Terms like 'patronage' and effective 'state church' do not, however, mean that the kings took poor care of the church. The Spanish kings, as indicated, were always at pains to send 'worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men' in accordance with the bull of concession, and to appoint corresponding bishops. They fostered the evangelization of the indigenous population, listening when there were problems to complain about and trying to remedy them with improved protective laws. But they did not tolerate and questioning of their rule or any interference by the popes."[1392]

This was one of the reasons why the Curia installed the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622, in order to strengthen its own position.[1393] Despite the positive approach of the rulers described before, the situation on the ground often looked different. Thus, as early as 1622, the first secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Francesco Ignoli (1622-1649), stated, as summarized by Hans-Jürgen Prien:

> "'The Spaniards do not ordain Indian priests, nor admit them to higher studies, but leave them in their uncivilized state, that they may the more easily avail themselves of them; and all this under the pretext that they are naturally unfit and inclined to drunkenness.' [...] The treatment of the Indians as slaves, the combination of the preaching of the faith and the deprivation of

---

[1390] On the church history of Latin America, see Joel M. Cruz, *The Histories of the Latin American Church: A Handbook*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014; Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978; Dominique Deslandres, "Das Christentum in Süd- und Nordamerika", in: Marc Venard (ed.), *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 9, Freiburg, Basel Vienna: Herder, 1998, 613-731.

[1391] See, for example, Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 17-75.

[1392] Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 18. Cf. Dominique Deslandres, "Das Christentum in Süd- und Nordamerika", 615-618.

[1393] Cf. Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 38.

liberty, together with the exclusion of the Indians from the clergy, are the main cause of the standstill of the American mission in the 17th century."[1394]

The growing influence of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith led during the eighteenth century to a selective admission of people from local ethnic tribes, Coloured people, or African-Americans to ecclesiastical ordination, but this did not fundamentally change "the state of the church, which had long since developed into an entrenched colonial church in which colored people could only provide subordinate auxiliary services without opportunities for advancement [...]".[1395]

The ban and expulsion of the Jesuit order in 1773 caused additional great damage to the Roman Catholic cause in Latin America, especially in the sphere of education, but the "mission stations" were taken over by other orders for the time being. They would not begin to decline until the 19th century.[1396]

[1394] Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika*, 252.
[1395] Hans-Jürgen Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika*, 253.
[1396] Cf. Mariano Delgado, "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires", 73-74.

11 From the 19th Century to World War I (1800-1914)

The following account of the nineteenth century places a special emphasis on the history of evangelicalism, with a focus on revivals and the Holiness movement as well as on the founding of new Protestant denominations as well as the Evangelical Alliance – all movements and groups that usually only appear on the margins in the traditional accounts of church history, despite the fact that they represent major movements within global Christianity.

11.1 Revivals

Revivals affected not only the Anglo-Saxon landscape in the eighteenth century, but also the European continent.

11.1.1 The German-Speaking Countries

Again, it is correct to speak of a fluent transition from classical Pietism to the revival movements of the 19th century, as Jan Carsten Schnurr explains:

> "With its concern to bring the biblical message of salvation through Christ back into people's everyday lives and to rouse them from a spiritual sleep, the revival movement took up the legacy of Pietism and resumed more of its approaches."[1397]

However, the context of the time was completely different, both in religious and in social terms. It was no longer Lutheran Orthodoxy that had to be reformed, but rather the effects of the Enlightenment and Romanticism and, in the political sphere, the French Revolution had to be dealt with.

The flourishing diaspora work of the Moravians throughout the German-speaking world in the last decades of the eighteenth century provided a link to classical Pietism, ministering to awakened groups across the country. At the centre of the activity of the Moravian diaspora workers, mostly married couples, were pastoral care and the provision of fellow-

---

[1397] Jan Carsten Schnurr, "6.6 Erweckungsbewegung", in: Wolfgang Breul (ed.), *Pietismus Handbuch,* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021, 615.

ship. At the same time, however, a networking of the pietistic awakened circles was also promoted.[1398] Horst Weigelt therefore concludes, "The significance of the diaspora work consists [...] not least in the fact that it helped to prepare the emergence of the revival movement in Germany."[1399] The "Christian Society" (Christentumsgesellschaft), founded in 1780, also formed an important reference point for the dawning revival movement.

An early network of the revival movement had formed around the Württemberg pastor Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772),[1400] who was to cultivate a lifelong friendship with August Hermann Francke after a brief stay in Halle and who worked at the German Lutheran congregation in the *Savoy in London* from 1710-1712. During this brief period, Urlsperger became a member of the London SPCK, a society founded to promote missionary initiatives at home and abroad as much as religious education and the dissemination of literature.[1401] Even though the society was critical of other denominations (dissenters) at home, it was ecumenically open, at least in the international sphere. As previously mentioned, the SPCK supported Halle's Lutheran Danish mission work in Tranquebar, and Urlsperger convinced the SPCK in the 1730s to give financial aid to Protestant-Lutheran Salzburg refugees.[1402] While this initially applied to all Protestant emigrants from Salzburg, the financial support was soon limited to those who were willing to emigrate to the new colony of Georgia in America, where

---

[1398] On the Moravian diaspora work see, among others, Horst Weigelt, "XVIII. Der Pietismus im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert", 703-710; Horst Weigelt, "B. Die Diasporaarbeit der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine und die Wirksamkeit der Deutschen Christentumsgesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert,* Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000, 113-125.

[1399] Horst Weigelt, "XVIII. Der Pietismus im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert", 709.

[1400] Cf. on Samuel Urlsperger above all: Reinhard Schwarz (ed.), *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772). Augsburger Pietismus zwischen Außenwirkungen und Binnenwelt*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996; Horst Weigelt, *Geschichte des Pietismus in Bayern: Anfänge – Entwicklung – Bedeutung,* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 40, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001, 214-225.

[1401] Cf. Gordon Huelin, "The Relationship of Samuel Urlsperger to the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge'", in: Reinhard Schwarz (ed.), *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772). Augsburger Pietismus zwischen Außenwirkungen und Binnenwelt*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996, 151.

[1402] Cf. Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England*, 165-176. On the British ecclesiastical historical perception of the situation in Austria in the 18th century, see William R. WARD, "'An Awakened Christianity'. The Austrian Protestants and Their Neighbours in the Eighteenth Century", in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40.1 (1989), 53-73; W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*.

they were cared for by Halle preachers in the newly founded settlement of Eben-Ezer.[1403] Here we see for the first time a transdenominational, Pietist network between London, Halle, Augsburg (where Urlsperger was working in the meantime) and Salzburg, which extended to the American colony of Georgia. Remarkable in this context is a conclusion by the renowned British church historian William R. Ward regarding the interrelationship between Salzburg emigrants and the revival movement:

> "There is no doubt that the great Salzburger emigration contributed immensely to the promotion of religious revival. The arrival of so large army of refugees [...] could hardly fail to weaken the fragile props to religious conformity there, and in this sense pave the way for the preachers of a new religious appeal who followed hot on their heels. In the highly charged atmosphere of Germany itself, individual men and women [...] were delighted to find that they had independently undergone conversion experiences; and it is hard to believe that what has been called Zinzendorf's 'turn to Luther' [...] was confirmed by the evidence of Lutheranism among the Salzburgers."[1404]

Johann August Urlsperger (1728-1806), son of the above-mentioned Samuel Urlsperger, after completing his theological studies, pursued in the 1750s a plan to gather Pietist circles into a society that would fight primarily against Enlightenment theology in an apologetic-critical manner.[1405] Urlsperger was probably inspired to establish such a society by the London SPCK, of which he had been a corresponding member since 1764,[1406] and by a similar Swedish society.[1407] After Urlsperger had to resign as a minister for health reasons in May 1776, he devoted himself entirely to his plan to

---

[1403] Cf. George Fenswick-Jones, "Urlsperger und Eben-Ezer", Reinhard Schwarz (ed.), *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772),* 191.

[1404] W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, 106-107.

[1405] Cf. Horst Weigelt, "Johann August Urlsperger und die Anfänge der Christengesellschaft", in: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1982), 52-53; Horst Weigelt. *Geschichte des Pietismus in Bayern*, 305-306; Horst Weigelt, "Joh. Aug. Urlsperger und seine Auseinandersetzung mit der Aufklärungstheologie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Spätpietismus", in: J. van den Berg and J. P. van Dooren (eds.). *Pietismus und Reveil. Referate der internationalen Tagung: Der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und sein internationalen Beziehungen Zeist 18-22 Juni 1974,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978, 237-252.

[1406] Cf. Eamon Duffy, "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe: The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft", in: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1982), 28.

[1407] Cf. Allan Parkman, "Hofprediger Wrangel und die Societas Svecana Pro Fide et Christianismo", in: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1982), 43-51; Horst Weigelt, *Geschichte des Pietismus in Bayern,* 308.

establish this society. In mid-July 1779, he finally embarked on a sixteen-month promotional tour to find supporters for the founding of such a society, which took him (among other places) via Württemberg and Basel to London. Though he did not succeed in gaining the support of the SPCK as he had hoped, he was able, with the help of the pastor at the German Lutheran congregation in the *Savoy in London*, to form a "Society for the Promotion of Pure Doctrine and True Godliness" on 25 December 1779. This society was not only to have an international character but was also to be transconfessional, such that Catholic Christians would also be accepted.[1408] Even before Urlsperger arrived in his Franconian homeland on his return journey via Holland and northern Germany, a select committee of the "German Society of Active Promoters of Pure Doctrine and True Godliness" was formed in Basel on 30 August 1780, after they had learned of Urlsperger's London formation, and subsequently Urlsperger used his time, energy and also financial means to promote the new society and to motivate the founding of particular societies.[1409] Erich Beyreuther notes:

> "Many of these biblical-pietist groups came together in the "German Christian Society" [...]. Here a gathering of these forces took place; here remained strangely alive what Baroque Pietism had begun. Here, the connection with the evangelical circles of England was established effortlessly. The decisive person remained the Swabian Karl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf (1773-1859). The mission entities, mission societies, Bible societies and charitable works that flourished in the early 19th century, mainly in southern and central Germany, were almost all founded in connection with the German Christian Society. [...]
>
> But the evangelical movement in England also had a very direct impact on Germany, creating new centers of revival that had no connection whatsoever with the German Christian Society or the Herrnhut (Moravian) diaspora work."[1410]

However, a first major revival did not take place in a Protestant region, but in the Catholic Allgäu (Bavaria) from 1795 onwards through the preaching

---

[1408] Cf. Horst Weigelt, "Johann August Urlsperger und die Anfänge der Christengesellschaft", 55.

[1409] Cf. on the German Christian Society: Horst Weigelt, "Johann August Urlsperger und die Anfänge der Christengesellschaft", 56-57; Ernst Staehelin, *Die Christentumsgesellschaft in der Zeit von der Erweckung bis zur Gegenwart: Texte aus Briefen, Protokollen und Publikationen,* 2 vol., Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1970-1974; Horst Weigelt, "B. Die Diasporaarbeit der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine und die Wirksamkeit der Deutschen Christentumsgesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert", 125-149.

[1410] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 23-24.

of the Catholic priest Martin Boos,[1411] who had experienced a "conversion" around 1788 or 1789. More and more people, both priests and lay people, were awakened. Horst Weigelt summarises:

> "While the religious revival had so far proceeded without any great unrest, it became 'a blazing flame' at the beginning of 1797. During Boos' sermon at the New Years' service in 1797, tumultuous events occurred. 'About 40 people were so filled with the anointing of the Spirit and the fire of Christ's love that their buttocks could not grasp and bear it, but they fainted and had to be carried out. A great noise arose.'"[1412]

Opposition arose and official measures were taken by the affected dioceses of Augsburg and Constance, in the form of inquisition trials against Boos and a fellow priest friend. Boos was finally sentenced to a one year's imprisonment in the "priest correction house". After eight months, the remainder of the sentence was commuted to city arrest with a free pass. What was the content of the teachings of Boos and his followers? Horst Weigelt notes:

> "According to these sources, a personal relationship with Christ was urged, which could only be experienced through rebirth. This led to an indwelling of Christ in the awakened person, who received a new moral quality and was enabled to act ethically. Incidentally, the emotional-ecstatic element played a significant role in the rebirth and conversion experiences. However, since the rebirth was understood as an event that was suddenly brought about by God or Christ, all ecclesiological references clearly receded into the background. Particularly striking was the indifference towards sacramental piety, the veneration of saints and the cult of relics."[1413]

Boos, who remained a Catholic priest throughout his life, finally fled Bavaria and found refuge in Gallneukirchen near Linz for several years before he was also tried there. The Allgäu revival movement was not only consolidated but expanded further. When the monasteries were secularised in 1803, this led to a previously unknown freedom. As a result of these

---

[1411] Cf. Johannes Goßner (ed.), *Martin Boos, der Prediger der Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt. Seine Selbstbiographie neu hg. von Franz Graf Stuhlhofer,* Bonn: VKW, 2012; Horst Weigelt, "Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung bis 1803", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert,* Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 87-111.

[1412] Horst Weigelt, "Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung bis 1803", 89. Weigelt quotes Boos, cf. Johannes Goßner (ed.), *Martin Boos, der Prediger der Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt*, 89.

[1413] Horst Weigelt, "Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung bis 1803", 90-91.

changed conditions, "the Allgäu revival movement could now spread and consolidate for almost a decade and a half among both the clergy and the laity. Among the Catholic clergy, Gossner and Ignaz Lindl in particular achieved significance far beyond southern Germany."[1414]

The interdenominational network of the Catholic Allgäu revivalists is remarkable. There were not only manifold relations with the Herrnhut Moravians, but also with the German Christian Society in Basel and its branch society in Nuremberg. In addition, this inner-Catholic revival movement had a great influence on the inner-Protestant revival movements in Berlin, Northern Germany, Pomerania, Baden, Franconia, and Russia.[1415]

As already indicated, there were regional revivals in many parts of Germany from 1815 onwards.[1416] Let us summarise the yield so far in the words of Erich Beyreuther:

> "The German revival movement is therefore a time-bound phenomenon in the history of the Church in the 19th century, caught in this epoch. Its lasting significance lies in the inner authority of its leading figures, although it lacked a great creative and unifying personality. But the abundance of personalities is also its richness: in its profound effect on popular piety, where it was once able to gain a foothold; in the popular missionary, social and charitable works; and in the central question it posed."[1417]

11.1.2 The Réveil in the Western European Reformed Churches

The term "Réveil" is used to summarize the revival movement in Switzerland (with a focus on Geneva), France and the Netherlands. In the Geneva Réveil, "late Pietist influences from the German-speaking world intersected with evangelical ones from the English revival movement and with Scottish Free Church impulses."[1418]

[1414] Horst Weigelt, "Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung bis 1803", 96.

[1415] Horst Weigelt, "Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung bis 1803", 101-103.

[1416] Cf. Gustav Adolf Benrath, "C. Die Erweckungsbewegung innerhalb der deutschen Landeskirchen 1815-1888: Ein Überblick", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000, 150-271; L. Tiesmeyer, *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland während des 19. Jahrhunderts,* 4 vol., Kassel, Ernst Röttger's Nachfolger, 1901-1910.

[1417] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 44.

[1418] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 16.

Young students of theology gathered from 1805 onwards in groups originally founded by the Moravians; they soon attracted the opposition of the rationalist-minded clergy of Geneva.

"It was not until Mrs. von Krüdener appeared in Geneva in 1813, and, for all her extravagant nature, won success even among respectable citizens by her sermons on repentance, that her call to complete devotion to Christ became an occasion for these young, awakened theologians to make a public profession of their faith in Geneva."[1419]

Even more important for the further development of the Geneva Réveil was the arrival of the Scotsman Robert Haldane (1764-1842) in Geneva in fall 1816. He began hosting meetings for students of theology three times a week in his hotel suite, attended by between twenty and forty students, to whom he expounded the epistle to the Romans. "The effect of the Scot on this young generation of theologians was overwhelming. The reason for this attraction lay in Haldane's combination of theological-scientific argumentation with practical piety."[1420]

Peter H. Uhlmann summarises further events:

"With the intention of keeping the peace in the Reformation commemorative year in the Geneva Church, the rationalist 'Compagnie des Pasteurs' committed a betrayal of the Gospel. It issued the infamous regulations of 3 May 1817. The council fundamentally forbade preaching about the divine nature of Jesus, and it forbade pastors to speak about the depravity of man, as well as about the providence of God and the way in which the Holy Spirit guides man to repentance and rebirth. Contrary to the intention of the Company, clear fronts emerged from this document. This action divided the Reformed Church. Through massive pressure from the church authorities, the revived decided to form an independent church [...]. The believers experienced massive persecution. The meetings were disrupted by threats, curses, stone throwing, persecutions in the streets and trespasses. Even the pastors, in their hatred, spared no means to make the believers, whom they called 'mômiers' (= bigots, comedians), suspicious and ridiculous. Despite this, many people converted, especially from the poorer classes of the population."[1421]

[1419] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 17.
[1420] Ulrich Gäbler, "II. Evangelikalismus und Réveil", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 43.
[1421] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, 119.

From Geneva, the revival spread especially to other parts of French-speaking Switzerland. Ulrich Gäbler writes about the effect on Switzerland:

> "As far as the importance of the Réveil for Protestantism in Geneva and Switzerland is concerned, the first thing to note is that its impact went beyond the visible organizational activities of the revivalists. Even in Geneva, the concerns of the revivalists were taken up by state church pastors."[1422]

The French Réveil can trace its origins also back to British and Genevan influences.[1423] After all, France was considered a mission field by British evangelicals. This led, for example, to the sending of British missionaries and the establishment of Bible, tract and mission societies. The Sunday school idea – adopted from Geneva – was also very popular. Around 1830, for example, there were around one hundred Sunday schools, mainly aimed at Catholics who were to be led to conversion.

Adolphe Monod (1802-1856) left his mark on the French Réveil like no one else. Although he had come into contact with the revival movement in the 1820s during his theological studies in Geneva, during his work as a pastor in Naples (Italy) he met the Scottish lay theologian Thomas Erskine and experienced a conversion in May 1827. At the end of 1827, Monod returned to Lyon, France and entered into the ministry of the Reformed Church. When Monod set different emphases from his predecessor, began Sunday school work, and placed the need for human redemption, the necessity of conversion and the saving act in Christ at the centre of his preaching, conflicts arose and Monod and his followers were asked to leave the Reformed Church. Further conflicts culminated in Monod's dismissal from the pastoral ministry. Despite the offer of a professorship in Geneva, he remained in Lyon and founded a model congregation with an initial 50 members and an evangelistic purpose. The congregation grew, but conflicts arose over the ecclesiological understanding. His Reformed-presbyterian understanding was diametrically opposed to the Congregationalist understanding, and Monod decided to leave the pastoral ministry altogether. Ulrich Gäbler summarizes the French Réveil:

> "The Réveil wanted to cultivate and pass on biblical piety, especially in contrast to a secularized Catholicism. To this end, the Réveil used the usual means and participated in the organization of a wide range of associations. The importance of the Réveil for French Protestantism as a whole is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, one may assume that at the end of the thirty-year

---

[1422] Ulrich Gäbler, "II. Evangelikalismus und Réveil", 56.
[1423] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, "II. Evangelikalismus und Réveil", 59-60.

development from 1820 to 1850, some 40 to 45 percent of Protestants had become sympathisers of the Réveil."[1424]

Finally, in the Netherlands[1425] at the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, mainly the Moravians, local branches of the German Christian Society and the newly formed Missionary Society for the Revival of Christianity were committed to spiritual renewal. However, there were no major revival movements in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century.

11.1.3 Scandinavia

Looking at Scandinavia, we find a different situation. "In Sweden, [...] a piety borne by a pietistic-Moravian basic mood"[1426] prepared the ground for the great revival after 1800.[1427] In addition, similar to Germany, there were also Anglo-Saxon impulses, as was evident, for example, in the founding of the society "Pro fide et christianismo".

The revival movement in Sweden at the beginning of the nineteenth century started in southern Sweden and was initiated from the pastorate. It was characterized by a pronounced ecclesiasticism. However, it remained limited to certain regions. The leading figure of the revival in the diocese of Gothenburg on the west coast was Henrik Schartau (1757-1825) from Lund. The movement he shaped was influenced in its piety by both Lutheran orthodoxy and Württemberg-style Pietism (Johann Albrecht Bengel and Magnus F. Roos) and gained some popularity especially in the diocese of Gothenburg. In contrast, the revival movement that arose at the same time in Norrland in northern Sweden came from the grassroots and was predominantly led by lay people. Here, too, there were lines of connection to the Moravians. In a next phase, the revival developed into a "reading movement", especially in rural areas. Radical and separatist groups also emerged from the revival in Norrland.

[1424] Ulrich Gäbler, "II. Evangelikalismus und Réveil", 64.
[1425] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, "II. Evangelikalismus und Réveil", 64-74; Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung,* 21-22.
[1426] Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 45.
[1427] On the history of revivalism in Scandinavia, see Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 321-357; Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 45-47.

"Around the middle of the 19th century, the so-called New Evangelical re-
vival movement emerged, which left its mark on Swedish revivalist Christi-
anity more lastingly than the other movements, both inside and partly out-
side the church."[1428]

Here, influences from the previous Swedish revival movement were mixed
with Anglo-American and Scottish Congregationalist influences as well as
impulses from the revival under Hans Nielsen Hauge in Norway and Jo-
hann Hinrich Wichern and the so-called Interior Mission in Germany. The
New Evangelicals also provided the impetus for the emergence of other
Swedish Protestant denominations.

"The movement loved group activities and conventicles, mission associa-
tions were founded, and although pastors were involved, New Evangelical-
ism was nevertheless a lay movement in which itinerant preachers played
an essential role. Like the earlier Pietist revival, New Evangelicals called for
conversion and renewal of life, but criticized the legal piety of Old Pietism
as well as the rationalism of the 'unconverted' pastor."[1429]

In Denmark, both Lutheran Pietism and, again, the Moravians were pio-
neers of the revival movement that began in various regions of the country
around the turn of the century.[1430] Overall, the Danish revival movement
remained a movement of lay people and was carried by them.

In Norway, which gained its independence from Denmark in 1814
through the dissolution of the previous union, the revivalist preacher Hans
Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824), also known as "Norway's Spener",[1431] became
the formative figure.[1432] Hauge travelled the country as an itinerant lay
evangelist, exerting also great influence on economy and politics.

"Haugeanism was essentially a village movement. Whenever a lay preacher
came to the village – or when the villagers visited him at home – a meeting
was held that followed a relatively uniform pattern. First there was singing,
then a sermon from the Postille [collection of sermons] was read out and the

---

[1428] Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhun-
dert", 335.

[1429] Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhun-
dert", 336.

[1430] Cf. on Denmark Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19.
und 20. Jahrhundert", 321-326.

[1431] Cf. Erich Beyreuther, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, 46.

[1432] Cf. on Norway Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19.
und 20. Jahrhundert", 326-330.

preacher or the head of the household preached an exhortation. The meeting ended with prayer and singing."[1433]

From the middle of the nineteenth century, a new phase began when the awakened groups started to become increasingly involved in the field of interior mission or social work.

The Finnish revival movement often cites as its starting point a mass ecstatic eruption in the meadow of Telppä that occurred in the northern Savolax village of Lapinlahti in the year 1796. Throughout much of the eighteenth century, there were ecstatic manifestations in Finland, and when the revival movement began in the early nineteenth century, these ecstatic elements continued for a time.[1434] One formative figure of the Finnish revival movement was the farmer Paavo Ruotsalainen (1777-1852). "As a religious leader, Ruotsalainen was a self-confident man of the people [...], original, a man who had come to his religious decisions without guidance from pastors and yet remained in the church."[1435] By around 1820, the revival he had triggered had developed into a broad popular movement in at least parts of the country (North Savo and eastern North Karelia). In South Karelia, the work of the prison priest Henrik Remquist (1789-1866) led to an awakening among prisoners, and a veritable praying movement developed. A third movement can be traced to the work of Fredrik Gabriel Hedberg (1811-1893), who was to shape an "evangelical" direction in the sense of a Lutheranism influenced by the Moravians. Lastly, Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861) is considered the father of the Northern Finnish and Lappish revival movement, another one in which ecstatic manifestations played a role.

> "According to the traditional conversion story, Laestadius was led to revival by a woman from the people, 'Mary of Lapland'. With this event, the actual revival movement began in the forties of the 19th century. Laestadius was a gifted preacher who combined both strict penitential preaching, especially against alcoholism, and nuanced figures of speech in his speeches. Abstinence became an essential feature of the movement."[1436]

[1433] Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 327.

[1434] Cf. on Finland Entti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 338-347; Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Kirchengeschichte Finnlands,* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002, 150-160.

[1435] Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 339.

[1436] Pentti Laasonen, "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", 344.

11.2   The Roman Catholic Church

After Roman Catholicism's temporary decline and loss of power during the eighteenth century as described in the last chapter, the Roman Catholic Church regained strength amidst the political reorganization of Europe following the final defeat of Napoleon and the subsequent Congress of Vienna (1815).[1437]

> "In the age of Romanticism and the Restoration after the Congress of Vienna, [...] Catholicism experienced a religious renewal in various centres. Connections to simultaneous Protestant revival movements stand at the beginning of this religious awakening around 1800. The early Romantic transfiguration of the Catholic Middle Ages as a Christian culture of unity [...] and sensational conversions to the Roman Church promoted Catholic self-confidence (e.g. Friedrich Schlegel's conversion in 1808)."[1438]

After Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) returned to Rome following Napoleon's abdication in 1814, he was able to devote himself to the rebuilding of the Catholic Church. The overall political situation during and after the Congress of Vienna was favourable to Roman Catholicism. Thus, the church achieved the restoration of the Papal State, which promoted the universal political policy of the church against national church tendencies. The readmission of the Jesuit Order in 1814 also led to a renewed growth in the order's influence during the nineteenth century. Countless concordats between the Vatican and the individual European states as well as further papal decrees also strengthened Rome's power.

One movement that had its roots in a reaction to the French Revolution and Napoleon's policies was Ultramontanism.[1439] The term describes an at-

---

[1437] For an overall account of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, see Roger Aubert, Johannes Beckmann, Patrick J. Corish and Rudlof Lill, *Die Kirche in der Gegenwart, Erster Halbband: Die Kirche zwischen Revolution und Restauration,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte VI/1, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1971; Roger Aubert, Günter Bandmann, Jakob Baumgartner, Mario Bendiscioli, Jacques Gadille, Oskar Köhler, Rudolf Lill Bernhard Stasieswski and Erika Weinzierl, *Die Kirche in der Gegenwart, Zweiter Halbband: Die Kirche zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand,* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte VI/2, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1973; Karl Bihlmeyer and Hermann Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte, Dritter Teil: Die Neuzeit und die neueste Zeit,* Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: UTB Schöningh, [20]1996, 292-560.

[1438] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium,* 208.

[1439] Cf. Andreas Holzem, "Roman Catholicism, European Ultramontanism, and the First Vatican Council", in: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.), *History of Global Christianity 2: History of Christianity in the 19th Century*, Leiden and Bos-

titude oriented towards Rome (beyond the mountains: ultra monte) which not only bore strong anti-Protestant features but above all advocated a stronger influence of the Catholic Church in public life.

With Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) came the longest pontificate in church history to date and certainly also one of the most important in papal history. Pius IX made it his life's calling to fight against a growing liberalism as well as against nationalism. Thus in 1864 he published the encyclical *Quanta cura* with a list of errors which were condemned. "Here ultramontanism showed itself particularly clearly: rationalism, indifferentism socialism, communism, Bible societies and state cultural sovereignty are condemned as liberal errors of the time."[1440]

In addition, Pius IX proclaimed an important Marian dogma, namely the immaculate conception of Mary. The dogma states that at the moment of her conception in the body of her mother Anna, Mary had already been freed in advance from the stain of original sin through the intervention of the Holy Spirit. In 1869-1870, the Pope convened the First Vatican Council,[1441] which made fundamental decisions about the position of the Pope. The *Constitutio de ecclesia* dealt with the universal episcopate of the Pope and papal infallibility. The universal episcopate includes the Pope's jurisdiction over the universal church (primacy) and thus a rejection of all episcopalism and conciliarism. The *Declaration of Infallibility* states that the Pope is infallible in the doctrinal decisions he makes "ex cathedra", that is, in the exercise of his supreme teaching office on matters of faith and morals. "In papal infallibility, not in the consent of the Church, the infallibility of such a doctrinal decision has its legal ground."[1442]

With the First Vatican Council, nineteenth-century Ultramontanism reached its zenith.

11.3   New Protestant Denominations

While the Dissenters in Britain, and later the ministry of the Wesley brothers plus developments in the American colonies, led to the establishment of new Protestant denominations in Britain and the American colonies

---

ton: Brill, 2021: 69-119. Victor Conzemius, "Deutschland, I. Die katholische Kirche", Jacques Gadille and Jean-Marie Mayeur (eds.), Martin Greschat (ed. German edition), *Liberalismus, Industrialisierung, Expansion Europas (1830-1914)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 11, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1997; 294-300.

[1440] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 212.
[1441] Cf. Andreas Holzem, "Roman Catholicism, European Ultramontanism, and the First Vatican Council", 92-98.
[1442] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 213.

alongside the traditional Anglican Communion, some Lutherans and Reformed congregations, only during the 19th century were these so-called "free church denominations" able to establish their first congregations on the European continent. Speaking of the German-speaking countries, the nineteenth century was the point when these "free churches" ("free" in the sense that they were not linked to the state) and thus for the first time a Protestant, denominational diversity could emerge.[1443]

However, the emergence of these denominations must by no means be understood in isolation from preceding movements and developments. The old Pietist conventicles, the interdenominational activities of the Moravian diaspora work, the transnational and trans-denominational revival networks that had emerged in the meantime, and the struggle against an increasing rationalism must be mentioned here.[1444] As for their interrelationship with the revival movements, Herbert Strahm states with regard to Germany – and this is also true for other continental European, countries:

> "The German revival movement, which had already become a bridgehead in Germany due to its personal and institutional relations and interconnections with the English revival movement, became, according to G. Westlin, 'a gateway for the free church movement' which actually began on German soil around 1830."[1445]

Even a growing Lutheran confessionalism in parts of the German revival movement may have indirectly promoted new Protestant denominations, as revivalists had come to appreciate the denominational diversity experienced in the numerous institutions and works such as Bible societies as well as in networks such as the Evangelical Alliance.[1446]

Karl Heinz Voigt helpfully locates these new Protestant denominations within nineteenth-century Protestantism:

> "For the [...] free churches, the question of where they are to be placed in the overall history of [...] Protestantism in the 19th and 20th centuries is settled. They see themselves as part of Protestantism [...]. Their theological

---

[1443] On the general history of other Protestant denominations in Germany during the nineteenth century, see Karl Heinz Voigt, *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/6, Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2004; Herbert Strahm, *Dissentertum im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts: Freikirchen religiöse Sondergemeinschaften im Beziehungs- und Spannungsfeld von Staat und protestantischen Landeskirchen*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2016.

[1444] Herbert Strahm, *Dissentertum im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts,* 50-55.

[1445] Herbert Strahm, *Dissentertum im Deutschland des 19.* Jahrhunderts, 55.

[1446] Cf. Karl Heinz Voigt, *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)*, 28.

roots lie in the Reformation. They found their form under the conditions of modernity, which gained ecclesiastical influence earlier in the Anglo-Saxon countries than in old Europe. The free churches are part of the international revival movement. In addition, there are of course relations to the piety movement of Pietism."[1447]

The following cannot be a comprehensive presentation of the history of individual Protestant denominations. Rather, it is an overview of several key denominations.

11.3.1 Baptists

The beginnings of the Baptists go back to a separatist group within the Anglican Church in England at the end of the seventeenth century.[1448] The Baptists, who especially emphasize the baptism of adults on confession of their personal faith, subsequently spread rapidly, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world. Baptist congregations on the continent, however, came into being only during the 19th century and date back mainly to the ministry of the German merchant Johann Gerhard Oncken (1800-1884).[1449] As a young man, he spent several years in Great Britain as an assistant to a Scottish merchant, became acquainted with both Presbyterians and other denominations, and was converted in a Methodist congregation in 1820. Throughout his life, he maintained relationships with some awakened, Congregational Scottish churches. In 1823, Oncken settled in Hamburg, where he was initially a member of an English Reformed congregation and

---

[1447] Karl Heinz Voigt, *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)*, 30.

[1448] On the history of Baptists, see, among others, Erich Geldbach, *Baptisten weltweit: Ursprünge, Entwicklungen, Theologische Identitäten,* Die Kirchen in der Gegenwart 7, Bensheimer Hefte 118, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021; Andrea Strübind and Martin Rothkegel (eds.), *Baptismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012; G. Keith Parker, *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith,* Nashville: Broadman, 1982.
On the history of Baptists in England cf. W. M. S. West, "Geschichte der englischen Baptisten", in: J. D. Hughey (ed.), Die Baptisten, Kirchen der Welt 2, Stuttgart: Evang. Verlagswerk, 1964, 136-150.

[1449] Cf. G. Balders, "Oncken, Johann Gerhard (1800-1884)", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 3, Wuppertal and Zurich: Brockhaus, 1994, 1473-1474.
On the history of Baptist on continental Europe cf. J. H. Rushbrooke (ed.), *The Baptist Movement in the Continent of Europe: A Contribution to Modern History*, London: Carey Press and Kingsgate Press, 1915; G. Keith Parker (ed.), Baptist in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith; Erik Ruden, "Die Baptisten des Kontinents Europa", in: J. D. Hughey (ed.), *Die Baptisten*, Kirchen der Welt 2, Stuttgart: Evang. Verlagswerk, 1964, 166-185;

worked for an English Bible and Scripture Mission. However, in 1834 Oncken founded a first Baptist congregation in Hamburg, and Baptist congregations quickly followed in other places.[1450]

As early as 1849, a federation was founded. The first Baptist congregation in Switzerland was founded by Oncken in 1847 in Ebnat-Kappel/Toggenburg, followed by Zurich in 1849. The first Baptist congregation in Vienna started in 1869. The modern Baptist movement in the Netherlands also goes back to a member of the Hamburg congregation and was established in 1845.[1451] The same is true for Denmark, when one of Oncken's co-workers from Hamburg, Julius Købner, a converted Danish Jew, returned to his motherland. In 1839, Købner and Oncken baptized eleven people, but these converts faced severe persecution until some form of religious freedom was granted in 1849.[1452] At Oncken's death in 1884, the Alliance of Baptist Churches comprised 165 congregations with over 30,000 members in more than a dozen European countries. In Norway, two sailors converted in America, who received support from the English Baptists and the Seaman's Mission in New York, together with a local evangelist, planted the first Baptist church in 1860.[1453]

> "The vigorous Swedish Baptist date their beginnings to 1848 when the first church was begun near Gothenburg by F. O. Nilsson, a sailor and colporteur. Nilsson was converted in America and was brought under the influence of Baptist beliefs by the Swedish sea captain G. W. Schroeder, whose own ties were with the Baptist Mariner's Church in New York. Nilsson, who had travelled to Hamburg for baptism and later for ordination by Oncken, was soon arrested, tried, imprisoned, and eventually banished from Sweden for preaching. He stayed in Copenhagen for a while, as well as in the United States, until the king reversed his sentence in 1860 after adverse publicity."[1454]

[1450] Cf. on the history of Baptists in Germany, cf. Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus*, Kassel: J. G. Oncken Nachfolger, 1954; Karl Heinz Voigt, *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19. und 20. Jahrhundert),* 54-58; Rudolf Donat, *Wie das Werk begann: Entstehung der Baptistengemeinden in Deutschland,* Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1957.

[1451] Jannes Reiling, "Netherlands: The Union of Baptist Churches in the Netherlands", in: G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 81.

[1452] Bent Hyllersberg, "Denmark: The Baptist Union of Denmark", in: G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 93.

[1453] Peder A. Eidberg, "Norway: The Norwegian Baptist Union", in G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 95.

[1454] David Lagergren, "Sweden: The Baptist Union of Sweden", in: G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 99.

As we turn to Central Europe, we see Oncken's influence yet again. In Hungary, the situation was similar to the beginnings in Austria. Carpenters who had gone to Hamburg for work became converted and returned as Baptist missionaries in 1846. A second impulse came through a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society who arrived in Budapest in March 1873 and soon baptized several people. A first congregation was established in 1874.[1455] Similar was the situation in Romania. Karl Scharschmidt, an immigrant baptized in Hamburg in 1845, established the first German-speaking congregation in Bucharest in 1864. A second root of Romanian Baptists was Russian Baptist immigrants during the 1860s.[1456]

Turning to Southern Europe we see more of an Anglo-Saxon influence. In Italy, modern Baptist ministry started in 1863-1865 when two Englishmen began a ministry in Bologna and La Spezia. However, the first Baptist church in Italy was not planted until 1871. Many more followed despite severe persecution.[1457] The first Baptist church in Spain was established by the independent missionary William Knapp in 1870. Knapp later worked under the Northern Baptists (USA).[1458] In France, missionaries of the American Foreign Mission Society formed a first church in 1835. However, before this time a Swiss preacher and an English soldier had already spread the Baptist faith.[1459]

11.3.2 Methodists

During the 19th century, several Methodist denominations started a church-planting ministry in Europe. Taking the German-speaking regions as an example,[1460] we find that emigrants who had returned from America

---

[1455] On Hungary cf. Johann Macher (Emil Kiss), "Hungary: The Baptist Union of Hungary", in: G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982,185.

[1456] Ioan Bunaciu, Romania: "The Baptist Union of the Republic of Socialist Romania", G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 216.

[1457] Piero Bensi and Paulo Spanu, "Italy: The Baptist Evangelical Christian Union of Italy", in G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 115.

[1458] José Borras and José Garcia, "Spain: The Baptist Evangelical union of Spain", in: G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982, 118.

[1459] Anonymous, "France: The Federation of Baptist Evangelical Churches", in: G. Keith Parker (ed.), *Baptists in Europe: History and Confessions of Faith*, Nashville: Broadman, 1982,122.

[1460] On the history of German Methodism, see Otto Melle, *Das Walten Gottes im deutschen Methodismus,* Bremen: Verlag des Traktathauses, n. d. [1924].

brought their Methodist faith to their old homeland. In southern Germany, Christoph Gottlob Müller (1785-1858) founded a first congregation of the Wesleyan Methodists in 1830.[1461] The work of the Evangelical Society (Evangelische Gesellschaft), which had its beginnings in the Pennsylvania (United States) at the end of the eighteenth century, can be traced back to Jacob Albrecht (1759-1808).[1462] The Evangelical Society had been active in Württemberg since the 1850s, and in 1860 the first Sunday school was founded. A third Methodist denomination was active in Bremen: the Episcopal Methodist Church.[1463] In 1849, its first congregation was founded by superintendent Ludwig S. Jacoby, who had returned from Illinois, USA. Subsequently, congregations were planted in other German cities and in Switzerland, where the history of Methodism is closely linked to the Geneva revival movement. As early as 1840, a French-speaking congregation of the British Wesleyan congregation was founded in Lausanne; others followed. In 1856, a first congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church was established in Lausanne. Methodism also spread rapidly in the German-speaking regions of Switzerland. "In 1886, the Swiss congregations with 27 preachers, 4,400 members and 12,000 Sunday school students became an independent conference."[1464] In Austria, a German missionary from the Methodist Episcopal Church established a first congregation in Vienna in 1871.

As for France, the British Methodist Episcopal Church started a ministry as early as 1791.[1465] Italy followed in 1860, Spain in 1868 and in Portugal in 1871. For Scandinavia, the mission ship "John Wesley" which ministered in the port of New York between 1845 and 1876, especially among Scandinavian emigrants, was of strategic importance. Some of those converts later returned to Scandinavia. In 1853, Ole Peter Peterson was sent by the Methodist Episcopal Church to minister in Norway and became the founder of the Norwegian Methodist Church. In Denmark, the first sermon

---

[1461] Cf. Friedemann Burkhardt, *Christoph Gottlob Müller und die Anfänge des Methodismus in Deutschland*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 43, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003; Ludwig Rott, *The English Relations of the Revival Movement and the Beginnings of Wesleyan Methodism in Germany,* Frankfurt a. Main: Studiengemeinschaft für Geschichte des Methodismus, 1968.

[1462] Reinhold Kücklich, *Hundert Jahre Evangelische Gemeinschaft in Europa 1850-1950*, Stuttgart: Christl. Verlagshaus, 1950.

[1463] Cf. Christoph Raedel, *Methodistische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert: Der deutschsprachige Zweig der Bischöflichen Methodistenkirche*, Kirche – Konfession – Religion 47, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.

[1464] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,* 152.

[1465] Cf. On this and the following data: Kenneth Cracknell and Susan J. White, "Die Ausbreitung des Methodismus", in: Walter Klaiber (ed.), *Methodistische Kirchen*, Die Kirchen der Gegenwart 2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011, 105-108.

preached by a Methodist was given in 1858; one year later, a church was planted. Sweden received the Methodist teaching from England and a ministry was started in 1866. The beginnings of Methodism in Russia were in 1889 when preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church from Finland came for ministry. Much earlier, in 1858, while Bulgaria was still under Turkish rule, a Methodist Episcopal Church missionary translated the Bible into modern Bulgarian.

11.3.3 Brethren congregations

The Brethren movement goes back to the Anglican priest John Nelson Darby (1800-1882). He first came into contact with Catholic Apostolic groups ("Irvingites") and adopted there the view of the

> "invisible return of Jesus and the secret rapture before the great tribulation. [...] One of his watchwords was to 'divide' the Bible correctly. Thus he strictly distinguished statements of the Holy Scriptures which (allegedly!) refer only to Israel, and other statements which refer only to the church. From this he developed his unique Israel and assembly theory."[1466]

In 1834, Darby left the Anglican Communion and proclaimed from Plymouth (England) that there was no longer a visible church; he avoided the words "congregation" or "church" and founded instead "assemblies".[1467] In Germany, Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Brockhaus (1822-1899) would become one of the fathers of the *Brethren movement*.[1468] Together with Darby and other "brothers", he produced the Elberfelder Bible translation. Brockhaus understood the assemblies as purely spiritual and not as institutional entities; they had no offices, not even eldership.[1469]

In the English Brethren movement, there had already been a split in 1848 between the so-called "closed assemblies" and the "open Brethren". One of the formative and influential personalities of the "open Brethren" was the "orphan father of Bristol", George Müller (1805-1889). Another influential figure of the early Brethren movement was Friedrich Wilhelm Baedeker (1823-1906).[1470] Born in Germany, Baedeker lived mainly in Eng-

---

[1466] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,* 136.

[1467] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,* 136.

[1468] Wolfgang E. Heinrichs, *Freikirchen – eine moderne Kirchenform: Entstehung und Entwicklung von fünf Freikirchen im Wuppertal*, Giessen and Wuppertal: TVG Brunnen and Brockhaus, 1989, 341-376.

[1469] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,* 138.

[1470] Cf. Ulrich Bister and Stephan Holthaus (eds.), *Friedrich Wilhelm Baedeker: Leben und Werk eines Russlandmissionars*, Hammerbrücke: Jota Publikationen 2006.

land and worked as an itinerant evangelist and missionary especially in Russia. As part of the open Brethren movement, he also played an important role in the Evangelical Alliance.[1471]

From about 1890 onwards, open Brethren assemblies were founded in Germany. In Austria, a first assembly was formed in 1853. Darby visited Switzerland for the first time in 1837 and gave various sermons and lectures in the western part of the country. Six years later, an English couple was sent as missionaries to Switzerland. In Switzerland, too, both closed and open Brethren assemblies came into being.

11.3.4 Salvation Army

The Salvation Army[1472] can be traced back to the work of William (1829-1912)[1473] and Catherine Booth (1829-1890).[1474] Initially, William Booth worked as an evangelist within the Methodist Church but separated from it when he could not continue to serve as an itinerant evangelist. In 1865 he founded the East London Mission to carry out an evangelistic social ministry in the slums of the city. In 1878, the name was changed to Salvation Army. The Salvation Army subsequently created its own flag and uniforms and gave itself a military structure with the declared aim of fighting against misery and vice for the salvation of people and their souls.

In 1870, some Salvation Army soldiers were sent to the United States. In 1883, a Salvation Army regiment reached Dunedin, New Zealand. On the European continent, France was the first country outside the English-speaking world where the Salvation Army started a ministry, in 1881, when William and Catherine Booth's oldest daughter Catherine moved to Paris.

[1471] Cf. Hartmut Weyel, "Friedrich Wilhelm Baedeker (1823-1906)", in: Wolfgang Heinrichs, Michael Schröder and Hartmut Weyel, *Zukunft braucht Herkunft: Biografische Porträts aus der Geschichte und Vorgeschichte Freier evangelischer Gemeinden* 2, Witten: Bundes-Verlag, 2010, 11-22.

[1472] Cf. Th. Kolde, *Die Heilsarmee (The Salvation Army): ihre Geschichte und ihr Wesen*, Erlangen and Leipzig: Deichertsche, ²1899.

[1473] W. R. Ward, "John Wesley", 233-243.

[1474] On the history of The Salvation Army, cf. Karl Heinz Voigt, *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19th and 20th centuries)*, 85-88; Uwe Heimowski, *Die Heilsarmee: Practical Religion – gelebter Glaube,* Schwarzenfeld. Neufeld Verlag, 2006; Max Gruner, *Revolutionäres Christentum: 50 Jahre Geschichte der Heilsarmee in Deutschland, Vol. 1: 1886-1914*, Berlin-Steglitz and Bochum-Gerthe: The Salvation Army Publishing House, 1952; Heilsarmee Hauptquartier Bern (ed.), *Glauben und Handeln: Die Geschichte der Heilsarmee in der Schweiz*, Bern: Selbstverlag, 2009.

The 1880s also saw the start of the Salvation Army's work in Scandinavia (Sweden 1882, Denmark 1887, Norway 1888 and Finland 1889).[1475]

As early as 1882, the Salvation Army began its activities in Switzerland despite fierce opposition – there was talk of an "annoying degeneration of Christianity".[1476] Booth himself undertook 24 missionary trips to Germany alone. The work of the Salvation Army began in Stuttgart in 1886, but the opposition there was just as vehement as in Kiel and Hamburg a few years later.[1477]

We can summarize the emergence and development of new Protestant denominations with the words of Herbert Strahm – here indeed with regard to Germany, but certainly also applicable to continental Europe as such:

> "Christianity outside the national church in Germany gained decisive momentum with the rise of Anglo-Saxon dissent (Baptists, Methodists). The churches were supported and promoted by their large mother churches in their country of origin, which were uncompromising towards state church representatives, and caused heightened emotions and confrontation. Baptist [...] and Methodist mission work, which began somewhat later, was carried out with specifically Anglo-Saxon methods and institutions such as evangelism, class meetings and public conversion practice. An increasingly developed infrastructure, including publishing houses, tract houses and preachers' seminaries, soon testified to the will to build up an independent mission work with church plants in Germany."[1478]

11.4 The Rise of Liberal Theology

The term "liberal theology" goes back to the publication of Johann Salomo Semmler's *Attempt at a Free Theological Reading* (German original: "Versuch einer freier theologischen Lehrart"). The designation has beenused since the mid-nineteenth century by Protestant theologians for a scientific-theological or religious-philosophical development, especially within Protestant theology, which reached its peak in the last third of that century. "The historically oriented work of liberal theology had its roots in the Enlightenment, but in the nineteenth century it faced the problem of faith and history in a sharpened form."[1479] Ferdinand Christian Baur, David

---

[1475] Cf. V. Kunz, *Die Heilsarmee: Ihr Werden – Wesen – Wirken*, Bern: Hauptquartier der Heilsarmee, 1978, 41.

[1476] Quoted in Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 155.

[1477] Karl Heinz Voigt, *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)*, 86-88.

[1478] Herbert Strahm, *Dissentertum im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts,* 565-566.

[1479] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 231.

Friedrich Strauss, Albrecht Ritschl and Adolf von Harnack are presented here as examples.

Influenced by Friedrich Hegel, Baur (1792-1860)[1480] worked in Tübingen from 1826 and devoted himself to the historical study of the New Testament as well as church history and history of dogma. In his philosophy-of-religion approach, Baur soon turned away from belief in the supernatural. Accordingly, he rejected any belief in miracles and consistently used a historical-critical method.

> "His understanding of history is shaped by the concept of development. Baur describes his point of view as scientific and purely historical. This kind of research, he believes, is free of dogmatic presuppositions. Baur and the Tübingen School he founded had such an epoch-making effect that they directly or indirectly influenced the scholarly discussion of the New Testament throughout the 19th century. [...]
>
> Baur is considered the founder of the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation. His 'purely historical point of view' is, of course, anything but undogmatic. The biblical belief in the divine guidance of world history is transferred by Baur into secular immanent thinking. Salvation history is general intellectual history. History shows the development and self-creation of the spirit of humanity."[1481]

Strauss (1808-1874)[1482] achieved sudden fame with his publication "*The Life of Jesus*" in 1835 and caused a storm of indignation in conservative church circles.

> "Following Hegel's distinction between content and form, he emphasized [...] that as a nineteenth-century theologian one must be aware of the identity of the content of religion and philosophy despite the difference of forms. The uneducated consciousness of the people, of course, could not comprehend this difference and therefore immediately feared for the content if only the form was criticized. Strauss explained this with the example of the story of the Ascension. It was a myth that had emerged from the ideas of the time. Part of the form of the myth is that it presents a general, abstract thought as a concrete story. It is precisely this mythical form that must be criticized historically. But this could be done without regard to the religious

---

[1480] Cf. Karl Gerhard Steck, "Ferdinand Christian Baur", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit I,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985, 218-232.

[1481] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 807-808.

[1482] Jörg F. Sandberger, "David Friedrich Strauß", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit II*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985, 20-32.

content, because this content was valid on the level of the concept without the mythical form of imagination."[1483]

Strauss believed that "Christ's supernatural birth, His miracles, His resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, however much of their reality as historical facts may be doubted."[1484] Within weeks of the publication of his work, Strauss became the most widely read and most discussed theologian in Germany. Due to the strong opposition, he had to leave Tübingen. A later appointment to Zurich also had to be withdrawn and Strauss was sent into retirement with an annual pension of 1,000 Swiss francs before he had even taken up the post in Zurich.

Ritschl (1822-1889)[1485] worked as a professor of theology in Bonn and Göttingen (Germany), mainly in the field of the history of dogma, and his thinking was connected to Kant's philosophy. For him, Christ was the revelation of God and the founder of the church; Ritschl called him the Son of God, but "he was not at all interested in 'metaphysical' statements about the natures of Christ. This meant that the actual Christology in the classical sense was omitted. Christ made God manifest to us – that must suffice."[1486] Peter H. Uhlmann pointedly summarises the theological implications of Ritschl's convictions:

> "As a consequence of his philosophical approach and his historical-critical interpretation of the Bible, he rejected the most central biblical teachings. Thus, he did not understand forgiveness of sins as cleansing from all guilt, but merely as the abolition of the consciousness of guilt towards God. In his view, God did not inflict punishment for sins committed. Christ did not atone for our sins vicariously [...]. Only the church had given Christ the attribute of deity. Ritschl rejected the idea of a personal faith relationship with God. God does not justify the individual, but the believer in the congregation."[1487]

This conviction explains Ritschl's determined fight against Pietism, which found its literary expression in his *History of Pietism*, published in 1886.

[1483] Jörg F. Sandberger, "David Friedrich Strauß", 23.

[1484] Jörg F. Sandberger, "David Friedrich Strauß", 24.

[1485] Cf. Wolfgang Trillhaas, "Albrecht Ritschl", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit II*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985, 180-195.

[1486] Wolfgang Trillhaas, "Albrecht Ritschl", 191.

[1487] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,* 101-102.

Finally, Harnack (1851-1930)[1488] came from a Pietist family – his father worked as a revivalist confessional professor in Erlangen. Adolf was considered Ritschl's most important student. Harnack achieved fame above all as a church and dogma historian. His *History of Dogma* (*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*) is still in print today. In this work, Harnack argued that the early church dogmas were "a product of the Greek spirit on the ground of the gospel". After the publication of the first volume, his father wrote to him:

> "Our difference is not a theological one, but a profound, directly Christian one. [...] Whoever – to mention only the all-important main thing – stands as you do on the fact of the resurrection [...] is no longer a Christian theologian in my eyes. I totally don't understand how one can still refer to history when making history in such a way, or I only understand it when Christianity is degraded in the process."[1489]

While Harnack can be seen as the "undisputed prince among the theologians"[1490] of the late nineteenth century, he also promoted a "cultural Protestantism" in which he saw the purpose of the gospel as promoting human responsibility and freedom. Helmuth Egelkraut sums it up: "This synthesis of humanism and Christianity reflected the worldwide optimism of the Wilhelmine era and ended in the trenches of World War I."[1491]

11.5   On the Way to a World Christianity

Like no previous century in world history, the nineteenth century witnessed the global spread of Christianity. Targeted mission initiatives took place mainly through Protestant but also by Roman Catholic initiative.

11.5.1 Protestant World Mission

William Carey's departure for India in 1793 has already been mentioned in the chapter on the eighteenth century. Upon his arrival, he soon moved

---

[1488] Cf. Carl-Jürgen Kaltenborn, "Adolf von Harnack", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit III*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.1, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985, 70-87.

[1489] Carl-Jürgen Kaltenborn, "Adolf von Harnack", 72.

[1490] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 809.

[1491] Helmuth Egelkraut, "Moderne Theologie", in: Erich Geldbach, Helmut Burkhardt and Kurt Heimbucher (ed.), *Evangelisches Gemeindelexikon,* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1978, 375.

inland for political reasons and immediately learned Bengali. Carey also devised a missionary strategy:[1492]

1. Proclamation of the gospel as widely as possible.
2. Distribution of the Bible in the national language.
3. Establishment of an indigenous congregation as soon as possible.
4. Studying the cultural background and traditions of the local people.
5. Local clergy should be quickly trained.

Together with other co-workers who joined his mission efforts, Carey began to implement this mission strategy. His main focus was on translating the Bible. By the time of Carey's death in 1834, the Serampore Press had published translations of the Bible or parts of the Bible in 34 languages, including a Chinese and Burmese translation.[1493] Some of these Bibles were the first books ever printed in these languages, such as in Nepali.

Klaus Wetzel summarises Carey's importance:

"With Carey's work in India, a new phase in the history of missionary Bible translation began. For the first time, the task of Bible translation in the context of mission was tackled 'nationwide'. [...]

In addition to his extensive work in India, Carey's example and writings had a stimulating effect on the incipient world mission movement and inspired many young Christians in Europe and North America to follow his example; a number of Protestant mission societies were also founded in Europe and North America at Carey's suggestion or as a result of his work. Thus, Carey played an essential part in establishing the Protestant world mission movement of the nineteenth century, which – compared with the history of Protestant missions up to that time – set about Protestant mission work in almost all of Asia and in general in large parts of the world with astonishing speed."[1494]

Numerous other missionaries followed Carey's example, of whom only Alexander Duff (1806-1878) is mentioned here. Duff worked as a missionary among the higher castes of India. He focused mainly on the schooling of the young elite, and even if only a few of them became Christians, they later all played a leading role in the Indian church.

China remained closed to the gospel for some time. When Robert Morrison (1782-1832) arrived in Canton, it was still forbidden to teach a for-

---

[1492] Cf. Stephen Neill, *Geschichte der christlichen Missions*, 178-179.
[1493] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 295. For example, until 1800 there were only Bible translations in 67 languages.
[1494] Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 296.

eigner the Chinese language. But Morrison quickly picked up Chinese and, only two years after his arrival, found employment as a translator with the East Indian Trading Company. Along the way, he devoted most of his time to translating the New Testament into Chinese and completed the translation in 1813. The translation of the Old Testament followed only six years later. Morrison was also committed to the training and equipping of Chinese living abroad, whom he wanted to use for mission work in the interior of China, which remained off-limits to foreigners until 1842. After the opening in 1842, mission societies embraced the new opportunities, and by 1860 the number of male Protestant missionaries had risen to 214; they stayed in the country for an average of seven years. China in general also saw a large increase in its mission activities, but most mission work remained confined to the coastal region until 1853, when Hudson Taylor arrived in China. When he founded the China Inland Mission twelve years later in 1865 – the first-ever interdenominational mission society – he established the following rules:[1495]

1. The mission society should be interdenominational.
2. The mission society should also be open to less well-educated staff.
3. The leadership of the mission should be carried out in China and not at home.
4. Missionaries should wear Chinese clothes.
5. The aim of the mission was to evangelize the Chinese.

Within only 30 years, the China Inland Mission sent 641 missionaries to China, ministering in every part of the country.

Not until 1885 did the first Protestant missionaries set foot on Korean soil.[1496] In 1890, the missiologist John Nevius visited Korea and presented his "Nevius Plan", which emphasised systematic Bible study combined with economic independence. This strategy became one of the keys to the dynamic church growth Korea experienced in the following decades. The first Korean Protestant Christian was baptized in 1886; eight years later there were 236 Christians. By 1910, this number had risen to 30,000 believers partaking in the Lord's Supper. The number of actual Christians was probably much higher.

[1495] Cf. Stephen Neill, *History of Christian Missions*, 283.
[1496] On Korean church history, see Sebastian C. H. Kim and Kirsten Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

The beginning of Protestant missionary work in Thailand was arduous. It took over 25 years of hard work before the first Thai Christian was baptized in 1859. Even after that, the Christian community remained small.

As early as 1846, the first missionaries arrived in Borneo, present-day Indonesian Kalimantan. They found an openness to the gospel, especially among the Dajak people. In other areas of present-day Indonesia, the newly founded Dutch Missionary Society, which had its origins in the revival movement, was particularly active. Especially on the island of Celebes (Sulawesi), many local people turned to the Christian faith within a short time. The missionary work of Ludwig Ingwer Nommensen (1834-1918) among the Batak in the north of Sumatra/Indonesia led to a revival there. Although only 52 Christians were known in 1862, this number rose to 2,056 Christians in 1876 and exploded by 1911, reaching 103,525 believers.

In Burma, the American missionary Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) pioneered the work. It took five years for the first Burmese to convert to Christianity. After Judson completed the translation of the Bible into Burmese in 1834, he turned his ministry focus to church planting among the Karen, among whom he and his co-workers discovered great openness. By 1851, there were about 10,000 baptized Karen and the number attending church services numbered around 30,000 – the highest number of Baptists on a single mission field!

It was a major breakthrough when Americans were finally granted religious freedom in Japan. Within just a few years, four American mission societies sent missionaries there. As a result, the church grew rapidly during the 1880s. By 1882, 145 missionaries were working in Japan, and there were an estimated 5,000 Christians. Six years later, the number of missionaries had risen to 451 and the number of indigenous Christians to 25,154. The Japanese church always remained a minority church. However, relative to their size, the Christians exerted an immense influence in society.

In 1898, the first Protestant missionary reached the Philippines after the USA had replaced Spanish rule. Due to manifold disappointments with the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant missionaries often encountered an open door. The situation was different in Thailand and Indochina, where only a few natives turned to Christianity. Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) remained closed to the gospel despite many efforts.[1497] More encouraging results were achieved in the Pacific. Despite difficult beginnings, the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, brought people to faith on the Pacific islands. Protestant missionary work also began in New Guinea. In India, the number of congregations doubled between 1851 and 1901.

[1497] Cf. also Klaus Wetzel, *Kirchengeschichte Asiens,* 248 u. 302.

The situation in the Middle and Near East, on the other hand, was not as promising.[1498] Only a few mission works aimed at Muslims were launched at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[1499] Only later did men like Samuel Zwemer and others work primarily in the apologetic field as missionaries among Muslim intellectuals. In North Africa, the North African Mission began working among the people of Tunisia, Libya, Morocco and Algeria. But success was lacking for the time being.

Large parts of the African continent[1500] remained unreached with the gospel for the time being. The British Christian Mission Society (CMS) sent its first missionaries to Sierra Leone – a country made up of freed slaves – In 1804. But during their first twenty years of service, over 50 men and women died. However,

> "Then, a Sierra Leone Company was formed, which facilitated in 1792 the coming of almost 1200 black British ex-soldiers from Nova Scotia in Canada to Sierra Leone. Many of these black settlers were Baptists. They built a city, Freetown and organised Christian Life according to Puritan principles. Some of these black 'founding fathers' like David George and Thomas Peters established Baptist churches. Methodism was represented by Moses Wilkinson [...] Soon missionary initiatives were taken. Hanciles stresses that modern Church and Mission 'began not with white missionary agency, but as initiative of ex-African slaves'."[1501]

Numerous other Protestant mission agencies also began mission work in Africa, including the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Sierra Leone in 1811 and in 1821 in the Gambia. From 1825 onwards, various agencies from different countries started ministry in Liberia; in 1828 the Basel Mission and later other agencies began on the Gold Coast; in 1842 the American Presbyterians started a work in French Congo; in 1845 English Baptists begun ministry in Cameroon; and in 1846 various agencies started ministries in Nigeria. Other efforts in Africa focused on Ghana (1828) and South Africa, where men such as John Theodor Vanderkemp, John Philip, Robert Moffat

---

[1498] Cf. on the mission history of the Orient the work of Julius Richter, *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschicht 2, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930.

[1499] Cf. however with regard to Syria: Eberhard Troeger, *Kirche und Mission in Syrien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*: Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 2020.

[1500] On the history of mission in Africa, see Julius Richter, *Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika*; Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

[1501] Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 342.

and Moffat's son-in-law David Livingstone worked to establish churches among native peoples.[1502]

Despite all these many new missionary initiatives, especially by newly founded mission societies from Europe and North America during the 19th century, which advanced mission work at great personal sacrifice, the success remained modest.[1503] All the more so when one considers the high price that many of the missionaries paid. Julius Richter, for example, wrote about the beginnings of the Basel mission in the Gold Coast: "After eleven years it had eight graves on the Gold Coast, but no one baptised."[1504] Only in Madagascar and Uganda could one speak of real spiritual fruit.[1505] For West Africa, Elizabeth Isichei concludes:

> "By 1900, Western and Christian influence had only reached the margins of the cultures. Many people had never met a missionary and even in centers with a long-standing missionary presence such as Lagos or Onitsha, Christians were in the minority."[1506]

Protestant missionaries also began mission work among nominal Catholics in Central and Latin America during the nineteenth century. Though by 1910 there were Protestant missionaries present in almost all countries of the region, their influence remained relatively weak.

The International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 marked the culmination and conclusion of the great Protestant missionary century. John R. Mott with the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission influenced a whole generation of Christian students with his slogan "the evangelization of the world in our generation". However, the outbreak of the World War I marked the end of all such lofty visions.

11.5.2 Roman Catholic World Mission

After the collapse of Roman Catholic mission at the end of the eighteenth century, no one could have expected a new dawn of Catholic mission. But contrary to all expectations, this was exactly what happened.

Following Pope Pius VII's return to Rome in 1814, one of his first decisions was to withdraw the ban on the Jesuit order. This alone brought

---

[1502] Cf. Steven Paas, *Christianity in Eurafrica*, 342-372.

[1503] See Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present*, Grand Rapids and Larenceville: Wm. B. Eeerdmans and Africa World Press, 1995, 98-127.

[1504] Julius Richter, *Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika*, 96.

[1505] Cf. Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 128-152.

[1506] Cf. Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, 155.

about a great strengthening of the missionary forces of Roman Catholic mission. In addition, numerous new mission orders arose in the course of the nineteenth century, including some lay orders.

In India, a conflict that had been dragging on for a long time needed to be resolved. Since the fifteenth century, the Portuguese king traditionally had the right to appoint Indian bishops. Now Rome was no longer willing to continue this tradition. Finally, in 1886, Pope Leo XIII appointed twenty new bishops for India while at the same time trying to recruit native Indian priests. However, it took until 1896 for all three Indian bishoprics to be filled by Indians.

In contrast, the Roman Catholic Church in China experienced greater growth. Since it could promise protection to converts, it attracted many Chinese. Thus, in 1890, some 639 foreign missionaries and 369 Chinese priests cared for around 500,000 Catholics. Even the martyrdom of around 30,000 Catholics in the year 1900 could not stop further growth.

The first Roman Catholic missionary of the modern era returned to Japan in 1859 to find a small church that had survived all persecutions of the previous centuries without Western support. But their desire to return under Rome's control was limited and eventually the church split: half the parishioners formed an independent church and the other half officially returned to the Roman Catholic Church. The number of Japanese Catholics rose from 44,500 in 1891 to 63,000 souls in 1910.

As early as 1777, Korean scholars began studying the works of Mattheo Ricci and sent a delegation to China to learn more about Christianity from there. The delegation was baptised during their visit to China before returning to Korea. In 1794, a Chinese priest followed them. The congregation in Korea grew to around 25,000 Catholics by 1866, but approximately 8,000 of them died during a persecution in that year.

Roman Catholic mission work in Indochina was one of the most vibrant and agile missionary efforts of its day, carried out predominantly by lay people. But constant persecutions, in which more than 100,000 people were killed, weakened the church there too. In other parts of Southeast Asia and the Pacific, there were no significant breakthroughs for the Roman Catholic mission.

The appointment of Lavigerie as Archbishop of Algiers brought about some change in the situation in Africa. He fought vehemently against slavery and initiated the ransoming of slave children in order to build Christian villages with them. But except in Uganda in the east and Cameroon in the west, where the number of Catholics was relatively high, and the countries under Portuguese rule, Mozambique and Angola, the success of Roman Catholic mission in Africa remained limited as well.

11.6   The Evangelical Alliance as the First Ecumenical Movement

The increasing global reality of Christianity was also reflected in the founding of the Evangelical Alliance as the first ecumenical movement.[1507] Influenced by the revival movements of the 19th century, Christians increasingly suffered from the denominational fragmentation of evangelical Christianity. At the same time, many leaders came to know and appreciate each other in the numerous interdenominational mission agencies, Bible societies, tract societies and works of interior mission. "People set common ministry goals, worked together and understood each other. And one discovered how great the common possession of faith was among those who 'loved the Lord Jesus Christ'."[1508] Thus, after several preparatory conferences, the Evangelical Alliance was finally founded as a worldwide movement in London in August 1846.[1509] Even though it was individuals who came together and not churches or official church representatives as such, many of the participants held leading positions in their respective denominations and ministries, and they represented large parts of Protestant Christianity shaped by the revival movements.

On 19 August 1846, over 900 participants from all over the world met in London for the founding conference of the worldwide Evangelical Alliance. Hans Hauzenberger writes:

> "The participants were overwhelmed by the awareness of being at a turning point in the history of the relationship between Christians of different denominations. Many of them had been praying and working for Christian unity for years or decades. For them, the great hour of the answer to their prayers, of the fulfilment of their desires, had now come. To be sure, this was not the first attempt to bring Christians together. Some had themselves worked for a long time in interdenominational ministries. [...] But for the first time an association had come into being which was not only held together by a narrowly defined program of action, but whose main purpose

---

[1507] The following section is mainly taken from: Frank Hinkelmann, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Allianz in Österreich: Von ihren Anfängen im 19. Jahrhundert bis in Gegenwart,* Bonn: VKW, ²2012, 18-21.

[1508] Erich Beyreuther, *Der Weg der Evangelischen Allianz,* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1969, 8.

[1509] On the early history of the Evangelical Alliance see, among others: Gerhard Lindemann, *Für Frömmigkeit in Freiheit: Die Geschichte der Evangelischen Allianz im Zeitalter des Liberalismus (1846-1879)*, Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2011, 23-205.

was also to outwardly represent the unity existing among true believing Christians. Now truth and love had come to a happy union."[1510]

At the founding meeting in London, the goals for and the purpose of the Evangelical Alliance were defined in more detail. The Evangelical Alliance understood itself as a "brotherhood of Christians" from different evangelical denominations from all parts of the world. Participants also adopted the following resolutions, pre-formulated by the Scottish Presbyterian Robert S. Candlish:

1. The unity of Christians given in Christ should gain visible form.
2. A common basis of faith was worked out, which made doctrinal statements about the inspiration of Scripture, the doctrine of the fall of man and his need for redemption, about justification by faith alone, the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and sanctification, the immortality of the soul, the divine institution of the ministry, and baptism and the Lord's Supper.[1511]
3. Attention was to be drawn to forms of unbelief (these were seen above all in the strengthening of the papacy), to Christian education and to Sunday sanctification.
4. National branches were to be founded.[1512]

The work of the Evangelical Alliance during the first decades became evident in several areas. First, the Evangelical Alliance encouraged people to pray together. From the beginning, it called Christians all over the world to pray together during a week in January. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill write:

"Without question, the week of prayer has caused Christians of different Churches all over the world to realize that they are one in Christ, and has stimulated their sense of unity. In many a Swiss village, for example, this was the one time in the year when members of the National Church, the Free Church, the Darbyites (Plymouth Brethren) and other sects, realized that although they were divided, sometimes bitterly over certain questions, they were nevertheless one in a common Lord."[1513]

[1510] Hans Hauzenberger, *Einheit auf evangelischer Grundlage: Von Werden und Wesen der Evangelischen Allianz*, Giessen and Zurich: TVG Brunnen and Gotthelf Verlag, 1986, 88.

[1511] The official decisions of the Alliance founding conference of 1846 in London are printed in Hans Hauzenberger, *Einheit auf evangelischer Grundlage,* 452-467.

[1512] Gerhard Ruhbach, "Evangelische Allianz", in: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ⁴1998, 317.

[1513] Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948.* London: SPCK, ²1967.

In addition to mobilising people to pray together, the Evangelical Alliance was strongly characterised by its international shape. The international conferences, which took place eleven times during the 19th century between 1848 and 1896,[1514] were something new in the history of the Christian church, and these conferences were often held at strategically important locations, such as in 1851 following the World Exhibition in London or in 1873 after the end of the American Civil War in New York. The conferences offered participants the opportunity for personal relationships across national borders and also provided a detailed overview of the global state of Christianity.[1515] An overview of the state of religion in many countries, with a special focus on evangelical Christianity, regularly occupied a large space both in the conferences as well as in the publications of the Evangelical Alliance – first and foremost *Evangelical Christendom*;[1516] again this reinforced its international character. World mission also played a strategic role for the Alliance; thus, Rouse and Neill describe the Evangelical Alliance as an "effective advocate of missions".[1517]

> "It would be difficult to exaggerate the services of the Alliance to the cause of world-wide Missions; it was, for example, at the Annual Meeting of the British Alliance the plan for the first international missionary conference in 1854 was mooted […]. At successive Alliance conferences, a session or more was always given to the subject of Missions. A thorough survey of the missionary position was usually a feature – that given by Professor Christlieb of Bonn at the Basle Conference of 1879 occupies 164 pages in the Report and is quite masterly."[1518]

Finally, the Evangelical Alliance's concern for and commitment to religious freedom is worth mentioning.[1519] Time and again, *Evangelical Christendom* re-

---

[1514] Cf. the list in Hans Hauzenberger, *Einheit auf evangelischer Grundlage,* 103.

[1515] Cf. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, 321–322.

[1516] *Evangelical Christendom* was published by the British Alliance and was virtually the official English-language Alliance organ, appearing monthly since 1846.

[1517] Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, 321.

[1518] Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, 322.

[1519] Cf. on this topic the excellent anthology edited by Karl Heinz Voigt and Thomas Schirrmacher (eds.), *Menschenrechte und Minderheiten in Deutschland und Europa: Vom Einsatz für Religionsfreiheit durch die Evangelische Allianz und die Freikirchen im 19. Jahrhundert,* idea-Dokumentation 3/2004, Bonn and Wetzlar: VKW and idea, 2004 and the detailed account in Gerhard Lindemann, *Für Frömmigkeit in Freiheit.*

ported on individuals and churches oppressed for the sake of their faith, and time and again petitions were submitted to governments, or audiences were requested for the purpose of intercession at the respective government. For example, in 1879 the Evangelical Alliance sent a delegation to the Austrian Emperor in Vienna, speaking up against the oppression of Christians in the Danube monarchy, especially Bohemia. Significantly, this commitment to religious freedom was not limited to the realm of Protestantism, but the Evangelical Alliance also campaigned for the rights of Roman Catholic Christians in Sweden and Russia or for followers of the Assyrian Church of the East in Iran at the court in Constantinople.[1520]

11.7   The Holiness Movement

At the end of this chapter on the nineteenth century, we need to give attention to a spiritual movement called "holiness movement" – a renewal movement within Protestantism that swept European Christendom between 1874 and 1910, but whose roots lay in America in the 1840s and 1850s.[1521] Again, the movement had no uniform character. Neverthe-

---

[1520] Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, 322 and especially the essays by David Hilborn, "'Einige gemeinsame Aktionen': Die Bildung und Entwicklung einer Sozialen Agenda innerhalb der Evangelischen Allianz", in: Karl Heinz Voigt and Thomas Schirrmacher (eds.), *Menschenrechte und Minderheiten in Deutschland und Europa: Vom Einsatz für Religionsfreiheit durch die Evangelische Allianz und die Freikirchen im 19. Jahrhundert,* idea-Dokumentation 3/2004, Bonn and Wetzlar: VKW and idea, 2004, 9-36; Karl Heinz Voigt "'Menschenrecht, Religionsfreiheit': Thema der Internationalen Evangelischen Allianz und des Deutschen Kirchentags in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts", in: Karl Heinz Voigt and Thomas Schirrmacher (eds.), *Menschenrechte und Minderheiten in Deutschland und Europa: Vom Einsatz für Religionsfreiheit durch die Evangelische Allianz und die Freikirchen im 19.* Jahrhundert, idea-Dokumentation 3/2004, Bonn and Wetzlar: VKW and idea, 2004, 37-73; Gerhard Lindemann, *Für Frömmigkeit in Freiheit,* 610-612.

[1521] Cf. on the Holiness Movement Paul Fleisch, *Die Heiligungsbewegung: Von den Segenstagen in Oxford 1874 bis zur Oxford-Gruppenbewegung Frank Buchmans*, ed. by Jörg H. Ohlemacher, Giessen and Basel: TVG Brunnen, 2003; Stephan Holthaus, *Heil – Heilung – Heiligung: Die Geschichte der deutschen Heiligungs- und Evangelisationsbewegung (1874-1909)*, Giessen and Basel: TVG Brunnen, 2005; Karl Heinz Voigt, *Die Heiligungsbewegung zwischen Methodistischer Kirche und Landeskirchlicher Gemeinschaft: Die "Triumphreise" Robert Pearsall Smith und ihre Auswirkungen auf die zwischenkirchlichen Beziehungen,* Wuppertal: TVG Brockhaus, 1996; Jörg Ohlemacher, "VI. Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert", in: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.), *Der Pietismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Geschichte des Pietismus 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 371-391; John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*, A History of Evangelicalism 2, Leicester: IVP, 2006.

less, some basic, common theological convictions of the holiness movement can be identified:

> "The distinction between justification and sanctification in the sense of two successive stages of being a Christian, which was already made by John Wesley (1703-1791), is emphasised in favour of sanctification and thus the experience of believers. While with justification all sin committed so far is erased, a second blessing, sanctification, must make it possible to overcome the natural inclination to sin. A Christian life without conscious sin in the continuous love of God is considered the attainable goal. The path to such perfection is described in more and more stages in the course of this development. The believer's concentration is directed towards this process of inner perfection. [...] The representatives of the Holiness movement draw heavily on the traditions of mysticism, but they also cite reformers and Pietism as their frame of reference."[1522]

Historically, the holiness movement was closely related to the Second Great Awakening in the nineteenth century in America. One of the formative figures was Charles Grandison Finney (1792-1875),[1523] who, together with others, developed a doctrine of a higher spiritual life. Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899),[1524] on the other hand, can be considered the father of the modern evangelism movement. The Evangelical Alliance, in turn, strengthened the networking of followers and representatives of both the holiness and and evangelism movements between America and Britain.

Two conferences in Oxford (1874) and Brighton (1875) became key events for the holiness movement in Europe. The American couple Robert Pearsall Smith (1827-1898) and his wife Hanna Whitall Smith (1832-1911) – both laymen – were invited to a conference in Oxford, which lasted from 29 August to 7 September 1874 and was attended by more than 1,500 participants.

> "Many participants 'received a rich and lasting blessing, experienced the baptism of the Spirit, and enjoyed the consciousness of full salvation in Christ' – such or similar were the reports and autobiographical notes. The principally supra-denominational orientation of Smith's work created a

---

[1522] Jörg Ohlemacher, "VI. Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert", 372.

[1523] Cf. Keith J. Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney: Revivalist and Reformer*, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990; Ulrich Gäbler, *Auferstehungszeit: Erweckungsprediger des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991, 11-28.

[1524] Cf. Ulrich Gäbler, *Auferstehungszeit,* 136-159.

high mood of feeling, as if the longed-for unity of Christendom [...] could be experienced for the first time."[1525]

Robert Pearsall Smith also visited the European continent. On his so-called "triumphal journey" in spring 1875 (31 March to 3 May), he spoke in Berlin, Basel, Zurich, Karlsruhe, Korntal, Stuttgart, Frankfurt am Main, Heidelberg, Barmen and Elberfeld, This led to a breakthrough of the holiness movement in the German-speaking world. Stephan Holthaus summarises the impact of the preaching tour:

> "Pearsall Smith's journey through Germany and Switzerland may be regarded as a breakthrough for the Holiness movement in Germany in terms of its significance. The reaction within the churches and free churches was mostly positive. The 'Village-Chronicles' by Franz Ludwig Zahn (1798-1890) reported for weeks on the aftermath of the conference. [...] The reasons for the unexpected success of the 'triumphal journey' can only be assumed. The special feature of this preaching trip was that it was probably the first time that thousands came together for interdenominational religious events. It was seen in close connection with Moody`s evangelistic crusades in England, to which large crowds also flocked. It was not unusual in church life in the German Empire for large events to be held on special church feast days. But a religious gathering extending over a week with such a large number of participants was something new and impressive. [...] Likewise, it must be emphasised that here a theological layman gave religious lectures without ordination – that was also something unusual in 1875."[1526]

At the following conference at Brighton, up to 6,000 people attended the conference, for which the castle, the cathedral, the corn exchange, the town hall, and another hall with 3,000 seats had been rented.[1527]

> "Brighton can without doubt be described as the high point of the early holiness movement in England, France and Switzerland. For the German-speaking participants, after the local holiness conferences, this was a crowning conclusion to a 'triumphal journey' of the holiness movement."[1528]

[1525] Jörg Ohlemacher, "VI. Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert", 378.

[1526] Stephan Holthaus, *Heil – Heilung – Heiligung,* 89-90.

[1527] Stephan Holthaus lists all known German-speaking participants. Cf. Stephan Holthaus, *Heil – Heilung – Heiligung,* 93-105.

[1528] Stephan Holthaus, *Heil – Heilung – Heiligung,* 108.

Jörg Ohlemacher summarised fourteen central characteristics of the Holiness and Evangelism movement (giving special attention to the German context):

1. "The transgression of the church space – as a place of gospel proclamation, the camp meetings or the large gatherings in secular halls;
2. The organisational form of mass evangelism as a new mission event;
3. The devaluation of the churches as an institution and associated with this;
4. The devaluation of the theologian class and the offices of the church; in their place came leaders 'distinguished by special charismatic authority', especially in the form of captivating preaching;
5. Hand in hand with this came a neglect of the historical context in favour of an orientation towards the present; behind this are complex salvation-historical ideas of the near end of time, a fundamental crisis situation of the individual and the direct work of the Holy Spirit;
6. The call to a decision of faith in connection with repentance and conversion as well as the call to a permanent life of sanctification [...] ;
7. On this basis, differences of class, confessional differences and racial differences were put into perspective;
8. Gender differences were also transcended; the new 'experiences' led to a new view of the role of women in the Bible and allowed women to come into preaching roles that were exclusively reserved for men in the traditional churches;
9. The preaching efforts were also extended to children and young people;
10. From the beginning, global mission efforts were envisioned, which led to a revival of mission societies and the founding of new ones, with the so-called faith mission agencies most likely to embody a new type;
11. The experience on the mission fields, however, also had an effect and made the call for overcoming denominational differences more urgent in view of the common challenges;
12. In connection with the dominance of the 'experience' of faith and the emphasis on the practice of sanctification, these impressions from the mission work caused the repression of the doctrines of distinction as they had been handed down especially in the creeds and sacramental views;
13. The understanding across denominational boundaries led to the establishment of interdenominational associations on a regional, national and international level on a hitherto unknown scale;
14. The ideas of salvation history were quite different, but it was a conviction shared by most that one lived in a decisive phase of the development of the Kingdom of God and that the return of Christ was imminent."[1529]

[1529] Jörg Ohlemacher, "Einführung", in: Paul Fleisch, *Die Heiligungsbewegung*, XI-XIII.

12 The Most Recent Period (1918 to the Present)

The closer we get to the present time, the more difficult it proves to offer a historical overview, primarily for two reasons. On one hand, the abundance of topics and material is hardly manageable; on the other hand, the historian lacks the necessary historical distance that makes a presentation and evaluation appear meaningful in the first place.[1530] These two factors therefore almost inevitably lead to an increased subjectivity, of which every historian should be aware.

Therefore, this last chapter is shorter than the previous ones and focuses on only tracing some lines of development and trends, especially with regard to developments from the second half of the twentieth century onwards.

12.1 Protestantism in the Twentieth Century

The first years of the twentieth century need to be understood, in the words of historian Eric Hobsbawm, as part of the "long nineteenth century",[1531] which came to an end with the outbreak of World War I. The end of the long nineteenth century was marked above all by some increasingly strong national-liberal currents, which at the same time strengthened both colonial and imperial interests and led to growing international tensions, which finally erupted in World War I. In Western European Protestantism, these years mark the heyday of liberal cultural Protestantism, which finally collapsed on the battlefields of World War I, despite the fact that at the outbreak of the war and in the first months afterwards, the churches were more crowded than they had been for decades.[1532] Wolf Dieter Hauschild even speaks of a "modern substitute religion" with regard to such Protestant nationalism.[1533]

Armin Sierszyn aptly sums up the attitude to life and faith at the time:

"In the decades before 1914, the liberal cultural Protestantism of the 19th century experienced its climax. Adolf von Harnack, president of the Kaiser

---

[1530] See, among others, Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity 2, 399.*
[1531] Cf. Eric Hobsbawms, *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. Darmstadt: Theiss, 2017.
[1532] Cf. Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity 2,* 400.
[1533] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 823.

Wilhelm Society and recognised prince among scholars, appeared like an incarnation of his time. The European states and empires (with their colonies) weighed themselves at the apparent height of their power. The leaders no longer placed their hope in the biblical Christ. The watchword was now: progress through technology and science, civilisation and culture. [... But at the same time] tensions were growing through arms races and imperial conflicts."[1534]

And Kurt Aland comments:

"World War I was fought by nations which were all ostensibly Christian countries. Even where church and state were not so closely connected as in Tsarist Russia, Christianity was still the official or semiofficial national confession. Not only in Germany were churches filled as they had not been for decades at the beginning of the war and the months following; not only in Germany were war sermons preached that emphatically called upon the 'Lord of armies' to grant victory to one's own weapons and punish one's adversaries. [...] Christianity was not only incapable of preventing the outbreak of the war, but it was also misused throughout Europe and later in the United States to incite the warring soldiers to even greater heroism. Thus, in its action at the outbreak of World War I, we can see how completely bankrupt Christianity was at that time."[1535]

For the Protestant churches in the German Empire, the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the republic brought a deep break, as the centuries-old order structure of the sovereign church regiment had suddenly come to an end. "The decisive question for the Protestant church was now: How should a church regiment of its own be formed after the state regiment had ceased to exist?"[1536] However, there were two different approaches: the idea of a free, Protestant people's church as a lay church and, on the other hand, the denominational leaders who demanded to determine the church order of the future.[1537]

The so-called Weimar Republic saw the first official separation of church and state, but only to a limited extent. The Protestant churches were granted the status of public corporations as well as the right to levy church taxes and to provide religious education in public schools. How-

---

[1534] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 823-824. Similarly, Kurt Aland, *A History of Christianity 2,* 400.

[1535] Kurt Aland, *History of Christianity 2,* 400.

[1536] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 242.

[1537] For further developments, see Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 828-837.

ever, the relationship of the Protestant churches to the new, republican state remained ambivalent and was characterized by distance. "The distance of most Protestants from the republic was also based on the impression that they could not exert any direct influence because the republic was dominated by notorious opponents of the Protestant Church"[1538] – the Social Democrats and also the Roman Catholics. This new situation, which was difficult for the Lutheran Church to accept, at the same time brought complete new freedom for other Protestant denominations. For the first time, the new constitutions of the young republics – whether in Germany or Austria – also guaranteed other denominations extensive religious freedom.

What we have observed with regard to war attitudes and an associated religiosity in Germany was similarly true for other countries. Thus, Michael Snape writes with regard to Great Britain:

> "In Great Britain, King George V, as head of the Church of England, called national days of prayer in the time-honoured tradition of his predecessors and, although there existed a somewhat greater political distance between church and state than in the highly Erastian context of Protestant Germany, the established churches of England and Scotland proved almost equally zealous in their support for the war."[1539]

12.1.1 Christendom in the Context of Ideologies

Two major ideologies confronted Christianity in the early twentieth century: National Socialism (or Fascism) and Communism (or Socialism). In both cases, it is important to take a closer look at the response of the church, which was quite ambivalent. Christian attitudes ranged from support to tolerance to resistance leading to persecution.

With regard to National Socialism, the self-designation "Third Reich" indicated a religious note: "In this, the old chiliastic-spiritualist interpretation of history continued to have an effect in secularised form, with the expectation of an end-time millennial empire [...]."[1540]

Adolf Hitler's seizure of power at the end of January 1933 brought the final political breakthrough for National Socialism in Germany. "Characteristic of the National Socialist basic position was the peculiar combina-

---

[1538] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 847.

[1539] Michael Snape, "Narratives of Change: 8. The Great War", in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 133.

[1540] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2*, 858.

tion of atavistic worldview and technical modernity. Brutal use of force and psychologically skillful propaganda conveyed the limited political goals [...]."[1541] Shaped by a dualistic worldview, Hitler pushed the struggle of the good principle against the evil principle, the struggle of the Aryans against the Jews. "Anti-Semitism was [thereby] the decisive driving force for the party's policy."[1542] While in the beginning the NSDAP (National Socialist German Labor Party, Hitler's party) had a friendly policy towards the Christian church, this changed over time. Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr note, "Hitler's church policy initially had the goal of bringing the churches into line with the state. In the politics of the party and Hitler himself, it was clear from 1938 at the latest that the goal was the destruction of Christianity and the church."[1543] At the same time, at least for the early 1930s, we need to state with Wolf Dieter Hauschild:

> "The attitude of the Protestant Church towards the National Socialist seizure of power, though not unanimous, was widely approving (as was also shown by the fact that the NSDAP's electoral successes in Protestant areas were far higher than in Catholic ones). Hitler, nominally a Catholic, ostensibly represented the legitimate government, which was to be obeyed according to traditional Lutheran doctrines of authority; and the widespread nationalist mentality supported this, for the majority of the Protestant population welcomed the program of national renewal which was nebulously summed up in the propaganda formula of the Third Reich."[1544]

However, church resistance to National Socialism also arose early on as the Confessing Church (Bekennende Kirche) was established. Wolfgang Somme and Detlef Klahr note on the background to this development:

> "The Confessing Church developed out of a congregational and clergy movement against the Nazi state's policy of political and structural egalitarianism. It had three main roots: Karl Barth's new dialectical theology, the emergency covenant of pastors, and a church bound to a biblical confession (formation of free synods)."[1545]

At a synod in Barmen at the end of May 1934, the Confessing Church was established and adopted the Barmen Declaration:

[1541] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2*, 858
[1542] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 247.
[1543] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 247-248.
[1544] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 861.
[1545] Wolfgang Sommer and Detlef Klahr, *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium*, 249.

"1. 'I am the way and the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father but through me' (John 14:6). 'Truly, truly I say to you: he who does not enter into the sheepfold by the gate but climbs in by another way, he is a thief and a murderer. I am the gate; if anyone enters by me, he will be blessed' (John 10:1, 9).

Jesus Christ, as he is attested to us in Holy Scripture, is the one word of God that we are to hear, which we are to trust and to obey in life and in death.

We reject the false doctrine, as if the church can and must recognize as sources for its preaching, apart from and beside this one word of God, also other events and powers, figures and truths as God's revelation.

2. 'God made Jesus Christ to be for us our wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption' (1 Cor. 1:30).

Just as Jesus Christ is God's assurance [Zuspruch] of the forgiveness of all our sins, so also, and with the same earnestness, he is God's powerful claim [Anspruch] upon our entire life. Through him a joyous liberation from the godless conditions of this world occurs for us, a liberation for free, grateful service to his creatures.

We reject the false doctrine, as if there are domains of our life in which we do not belong to Jesus Christ but to other lords, domains in which we would not need justification and sanctification by him.

3. 'But let us be upright in love and grow in every respect into him who is the head, Christ, from whom the whole body is joined together' (Eph. 4:15-16).

The Christian church is the congregation of brothers in which Jesus Christ acts presently as the Lord in word and sacrament through the Holy Spirit. As the church of forgiven sinners, it has to testify in the midst of the world of sinners, both with its faith and its obedience, with its message as well as with its order, that it alone is his property, that it lives and wants to live solely from his comfort and by his direction in anticipation of his appearance.

We reject the false doctrine, as if the church could relinquish the form of its message and its order to its own pleasure or to changes in prevailing ideological and political convictions.

4. 'You know that the worldly rulers lord over others and the chief lords have power. It shall not be so among you; but if anyone wants to be great among you, let him be your servant' (Matt. 20:25-26).

The various offices in the church do not establish any lordship of one over the others, but the exercise of the ministry is commanded and entrusted to the whole congregation.

We reject the false doctrine, as if the church, apart from this ministry, could give itself and allow itself to be given over to special leaders who are vested with ruling powers.

5. 'Fear God, honor the king' (1 Pet. 2:17).

Scripture says to us that the State, according to divine arrangement, has the task to be concerned for justice and peace in this still unredeemed world in which the church also stands, and to do so according to the standard of human insight and human ability, under penalty of threat and the use of force. In gratitude and reverence toward God, the church recognizes the benefit of this, his arrangement. The church reminds itself of God's kingdom, of God's command and justice, and thereby, of the responsibility of those governing and of the governed. It trusts and obeys the power of the word by which God upholds all things.

We reject the false doctrine, as if the state, beyond its special task, should and could become the single and total order of human life and thereby fulfill also the intended purpose of the church.

We reject the false doctrine, as if the church, beyond its special task, should and could take over state governmental actions, state governmental tasks, and state governmental positions and thereby become itself an organ of the state.

6. 'See, I am with you every day until the end of the world' (Matt. 28:20).

'God's word is not bound' (2 Tim. 2:9).

The task of the church, in which its freedom is grounded, consists in this, namely, to pass on the message of the freeing grace of God to every nation, in the place of Christ and thus in service to his own word and work through sermon and sacrament.

We reject the false doctrine, as if the church, in human arrogance, could place the word and work of the Lord in service to any arbitrarily chosen wishes, goals, and plans."[1546]

Among key people of the Confessing Church, Martin Niemöller (1892-1984)[1547] and Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945)[1548] were prominent alongside

---

[1546] Quoted from: http://matthewlbecker.blogspot.com/2012/10/pericope-of-week-theological.html [19.09.2023].

[1547] Cf. Michael Heymel, *Martin Niemöller: Vom* Marineoffizier *zum Friedenskämpfer*, Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, 2017; Martin Greschat, "Martin Niemöller", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit IV,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986, 187-204.

[1548] See Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Theologe – Christ – Zeitgenosse,* Munich: Chr. Kaiser, ²1967; Heinrich Ott, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit IV,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986, 270-289.

Karl Barth (1886-1968).[1549] This book does not attempt a comprehensive, critical account of the church under National Socialism.[1550] Rather, we can summarise the situation in the words of Armin Sierszyn:

> "The catastrophe unleashed from the heart of Europe claimed around 100 million victims – fallen, murdered, wounded, violated, deported and incarcerated. The worst expression of racist barbarism was the gas chambers and incinerators to exterminate 6 million Jews on European soil [...]. The war tore apart an army of families, shattered the elementary foundations of life and disrupted millions and millions of people and groups and their cultures worldwide. The ruins of the most precious cultural monuments were an outward expression of the fundamental upheavals within people and nations."[1551]

Tragically, even evangelical churches and groups[1552] rarely saw through Hitler and were themselves often characterised by a deeply rooted anti-Semitism:

> "Revivalist Pietism, which for more than 100 years had vigilantly fought against liberalism, biblical criticism, and Marxism, soon sensed that something was wrong with Hitler, but recognised the scope of the diabolical system too late. The guardianship of Pietism failed even more than that of the churches, because Hitler took no offence at a purely inward cultivation of faith (conversion, rebirth), and Pietism developed rather little interest in 'external' issues such as church organization and political responsibility. The free churches also tool the path of adaptation to preserve their institutional freedom."[1553]

[1549] Cf. Eberhard Busch, *Karl Barths Lebenslauf: nach seinen Briefen und autobiographischen Texten*, Munich: Chr. Kaiser, ²1976; Walter Kreck, "Karl Barth", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit IV,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz, 1986, 102-122.

[1550] In this regard, reference is made to the literature, including Klaus Scholder, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich, vol. 1: Vorgeschichte und Zeit der Illusionen 1918-1934,* Frankfurt, Berlin and Vienna: Ullstein and Propyläen, 1977; Klaus Scholder, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich, vol. 2, Das Jahr der Ernüchterung 1934 – Barmen und Rom,* Berlin: Siedler, 1985; Gerhard Besier, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich, vol. 3: Spaltungen und Abwehrkämpfe 1934-1937,* Berlin and Munich: Econ Ullstein List and Propyläen, 2001.

[1551] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 828.

[1552] Cf. as one example: Helmuth Egelkraut, *Die Liebenzeller Mission und der Nationalsozialismus: Eine Studie zu ausgewählten Bereichen, Personen und Positionen. Mit einer Stellungnahme der Liebenzeller Mission*, Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2015.

[1553] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 826-827. On the attitude of the Free *Churches* to National Socialism, see, among others, Daniel Heinz (ed.), *Freikirchen und Juden im "Dritten Reich": Instrumentalisierte Heilsgeschichte, antisemitische Vorur-*

With the collapse of National Socialism, communism and socialism "rose as the spiritual victor and [offered] to treat the world with its doctrine of salvation."[1554]

Communism as the ideology behind the emerging socialism was older than National Socialism; however, a number of similarities emerge: "Both are atheistic, anti-Christian, promising and yet inhuman."[1555] Communism represents a social-theoretical utopia based on ideas of social equality and freedom of all members of society, common property and collective problem solving. Socialism is the first phase – the dictatorship of the proletariat – while communism represents the second phase of a classless society.

With the socialist revolution in Russia in 1917, for the first time in modern times an epochal system change took place. Wolf-Dieter Hauschild notes:

> "A push back of Christianity through communism and atheism. This initially affected the new Russian Soviet Union, but after its victory over National Socialist Germany in 1945 it also affected the satellite states it controlled in Eastern and Central Europe (and was a process that continued with varying intensity until 1989-1990). The most recent church history has been substantially determined by this."[1556]

This was especially so because until the 1980s, numerous countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America embraced Marxist ideology, mainly in the form of dictatorial governments. For the first time in the history of Christianity in the modern era, there was fundamental and widespread opposition to the Christian faith, regardless of the denomination, which was also reflected in systematic persecutions of Christians. Despite these tragic realities, a certain sympathy for socialism in the second half of the twentieth century is just as undeniable as a certain "blindness in the left eye", especially within (liberal) Protestantism and among the World Council of Churches. Such support for socialism is based on a theological conviction that sees in socialism the earthly fulfilment of what the New Testament proclaims. Heinz-Dietrich Wendland wrote in an essay in 1967:

> "The starting point for a Christian understanding of the world revolution must be a thoroughly eschatological one, whereby I would like to under-

---

teile und verdrängte Schuld, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011; Andrea Strübind, Die Unfreie Freikirche: Der Bund der Baptistengemeinden im "Dritten Reich", Wuppertal and Kassel: TVG Brockhaus and Oncken, 1995.

[1554] Armin Sierszyn, 2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte, 828.

[1555] Armin Sierszyn, 2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte, 828.

[1556] Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2, 826.

stand eschatology not as an idea of the hereafter, but rather as the present realization and working of the kingdom of God in Jesus Christ and in his church on this earth. [...] The kingdom of God in Jesus Christ and in his church on this earth that is entering the world. [...] The Kingdom of God penetrating the world changes the world – that is, so to speak, abbreviated and simply expressed, the revolution from above – and this revolution from above has its human bearers in the disciples of Christ, in his church on earth, who work in the active ethos of serving love to change the world and to transform the world in order to fight for freedom, justice, welfare and a dignified existence for all people. [...]

Man is appointed by the Creator as administrator and reformer, as organizer and reformer of the earthly world and of human society. He is [...] the co-worker of God, through the world-encompassing and at the same time world-changing power of human reason. This is, so to speak, the sacred office of worldly human reason that God has bestowed upon it, and we Christians should surely be the last to think less of this office of human reason.

In this place there can be no defamation of human reason; it is our decisive helper in the path of world improvement and transformation, the reformation of human society."[1557]

The number of victims of communism and socialism in the twentieth century alone is estimated at around 100 million.[1558] Among them are many Christians who lost their lives because of their steadfast faith. Marion Smith aptly notes regarding the sympathy for communism that still prevails today:

"'It is perhaps the biggest lie that exists in our culture today that the deadliest ideology in history is not responsible for the regimes it has spawned – let alone the deaths [...] . There has never been a communist regime that didn't end up killing its own people.'"[1559]

[1557] Heinz Dietrich Wendland, "Kirche und Revolution", in: Ökumenischer Rat der Kirchen (ed.), *Appel an die Kirchen der Welt: Dokumente der Weltkonferenz für Kirche und Gesellschaft,* Stuttgart and Berlin: Kreuz Verlag, ²1967, 87-90. Quoted from: Heinz Zahrnt (ed.), *Gespräch über Gott: Die protestantische Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Textbuch*, Munich: Piper, 1968, 372-373.

[1558] Cf. https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/james-kirchick-die-opfer-des-kommunismus-verdienen-ein-denkmal-13147364-p2.html [last accessed 26.01.2022].

[1559] Source: https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/james-kirchick-die-opfer-des-kommunismus-verdienen-ein-denkmal-13147364-p2.html [last accessed 26.01.2022].

12.1.2   Christendom in a Secular Age

In an essay on Christianity in Europe after 1945, Grace Davie divides the post-1945 era into three phases: The post-World War II Cold War reconstruction phase (1945-1960), a phase of radical change (1960-1979), and a phase of realignment (1979-1989).[1560] Hugh McLeod characterises this era as follows:

> "After 1945, communist governments were established through most of the eastern part of Europe; and all pursued anti-religious policies. In Western Europe, on the other hand, church-state relations entered an exceptionally harmonious phase – one reason being that so many of the key political figures in the period c. 1945-65 were practising Catholics. [...]
>
> The changing moral climate [...] had in fact affected the whole Western world in the 1960s. Religious controversy now focused not so much on politics as on Christian teachings concerning sexual ethics and gender, and on Christian exclusiveness. There was a growing demand for greater individual freedom in questions of religion and ethics, with each person claiming the right to choose their own 'path', to draw inspiration from a variety of sources, and to decide which parts of their church's teaching they would accept and which they would reject or ignore. [...] There is no doubt that the 1960s and 1970s mark a turning point in the religious history of Europe and North America – though historians, sociologists and theologians are divided as to how the changes in this period should be interpreted. Some see this as a time of definite secularisation; some see it as the beginning of an era that is 'post-Christian', but not 'post-religious'; and others see it as a period of 'spiritual awakening' from which Christianity has emerged transformed and also in some ways strengthened."[1561]

From my perspective, all three interpretive models should be integrated. An increasing secularization, the dawn of a post-Christian age, and new spiritual awakenings all characterise this epoch in the Western world. One

---

[1560] Cf. Grace Davie, "Christianity in Europe", in: Jens Holger Schjørring, Norman A. Hjelm and Kevin Ward (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 3: History of Christianity in the 20th Century,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 475-500.

[1561] Hugh McLeaod, "Introduction", in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 8. See also Michael Walsh, "The Religious Ferment of the Sixties", in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000*, The Cambridge History of Christianity 9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 304-322; Hugh McLeod, "The Crisis of Christianity in the West: Entering a Post-Christian Era?", in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 323-347;

thing is certain, however, again referring to former Western Christendom: churches and especially traditional Christian denominations are losing more and more "influence on the shaping, meaning and perception of people's everyday lives"[1562] and church loyalty continues to dissolve.[1563] This can be seen, for example, in church membership figures, as I can illustrate with Austrian data. Whereas in 1981 6,372,645 people belonged to the Roman Catholic Church and 423,162 to the Protestant Church, by 1991 the membership had fallen to 6,081,454 (Roman Catholic) and 388,709 (Protestant) and then again to 5,915,421 Roman Catholics and 376,150 Protestants Christians in 2001. The number of Austrian citizens without a religious confession doubled from 452,039 to 963,263 in the same 20-year period.[1564] A similarly negative development can be observed for church attendance[1565] and official membership continues to decrease. In 2022, the number of Roman Catholics in Austria had dropped to 4,733,085[1566] and the number of Protestants was down to 265,127.[1567]

In summary, religion in Europe at the beginning of the twenty-first century in many ways is a continuation of the development of the twentieth century. Grace Davies summarises features of the current situation:

1. "The continuing role of Christianity in shaping European culture;
2. An awareness that the historical churches still have a place at particular moments in the lives of modern Europeans, though they are no longer

---

[1562] Thus, Hubert Christian Ehalt in the preface to: Paul M. Zulehner and Regina Polak, *Religion – Kirche – Spiritualität in Österreich nach 1945: Befund, Kritik, Perspektive,* Innsbruck et al: StudienVerlag, 2006, no page number given.

[1563] Cf. Hermann Denz, "Postmoderne Religion", in: Max Preglau and Rudolf Richter (eds.), *Postmodernes Österreich? Konturen des Wandels in Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Politik und Kultur, Vienna*: Signum Verlag, 1998, 334. Cf. on this also the insightful essay by: Hartmut Lehmann, "Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten in der Geschichte des Christentums im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Essay, in: Katharina Kunter and Jens Holger Schjørring (eds.), *Europäisches und Globales Christentum/European and Global Christianity,* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, 27-41. Lehmann lists a number of reasons for this development and also considers the global context.

[1564] Source for all figures: Statistics Austria. Cf. http://www.statistik.at/web_de/ static/bevoelkerung_nach_dem_religionsbekenntnis_und_bundeslaendern_1951 _bis_2001_022885.pdf [last accessed 24.06.2013]. The figures are taken from the respective censuses of the years concerned.

[1565] Cf. on this for the Roman Catholic sphere: Kurt Klein, "Kirche im Übergang: 50 Jahre im Spiegel kirchlicher Statistik", in: Fritz Csoklich/Matthias Opis/Eva Petrik/Heinrich Schnuderl (Rg.), *ReVisionen: Katholische Kirche in der Zweiten Republik*, Graz, Vienna and Cologne: Styria, 1996, 69-70.

[1566] Cf. https://www.katholisch.at/statistik [last accessed 19.09.2023].

[1567] Cf. https://evang.at/kirche/zahlen-fakten/ [last acessed 19.09.2023].

able to discipline the beliefs and behaviour of the great majority of the population, nor – for the most part – would they want to;

3. An observable change in the churchgoing constituencies of the continent, operate increasingly on a model of choice, rather than a model of obligation or duty, though more so in some places than in others;

4. The arrival into Western Europe of groups of people from many different parts of the world, who bring with them very different religious aspirations from those seen in the host societies, noting in addition a later movement of people from the east and central part of the continent to the west;

5. The reactions of Europe's more secular constituencies to the increasing salience of religion in public as well as private life, brought about largely – but not entirely – by new arrivals;

6. A growing realization that the patterns of religious life in this part of the world should be considered an exceptional case in global terms – they are not a global prototype."[1568]

12.2   Theologies of the Twentieth Century

A search for new theological approaches and schools of theological thought during the twentieth century will find numerous catchwords in the relevant literature: theology of liberation, feminist theology, theology of hope and even "God-is-dead" theology. In the following, two fundamental schools of thought will be singled out and briefly presented.

12.2.1   Dialectical Theology

Dialectical theology[1569] goes back to the Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968),[1570] who had been influenced by a liberal theology and teachers such as Adolf von Harnack. But in his pastorate, he realized that liberal theology could not stand up to reality. At the centre of Barth's theology is "no longer man's religion, but God's Word alone."[1571] Jochen Eber elaborates:

[1568]   Grace Davie, "Christianity in Europe", 483.

[1569]   Cf. Gottfried Hornig, "Kapitel XI: Die dialektische Theologie", in: Gustav Adolf Benrath, Gottfried Hornig, Wilhelm Dantine, Eric Hultsch and Reinhard Slenczka, *Die Lehreentwicklung im Rahmen der Ökumenizität*, Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte 3, Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1998, 237-251.

[1570]   Cf. Eberhard Busch, *Karl Barths Lebenslauf*; Walter Kreck, "Karl Barth", 102-122; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 837-839; Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte,* 848-850; Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,* 199-203.

[1571]   Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2,* 837.

> "By 'Word of God' the dialectical theology means a speaking of God, as it comes to bear on the one hand in the sermon and on the other hand in the revelation as Holy Scripture, but in the actual in Jesus Christ Himself. The distinction between the Word of God which is beyond availability and the Bible as a historical document is emphasised. The Bible becomes God's Word only through God's speaking."[1572]

Even though dialectical theology has little theological influence today, Barth is generally regarded as one of the foremost theologians of the twentieth century.

12.2.2 Demythologization

A student of Karl Barth would become formative for the theological development in the second half of the twentieth century: Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976).[1573] With his publication *History of the Synoptic Tradition* he wrote the standard textbook on the so-called form-historical method. Based on the theory of a long oral development of the Gospels, Bultmann concluded, "The evangelists are neither eyewitnesses nor transmitters of factual stories, but collectors of oral traditions of faith."[1574] For Bultmann, the biblical accounts of the virgin birth, of Jesus' atoning death on the cross or of Jesus' resurrection represent only "mythological speech".

> "It is 'unbelievable to the man of today. [...] What primitive mythology that a God-being made man should atone for the sins of men by his blood!' All these ideas, as well as 'the bringing to life of a dead man' are done for Bultmann. [...] Under the spell of a casual-mechanical worldview and a historical-critical way of thinking, Bultmann empties the NT down to the shapeless remnant of the assertion that Jesus actually lived. Following his innocent death (miscarriage of justice), the disciples' 'Easter faith' was so to speak set in motion."[1575]

Gottfried Hornig adds:

[1572] Jochen Eber, "Dialektische Theologie", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1, Holzgerlingen: SCM Brockhaus, ²2017, 1438.

[1573] Günter Klein, "Rudolf Bultmann", in: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit IV,* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz, 1986, 52-69.

[1574] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 851.

[1575] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 852-853.

"According to Bultmann, the demand for demythologisation is justified because it is not at all the intention of the biblical message to make mythical assertions and to lay claim to an enduring truth for them. Rather, the mythical statements of the New Testament are a time-conditioned imaginary and linguistic form that can be detached from the actual factual content of the kerygma. The task of demythologising is thus unavoidably set by both the New Testament and scientific thought.

Bultmann's demythologisation program belonged to the sphere of influence of those Protestant traditions which range from the historical-critical theology of the Enlightenment of the 18th century through David Strauss to the school of the history of religions. However, while earlier attempts at demythologisation mainly eliminated myth and thus also eliminated essential parts of the New Testament kerygma, Bultmann does not want to 'eliminate' myth but to 'interpret' it, i.e. to question its anthropological content. The demythologisation carried out in this way was intended to prevent the Christian faith from sinking into submission to incomprehensible or even implausible ideas, from being degraded to a 'sacrificium intellectus', to an intellectual work against better insight."[1576]

A response from a perspective committed to the Holy Scriptures against the historical-critical method and Rudolf Bultmann's demythologising theology in Germany was the confessional movement called "No Other Gospel", shaped from the 1960s onwards by theologians such as Peter Beyerhaus (1929-2020),[1577] Walter Künneth (1901-1997)[1578] and Gerhard Maier (b. 1937).[1579]

12.3   The Second Vatican Council and Its Impact on the Roman Catholic Church

Important courses for the Roman Catholic Church were set under Pope Pius XII (1939-1958). He not only distinguished himself by a firm anti-com-

---

[1576] Gottfried Hornig, "Kapitel XIII: Kirchliche und kritische Gegenwartstheologie (1945-1990)", in: Gustav Adolf Benrath, Gottfried Hornig, Wilhelm Dantine, Eric Hultsch and Reinhard Slenczka, *Die Lehreentwicklung im Rahmen der Ökumenizität*, Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte 3, Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1998, 271.

[1577] Cf. Frank Hinkelmann, "Beyerhaus, Peter Paul Johannes", in: *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* XLIII, Nordhausen: Bautz, 2021, 170-216.

[1578] Jochen Eber, "Künneth, Walter", in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* XX, Nordhausen: Bautz, 2002, 886-895.

[1579] Cf. Gerhard Maier, *Streiflichter meines Lebens: Ursprünglich sollte Gott gar vorkommen,* Holzgerlingen: SCM Hänssler, 2019.

munism but also solidified the importance of Mariology for modern Catholicism with the bull *Munificentissimus Deus*, through which the bodily Assumption of Mary was dogmatized in 1950. Here, for the first time, an ex-cathedra decision was made following the First Vatican Council. In the same year, the Church condemned the modernist spirit in theology with the encyclical *Humani generis*.[1580]

However, without doubt the singularly most outstanding and important event in and for the Roman Catholic Church in the twentieth century was the Second Vatican Council during the years 1962 to 1965.[1581] Convened by Pope John XXIII (1958-1963), a reform pope concerned with the renewal of the church but who died before the Council opened, it was then led by his successor, Pope Paul VI (1963-1978).[1582] Of the 2,540 delegates, around 1,000 each came from Europe and the Americas, while approximately 300 came each from Africa and Asia. In addition, observers from other confessions were invited and placed in a prominent position near the Council Presidium – another deliberate outward-looking sign.[1583] Armin Sierszyn summarises the significance of the Council from a Protestant perspective:

1. "The Council basically promoted the spreading of the Bible.
2. It renewed the liturgy: service in the local language, greater participation of the congregation, lay chalice as an exception, emphasis on the communal meal as opposed to the sacrificial character of the Mass.
3. The Church is the 'people of God', the community of faith, sacrifice, prayer, and love. The universal priesthood was affirmed – within the limits of the hierarchy.
4. The Catholic Church is the true church. 'This does not exclude the fact that outside its fabric are to be found manifold elements of sanctification and truth.' But these elements are actually gifts of the Catholic Church

---

[1580] Cf. John Pollard. "The Papacy", in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 36-39.

[1581] Cf. Hubert Jedin, "Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil", in: *Die Weltkirche im 20. Jahrhundert*, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte VII, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1979, 97-179; Gerard Manion, "Vatican II: How the First Global Council Transformed Catholicism.", in: Jens Holger Schjørring, Norman A. Hjelm and Kevin Ward (eds.). *History of Global Christianityl 3: History of Christianity in the 20th Century,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021,182-218.

[1582] Cf. John Pollard. "The Papacy", 41-43.

[1583] Cf. Jens Holger Schjørring, "Introduction, 20th Century", in: Jens Holger Schjørring, Norman A. Hjelm and Kevin Ward (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 3: History of Christianity in the 20th Century,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021,14.

and 'press towards Catholic unity'.[1584] In this sense, there is a desire to communion with separated Christians. While the formulations are still unsatisfactory for Protestants, it nevertheless means noticeable progress in practice (e.g. mixed marriages). Freed from the tight corset of the pre-conciliar era, many priests cultivated genuine spiritual brotherhood with Protestants in their parishes.

5. The relationship between Scripture, Tradition and Magisterium was reconsidered. 'The Magisterium is not above the Word of God but serves it by teaching only what has been handed down. [...] One does not exist without the other, and all together – each in its own way – contribute effectively to the salvation of souls through the activity of the Holy Spirit.' The self-importance of the papal Magisterium (Vatican I) was noticeably withdrawn, but the difference to the Reformation sola scriptura remains clear

6. The church is governed by the community of bishops together with the Pope. Papalism was less harshly formulated than in 1870, but the infallibility of the papal Magisterium still applies. The authority of the bishops is derived from papal authority. This does not change by the emphasis that the papacy is not a rule but a service to the church.

7. On the occasion of the last public meeting on 7 December 1965, a joint declaration by the Pope and Patriarch Athenagaros was announced simultaneously in Rome and Constantinople (Istanbul) that the mutual curses of 1054 have been 'erased from the memory and from the midst of the Church'."[1585]

Since then, especially in Europe, the aftermath of the Council has seen in-depth discussions on greater participation of lay people, the role of women in church life, a reform of the priesthood (especially with regard to compulsory celibacy), as well as the attitude to sexual ethical issues such as homosexuality or the handling of cases of abuse in the church, which continue to this day, however, without any change of position yet.

For the present, three church-political groupings within the universal Roman Catholic Church can somehow be identified: a conservative wing, with some who would prefer to move back before the decisions of the Second Vatican Council; an ecumenical-liberal wing, especially in the Western countries; and an "evangelical" wing (which includes the charismatic renewal movement), especially in the Global South, which has a large overlap with the evangelical movement in evangelism and discipleship as well as in ethical questions. Although Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) belonged to the conservative camp – during his term of office he presented a revision

---

[1584] Constitution "Lumen Gentium", ch. 1,7.
[1585] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 857.

of the *Codex juris Canonici*, the Code of Canon Law, as well as of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* in 1992 – the current Pope Francis (since 2013) is considered more on the evangelical side. Incidentally, he is the first non-European pope since Gregory VIII in the eighth century, who came from Syria. Francis is also the first Jesuit on the papal throne.[1586]

12.4   The Developments of the Orthodox Churches

The development of Orthodoxy in the twentieth century cannot be researched and understood in isolation from political developments. To give an example, large parts of world Orthodoxy lived for over 50 years under socialist governments (in the Soviet Union, Romania, parts of the former Yugoslavia, etc.) and thus under conditions of persecution. The rigour of state repression varied. Although there are certainly differences – while Bulgaria became increasingly secular, this was not the case with Romania[1587] – with regard to the Orthodox majority countries, a strong and partly growing connection between church and state can be observed up to the present time. Traditionally, this has been true for Greece, for example,[1588] and in recent decades a renaissance of this close relationship can be seen in countries such as Russia[1589] and Serbia with their respective autocephalous churches. What Thomas Bremer wrote with regard to the Russian Orthodox Church after the collapse of the Soviet Union is similarly true for other former communist and at the same time majority Orthodox countries:

> "The Orthodox faith and the Orthodox Church had a good reputation among the population. For many people, the framework of society in which they and generally their parents and grandparents before them had lived, lay in pieces along with communist ideology. Economic problems were another factor. The church was viewed as an institution that stood above everyday problems. It was regarded as not compromised; it had a tradition from the time before the Revolution and was not viewed as being concerned with its own profit and interests. Moreover, it was

---

[1586] On the development of the Roman Catholic Church since John Paul II, cf. Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert,* 268-274.

[1587] Cf. Grace Davie, "Christianity in Europe", 492.

[1588] Cf. Grace Davie, "Christianity in Europe", 492-493.

[1589] On the development of the Orthodox Churches in the 20th century, cf. Thomas Bremer, "Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe", in: Jens Holger Schjørring, Norman A. Hjelm and Kevin Ward (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 3: History of Christianity in the 20th Century,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021,445-472.

clearly a Russian national institution. All these facts contributed to the growth of its reputation among a large section of the population."[1590]

However, a remarkable aspect emerges here: belonging to the church must not necessarily be equated with belief in God or with religiosity. Rather, "By stating that one is Orthodox, one could express one's Russianness, one's rootedness in Russian culture, and even one's loyalty to the state"[1591] without any religious convictions. In many cases, this goes hand in hand with a growing nationalism. Therefore, it is not surprising that church attendance in these countries has settled at a relatively low level.

Nevertheless, a statistic of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (2020) is remarkable, which once again illustrates the resurgence of Christianity in Eastern Europe and especially that of the Orthodox churches.[1592] Klaus Wetzel stated:

"Particularly noteworthy is the finding that in all countries that were characterised by Orthodox Christianity in the sense of an Orthodox national church before the beginning of communist rule, the Orthodox national church character was re-established. [...] Obviously, the Orthodox ecclesiological concept of the national church has proved to be a very strong imprint. This has probably made the main contribution to the resurgence of Christianity in these countries."[1593]

12.5   Fundamentalism and the Evangelical Movement

As already explained in previous chapters, there is a line of connection from Pietism through the revival movements to today's Evangelical movement. What had previously been called "pietistic" or "revivalist" has taken up a new terminology in the twentieth century: "evangelical". At the same time, however, the centre of gravity of evangelicalism shifted first from Europe to North America and then, towards the end of the century, from North America to the Global South.

[1590] Thomas Bremer, "Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe", 455.
[1591] Thomas Bremer, "Christianity in Russia and Eastern Europe", 457.
[1592] See next page. Source: Klaus Wetzel, "Das aktuelle Bild der Christenheit nach der neuesten Auflage der World Christian Encyclopedia (Teil 2)", in: *evangelische missiologie* 37.3 (2021), 129.
[1593] Klaus Wetzel, "Das aktuelle Bild der Christenheit nach der neuesten Auflage der World Christian Encyclopedia (Teil 2)", 128.

12.5.1 Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism emerged as a movement in the USA at the beginning of the twentieth century.[1594] It was a countermovement to secularism and a modernist and liberal theology that spilled over from Europe to America as a result of the Enlightenment. This liberal thread had become increasingly popular at theological universities after 1850, and the historical-critical method of interpreting biblical texts finally also reached the congregations.[1595] New scientific findings and new exegetical approaches called into question the inerrancy *of* the Bible, which had hitherto been largely unchallenged, and opposing camps were formed in many congregations. "Between 1878 and 1906, almost all the larger churches had to struggle with this question",[1596] while the theological colleges were not spared from these disputes either.

In this process, a series of twelve pamphlets under the title *The Fundamentals* was published by evangelical theologians between 1910 and 1915, in which traditional Christian principles of faith were affirmed.[1597] Although their broad impact remained rather limited despite a total circulation of two and a half million copies,[1598] *The Fundamentals* achieved a very different effect with a few years' delay. For the term *fundamentalism* was understood, especially from the 1920s onwards, as a term for a defensive and apologetic Protestant bloc against any form of modernism.[1599] In addition, during the mid-1920s sharp disputes arose around the question of the doctrine of evolution, which culminated in the so-called Scopes trial.[1600]

[1594] Cf. on fundamentalism: E. Glenn Hinson, "Christlicher Fundamentalismus: Hoffnung oder Katastrophe für das europäische Christentum?", in: *Ökumenische Rundschau* 41 (1992), 449-463.

[1595] See especially the standard work by George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1879-1925*, New York: Oxford Univerity Press, ²²1982; Joel A. Carpenter, Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; Robert Jewett and Ole Wangerin, *Mission und Verführung: Amerikas religiöser Weg in vier Jahrhunderten,* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008, 145-150.

[1596] Derek J. Tidball, *Reizwort Evangelikal: Entwicklung einer Frömmigkeitsbewegung*, Stuttgart: Edition Anker, 1999, 124.

[1597] See Denton Lotz, "*Evangelization of the World in This Generation": The Resurgence of a Missionary Idea Among the Conservative Evangelicals,* Hamburg: Unpublished dissertation, 1970, 82-84; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture,* 118-123.

[1598] Denton Lotz, "*Evangelization of the World in This Generation",* 83.

[1599] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture,* 119.

[1600] See, among others, George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 184-188; Derek J. Tidball, *Reizwort Evangelikal,* 127 and Mark Ellingsen, *Evangelical Move-*

Subsequently, soon a radicalization within the fundamentalist movement was to be observed, which also led to splits and separation. Moderate evangelicals in particular began to distance themselves from this fundamentalist movement, which at the same time "lost spiritual and intellectual standard and [its] activities increasingly expanded into political areas."[1601] This subsequently led to a decline of Protestant fundamentalism by the end of the 1940s,[1602] and its influence on church and society noticeably decreased.

George Marsden lists three main streams of fundamentalism for the mid-1940s. First, there was the group that remained within the mainline denominations and held on to their personal fundamentalist beliefs despite a liberal environment. Second, there were pietistic traditions, especially in the holiness churches and the Pentecostal movement, which were shaped and enriched by fundamentalism. And third, there were the separatist groups that had founded their own fundamentalist congregations and denominations. Only the latter group held on to the term "fundamentalist" as a self-designation in the long run.[1603]

12.5.2 The Evangelical Movement

The founding of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), the evangelical alliance for the United States, in 1942 was a decisive event for the further development and revival of the global evangelical movement in the second part of the twentieth century.[1604] The NAE[1605] held to the original evangelical beliefs and the authority of Scripture, but it rejected the polemical and separatist approach of fundamentalism.[1606] The bearers of

---

ment: Growth, Impact, Controversy, Dialogue, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988, 90-93.

[1601] Friedehelm Jung, *Die deutsche Evangelikale Bewegung: Grundlinien ihrer Geschichte und Theologie,* Biblia et Symbiotica, Bonn: VKW, 1994, 16.

[1602] Fritz Laubach, *Aufbruch der Evangelikalen,* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1972, 22.

[1603] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture,* 195.

[1604] Joel Carpenter describes the history of the NAE and shows why the new foundation should not be understood simply as a continuation of the Evangelical Alliance from the 19th century. Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive us Again,* 141ff. Cf. Robert L. Kennedy, *Turning Westward: Anglo-American Evangelical and German pietist Interactions through 1954*, Aberdeen: Unpublished dissertation, 1988, 338ff.

[1605] On the NAE, see Denton Lotz, *Evangelization of the World,* 103-110 and Mark Ellingsen, *Evangelical Movement,* 98-102.

[1606] "Neo-evangelicalism is regarded as the form of fundamentalism turned towards society", is the somewhat abbreviated statement by Uta Andrea Balbier in: Uta Andrea Balbier, "Billy Grahams Crusades der 1950er Jahre: Zur Genese einer neuen

the renewed evangelical movement were the so-called New Evangelicals[1607] with key figures such as Harold J. Ockenga, Carl F. Henry and Billy Graham.[1608]

The Evangelical Alliance also exerted a decisive influence on the further development and shaping of evangelicals in a global perspective. With the prominent participation of the NAE, the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF) was re-established in 1951,[1609] which changed its name to World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) *in* 2002.

The evangelical movement has experienced enormous growth in recent decades, especially due to its development in the Global South, so that today the number of evangelicals worldwide is estimated at around 600 million. It represents the only Christian grouping that is still growing, yet not because of its birth rate but through conversions.

Finally, the theological quintessence of evangelical beliefs should be mentioned once again:[1610]

1. Evangelicals believe that the Holy Scriptures are the inspired Word of God and are to be regarded as binding for doctrine and life.
2. Evangelicals believe that the death of Jesus Christ on the cross is the only basis of reconciliation between the holy God and sinful man.

Religiosität zwischen medialer Vermarktung und nationaler Selbstvergewisserung", in: Frank Bösch and Lucian Hölscher (eds.), *Kirchen – Medien – Öffentlichkeit: Transformationen kirchlicher Selbst- und Fremddeutungen seit 1945*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009, 69.

[1607] Cf. George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*; Derek Tidball *Reizwort Evangelikal*, 128-131; Garth M. Rosell, *The Surprising Work of God: Harold Ockenga, Billy Graham, and the Rebirth of Evangelicalism,* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2008.

[1608] Cf. Uta Andrea Balbier, *Billy Graham in West Germany: German Protestantism between Americanisation and Rechristianization, 1954-70*, Zeithistorische Forschungen / Studies in Contemporary History, online edition, 7 (2010), H. 3, URL: http://www.zeit historische-forschungen.de/16126041-Balbier-3-2010 [last accessed 20.06.2012]; Uta Andrea Balbier, "Billy Graham's Crusades of the 1950s", 66-86.
On the more recent development of evangelicals in the USA, see above all: Marcia Pally, *Die Neuen Evangelikalen in* den *USA: Freiheitsgewinne durch fromme Politik*, Berlin: Berlin University Press, 2010.

[1609] On the history of the World Evangelical Fellowship see, among others, David M. Howard, *The Dream that Would Not Die: The Birth and Growth of the World Evangelical Fellowship 1846-1986,* Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1986.

[1610] For a discussion of definitions, see Frank Hinkelmann, *Evangelikal in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz: Ursprung, Bedeutung und Rezeption eines Begriffes,* Bonn: VKW, 2017, 133-142.

3. Evangelicals believe that conversion and rebirth through faith in Jesus Christ is the starting point of a life with God (becoming a Christian), which is necessary to attain eternal salvation.
4. Evangelicals believe that every Christian is a follower of Jesus and that this includes a mission to proclaim the gospel in word and deed as well as a way of life that is guided by the ethical standards of the Holy Scriptures.
5. Evangelicals believe that there is a community of all Christians that breaks and transcends denominational boundaries, while emphasizing the binding affiliation to a local church."[1611]

Evangelicals thus present themselves as a trans-denominational movement due to common theological convictions and a jointly experienced reality of faith.

12.6　Ecumenical Movements

The term "ecumenism" describes the interconfessional and interdenominational cooperation of Christians and Christian churches who want to make visible the unity mentioned by Jesus Christ in John 17:21. In the following, three ecumenical movements understood in this sense will be presented.

12.6.1　The Evangelical Alliance

The oldest ecumenical movement is the Evangelical Alliance, which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, initially as a "brotherhood" of evangelical Christians in Protestantism. As already mentioned, on the initiative of the National Association of Evangelicals in the USA, it was re-established in 1951 as the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF). In the following decades, regional alliances emerged in every part of the world, as well as national alliance in numerous countries. While the structures of the individual countries are very different – in countries such as Germany there is only individual membership, while in other countries congregations or denominations can become members – a common theological conviction holds the Evangelical Alliances together. This basic conviction has found expression in a common basis of faith. Although there have been various revisions in the wording in recent times, there is still a general agreement on the basic theological conviction. Following is the World Evangelical Alliance's (WEA) statement of faith:

[1611] Frank Hinkelmann, *Evangelikal in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz,* 139-142.

"We believe in:

The Holy Scriptures as originally given by God, divinely inspired, infallible, entirely trustworthy; and the supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct.

One God, eternally existent in three persons, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, His virgin birth, His sinless human life, His divine miracles, His vicarious and atoning death, His bodily resurrection, His ascension, His mediatorial work, and His personal return in power and glory.

The Salvation of lost and sinful man through the shed blood of the Lord Jesus Christ by faith apart from works, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit.

The Holy Spirit by whose indwelling the believer is enabled to live a holy life, to witness and work for the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Unity of the Spirit of all true believers, the Church, the Body of Christ.

The Resurrection of both the saved and the lost; they that are saved unto the resurrection of life, they that are lost unto the resurrection of damnation."[1612]

Since its beginnings, the focus of the Evangelical Alliance has been on the promotion of common prayer, like the annual Alliance Prayer Week, as an impetus for evangelism and mission, as well as its commitment for religious freedom. To date, more than 140 countries, numerous churches and denominations as well as independent organizations and institutions have joined the WEA, which understands itself as an umbrella organization of evangelicals. The WEA represents the interests of evangelicals vis-à-vis other religious institutions such as the World Council of Churches and the Vatican, as well as in inter-faith interactions. It also functions at a political level, for example at the United Nations.

12.6.2 The World Council of Churches (WCC)

The first impetus for an ecumenical movement[1613] consisting of denominations came from the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910,[1614]

[1612] Source: https://worldea.org/who-we-are/statement-of-faith/ [last accessed 27.01.2022].

[1613] On the history of the ecumenical movement cf. inter alia: Melanie A. Duguid-May, "The Ecumenical Movement", in: Jens Holger Schjørring, Norman A. Hjelm and Kevin Ward (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 3: History of Christianity in the 20th Century,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021, 147-181.

[1614] Cf. Melanie A. Duguid-May, "The Ecumenical Movement", 147-148.

under the initiative of John Mott (1865-1955).[1615] Under Mott's leadership, eleven years later the International Mission Council was founded, which was to hold numerous world mission conferences in the following decades.

Another movement also had its origin in the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910: the so-called Faith and Order Movement led by the Anglican Bishop Charles Brent.[1616] The aim of this group was to draw up doctrinal principles for a united Christianity, and the Faith and Order Movement also held conferences from 1927 onwards.

A third international movement was the World Conference on Practical Christianity initiated by the Swedish Lutheran Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931), which took place in Stockholm in 1925.[1617] A second conference followed in 1937. The focus of this group's work was on ethical and practical questions.

World War II, which broke out shortly afterwards, prevented a union or deeper cooperation for the time being. This idea was taken up in August 1948, when the World Council of Churches was actually founded in Amsterdam. "147 denominations from 44 countries took part in the founding assembly,"[1618] but to this day without the participation of the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1961, the International Missionary Council (IMC) merged with the World Council of Churches, becoming the WCC's Division of World Mission and Evangelism. However, an increasing theological shift was taking place in the World Council of Churches especially since the 1960s[1619] – away from an understanding of mission that focuses on conversion and the need for redemption, towards liberation theology and the support of even militant guerrilla groups in their struggle against racism and oppression. At the same time, the WCC remained silent about the persecution of Christians under socialism. This led to the withdrawal of evangelical groups from the WCC and the formation of their own parallel structures within evangelicalism. This development was further reinforced by syncretic elements within the WCC.

Peter H. Uhlmann critically appraises the World Council of Churches from an evangelical perspective:

[1615] See C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865-1955: A Biography, Grand Rapids*: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1979.
[1616] Cf. Melanie A. Duguid-May, "The Ecumenical Movement", 149-150.
[1617] Cf. Melanie A. Duguid-May, "The Ecumenical Movement", 149.
[1618] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 870.
[1619] Cf. Melanie A. Duguid-May, "The Ecumenical Movement", 159-181.

"It is not without reason that at the beginning of the ecumenical movement there were Bible-oriented Christians who had been active in mission work. Worldwide fellowship and coordination are indispensable. It is about learning from each other and helping each other. [...] Evangelical Christians took offence at theological pluralism, i.e. modernist theology and political ideologies that merge seamlessly and in which God was radically humanised. Paul makes faith in salvation dependent on the risen Christ (cf. e.g. 1 Cor. 15).

Salvation was seen very differently in the WCC. Jesus had degenerated into a cipher for compassion, a type of the New Man, a defender of the 'poor' and other 'marginalised'. Especially in the 'Program to Combat Racism', Christ was misunderstood as a purely human liberator, even as a Marxist revolutionary. One consequence of this was the highly questionable ideological and financial support given to Marxist liberation organizations from the 1960s to the late 1980s. The WCC's ship ran aground on these ideologies. Since the 1990s, the Council has lost its former relevance."[1620]

However, changes within the WCC have also been noticeable in recent years. For example, more and more evangelicals from the Global South are joining the governing bodies of the WCC – even from traditional churches like the Lutheran or Reformed – and the Orthodox churches have in many respects also adopted again conservative positions since the collapse of socialism, as well as in the field of ethics. The new realities are realised within the WCC:

"The World Council of Churches also took steps to strengthen its relations with the Roman Catholic Church and to improve the participation of Pentecostal, Evangelical and indigenous/independent churches in the ecumenical movement. Steps were taken to create a rallying point for all Christians – a 'Global Christian Forum'. Leaders of the historic ecumenical churches as well as evangelical groups first met in Nairobi in 2007 to agree on goals for deeper ecumenical engagement."[1621]

Further global meetings of the Global Christian Forum took place in Manado (Indonesia) in 2011, Bogotá (Colombia) in 2018, and Accra (Ghana) in 2024, supplemented by regional meetings and a consultation on the persecution of Christians in Tirana (Albania) in 2015. However, contrary to Melanie Duguid-May's statement, the Global Christian Forum is not about agreeing on "goals for deeper ecumenical engagement", but rather about getting to know each other. The sponsors of the Global Christian Forum

---

[1620] Peter H. Uhlmann, *Die Kirchen seit dem 18. Jahrhundert,* 297.
[1621] Melanie A. Duguid-May, "Die ökumenische Bewegung und die Entstehung eines Weltchristentums im 20. Jahrhundert", 290.

are the WCC, the WEA, the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, and the Pentecostal World Fellowship.[1622]

In 2021, 350 member denominations in over 100 countries were members of the WCC, representing some 500 million Christians.

12.6.3 The Lausanne Movement

Another important evangelical movement of the twentieth century is the Lausanne Movement for World Evangelisation.[1623] As early as 1966, Billy Graham initiated a first international mission congress in Berlin under the theme "One Race, One Gospel, One Task."[1624] Eight years later, in July 1974, a global congress for world evangelization followed in Lausanne under the theme "All the world should hear his word."[1625] Again, the Baptist Billy Graham played a decisive role in this congress. Lars Dahle notes:

> "From December 1971 and onwards, Billy Graham and his organisation 'were committed to bringing this vision [a second congress] to reality'. With an awareness of the emerging global nature of evangelicalism and world mission, with deep concern for recent developments in the World Council of Churches and out of a deep vision for co-operation among evangelicals, Billy Graham therefore invited evangelical leaders from all over the world, to the ground-braking congress on world evangelization in Lausanne in 1974. Graham and his organization played a significant role in providing funding and organizational support for the congress."[1626]

The quotation illustrates the growing estrangement between the WCC and the evangelical movement following the fourth *WCC Assembly* in Uppsala

[1622] Cf. https://globalchristianforum.org/ [27.01.2022].

[1623] See Lars Dahle, Margunn Serigstad Dahle and Knud Jørgensen (eds.), *The Lausanne Movement: A Range of Perspectives,* Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series 22, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2014.

[1624] See the official report volumes: Carl F. Henry and W. Stanley Mooneyham (eds.), *One Race, One Gospel, One Task: World Congress on Evangelism, Official Reference Volumes 1 & 2,* Minneapolis: World Wide Press, 1967.

[1625] Cf. the official report volumes: Peter Beyerhaus et al. (eds.), Alle *Welt soll sein Wort hören: Lausanner Kongress für Welt Evangelisation,* Dokumente, vol. 1-2, Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1974.

[1626] Lars Dahle, Margunn Serigstad Dahle andKnud Jørgensen, "Introdctory Capter: Evangelical Perspectives on Mission: From Lausanne to Cape Town", in: Lars Dahle, Margunn Serigstad Dahle and Knud Jørgensen (eds.), *The Lausanne Movement: A Range of Perspectives,* Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series 22, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2014, 4.

in 1968 and the anti-racism program initiated in 1969, which would subsequently lead to new evangelical own structures.[1627]

The 1974 Lausanne Congress was attended by 2,473 participants from 115 Protestant denominations and 150 countries, including over 1,000 attendees from the Global South.[1628] The "Lausanne Commitment"[1629] adopted there helped to establish a stronger confessional character for the global evangelical movement and still reflects the basic theological convictions of evangelicalism today. The Anglican John R. W. Stott (1921-2011),[1630] one of the formative theologians of the evangelical movement in the twentieth century, was decisively involved in its composition. Above all, he succeeded in striking a balance between more progressive evangelical forces from the Global South such as Rene Padilla or Samuel Escobar and their plea for a stronger integration of social commitment, on one hand, and the fear of a repetition of history and a return to a "social gospel", which was predominant especially among North Americans.[1631] Especially the fifth point of the Lausanne Covenant under the heading "Christian Social Responsibility" would chart the path of the evangelical movement on this issue for the coming decades:

> "We affirm that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all men. We therefore should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men and women from every kind of oppression. Because men and women are made in the image of God, every person, regardless of race, religion, colour, culture, class, sex or age, has an intrinsic dignity because of which he or she should be respected and served, not exploited. Here too we express penitence both for our neglect and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive. Although reconciliation with other people is not reconciliation with God, nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbour and our obedience to Jesus Christ. The message of salvation implies also a message of judgment upon every form of alienation, oppression and discrimination, and we

---

[1627] See Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott*, A History of Evangelicalism 4, Leicester: IVP, 2013, 156-157.

[1628] Cf. Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism*, 164.

[1629] Cf. http://www.lausannebewegung.de/data/files/content.publikationen/55.pdf [last accessed 29.08.2010].

[1630] On Stott, see Timothy Dudley-Smith, *John Stott: The Making of a Leader*, Leicester: IVP, 1999; Timothy Dudley-Smith, *John Stott: A Global Leader,* Leicester: IVP, 2001.

[1631] Cf. Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism*, 164-177.

should not be afraid to denounce evil and injustice wherever they exist. When people receive Christ they are born again into his kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread its righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is dead."[1632]

Further regional or thematic consultations took place in the 1970s and 1980s,[1633] but the second Lausanne congress in Manila in summer 1989 would be formative for the next two decades with its emphasis on holistic mission.[1634] At the same time, Manila 1989 also reflected the changing evangelical reality with a growing proportion of charismatic participants[1635] and a further growth in the influence of leaders from the Global South. A third congress for world evangelization in Cape Town in 2010 did not reach the radiance and impact of the earlier congresses.

Brian Stanley notes the significance of the Lausanne movement:

"Nevertheless, just as Vatican II must be judged to have made an irreversible difference to the worship, theology and cultural stance of the Roman Catholic Church, so it can fairly be concluded that after the Lausanne Congress world evangelicalism would never be quite the same again. No longer could evangelicals in the North define what it meant to be evangelical Christians on the basis of unspoken assumptions about their differentiation from the liberal and ecumenical mainstream of the historic European and North American denominations. Nor could it any longer be taken for granted that 'social action' or a gospel whose contours were shaped by the concerns of the poor to be left to the liberals, or that mission and evangelism were es-

---

[1632] Source: https://ywam.org/about-us/lausanne-covenant [last accessed 19.09.2023]. Cf. on the Congress the conference volumes: Peter Beyerhaus et al. (ed.), Alle *Welt soll sein Wort hören.*

[1633] Cf. on some of the consultation the volume: Lausanner Komitee für Weltevangelisation (ed.), Lausanne geht weiter: Die Pasadena Konsultation / Der Willowbank Report / Die Lausanner Verpflichtung / Der Glen Eyrie-Report, Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1980.

[1634] Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism*, 178. Cf. Horst Marquardt and Ulrich Parzany (eds.), *Evangelisation mit Leidenschaft: Berichte und Impulse vom II. Lausanner Kongress für Weltevangelisation in Manila*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Aussaat, 1990.

[1635] Cf. Klaus Teschner, "Lausanne II: Bericht über Schwerpunkte, Schwachpunkte und Zielpunkte des zweiten Kongresses für Weltevangelisation in Manila 1989", in: Horst Marquardt and Ulrich Parzany (eds.), *Evangelisation mit Leidenschaft: Berichte und Impulse vom II. Lausanner Kongress für Weltevangelisation in Manila*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Aussaat, 1990. 30-31.

sentially the same terms. Perhaps most fundamental of all, Lausanne revealed the first clear signs of a radical decentring of the geographical and cultural identity of evangelicalism that has since become unmistakable: evangelicals on either side of the North Atlantic can no longer assume that they can in isolation either define the content of the gospel or determine appropriate strategies for Christian mission."[1636]

12.7   New Spiritual Movements

In some respects, the twentieth century can be seen as a century of spiritual decline, especially from a Western perspective. But along with many regional spiritual awakenings, it is also important to point out two global movements that have changed the face of Christianity during the past century.

12.7.1   The Pentecostal Movement

The international Pentecostal movement has its roots in the revival movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well as in the holiness movement of the nineteenth century, but it emerged only at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the USA being one of the starting points.[1637]

> "Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929), a preacher of the Holiness movement, led a Bible school in Topeka, Kansas. On the night of 1 January 1901, the Bible student Agnes N. Ozman experienced a 'baptism in the Spirit' accompanied by speaking in tongues. This heralded the beginning of the modern Pentecostal movement. Parham travelled the country tirelessly for the next five years proclaiming the new 'Age of the Holy Spirit'."[1638]

In 1906, through William James Seymour (1870-1929), a disciple of Parham, revival meetings with an outpouring of Spirit baptism and tongues occurred at the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles.[1639] The emerging Pente-

---

[1636] Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism*, 179.

[1637] On the history of Pentecostalism, see Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Walter J. Hollenweger, *Enthusiastischen Christentum: Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Wuppertal and Zurich: Brockhaus and Zwingli, 1969; Cecil M. Robeck Jr./Amos Yong, *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[1638] Stephan Holthaus, *Konfessionskunde: Handbuch der Kirchen, Freikirchen und christlichen Gemeinden*, Hammerbrücke, Jota Publikationen, 2008, 205.

[1639] See the account of an eyewitness: Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street*, South Plainfield: Bridge Publishing, 1980.

costal movement soon reached Europe, especially Great Britain and Scandinavia. Germany was reached 1907 through Christians from Norway.[1640] Especially in those groups influenced by the holiness movement, the news of a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit fell on fertile ground.

Internationally, Pentecostalism is the fastest growing movement within Christianity. Today, 78 million believers are counted in the classical Pentecostal movement, 192 million in the charismatic movement and 318 million in the neo-charismatic movement. In total, a total number of 588 million followers is given for the global Pentecostal movement.[1641]

The Pentecostal movement[1642] does not represent a monolithic bloc but is rather made up of different denominations which sometimes can be quite confusing due to the multitude of groupings.[1643] The largest denomination is the Assemblies of God (AoG) with 368,703 congregations and 55 million believers worldwide.[1644] Other large international Pentecostal denominations include the Apostolic Church with 15 million members,[1645] the Church of God (Cleveland) with 36,000 congregations and eight million members[1646] and the Foursquare Church with 67,500 congregations and 8.8 million members in over 150 countries.[1647] Especially in Africa and Latin America, the Pentecostal movement has developed into a mass phenomenon with strong growth.

[1640] On the history of European *Pentecostalism,* see Pauls Schmidgall, *European Pentecostalism: Its Origins, Development, and Future,* Cleveland: CPT Press, 2013.

[1641] Cf. the information at: https://www.oikoumene.org/en/church-families/pentecostal-churches [04.01.2016] with reference to the World Christian Database; cf. also on similar figures: Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. van der Maas (eds.), *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Revised and Expanded Edition, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003, 283-287.

[1642] Cf. on Pentecostalism Walter J. Hollenweger, *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum: Herkunft, Situation, Ökumenische Chancen*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.

[1643] Cf. Allan Anderson, "The Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement", in: Hugh McLeod (ed.), *World Christianities c. 1914 – c. 2000,* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 89-106.

[1644] Source: https://www.agwm.org/cms-data/file/vital-stats.pdf [27.01.2022]. Cf. on the Assemblies of God: Edith L. Blumhofer, *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the History of American Pentecostalism,* 2 vols. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1989.

[1645] Source: https://premierchristian.news/en/news/article/apostolic-church-celebrates-100th-anniversary [last accessed 27.01.2022].

[1646] Source: https://churchofgod.org/about/a-brief-history-of-the-church-of-god/ [last accessed 27.01.2022].

[1647] Source: https://www.foursquare.org/about/history/ [last accessed 27.01.2022].

What distinguishes the Pentecostal movement in theological terms? Armin Sierszyn summarises:

> "The doctrines of Pentecostalism are not uniform. Most emphasize the inspiration and infallibility of the Bible, redemption through the blood of Christ, openness to the work of the Holy Spirit and the near return of Jesus. At the centre are the strong emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit, regeneration, baptism in the Spirit, and new life."[1648]

In particular, baptism in the Spirit with glossolalia as its sign has been traditionally emphasized. Other supernatural spiritual gifts such as words of knowledge, prophecy, and the healing of the sick also play an important role. The Pentecostal movement needs to be thanked for rediscovering and bringing to the fore the work of the Holy Spirit and the spiritual gifts in Christianity.

12.7.2 The Charismatic Movement

The charismatic movement has its beginnings in the early 1960s, when the teachings and experiences of the Pentecostal movement entered traditional Christian confessions. The concrete beginning is associated with an outpouring of the Holy Spirit at a US Episcopal church in 1960.[1649] Subsequently, further charismatic experiences also occurred among members of other denomnations such as Baptists, Lutherans and Methodists. The charismatic movement also penetrated the Roman Catholic Church. For the Roman Catholic sphere, an event in 1967 was certainly of central importance.[1650] Catholic students at Duquesne University in the USA experienced a strong filling with the Holy Spirit. In an account of this first outpouring of the Holy Spirit during a retreat weekend, Patti Mansfield reports. In itself, she was looking for students to take to a birthday party. She thought she would find the students in the chapel:

> "With these thoughts, I was just on my way to the chapel. I didn't go in to pray – I just wanted to tell my fellow students there to come down for the party. As I entered the chapel, I saw some sitting on the floor praying. I also knelt down in the presence of the Lord Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament. Then some-

---

[1648] Armin Sierszyn, *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 874.
[1649] Cf. Allan Anderson, "The Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement.", 101-102; Peter Zimmerling, *Die charismatischen Bewegungen: Theologie, Spiritualität, Anstöße zum Gespräch*, Kirche – Konfession – Religion 42, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001, 46-50.
[1650] Cf. Allan Anderson, "The Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement", 103-104.

thing happened that I had not expected. [...] As I knelt there that evening, my body literally trembled from His greatness and holiness. Awe filled me in His presence. He was there, the King of the Universe! I really got scared [...].

As I knelt there before the Lord Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, for the first time in my life I prayed what I would call a 'prayer of unconditional surrender'. [...]

I said this prayer kneeling before the altar. The next moment I found myself stretched out flat, lying on my face in front of the tabernacle. No one had laid hands on me. [...] I didn't know exactly how this could have happened, but in the process my shoes came off my feet. [...] As I lay there, from my fingertips to my toes, I was flooded with a deep sense of God's personal love for me, of his merciful love."[1651]

"As a result, the professors laid hands on some of the students, most of them receiving the baptism in the Holy Spirit, some beginning to pray in languages, others were said to have received the gifts of discernment, prophecy and wisdom."[1652]

From America, the charismatic renewal also spread to Europe and charismatic groups emerged in various churches. Zimmerling summarises the further development phases or epochs of the Charismatic Renewal:

"They [the phases] have occurred in all countries, although at different times and in different forms. The first phase is determined by the fascination over the newly appeared charismatic phenomena. It is interdenominational. There are few fixed structures. The second phase brings with it a denominationalisation: the movement is placed in the respective denomination. One can observe a cooling of the initial enthusiasm. Above all, people became more sober about the spectacular spiritual experiences. The third phase is marked by changes. The movement takes up contact with other groups, whereby the moment of congregational renewal, originally the proprium of the inner-church charismatic movements, recedes."[1653]

Alongside the Pentecostal movement and the charismatic movement, a third movement emerged during the 1980s, which is referred to as "neo-charismatic" or as the "Third Wave".[1654] The main protagonists of the movement included John Wimber (1934-1997) and C. Peter Wagner (1913-

[1651] Patti Gallagher Mansfield, *... wie ein neues Pfingsten: Der aufsehenerregende Anfang der Charismatischen Erneuerung in der Katholischen Kirche*, Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1993, pp. 75-76.
[1652] Source: http://www.relinfo.ch/ce/info.html. [last accessed 15.12.2015]
[1653] Peter Zimmerling, *Die charismatischen Bewegungen*, 50.
[1654] Cf. Peter Zimmerling, *Die charismatischen Bewegungen*, 51.

2016). Both taught at Fuller Theological Seminary and came from traditional evangelical backgrounds. The neo-charismatic movement adopted elements of charismatic piety and placed a special emphasis on the Holy Spirit's work of power through healing and release from bondage. John Wimber gained a certain popularity mainly through his congresses under the catchword "Power Evangelism". Peter Zimmerling notes:

> "On the whole, it can be observed that in groups of the 'Third Wave' the concern for the renewal of the existing denomination takes a back seat to the longing to experience the power of the Spirit. This results in the readiness of the groups caught up in the 'Third Wave' to plant new independent charismatic congregations. Personal relationships with neo-Pentecostal groups are manifold; also theologically one is often closer to them than to the inner-church charismatic movements."[1655]

The Vineyard movement, for example, founded by John Wimber, would fall into this category.

Overall, the Pentecostal and charismatic movements led to a rediscovery of pneumatology and charisms for spirituality and theology. Whereas the Pentecostal movement might show tendencies to "standardize and template"[1656] the reception of the Spirit, the charismatic movement is committed to integrating the baptism in the Spirit into the process of faith. In addition, both the Pentecostal movement and the charismatic movement show a form of pastoral care characterised by the expectation of spontaneous working of the Spirit.[1657]

12.8   New Realities: Christianity in the Global South

The second half of the twentieth century has seen a remarkable growth of Christianity, especially Protestant Christianity, in geographic areas which in previous centuries had been rather difficult ground for Protestant missionary work. The 1960s marked the great decade of growth of Protestant Christianity in Africa,[1658] followed by Latin America in the 1970s. The 1980s

---

[1655] Peter Zimmerling, *Die charismatischen Bewegungen*, 51-52.

[1656] Peter Zimmerling, *Die charismatischen Bewegungen*, 390.

[1657] Cf. Peter Zimmerling, *Die charismatischen Bewegungen*, 391; P. Zimmerling, "Charismatische Bewegung", in: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1, Holzgerlingen, ²2017, 1201-1203.

[1658] Cf. on this and the following Patrick Johnstone, *The Church Is Bigger Than You Think: The Unfinished Work of World Evangelisation*, Fearn: Christian Focus Publication, 1998, 115.

witnessed an extraordinary growth of evangelical churches, especially in East Asia. There are now more evangelicals in Asia than in North America.[1659] This development has affected not only Protestantism, but Christianity as a whole.[1660]

While globally, the percentage of Christians in the world population decreased slightly from 34.8 percent to 33.2 percent between 1910 and 2010 (the percentage of Muslims increased from 12.6 percent to 22.4 percent in the same period), the geographical distribution of Christians changed dramatically between 1910 and 2010, as the following statistics show:[1661]

Percentage of Christians in the World Population:		
	1910	2010
Africa	9.4 %	47.9 %
Asia	2.4 %	8.5 %
Europe	94.5 %	80.2 %
Latin America	95.2 %	92.5 %
North America	96.6 %	81.2 %
Oceania	78.6 %	78.5 %
TOTAL	*34.8 %*	*33.2 %*

This fundamental shift in the geographical centers of Christianity can also be seen statistically. While around 82 percent of all Christians lived in the Global North and only 18 percent lived in the Global South in 1910, this has changed dramatically over the last 100 years, so that in 2010 only one third of all Christians live in the Global North, but two-thirds

---

[1659] Patrick Johnstone, *The Church Is Bigger Than You Think*, 115-116.

[1660] On the growth of Christianity in the Global South, see Philip Jenkins, *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006; Scott W. Sunquist, *The Unexpected Christian Century: The Renewal and Transformation of Global Christianity, 1900-2000*, Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015; Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *To the Ends of the Earth: The Globalization of Christianity*, London, Atlanta and Hyderabad, Paternoster, 2007; Philip Jenkins, *The New Map of the Global Church*, Pearl River: Crossroad Publishing, 2017; Elijah J. F. Kim, *The Rise of the Global South: The Decline of Western Christianity and the Rise of Majority World Christianity*, Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2012.

[1661] Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross (eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910-2010*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, ²2013, 57.

in the Global South. Their share is expected to increase once more to around 77 percent by 2050.[1662]

While the previous data referred to Christianity as a whole, we now turn to the development of the Evangelical movement. In the same period, the number of Evangelical Christians (including the Pentecostal movement[1663]) developed as follows: In 1910, 4.7 percent of the world's population and 13.3 percent of all Christians were Evangelicals. By 2010, this proportion had grown to 12.7 percent of the world's population and 38.3 percent of Christianity.[1664] The following statistics show the proportion of evangelicals in the population:[1665]

Percentage of Evangelicals in the World Population:		
	1910	2010
Africa	2.5 %	25.9 %
Asia	0.1 %	5.3 %
Europe	8.1 %	7.3 %
Latin America	1.1 %	34.4 %
North America	41.1 %	35.3 %
Oceania	35.1 %	27.8 %
TOTAL	*4.7 %*	*12.7 %*

While only 2.5 percent of the population in Africa were evangelicals in 1910, the percentage had risen to 25.9 percent by 2010. Today, it is estimated that there are at least 600 million evangelicals worldwide, including around 100 million in the People's Republic of China alone.[1666]

[1662] Gina A. Zurlo, Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing, "World Christianity and Mission 2020: Ongoing Shift to the Global South", in: *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 44.1 (2020), 9-10.

[1663] The World Christian Database, from which these statistics are taken, distinguishes between "evangelicals" and "Pentecostal/renewalists". The numbers I use are the added numbers of both groupings.

[1664] Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross (eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910-2010*, 70-71.

[1665] Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross (eds.), *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910-2010*, 98-103.

[1666] In regard to the different numbers given, cf. Philip Jenkins, *The New Map of the Global Church*, New York: Crossroad Publishing, 2017, 18-23.

Patrick Johnstone analyses the growth of Christianity in relation to the world's population and reaches the following conclusion:

1. "Although Christianity as a whole is growing more slowly than Islam, Protestants are growing slightly faster at 2.9 percent, and about double world population growth, at 1.7 percent.
2. Roman Catholics are growing more slowly than the world population, so their actual percentage of the world's population is decreasing. This is largely due to losses in Europe to secularism and Latin America to Evangelicals.
3. Protestant Christians are growing at about twice the rate of the world's population, but this is almost entirely due to evangelical growth. Non-evangelical Protestantism is in serious decline. Liberal theologies are preached to dwindling congregations in emptying churches.
4. Evangelicals are growing at over three times the population growth rate and are the world's only body of religious adherents growing rapidly by means of conversions."[1667]

In 150 of the 237 countries in the world (as of 1998), more than half of the population is at least nominally Christian.[1668] In another 23 countries, Christians make up between 10 and 50 percent of the population. In 35 countries, the number of Christians is between 1 and 10 percent and in 29 countries it is less than 1 percent.

"The 35 countries in the 1-10 percent Christian category include some of the world's largest countries such as China, India and Pakistan. These three countries alone are home to 2.25 billion people or over a third of the world's population! The large Christian minorities in some areas must not blind us to the huge numbers of individuals in these lands who have never had a chance to hear the gospel."[1669]

The words of Gina A. Zurlo, Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing summarise the developments of Christianity in the twentieth century:

"World Christianity changed dramatically over the course of the twentieth century with the continued shift of adherents from the Global North to the Global South. During the century, Western Christendom waned, and new expressions of Christianity emerged. By 1980 the majority of Christians lived in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania. All around the world, indigenous

---

[1667] Patrick Johnstone, *The Church Is Bigger Than You Think,* 112.
[1668] Cf. on this and the following Patrick Johnstone, *The Church Is Bigger Than You Think,* 218.
[1669] Patrick Johnstone, *The Church Is Bigger Than You Think,* 219.

Christians contextualized Christianity in their own cultures and helped create indigenous Independent Christianity alongside historic Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant churches. By 2050 it is expected that 77 percent of all Christians live in the Global South."[1670]

They see the following three trends for the coming years:

"First, despite the prognostications of leading academics in the mid-twentieth century, the world is becoming increasingly religious. In 2020 the vast majority of people worldwide – 88.7 percent – profess to adhere to a religion, up from 80.8 percent in 1970. [...]

Second, the world is becoming more religiously diverse, especially when measured at the national level. [...]

Third, religious liberty is on the decline worldwide, which has raised grave concerns about religious freedom in the twenty-first century."[1671]

[1670] Gina A. Zurlo, Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing, "World Christianity and Mission 2020: Ongoing Shift to the Global South", in: *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 44.1 (2020), 13.

[1671] Gina A. Zurlo, Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing, "World Christianity and Mission 2020", 11-12.

13   Bibliography

Ács, Pál. *Reformations in Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest.* Academic Studies 52. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019.

Aland, Kurt. *A History of Christianity. Vol. 1. From the Beginnings to the Threshold of Reformation.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.

Aland, Kurt. *A History of Christianity. Vol. 2. From the Reformation to the Present.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986.

Albrecht-Birkner, Veronika, Wolfgang Breul, Joachim Jacob, Markus Matthias, Alexander Schunka and Christian Soboth (eds.). *Pietismus: Eine Anthologie von Quellen des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2017.

Anderson, Allan. "The Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement". In: Hugh McLeod (ed.). *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 89-106.

Anderson, Allan. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Andresen, Carl. *Theologie und Kirche im Horizont der Antike. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Alten Kirche.* Ed. by Peter Gemeinhardt. Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 112. Berlin and New York, 2009.

Andresen, Carl and Adolf Martin Ritter. "Die Anfänge christlicher Lehrentwicklung". In: *Die Lehrentwicklung im Rahmen der Katholizität.* Handbuch der Dogmen und Theologiegeschichte 1. Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]1999: 1-98.

Angenendt, Arnold. "Peter Abaelard". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte. 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 148-160.

Angenendt, Arnold. *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1997.

Anonymous. "France. The Federation of Baptist Evangelical Churches." In: G. Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 122-125.

Assel, Heinrich. "'Bund' – souveränes Leben mit Gott im Gebot und Gesetz. Heinrich Bullingers 'Von dem einigen und ewigen Testament oder Pundt Gottes' (1534)". In: *Evangelische Theologie.* 64.2 (2004): 148-158.

Atwood, Craig. "3.13 Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-1760)". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 184-197.

Aubert, Roger, Günter Bandmann, Jakob Baumgartner, Mario Bendiscioli, Jacques Gadille, Oskar Köhler, Rudolf Lill, Bernhard Stasiesswski, Erika Weinzierl. *Die Kirche in der Gegenwart. Zweiter Halbband: Die Kirche zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte VI/2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1973.

Aubert, Roger, Johannes Beckmann, Patrick J. Corish and Rudlof Lill. *Die Kirche in der Gegenwart. Erster Halbband: Die Kirche zwischen Revolution und Restauration.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte VI/1. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1971.

Bach-Nielsen, Carsten. "Christianity in 18th Century Europe". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 401-443.

Badisches Landesmuseum (ed.). *Das Konstanzer Konzil. 1414-1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters.* 2 vol. Darmstadt: Wissenschaft. Buchgesellschaft, 2014.

Bagliani, Agostino Paravicini. "Die römische Kirche 1054-1124. Reform und Erstarken des Papsttums". In: André Vauchez (ed.). *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 33-87.

Bagliani, Agostino Paravicini. "Die römische Kirche von Innozenz III. bis Gregor X.". In: André Vauchez (ed.). *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 5. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 555-614.

Balbier, Uta Andrea. "Billy Grahams Crusades der 1950er Jahre: Zur Genese einer neuen Religiosität zwischen medialer Vermarktung und nationaler Selbstvergewisserung". In: Frank Bösch and Lucian Hölscher (eds.). *Kirchen – Medien – Öffentlichkeit. Transformationen kirchlicher Selbst- und Fremddeutungen seit 1945.* Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009: 66-88.

Balbier, Uta Andrea. *Billy Graham in West Germany. German Protestantism between Americanization and Rechristianization, 1954–70.* Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History, Online-Ausgabe. 7 (2010) H. 3. URL: http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Balbier-3-2010 [20.06.2012].

Balke, Willem. *Calvin und die Täufer. Evangelium oder religiöser Humanismus.* Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag, 1984.

Bammel, Caroline O. "Justin der Märtyrer". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschiche 1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 51-68.

Bardy, Gustav. *Menschen werden Christen. Das Drama der Bekehrung in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Ed. by Josef Blank. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1988.

Barrett, Anthony A. *Rom brennt! Nero und das Ende einer Epoche.* Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2021.

Barrie-Curien, Viviane. "Die anglikanische Reformation". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 8. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992: 191-238.

Barrie-Curien, Viviane. "Die Lollarden". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 447-460.

Barrie, Viviane. "III. Die Kirche von England (1689-1750)". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 440-459.

Bartelink, G. J. M. "Hieronymus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 145-166.

Bartleman, Frank. *Azusa Street.* South Plainfield; bridge Publishing, 1980.

Barton, Peter F. *Evangelisch in Österreich. Ein Überblick über die Geschichte der Evangeli-schen in Österreich.* Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte und Geschichte. Zweite Reihe XI. Vienna, Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1987.

Basse, Michael. *Entmachtung und Selbstzerstörung des Papsttums (1302-1414).* Kirchenge-schichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/1. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2011.

Basse, Michael. *Von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Vorabend der Reformation.* Kirchenge-schichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/2. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2008.

Bauer, Walter. *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum.* Aufl. mit einem Nachwort von Georg Strecker. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 10. Tübin-gen: Mohr-Siebeck, [2]1964.

Bauman, Clarence. *Gewaltlosigkeit im Täufertum. Eine Untersuchung zur theologischen Ethik des oberdeutschen Täufertums der Reformationszeit.* Leiden: Brill, 1968.

Baumer, Christoph. *Frühes Christentum zwischen Euphrat und Jangtse. Eine Zeitreise entlang der Seidenstraße zur Kirche des Ostens.* Stuttgart: Verlag Urachhaus, 2005.

Baus, Karl. "Lateinisches Mönchtum von der Mitte des 5. Bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhun-derts", in: Karl

Baus, Karl, Hans-Georg Beck, Eugen Ewig and Hermann Josef Vogt. *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen. Zweiter Halbband: Die Kirche in Ost und West von Chalkedon bis zum Frühmittelalter (451-470).* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte II/2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1973: 266-282.

Baus, Karl, Hans-Georg Beck, Eugen Ewig and Hermann Josef Vogt. *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen. Zweiter Halbband: Die Kirche in Ost und West von Chalkedon bis zum Frühmittelalter (451-700).* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte II/1. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1975.

Bayer, Oswald. *Martin Luthers Theologie. Eine Vergegenwärtigung.* Tübingen: Mohr Sie-beck, [2]2004.

Bebbington, David W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s.* London, Boston, Sydney and Wellington: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Bebbington, David W. *The Dominance of Evangelicalism. The Age of Spurgeon and Moody.* A History of Evangelicalism 3. Leicester: IVP, 2005.

Beck, Hans-Georg. *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch 1/D1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980.

Beck, Hartmut. *Brüder in vielen Ländern. 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeine.* Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-luth. Mission, 1981.

Behr, John. "Gaul". In: Margaret M. Mitchell and France M. Young (eds.). *Origins to Con-stantine.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 1. Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-versity Press, [2]2008: 366-379.

Bellardi, Werner. *Die Vorstufen der Collegia pietatis bei Philipp Jacob Spener.* Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 1994.

Benrath, Gustav Adolf. "Die Erweckung innerhalb der deutschen Landeskirchen 1815-1888. Ein Überblick. In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.). *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 150-271.

Benrath, Gustav Adolf. "John Wyclif". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 219-233.

Bensi, Piero and Paulo Spanu. "Italy. The Baptist Evangelical Christian Union of Italy." In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 115-117.

Berg, J. van and H. O. van Dooren (eds.). *Pietismus und Reveil. Referate der internationalen Tagung: der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und seine internationalen Beziehungen. Zeist 18.-22. Juni 1974.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

Berg, Johannes van den. "II. Die Frömmigkeitsbestrebungen in den Niederlanden". In: Martin Brecht (ed.). *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 57-112.

Bernhard, Jan-Andrea and Judith Engeler (eds.). "*Dass das Blut der heiligen Wunden mich durchgehet alle Stunden". Frauen und ihre Lektüre im Pietismus.* Zürich: TVZ, 2019.

Bernstein, Alan E. "The Erection of Boundaries. Heaven, Hell and Purgatory". In: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.). *Christianity in Western Europe 1100 c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 200-216.

Berthoud, Pierre and Lalleman, Pieter J. *The Reformation. Its Roots and Its Legacy.* Eugene: Pickwick, 2017.

Besier, Gerhard. *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich 3. Spaltungen und Abwehrkämpfe 1934-1937.* Berlin and Munich: Econ Ullstein List and Propyläen, 2001.

Best, Gary. *Charles Wesley (1707-1788). Eine Biografie.* Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2008.

Bethge, Eberhard. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Theologe – Christ – Zeitgenosse.* Munich: Chr. Kaiser, [2]1967.

Bettenson, Henry. *Documents of the Christian Church.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947.

Beutel, Albrecht (ed.). *Luther Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

Beutel, Albrecht. "6.4 Aufklärung". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 593-603.

Beyerhaus, Peter et al. (eds.). *Alle Welt soll sein Wort hören. Lausanner Kongreß für Weltevangelisation.* Dokumente. 2 vol. Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1974.

Beyreuther, Erich. *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg. Aus dem Leben des ersten deutschen Missionars in Indien.* Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1952.

Beyreuther, Erich. *Der Weg der Evangelischen Allianz in Deutschland.* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1969.

Beyreuther, Erich. *Die Erweckungsbewegung.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 4R1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963.

Beyreuther, Erich. *Die große Zinzendorf Trilogie. Der junge Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf und die sich allhier beisammenfinden. Zinzendorf und die Christenheit.* Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 1988.

Beyreuther, Erich. *Geschichte des Pietismus.* Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1978.

Beyschlag, Karlmann. "Marcion von Sinope". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1.* Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 69-81.

Beyschlag, Karlmann. *Grundriß der Dogmengeschichte 2: Gott und Mensch. Teil 1. Das christologische Dogma.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991.

Beyschlag, Karlmann. *Grundriß der Dogmengeschichte. Vol. 1: Gott und Welt.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, ²1988.

Beyschlag, Karlmann. *Grundriß der Dogmengeschichte. Vol. 2: Gott und Mensch.* Teil 1. Das christologische Dogma. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991.

Biarne, Jacques. "Der Aufschwung des abendländischen Mönchtums." In: Luce Pietri (ed.). *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431-642).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 3. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, Herder, 2001: 965-1010

Bienert, Wolfgang A. "Arius/Arianer". *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1992: 128-129

Bihlmeyer, Karl. *Kirchengeschichte 2.* Paderborn: Schöningh, ¹⁹1996.

Bihlmeyer, Karl and Hermann Tüchle. *Kirchengeschichte. Dritter Teil: Die Neuzeit und die neueste Zeit.* Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: UTB Schöningh, ²⁰1996.

Birkner, Hans-Joachim. "Christian Wolff". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 187-198.

Bister, Ulrich and Stephan Holthaus (eds.). *Friedrich Wilhelm Baedeker: Leben und Werk eines Russlandmissionars.* Hammerbrücke: Jota Publikationen 2006.

Blickle, Peter. *Gemeindereformation. Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil.* Munich: Oldenbourg, 1987.

Blickle, Peter, Andreas Lindt and Alfred Schindler. *Zwingli und Europa. Referate und Protokoll des Internationalen Kongresses aus Anlaß des 500. Geburtstages von Huldrych Zwingli vom 26.bis 30. März 1984.* Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985.

Blue, Bradley. "Acts and the House Church". In: David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf (eds.). *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994: 119-222.

Blumenthal, Uta-Renate. *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2001.

Blumhofer, Edith L. *The Assemblies of God. A Chapter in the History of American Pentecostalism.* 2 Vol. Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1989.

Böhm, Thomas. "Die Definition des Glaubens". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds..). *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten.* Die Geschichte des Christentums 3. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001: 103-107.

Bondi, Gerhard. "Der Beitrag des hallischen Pietismus zur Entwicklung des ökonomischen Denkens in Deutschland." In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung,* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977: 259-293.

Borgolte, Michael. *Die mittelalterliche Kirche.* Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 17. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992.

Borgolte, Michael. *Europa entdeckt seine Vielfalt. 1050-1250*. Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 3. Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2002.

Borras, José. "Spain. The Baptist Evangelical Union of Spain." In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith*. Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 118-119.

Bosch, David. *Transforming Mission. Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, [8]1994.

Boureau, Alain. "Reform and Renewal: Demons and the Christian Community". In: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.). *Christianity in Western Europe 1100 c. 1500*. The Cambridge History of Christianity 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 420-432.

Brady, Thomas A, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation. Structures and Assertions (Vol. 1). Vision, Programs, and Outcomes (Vol. 2)*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994-1995.

Brandl, Bernd. *Wenn Kirchen sterben. Ein erschütternder und vergessener Teil der Kirchen- und Islamgeschichte Afrikas und Asiens*. Nuremberg and Bonn: VTR and VKW, 2012.

Brandt, Theodor. *Kirche im Wandel der Zeit. Teil 1. Von Paulus bis Luther*. Neu bearb. Ausgabe. Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1977.

Bräuer, Siegfried and Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Thomas Müntzer". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformationszeit I*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1981: 335-352.

Brecht, Martin. "Einleitung". In: Martin Brecht (ed) *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 1-10.

Brecht, Martin. "III. Das Aufkommen der neuen Frömmigkeitsbewegung in Deutschland". In: Martin Brecht (ed.). *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 113-203.

Brecht, Martin. "VI. Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen". In: Martin Brecht (ed.). *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 281-389.

Brecht, Martin. "VIII. August Hermann Francke und der Hallische Pietismus". In: Martin Brecht (ed.). *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*. Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 440-539.

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther. Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521 (Vol. 1). Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521-1532 (Vol. 2). Die Erhaltung der Kirche 1532-1546 (Vol. 3)*. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1981-1987.

Brecht, Martin and Paul Peucker (ed.). *Neue Aspekte der Zinzendorf-Forschung*. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 47. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.

Breul, Wolfgang. "3.4 August Hermann Francke". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 122-137.

Breul, Wolfgang. *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.

Bright, Pamela. "Ekklesiologie und Sakramentenlehre". In: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.). *Augustin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007: 506-518.

Brockhaus, Ulrich: Charisma und Amt. *Die paulinische Charismenlehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen.* Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, ²1987.

Brown, Peter. *Augustinus von Hippo. Eine Biographie.* Frankfurt: Societäts-Verlag, ²1982.

Brox, Norbert. "Irenäus von Lyon". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 82-96.

Bruce, Cristian F. *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Cesarea in Palestine.* Reprinted. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1992.

Bruce, F.F. *The Canon of Scripture.* Downers Grove: IVP, ⁶1995.

Bruce, F.F. *The Spreading Flame: The Rise and Progress of Christianity from Its First Beginnings to the Conversion of the English.* Carlisle: Paternoster Press, ⁹1992.

Bruce, Frederick F. *Basiswissen Neues Testament. Zeitgeschichte von Kyros bis Konstantin. Tl. 1: Von Kyros bis Jesus.* Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, ²1997.

Brüning, Alfons. "The Russian Church, 1448-1701". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 77-105.

Brunner, Daniel L. *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 29. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.

Bryner, Erich. *Die Ostkirchen vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/10. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1996.

Bubenheimer, Ulrich. "Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformationszeit I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1981: 105-116.

Bubenheimer, Ulrich. *Thomas Müntzer. Herkunft und Bildung.* Leiden et al.: Brill: 1989.

Bucsay, Mihály. D*er Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978. Ungarns Reformkirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Teil 1: Im Zeitalter der Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform.* Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte und Geschichte. Erste Reihe III 1. Vienna, Cologne and Graz: Böhlau, 1977.

Budeš, Dragan. *Die Reformation bei den Südslawen.* Vienna: Unpublished thesis, 2013.

Bührer, Peter. "Wilhelm Reublin. Als Täuferapostel unterwegs". In: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.). *Täufer. Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer. Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts.* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021: 17-20.

Bull, Marcus, "Christian Life in Movement: Crusade and Conquest". In: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.). *Christianity in Western Europe 1100 c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 340-352.

Bunaciu, Ioan. "Romania. The Baptist Union of the Republic of Socialist Romania". In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 216-218.

Bundy David. "Early Asian and East African Christianities". In: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.). *Constantine to c. 600.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2010: 118-148.

Burgess, Stanley M. and Eduard M. van der Maas (eds.). *International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.* Revised and expanded Edition. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003.

Burkhardt, Friedemann. *Christoph Gottlob Müller und die Anfänge des Methodismus in Deutschland.* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 43. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

Burnett, Amy Nelson. "Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016: 45-51.

Burnett, Amy Nelson and Emidio Campi (eds.). *Die schweizerische Reformation. Ein Handbuch.* Zurich: TVZ, 2016.

Burns Jr., J. Partout and Robin M. Jensen. *Christianity in Roman Africa. The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2014.

Busch, Eberhard. *Karl Barths Lebenslauf. Nach seinen Briefen und autobiographischen Texten.* Munich: Chr. Kaiser, [2]1976.

Bütikofer, Kaspar. *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus (1689-1721). Der soziale Hintergrund und denk- und Lebenswelten im Spiegel der Bibliothek Johann Heinrich Lochers (1648-1718).* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 54. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009.

Cameron, Euan. "Italy". In: Andrew Pettegree (ed.). *The Early Reformation in Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [3]1998: 188-214.

Cameron, Euan. *The European Reformation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2]1992.

Campenhausen, Hans von. "Tertullian". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Alte Kirche I.* Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 97-120.

Campi, Emidio. "Die Reformation in Zürich". In. Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi (eds.). *Die schweizerische Reformation. Ein Handbuch.* Zurich: TVZ, 2017: 71-133.

Campi, Emidio and Peter Opitz (eds.). *Heinrich Bullinger. Life – Thought – Influence. Zurich, Aug. 25-29, 2004 International Congress Heinrich Bullinger 1504-1575.* 2 Vol. Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 24. Zurich: TVZ 2007.

Carey, William. *Eine Untersuchung über die Verpflichtung der Christen, Mittel einzusetzen für die Bekehrung der Heiden.* Translated and edited by Klaus Fiedler and Thomas Schirrmacher. Bonn: VKW, 1993.

Carey. S. Pearce. *William Carey. Der Vater der modernen Mission.* Bielefeld: CLV, 1998.

Carpenter, Joel A. *Revive us Again. The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Chadwick, Henry. "Origenes". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Alte Kirche I.* Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 134-157.

Chambon, Joseph. *Der französische Protestantismus.* Zollikon: Evang. Verlag, [5]1943.

Christophersen, Alf. "Tholuck". In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 8. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, [4]2005: 365-366.

Claesson, Urban. "4.3.2.Schweden und Finnland". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2021: 301-309.

Clasen, Claus-Peter. *Anabaptism. A Social History, 1525-1568. Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany.* Ethaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Clouse, Robert G., Richard V. Pierrard and Edwin M. Yamauchi. *Two Kingdoms. The Church and Culture through the Ages.* Chicago: Moody Press, 1993.

Cobb, Paul M. *The Rise for Paradise. An Islamic History of the Crusades*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Coffey, John. "Puritanism, Evangelicalism and the Evangelical protestant Tradition". In: Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth Stewart (eds). T*he Advent of Evangelicalism. Exploring Historical Continuities.* Leicester: IVP, 2008: 252-277.

Cohen, Charles I. "Puritaner/Puritanismus: I. Begriff und Theologie". In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 6, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003: 1831-1833.

Collinson, Patrick. "Puritans". In: Hans J. Hillerbrand (ed) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* 3. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996: 364-370.

Conzemius, Victor. "Deutschland, I. Die katholische Kirche". In: Jacques Gadille and Jean-Marie Mayeur (eds.). Martin Greschat (ed. of the German edition). *Liberalismus, Industrialisierung, Expansion Europas (1830-1914).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 11. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1997: 294-308.

Cottret, Bernard. *Calvin. Eine Biographie*. Stuttgart: Quell, 1995.

Cracknell, Kenneth and Susan J. White. "Die Ausbreitung des Methodismus". In: Walter Klaiber (ed.). Methodistische Kirchen 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011: 73-82.

Croce, Giuseppe. "Die orientalischen Kirchen". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 539-609.

Crummy, Donald. "Church and Nation: The Ethopian Orthodox Täwahedo Church (From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century)". In: Michael Angold (ed.). *Eastern Christianity*. The Cambridge History of Christianity 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 417-487.

Cruz, Joel M. *The Histories of the Latin American Churches. A Handbook*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014.

Csukás, Gergely. *Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholische Reform in Vorarlberg. Ein Überblick über die Kirchengeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in den vier Herrschaften vor dem Arlberg, in der Grafschaft Hohenems und in der Herrschaft Blumenegg.* Vienna: Unpublished thesis, 2011.

Dagron, Gibert. "Die Zeit des Wandels (Ende 10. Bis 11. Jahrhundert)". In: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché andAndré Vauchez (eds.). *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 4. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 314-365.

Dagron, Gilbert. "Byzantinische Kirche und byzantinische Christenheit zwischen Invasionen und Ikonoklasmus (von der Mitte des 7. bis zum Beginn des 8. Jahr-

hunderts). In: In: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.). *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 4. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 3-96.

Dagron, Gilbert. "Ikonoklasmus und Begründung der Orthodoxie". In: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.). *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 4. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 97-175.

Dahle, Lars, Margunn Serigstad Dahle and Knud Jørgensen (eds.). *The Lausanne Movement. A Range of Perspectives*. Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series 22. Oxford: Regnum Books, 2014.

Dahle, Lars, Margunn Serigstad Dahle and Knud Jørgensen. "Introductory Chapter. Evangelical Perspectives on Mission. From Lausanne to Cape Town. In: Lars Dahle, Margunn Serigstad Dahle and Knud Jørgensen (eds.). *The Lausanne Movement. A Range of Perspectives*. Regnum Edinburgh Centenary Series 22, Oxford: Regnum Books, 2014: 1-10.

Dassmann, Ernst. *Kirchengeschichte I.* Ausbreitung, Leben und Lehre der Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1991.

Dassmann, Ernst. *Kirchengeschichte II/1.* Konstantinische Wende und spätantike Reichskirche. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1996.

Daurgidas, Kestutis. "Lelio Sozzini und Fausto Sozzini". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016: 239-246.

Davie, Grace. "Christianity in Europe". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 3. History of Christianity in the 20th century.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 475-500.

Debergh, Minako. "Japan". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 8. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992: 912-932.

Delgado, Mariano. "Catholicism in Spain, Portugal, and their Empires". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 17-75.

Denis, Philippe. "Afrika". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 732-749.

Denz, Hermann. "Postmoderne Religion". In: Max Preglau and Rudolf Richter (eds.). *Postmodernes Österreich? Konturen des Wandels in Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Politik und Kultur*. Vienna: Signum Verlag, 1998.

Deppermann, Klaus. "August Hermann Francke". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Orthodoxie und Pietismus.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982: 241-260.

Deppermann, Klaus. "Melchior Hoffmann". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformation I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1981: 323-334.

Deppermann, Klaus. I. "Der englische Puritanismus". In: Martin Brecht (ed.). *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 11-55.

Deslandres, Dominique. "Das Christentum in Süd- und Nordamerika". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 613-731.

Dingel, Irene. *Geschichte der Reformation.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018.

Dingel, Irene and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016.

Dinzelbacher, Peter. *Angst im Mittelalter. Teufels- Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie.* Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: Schöningh, 1996.

Dinzelbacher, Peter. *Unglaube im "Zeitalter des Glaubens". Atheismus und Skeptizismus im Mittelalter.* Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2009.

Dipple, Geoffrey. "Hans Denck. Impulse mystischer Frömmigkeit im frühen Täufertum". In: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.). *Täufer. Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer. Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts.* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021: 47-52.

Dirnbeck, Josef. *Die Inquisition. Eine Chronik des Schreckens.* Munich: Pattloch, 2001.

Diwald, Hellmut and Karl-Heinz Jürgens. *Lebensbilder Martin Luthers.* Bindlach: Gondrom Velag, 1996.

Donat, Rudolf. *Wie das Werk begann. Entstehung der Baptistengemeinden in Deutschland.* Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1957.

Döpmann, Hans-Dieter. *Die Ostkirchen vom Bilderstreit bis zur Kirchenspaltung von 1054.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/8. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1990.

Dowley, Tim. *Der Atlas zur Reformation in Europa.* Neukirchen-Vlujn: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2016.

Dräger, Paul. "Die 'Historie über Herkunft und Jugend Constantins des Großen und seiner Mutter Helena'. Zur Wirkungsgeschichte einer Legende". In: Andreas Goltz and Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen (eds.). *Konstantin der Große. Das Bild des Kaisers im Wandel der Zeiten.* Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2008: 139-160

Drecoll, Volker Henning (ed.). *Augustin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.

Drecoll, Volker Henning. "Gnadenlehre". In: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.). *Augustin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007: 488-497.

Drecoll, Volker Henning. "Gottesdienst in der Alten Kirche". In: Hans-Joachim Eckstein, Ulrich Heckel and Birgit Weyel (eds.). *Kompendium Gottesdienst: Der evangelische Gottesdienst in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.* Tübingen: UTB Mohr Siebeck, 2011: 42-61.

Ducellier, Alain. "Die Orthodoxie in der Frühzeit der türkischen Herrschaft". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 6-68.

Dudley-Smith, Timothy. *John Stott. A Global Leader.* Leicester: IVP, 2001.

Dudley-Smith, Timothy. *John Stott. The Making of a Leader*. Leicester: IVP, 1999.

Duffy, Eamon. "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Europe. The Background to the Founding of the Christentumsgesellschaft". In: *Pietismus und Neuzeit.* 7 (1982): 28-42.

Duguid-May, Melanie A. "The Ecumenical Movement". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (ed.). *History of Global Christianity 3. History of Christianity in the 20th century.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 147-181.

Duke, Alastair. "The Netherlands". In: Andrew Pettegree (ed.). *The Early Reformation in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [3]1998: 141-165.

Dülmen, Richard van (ed.). *Das Täuferreich zu Münster 1534-1535.* Munch: dtv, 1974.

Duval, Yvette. "B. Der Westen und die Balkan-Donau-Randgebiete". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 136-140.

Düwel, Klaus. "Die Bekehrung auf Island. Vorgeschichte und Verlauf". In: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters.* Erster Halbband. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978: 249-275.

Eber, Jochen. "Dialektische Theologie". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1. Holzgerlingen: SCM Brockhaus, [2]2017: 1437-1439.

Eber, Jochen. "Künneth, Walter". In: *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* XX. Nordhausen: Bautz, 2002: 886-895.

Eberhard, Wilfried. "Reformation and Counterreformation in East Central Europe". In: Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.). *Handbook of European History 1400-1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation 2: Visions, Programs, and Outcome.* Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996: 551-584.

Eberhardt, Walter. *Aufklärung und Pietismus 1648 bis 1800.* Ed. by Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten. Berlin: Union Verlag, 1979.

Ebrard, J. H. A. *Die iroschottische Missionskirche des sechsten, siebten und achten Jahrhunderts und ihre Verbreitung und Bedeutung auf dem Festland.* Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1873. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1971.

Egelkraut, Helmuth "Moderne Theologie". In: Erich Geldbach, Helmut Burkhardt and Kurt Heimbucher (eds.). *Evangelisches Gemeindelexikon.* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1978: 373-377.

Egelkraut, Helmuth. *Die Liebenzeller Mission und der Nationalsozialismus. Eine Studie zu ausgewählten Bereichen, Personen und Positionen. Mit einer Stellungnahme der Liebenzeller Mission.* Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2015.

Ehling, Kay and Gregor Weber (eds.). *Konstantin der Große. Zwischen Sols und Christus.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2011.

Eidberg, Peder A. "Norway. The Norwegian Baptist Union". In: G. Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 95-96.

Eisenblätter, Winfried. *"Die Beförderung des Reiches Gottes". Carl August Adolph Steinkopf (1773-1859) und der englische Einfluss auf die kontinentale Erweckungsbewegung.* Hamburg: WDL-Verlag, 2021.

Eisenlöffel, Ludwig David. *Freikirchliche Pfingstbewegung in Deutschland. Innenansichten 1945-1985.* Kirche – Konfession – Religion 50. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2004.

Elliger, Walter. *Thomas Müntzer. Leben und Werk.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1976.

Ellingsen, Mark. *The Evangelical Movement. Growth, Impact, Controversy, Dialog.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988.

Elm, Kasparn. "Norbert von Xanten". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 161-172.

Ernst, Karsten. *Auferstehungsmorgen. Heinrich A. Chr. Hävernick. Erweckung zwischen Reformation, Reaktion und Revolution.* Giessen and Basel: TVG Brunnen, 1997.

Eusebius von Caesarea. *Kirchengeschichte.* Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Heinrich Kraft. Munich: Kösel, ²1981.

Evang. Superintendentur A. B. Burgenland (ed.). *Evangelisch im Burgenland. 200 Jahre Toleranzpatent. Ausstellung in der evangelischen Kirche zu Oberschützen – 21. Mai bis 26. Oktober 1981.* Eisenstadt: Self Printing, 1981.

Evans, Mary J. *Women in the Bible. An Overall View of all the Crucial Passages on Women's Roles.* Carlisle: Paternoster, 1993.

Ewig, Eugen and Knut Schäferdiek. "Christliche Expansion im Merowingerreich". In: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters.* Erster Halbband. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978: 116-145.

Faix, Wilhelm. *Zinzendorf. Glaube und Identität eines Querdenkers.* Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 2012.

Feld, Helmut. *Ignatius von Loyola. Gründer des Jesuitenordens. Eine Biographie.* Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2006.

Fenswick-Jones, George. "Urlsperger und Eben-Ezer". In: Reinhard Schwarz (ed.). *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772). Augsburger Pietismus zwischen Außenwirkungen und Binnenwelt.* Colloquia Augustana 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996: 191-199.

Fetscher, Iring. "Jean-Jacques Rousseau". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 237-253.

Fischer, Joseph A. *Die Apostolischen Väter. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert.* Schriften des Urchristentums 1. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1998.

Fischer, Karl Martin. *Das Urchristentum.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/1. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1985.

Fitschen, Klaus. *Der Katholizismus von 1648 bis 1870.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/8. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1997.

Flachsmeier, Horst R. *Geschichte der evangelischen Weltmission.* Giessen and Basel: Brunnen, 1963.

Flamant, Jacques, Charles Piétri and Günther Gottlieb. "Julian Apostata (361-363) und der Versuch der altgläubigen Restauration". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 396-413.

Fleisch, Paul. *Die Heiligungsbewegung. Von den Segenstagen in Oxford 1874 bis zur Oxford-Gruppenbewegung Frank Buchmans.* Edited and with an introduction by Jörg H. Ohlemacher. Giessen and Basel: TVG Brunnen, 2003.

Fletcher, Richard. *The Conversion of Europe. From Paganism to Christianity 371-1386 AD.* London: Harper & Collins, 1997.

Florey, Gerhard. *Bischöfe, Ketzer, Emigranten. Der Protestantismus im Lande Salzburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart.* Graz, Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau, 1967.

Fraisse-Coue, Christiane. "Die theologische Diskussion zur Zeit Theodosius' II.: Nestorius". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 570-626.

Fraisse-Coue, Christiane. "Von Ephesus nach Chalcedon. Der 'trügerische Friede' (433-451)". In: Luce Piétri (ed.). *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431-642).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 3. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001: 3-89.

Frank, Georgia. "From Antioch to Arles: Lay Devotion in Context", in: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.). *Constantine to c. 600.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2010: 531-547.

Frank, K. Suso. "Benedikt von Nursia". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 35-46.

Frank, Karl Suso. *Geschichte des christlichen Mönchtums.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, [4]1988.

Frank, Karl Suso. *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche.* Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich: Ferdinand Schöningh, [2]1997.

Friedrich, R[einhold]. "Bucer (Butzer), Martin (1491-1551)". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2. Holzgerlingen: SCM Brockhaus, [2]2017: 1076-1079.

Friedrich, Reinhold. *Martin Bucer – 'Fanatiker der Einheit'? Seine Stellungnahme zu theologischen Fragen seiner Zeit (Abendmahls- und Kirchenverständnis) insbesondere nach seinem Briefwechsel der Jahre 1524-1541.* Bonn: VKW, 2002.

Frohnes, Heinzgünter and Uwe W. Knorr. *Die Alte Kirche.* Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte 1. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1974.

Frühling, Andreas. *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik.* Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 19. Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 2001.

Fuhrmann, Horst. *Die Päpste. Von Petrus zu Johannes Paul II.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998.

Gäbler, Ulrich (ed.). *Der Pietismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 393-464.

Gäbler, Ulrich. "'Erweckung' – Historische Einordnung und theologische Charakterisierung". In: Ulrich Gäbler. *Auferstehungszeit. Erweckungsprediger des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991: 169-178.

Gäbler, Ulrich. "Erweckungsbewegung". In: *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [3]1986: 1081-1088.

Gäbler, Ulrich. "II. Evangelikalismus und Reveil". In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.). *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 27-84.

Gäbler, Ulrich. *Auferstehungszeit. Erweckungsprediger des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991.

Gäbler, Ulrich. *Huldrych Zwingli. Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk.* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985.

Gatz, Erwin (eds.). *Atlas zur Kirche in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Heiliges Römisches Reich – Deutschsprachige Länder.* Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009.

Gawlick, Günter. "Hermann Samuel Reimarus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 299-311.

Gehring, Roger. *Hausgemeinde und Mission. Die Bedeutung antiker Häuser und Hausgemeinschaften – von Jesus bis Paulus.* Giessen: Brunnen, 2000.

Geldbach, Erich. *Baptisten weltweit. Ursprünge, Entwicklungen, Theologische Identitäten.* Die Kirchen in der Gegenwart 7. Bensheimer Hefte 118. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021.

Gericke, Wolfgang. *Theologie und Kirche im Zeitalter der Aufklärung.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/2. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1989.

Gerken, Alexander. "Bonaventura". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 15-37.

Ghosh, Kantik. "Reform and Renewal: Wycliffism and Lollardy". In: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.). *Christianity in Western Europe 1100 c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 433-445.

Glazik, Josef. "Der Missionsfrühling zu Beginn der Neuzeit". In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin. *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1967: 605-649.

Gnädinger, Louise. "Johannes Tauler von Straßburg". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 176-198.

Godin, André. "Humanismus und Christentum". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 612-697.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen (ed.). *Umstrittenes Täufertum 1525-1975.* Neue Forschungen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. "Hans Hut. Ein Veteran des Bauernkriegs wird Täufer". In: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.). *Täufer. Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer. Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts.* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. "Konrad Grebel. Am Anfang einer radikalen Reformation in Zürich". In: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.). *Täufer. Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer. Eine*

Galerie kleiner Porträts. Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021: 9-12.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. "Menno Simons. Lehrer, Seelsorger und Missionar im Norden". In: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.). *Täufer. Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer. Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts.* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021: 105-113.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. *Die Täufer. Geschichte und Deutung.* Munich: C. H. Beck, [2]1988.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. *Konrad Grebel. Kritiker des frommen Scheins 1498-1526. Eine biographische Skizze.* Bolanden: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1998.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. *Religiöse Bewegungen der Neuzeit.* Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte 20. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993.

Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. *Thomas Müntzer. Revolutionär am Ende der Zeiten. Eine Biographie.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 2015.

Goeters, Johann Friedrich Gerhard. "V. Der reformierte Pietismus in Deutschland 1650-1690". In: Martin Brecht (ed.). *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993: 241-277.

Goetz, Hans-Werner. *Europa im frühen Mittelalter. 500-1050.* Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 2. Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2003.

Goldie, Mark Adrian. "John Locke". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 105-119.

Gonneau, Pierre. "Die Russische Kirche: Unterjochung, Fortbestand und Glaubensspaltungen". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 502-538.

Goppelt, Leonhard. *Die apostolische und nachapostolische Zeit.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 1A. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]1966.

Goßner, Johannes (ed.). *Martin Boos, der Prediger der Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt.* Seine Selbstbiographie newly ed. by Franz Graf Stuhlhofer. Bonn: VKW, 2012.

Gottlieb, Christian. "Christianity in Russia, 1700-1917". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 2. History of Christianity in the 19th Century.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 145-180.

Grafe, Hugald. "Indien". In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 16. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987: 102-116.

Grafe, Hugald. "Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus". In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 36. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004: 666-668.

Greengrass, Mark. *Das verlorene Paradies. Europa 1517-1648.* Darmstadt: Theiss, 2018.

Grell, Ole Peter. *The Scandinavian Reformation. From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Greschat, Katharina and Michael Tilly (eds.). *Frühchristliche Märtyrerakten.* Wiesbaden: Marex Verlag, 2006.

Greschat, Martin (ed.). Die 'Hoffnung auf bessere Zeiten' für die Kirche. In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977: 224-239.

Greschat, Martin and Hans-Walter Krumwiede (eds.). *Das Zeitalter der Weltkriege und Revolutionen.* Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen V. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999.

Greschat, Martin. "Die neueste Zeit: Von der Französischen Revolution bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Einleitung". In: Martin Greschat (ed). *Die neueste Zeit I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 7-42.

Greschat, Martin. "Martin Bucer". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformationszeit II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 6. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1981: 7-28.

Greschat, Martin. "Martin Niemöller". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit IV.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986: 187-204.

Greschat, Martin. *Martin Bucer. Ein Reformator und seine Zeit 1491-1551.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990.

Greschat, Martin. *Philipp Melanchthon. Theologe, Pädagoge und Humanist.* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010.

Groot, Aart de. "Gisvertus Voetius". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Orthodoxie und Pietismus.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982: 149-162.

Groot, Aart de. "Jean de Labadie". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Orthodoxie und Pietismus.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982: 191-203.

Große, Sven and Armin Sierszyn (eds.). *Johannes Calvin – Streiflichter auf den Menschen und Theologen. Vorträge und Tagungsbeiträge an der Staatsunabhängigen Theologischen Hochschule Basel zum Calvin-Jahr 2009.* Vienna and Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2011.

Grundmann, Herbert. *Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch 2/G1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963.

Grundmann, Herbert. *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik. Anhang: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der religiösen Bewegungen im Mittelalter.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961.

Gruner, Max. *Revolutionäres Christentum. 50 Jahre Geschichte der Heilsarmee in Deutschland 1. 1886-1914.* Berlin-Steglitz and Bochum-Gerthe: Verlag der Heilsarmee, 1952.

Guiral-Hadzhossif, Jacqueline. "Das Problem der Arabisierung Spaniens: Der Fall Toledos". In: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*, Die Geschichte des Christentums 6. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991: 840-851.

Guyot, Peter and Richard Klein (eds.). *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen. Eine Dokumentation.* Special Print. Vol. 1/2. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1997.

Haendler, Gert. "Bonifatius". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 69-86.

Haendler, Gert. *Die abendländische Kirche im Zeitalter der Völkerwanderung.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/5. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1980.

Haendler, Gert. *Die lateinische Kirche im Zeitalter der Karolinger.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/7. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1985.

Haendler, Gert. *Von der Reichskirche Ottos I zur Papstherrschaft Gregors VII.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/9. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1993.

Haendler, Gert. *Von Tertullian bis zu Ambrosius.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/3. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1978.

Hage, Wolfgang. "Der Weg nach Asien: Die ostsyrische Missionskirche". In: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters.* Erster Halbband. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978, 360-393.

Hägglund, Bengt. *Geschichte der Theologie.* Ein Abriß. Linzensausgabe Evang. Verlagsanstalt Berlin. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1983.

Hahn-Bruckart, Thomas. "6.8 Heiligungsbewegung, Gemeinschaftsbewegung und Freikirchenbildung". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 626-634.

Hahn-Bruckart, Thomas. "Transfergeschichtliche Ansätze in der Erforschung von Erweckungsbewegung". In: Thomas K. Kuhn and Veronika Albrecht-Birkner (eds.). *Zwischen Aufklärung und Moderne. Erweckungsbewegung als historiographische Herausforderung.* Religion – Kultur – Gesellschaft: Studien zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Christentums in Neuzeit und Moderne. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2017: 43-62.

Hammann, Gottfried. *Martin Bucer 1491-1551. Zwischen Volkskirche und Bekenntnisgemeinschaft.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989.

Hardman, Keith J. *Charles Grandison Finney. Revivalist and Reformer.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990.

Harnack, Adolf. *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Nachdruck der 4. Verbesserten u. vermehrten Aufl. Wiesbaden: VMA Verlag, o.J.

Hartmann, Wilfried. *Der Investiturstreit.* Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 21. Munich: Oldenbourg, [3]2007.

Hastings, Adrian. *The Church in Africa 1450-1950.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Hatch, Nathan O., Mark A. Noll and John D. Woodbridge. *The Gospel in America. Themes in the Story of America's Evangelicals.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982.

Haub, Rita. *Die Geschichte der Jesuiten.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2007.

Hauke, Manfred. *Die Problematik um das Frauenpriestertum vor dem Hintergrund der Schöpfungs- und Erlösungsordnung.* Paderborn: Verlag der Bonifatius-Druckerei, [2]1986.

Hauschild, Wolf-Dieter. *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 1. Alte Kirche und Mittelalter*. Gütersloh: Christian Kaiser in Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995.

Hauschild, Wolf-Dieter. *Lehrbuch der Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 2. Reformation und Neuzeit*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999.

Häussling, Angelus. "Gottesdienst: III. Liturgiegeschichtlich". In: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 4. Freiburg: Herder, [3] 1995: 892.

Hauzenberger, Hans. *Einheit auf evangelischer Grundlage. Von Werden und Wesen der Evangelischen Allianz*. Giessen and Zurich: TVG Brunnen and Gotthelf Verlag, 1986.

Haykin, Michael A. G. "Evangelicalism and the Enlightenment: A Reassessment". In: Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth Stewart (eds.). T*he Emergence of Evangelicalism. Exploring Historical Continuities.* Leicester: IVP, 2008: 37-60.

Hazlett, W. Ian P. "Settlements: British Isles". In: Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.). *Handbook of European History 1400-1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation 2: Visions, Programs, and Outcome*. Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996: 455-490.

Hazlett, W. Ian P. *The Reformation in Britain and Ireland. An Introduction.* London and New York: T & T Clark, 2003.

Hege, Albrecht. *Hans Denk. 1495-1527*. Tübingen: Unpublished Dissertation, n. d.

Heilsarmee Hauptquartier Bern (ed.). *Glauben und Handeln. Die Geschichte der Heilsarmee in der Schweiz*. Bern: Selbstverlag, 2009.

Heim. Manfred. *Einführung in die Kirchengeschichte*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2000.

Heimowski, Uwe. *Die Heilsarmee. Practical Religion – gelebter Glaube.* Schwarzenfeld. Neufeld Verlag, 2006.

Heininen, Simo. "Michael Agricola". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016: 9-15.

Heininen, Simon and Markku Heikkilä. *Kirchengeschichte Finnlands*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002.

Heinrichs, Wolfgang E. *Freikirchen – eine modern Kirchenform. Entstehung und Entwicklung von fünf Freikirchen im Wuppertal*. Giessen and Wuppertal: TVG Brunnen and Brockhaus, 1989.

Heinrichs, Wolfgang. "Kirchengeschichte". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde[2]* 2: 1907-1908.

Heinz, Daniel (ed.). *Freikirchen und Juden im "Dritten Reich". Instrumentalisierte Heilsgeschichte, antisemitische Vorurteile und verdrängte Schuld.* Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011.

Heinz, Daniel. "Waldenser in Oberösterreich. Zum Gedenken an die Ketzerverbrennungen in Steyr vor 600 Jahren". *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter* 52 (1998): 134-147.

Hengel, Martin and Anna Maria Schwemer. *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien. Die unbekannten Jahre des Apostels.* Mit einem Beitrag von Ernst Axel Knauf. WUNT 108. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998.

Henry, Carl F. and W. Stanley Mooneyham (eds.). *One Race, One Gospel, One Task. World Congress on Evangelism. Official Reference Volumes 1 & 2.* Minneapolis: World Wide Press, 1967.

Heppe, Heinrich. *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der reformierten Kirche, namentlich der Niederlande.* Mit einem Nachwort von Christiane Beetz. Hamburg: Severus Verlag, 2011.

Hermelink, Jan. "Harms". In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ⁴2000: 1456.

Heussi, Karl. *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte.* Unveränderter Nachdruck der 13., durch einen Literaturnachtrag ergänzten Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, ¹⁴1976.

Heymel, Michael. *Martin Niemöller. Vom Marineoffizier zum Friedenskämpfer.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, 2017.

Hilborn, David "'Einige gemeinsame Aktionen'. Die Bildung und Entwicklung einer Sozialen Agenda innerhalb der Evangelischen Allianz". In: Karl Heinz Voigt and Thomas Schirrmacher (eds.). *Menschenrechte und Minderheiten in Deutschland und Europa. Vom Einsatz für Religionsfreiheit durch die Evangelische Allianz und die Freikirchen im 19. Jahrhundert.* idea-Dokumentation 3/2004. Bonn and Wetzlar: VKW and idea, 2004: 9-36.

Hille, Rolf. "Exkurs: Was heißt eigentlich 'evangelikal'? Notizen zur Geschichte und begrifflichen Bestimmung der weltweiten evangelikalen Bewegung". In: Christian Herrmann (ed.). *Wahrheit und Erfahrung – Themenbuch zur Systematischen Theologie 1. Einführende Fragen der Dogmatik und Gotteslehre.* Wuppertal: TVG Brockhaus, 2004: 210-213.

Hinkelmann, Frank. "Beyerhaus, Peter Paul Johannes". In: *Biographisch bibliographische Kirchenlexikon* XLIII. Nordhausen: Bautz, 2021: 170-216.

Hinkelmann, Frank. "The European Evangelical Alliance: An Historical Sketch". In: *Evangelical Review of Theology* 45.1 (2021): 14-27.

Hinkelmann, Frank. "The Founding of the European Evangelical Alliance as a Counter-Movement to the World Evangelical Fellowship". In: *Evangelical Review of Theology* 44.2 (2020), 101-114.

Hinkelmann, Frank. D*ie Anfänge der Pfingstbewegung in Österreich 1920-1945 in zeitgenössischen Dokumenten. Evangelisation und Gemeindegründung in schwieriger Zeit.* Bonn: VKW, 2021.

Hinkelmann, Frank. *Evangelikal in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz. Ursprung, Bedeutung und Rezeption eines Begriffes.* Bonn: VKW, 2017.

Hinkelmann, Frank. *Geschichte der Evangelischen Allianz in Österreich. Von ihren Anfängen im 19. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart.* Bonn: VKW, ²2012.

Hinkelmann, Frank. *GOTTesdienst feiern. Geschichte, Theologie und Praxis des christlichen Gottesdienstes.* Theologisches Lehr- und Studienmaterial 35. Bonn: VKW, 2015.

Hinkelmann, Frank. *Kirchen, Freikirchen und christliche Gemeinschaften in Österreich. Handbuch der Konfessionskunde.* Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2016.

Hinrichs, Carl. "Der hallische Pietismus als politisch-soziale Reformbewegung". In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977: 243-258.

Hinson, E. Glenn. "Christlicher Fundamentalismus: Hoffnung oder Katastrophe für das europäische Christentum?". In: *Ökumenische Rundschau* 41 (1992): 449-463.

Hirzel, Stephan. *Heimliche Kirche. Ketzerchronik aus den Tagen der Reformation.* Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, n. d.

Hobsbawms, Eric. *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert.* 3 vol. Darmstadt: Theiss, 2017.

Hochmeir, Andreas. "Geheimprotestantismus im Land ob der Enns". In: Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz and Dietmar Weikl (eds.). *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert).* Munich, Vienna et al.: Oldenbourg and Böhlau, 2009: 155-183.

Hödl, Ludwig. "Petrus Lombardus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 205-223.

Höfer, Rudolf K. "Geheimprotestantismus in der Steiermark". In: Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz and Dietmar Weikl (ed.). *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen in der Habsburgermonarchie und im Erzstift Salzburg (17./18. Jahrhundert).* Munich, Vienna et al.: Oldenbourg and Böhlau, 2009: 93-121.

Hollenweger, Walter J. *Charismatisch-pfingstliches Christentum. Herkunft, Situation, Ökumenische Chancen.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.

Hollenweger, Walter J. *Enthusiastischen Christentum. Die Pfingstbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Wuppertal and Zurich: Brockhaus and Zwingli, 1969.

Holthaus, Stephan. *Heil – Heilung – Heiligung. Die Geschichte der deutschen Heiligungs- und Evangelisationsbewegung (1874-1909).* Giessen and Basel: TVG Brunnen, 2005.

Holthaus, Stephan. *Konfessionskunde. Handbuch der Kirchen, Freikirchen und christlichen Gemeinden.* Hammerbrücke, Jota Publikationen, 2008.

Holze, Heinrich. *Die abendländische Kirche im hohen Mittelalter (12./13. Jahrhundert).* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/12. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2003.

Holzem, Andreas. "Catholicism, European Ultramontanism, and the First Vatican Council". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 2. History of Christianity in the 19th Century.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 69-119.

Holzem, Andreas. "Christianity in Europe: The 17th Century". In: In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 235-319.

Hoover, Peter. *Feuertaufe. Das radikale Leben der Täufer – eine Provokation.* Berlin: Down to Earth Verlag, 2006.

Hope, Nicholas. *German and Scandinavian Protestantism 1700 to 1918.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Hopkins, C. Howard. *John R. Mott. 1865-1955. A Biography. Grand Rapids*: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1979.

Hornig, Gottfried. "Johann Salomo Semler". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 267-279.

Hornig, Gottfried. "Kapitel XI: Die dialektische Theologie". In: Gustav Adolf Benrath, Gottfried Hornig, Wilhelm Dantine, Eric Hultsch and Reinhard Slenczka. *Die Lehreentwicklung im Rahmen der Ökumenizität.* Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte 3. Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]1998: 237-251.

Hornig, Gottfried. "Kapitel XIII: Kirchliche und kritische Gegenwartstheologie (1945-1990)". In: Gustav Adolf Benrath, Gottfried Hornig, Wilhelm Dantine Eric Hultsch and Reinhard Slenczka. *Die Lehreentwicklung im Rahmen der Ökumenizität.* Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte 3. Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]1998: 266-284.

Howard, David M. *The Dream that Would Not Die. The Birth and Growth of the World Evangelical Fellowship 1846-1986.* Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1986.

Hsia, Ronnie Po-chia. "Christianity in Asia, ca. 1500-1789". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 205-232.

Huelin, Gordon. "The Relationship of Samuel Urlsperger to the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge'". In: Schwarz, Reinhard (ed.). *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772). Augsburger Pietismus zwischen Außenwirkungen und Binnenwelt.* Colloquia Augustana 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996: 151-160.

Hylleberg, Bent. "Denmark. The Baptist Union of Denmark". In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 93-94.

Hylson-Smith, Kenneth. *To the Ends of the Earth. The Globalization of Christianity.* London, Atlanta and Hyderabad, Paternoster, 2007.

Iserloh, Erwin. "Der Kampf um das Verständnis der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen". In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin. *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1967: 115-216.

Iserloh, Erwin. "Die deutsche Fürstenreformation". In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin. *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1967: 217-312.

Iserloh, Erwin. "Die Devotio moderna". In: Hans-Georg Beck, Karl August Fink, Josef Glazik, Erwin Iserloh and Hans Wolter. *Die mittelalterliche Kirche. Zweiter Halbband: Vom kirchlichen Hochmittelalter bis zum Vorabend der Reformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte III/2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, Herder, 1968: 516-538.

Iserloh, Erwin. Europa im Zeichen des Pluralismus der Konfessionen. In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin. *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1967: 313-446.

Iserloh, Erwin and Hans Wolter. *Die mittelalterliche Kirche. Zweiter Halbband: Vom kirchlichen Hochmittelalter bis zum Vorabend der Reformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte III/2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1968: 516-538.

Isichei, Elizabeth. *A History of Christianity in Africa. From Antiquity to the Present.* Grand Rapids and Lawrenceville: Wm. B. Eerdmans and Africa World Press, 1995.

Jacob, Margaret C. "The Enlightenment Critique of Christianity". In: Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (eds.). *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815.*

The Cambridge History of Christianity VIII, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 265-282.

Jakubowski-Tiessen, Manfred. "4.3.1 Dänemark und Norwegen". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2021: 292-301.

Jaspert, Bernd (ed.). *Kirchengeschichte als Wissenschaft.* Münster: Aschendorff, 2013.

Jaspert, Bernd. *Kirchengeschichte studieren.* Nordhausen, Verlag T. Bautz, 2016.

Jaspert, Nikolas. *Die Kreuzzüge.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, ⁶2013.

Jedin, Hubert (ed.). *Von der Urgemeinde zur frühchristlichen Großkirche.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 1. Freiburg: Herder, 1963.

Jedin, Hubert. "Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation". In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin. *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte IV. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder 1967: 449-686.

Jedin, Hubert. "Ursprung und Durchbruch der Katholischen Reform bis 1563". In: Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin. *Reformation, Katholische Reform, Gegenreformation.* Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1967: 449-520.

Jedin, Hubert. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient I: Der Kampf um das Konzil.* Nachdruck: Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017.

Jedin, Hubert. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient II: Die erste Trienter Tagungsperiode 1545/47.* Nachdruck: Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017.

Jedin, Hubert. *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient. IV/2: Dritte Tagungsperiode und Abschluß. Überwindung der Krise durch Morone, Schließung und Bestätigung.* Nachdruck: Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2017.

Jedin, Hubert, Kenneth Scott Latourette and Jochen Martin (eds.). *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte. Die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart.* Sonderausgabe. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 2004.

Jenkins, Philip. *Das goldene Zeitalter des Christentums. Die vergessene Geschichte der größten Weltreligion.* Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2010.

Jenkins, Philip. *The New Faces of Christianity. Believing the Bible in the Global South.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Jenkins, Philip. *The New Map of the Global Church.* Pearl River: Crossroad Publishing, 2017.

Jewett, Robert and Ole Wangerin. *Mission und Verführung. Amerikas religiöser Weg in vier Jahrhunderten.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.

Johnson, Todd M. and Kenneth R. Ross (eds.). *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910-2010.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, ²2013.

Johnstone, Patrick. *The Church is Bigger Than You Think. The Unfinished Work of World Evangelisation.* Fearn: Christian Focus Publications, 1998.

Jones, David Ceri. "Calvinistic Methodism and the Origins of Evangelicalism in England". In: Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth Stewart (eds). *The Emergence of Evangelicalism. Exploring Historical Continuities.* Leicester: IVP, 2008: 103-128.

Jordy, Gerhard. *Die Brüderbewegung in Deutschland.* 3 Vol. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1979-1986.

Jung, Friedehelm. *Die deutsche Evangelikale Bewegung. Grundlinien ihrer Geschichte und Theologie.* Biblia et Symbiotica. Bonn: VKW, 1994.

Jung, Martin H. *Der Protestantismus in Deutschland von 1815 bis 1870.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/3. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000.

Jung, Martin H. *Frauen des Pietismus. Von Johanna Regina Bengel bis Erdmuthe Dorothea von Zinzendorf. Zehn Porträts.* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998.

Jung, Martin H. *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648).* Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012.

Jürgens, Henning P. *Johannes a Lasco in Ostfriesland. Der Werdegang eines europäischen Reformators.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.

Jürgens, Henning P. *Johannes a Lasco. Ein Leben in Büchern und Briefen. Eine Ausstellung der Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek.* Wuppertal: Foedus, 1999.

Jürgens, Henning. P. "Johannes à Lasco". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016: 147-153.

Kahl, Hans-Dietrich. "Bernhard von Fontaines, Abt von Clairvaux". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 173-191.

Kaltenborn, Carl-Jürgen. "Adolf von Harnack". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit III.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 70-87.

Kamp, Jan van de. "2.1 Pietismus und Puritanismus". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2021: 44-48.

Kandler, Karl-Hermann. *Christliches Denken im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/11. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1993.

Kant, Immanuel. "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?". In: *Berlinische Monatsschrift.* (1784) Issue 12: 481-494.

Kaufmann, Thomas. *Der Anfang der Reformation. Studien zur Kontextualität der Theologie, Publizistik und Inszenierung Luthers und der reformatorischen Bewegung.* Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 67. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2012.

Kaufmann, Thomas. *Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland.* Berlin: Suhrkamp & Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2016.

Kawerau, Peter. *Ostkirchengeschichte 1. Das Christentum in Asien und Afrika bis zum Auftreten der Portugiesen im Indischen Ozean.* Lovani: E. Peeters, 1983.

Keller, Rudolf. "Vilmar". In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 8. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ⁴2005: 1116-1118.

Kelly, John N.D. *Early Christian Creeds.* 3rd Edition. Harlow: Longman, 1972.

Kennedy, Robert L. *Turning Westward. Anglo-American Evangelical and German pietist Interactions through 1954.* Aberdeen: Unveröffentl. Dissertation, 1988.

Kidd, Thomas S. T*he Great Awakening. The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

Kim, Elijah J. F. *The Rise of the Global South. The Decline of Western Christianity and the Rise of Majority World Christianity.* Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2012.

Kim, Sebastian C. H. and Kirsten Kim. *A History of Korean Christianity.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kinder, A. Gordon. "Spain". In: Andrew Pettegree (ed.). *The Early Reformation in Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [3]1998: 215-237.

Kingdon, Robert M. "The Calvinist Reformation in Geneva". In: R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.). *Reform and Expansion 1500-1660.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007: 90-103.

Kirchner, Hubert. *Das Papsttum und der deutsche Katholizismus 1870-1958.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/9. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1992.

Kirchner, Hubert. *Reformationsgeschichte von 1532-1555/1556. Festigung der Reformation. Calvin. Katholische Reform. Konzil von Trient.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/6. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1987.

Klein, Günter. "Rudolf Bultmann". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit IV.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986: 52-69.

Klein, Kurt. "Kirche im Übergang. 50 Jahre im Spiegel kirchlicher Statistik". In: Fritz Csoklich, Matthias Opis, Eva Petrik and Heinrich Schnuderl (eds.). *ReVisionen. Katholische Kirche in der Zweiten Republik.* Graz, Vienna and Cologne: Styria, 1996, 65-90.

Klein, Wassilios. *Das nestorianische Christentum an den Handelswegen durch Kyrgzytan bis zum 14. Jh.* Silk Road Studies III. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012.

Kloczowski, Jerzy. "Das Erbe des Jan Hus". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 461-473.

Kloczowski, Jerzy. "Die Ausbreitung des Christentums von der Adria bis zur Ostsee. Christianisierung der Slawen, Skandinavier und Ungarn zwischen dem 9. und dem 11. Jahrhundert". In: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.). *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 4. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 883-920.

Kloczowski, Jerzy. "Die besonderer Erfahrung Böhmens im 15. Jahrhundert: Jan Hus und die Hussiten". In: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 6. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991: 804-806.

Kloes, Andrew Alan. T*he "Awakening Movement" in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany. The Making of a Modern and Orthodox Protestantism.* Edinburgh: Unveröffentl. Dissertation, 2015.

Kluge, Rolf-Dieter (ed.). *Ein Leben zwischen Laibach und Tübingen. Primus Truber und seine Zeit. Intentionen, Verlauf und Folgen der Reformation in Württemberg und Innerösterreich.* Munich: Verlag Ott Sagner, 1995.

Koch, Ernst. *Das konfessionelle Zeitalter – Katholizismus, Luthertum, Calvinismus (1563-1675).* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/8. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000.

Koestlin, Heinrich Adolf. *Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes: Ein Handbuch.* Freiburg: Mohr-Siebeck, 1887.

Kohler, Alfred. *Das Reich im Kampf um die Hegemonie in Europa 1521-1648.* Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte 6. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1990.

Kohnle, Armin. *Martin Luther. Reformator, Ketzer, Ehemann.* Leipzig and Holzgerlingen: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt and Hänssler, 2015.

Kolde, Th. *Die Heilsarmee. (The Salvation Arrmy.) Ihre Geschichte und ihr Wesen.* Enlarged edition. Erlangen and Leipzig, ²1899.

Köpf, Ulrich. "Franz von Assisi". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 282-302.

Körtner, Ulrich H. J. and Martin Leutzsch. *Papiasfragmente. Hirt des Hermas. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert.* Schriften des Urchristentums 3. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998.

Kouri, E. I. "The Early in Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520-1560". In: Ole Peter Grell (ed.). *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995: 42-69.

Kreck, Walter. "Karl Barth". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit IV.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986: 102-122.

Krumwiede, H.W. "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung, Geschichte der". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1993: 1098.

Kücklich, Reinhold. *Hundert Jahre Evangelische Gemeinschaft in Europa 1850-1950.* Stuttgart: Christl. Verlagshaus, 1950.

Kuen, Alfred. *Der Gottesdienst in Bibel und Geschichte.* Bonn: VKW, 2003.

Kühn, Ulrich. "Thomas von Aquin". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 38-62.

Kunz, V. *Die Heilsarmee. Ihr Werden – Wesen – Wirken.* Bern: Hauptquartier der Heilsarmee, ⁴1978.

Laasonen, Pentti. "IV. Erweckungsbewegungen im Norden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert". In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed) *Der Pietismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 321-357.

Laboa, Juan Maria (ed.). *Atlas des Mönchtums.* License edition. Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007.

Laboa, Juan Maria. "Das irische Mönchtum". In: Juan Maria Laboa, (ed.). *Atlas des Mönchtums.* License edition. Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007: 72-75.

Laboa, Juan Maria. "Verbreitung der Regel des hl. Benedikt". In: Juan Maria Laboa, (ed.). *Atlas des Mönchtums.* License edition. Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007: 84-87.

Lagergren, David. "Sweden. The Baptist union of Sweden". In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 99-100.

Lambert, Malcolm. *Ketzerei im Mittelalter. Eine Geschichte von Gewalt und Scheitern*. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991.

Lammers, Walther. "Ansgar". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 87-101.

Lang, August. *Puritanismus und Pietismus. Studien zu ihrer Entwicklung von M. Butzer bis zum Methodismus.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1972.

Lange, Christian. *Einführung in die allgemeinen Konzilien.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2012.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* 1. The First Five Centuries. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1945.

Lau, Franz and Ernst Bizer. *Reformationsgeschichte Deutschlands*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte K. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.

Laubach, Fritz. *Aufbruch der Evangelikalen.* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1972.

Lausanner Komitee für Weltevangelisation (ed.). *Lausanne geht weiter. Die Pasadena Konsultation / Der Willowbank Report / Die Lausanner Verpflichtung / Der Glen Eyrie-Report*. Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1980.

Lécrivain, Philippe. "Die Faszination des Fernen Ostens oder der unterbrochene Traum". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 750-820.

Leeb, Rudolf. "Der Streit um den wahren Glauben – Reformation und Gegenreformation in Österreich". In: Rudolf Leeb, Maximilian Liebmann, Georg Scheibelreiter and Peter G. Tropper, *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich*. Vienna: Ueberreuther, 2003: 145-279.

Leeb, Rudolf. "Widerstand und leidender Ungehorsam gegen die katholische Konfessionalisierung in den österreichischen Ländern". In: Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.). *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007: 183-201.

Legler, Rolf. *Südwest-Frankreich.* DuMont Kunst-Reiseführer. Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, ⁶1985.

Lehmann, Hartmut, "Erweckungsbewegung as religious Experience or Historiographical Construct. The Case of Ludwig Hofacker". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Religiöse Erweckung in gottferner Zeit. Studien zur Pietismusforschung.* Bausteine zu einer europäischen Religionsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung 12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010: 120-131.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Der Platz der Erweckungsbewegung in der Geschichtsschreibung zur deutschen Geschichte". In: Thomas K. Kuhn and Veronika Albrecht-Birkner (eds.). *Zwischen Aufklärung und Moderne. Erweckungsbewegung als historiographische Herausforderung.* Religion – Kultur – Gesellschaft: Studien zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Christentums in Neuzeit und Moderne. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2017: 13-26.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Die Bedeutung des Pietismus für die neueste Kirchengeschichte im internationalen Kontext". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Religiöse Erweckung in gottferner Zeit. Studien zur Pietismusforschung.* Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2010: 133-143.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Erledigte und nicht erledigte Aufgaben der Pietismusforschung. Eine nochmalige Antwort an Johannes Wallmann". In: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 31 (2005): 13-20.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Famine, Epidemics, War: The Triple Challenge of Central European Christianity, 1570-1720". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.) *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 321-348.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Four Competing Concepts for the Study of Religious Reform Movements, Including Pietism, in Early Modern Europe and North America". In: Fred van Lieburg (ed.). *Confessionalism and Pietism. Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006: 312-322.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Grenzüberschreitungen und Grenzziehungen im Pietismus". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Transformation der Religion in der Neuzeit. Beispiels aus der Geschichte des Pietismus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007: 120-127.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "I. Die neue Lage". In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.). *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 2-26.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Introduction: European and Global Christianity in the Early Modern Period, ca. 1500 – ca. 1800". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 1-15.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten in der Geschichte des Christentums im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Essay". In: Katharina Kunter and Jens Holger Schjørring (eds.). *Europäisches und Globales Christentum / European and Global Christianity.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012: 27-41.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Neupietismus und Säkularisierung. Beobachtungen zum sozialen Umfeld und politischem Hintergrund der Erweckungsbewegung". In: Hartmut Lehmann: *Protestantische Weltsichten.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998: 84-91.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Perspektiven für die Pietismusforschung". In: *Theologische Rundschau* 77 (2012): 226-240.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Pietism in the World of Transatlantic Religious Revivals". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Religiöse Erweckung in gottferner Zeit. Studien zur Pietismusforschung.* Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2010: 21-30.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Pietism Research at a Crossroad". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Religiöse Erweckung in gottferner Zeit. Studien zur Pietismusforschung.* Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2010: 144-153.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Summary and Outlook". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 445-450.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Zur Charakterisierung der entschiedenen Christen im Zeitalter der Säkularisierung". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Transformation der Religion in der Neuzeit. Beispiels aus der Geschichte des Pietismus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007: 128-143.

Lehmann, Hartmut. "Aufgaben der Pietismusforschung im 21. Jahrhundert". In: Hartmut Lehmann. *Transformation der Religion in der Neuzeit. Beispiels aus der Geschichte des Pietismus.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007: 104-119.

Lehmann, Hartmut. *Protestantisches Christentum im Prozeß der Säkularisierung.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.

Lein, Edgar. *Mittelalterliche Klöster in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz.* Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009.

Lenzenweger, Josef, Peter Stockmeier, Karl Amon and Rudolf Zinnhobler (eds.). *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche.* Graz: Styria, ³1995.

Leppin, Volker. *Das Zeitalter der Reformation. Eine Welt im Übergang.* Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2009.

Leppin, Volker. *Die Reformation.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013.

Leppin, Volker. *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Christentums.* Neue Theologische Grundrisse. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2012.

Leppin, Volker. *Martin Luther.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006.

Leppin, Volker. *Reformation.* Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen III. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ⁷2021.

Leppin, Volker. *Theologie im Mittelalter.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/11. Leipzig:

Leu, Urs B. "Auf dem Weg zum Reformator". In: Ariane Albisser and Peter Opitz (eds.). *Die Zürcher Reformation in Europa. Beiträge der Tagung des Instituts für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte 6.-8. Februar 2019 in Zürich.* Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 29. Zurich: TVZ, 2021: 101-123.

Leu, Urs B. and C[hristian]. Scheidegger (eds.). *Das Schleitheimer Bekenntnis 1527. Einleitung, Faksimile, Übersetzung und Kommentar.* Zug: Achius, n.d.

Leu, Urs B. and Christian Scheidegger (eds.). *Die Zürcher Täufer 1525-1700.* Zürich: TVZ, 2007.

Lieburg, Fred van. "2.2 Pietismus und Nadere refromatie". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2021: 48-55.

Lieburg, Fred van. "Conceptualizing Religious Movements in Early Modern Europe". In: Fred van Lieburg (ed.). *Confessionalism and Pietism. Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006: 1-9.

Lieburg, Fred van. "Wege der niederländischen Pietismusforschung: Traditionsaneignung, Identitätspolitik und Erinnerungskultur". In: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 37 (2012): 211-253.

Lienhard, Marc. "Die Ausbreitung der lutherischen Botschaft". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 723-773.

Lienhard, Marc. "Die radikalisierte Reformation". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 809-831.

Lienhard, Marc. "Die Wiedertäufer". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 8. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992: 122-190.

Lietzmann, Hans. *Geschichte der Alten Kirche: Die Reichskirche bis zum Tode Julians* 3. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1938.

Lietzmann, Hans. *Geschichte der Alten Kirche: Die Zeit der Kirchenväter* 4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1944.

Lindberg, Carter. *The European Reformations*. Reprinted. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 1997.

Lindemann, Gerhard. *Für Frömmigkeit in Freiheit. Die Geschichte der Evangelischen Allianz im Zeitalter des Liberalismus (1846-1879)*. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2011.

Lindhardt, Poul Georg. *Kirchengeschichte Skandinaviens*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1983.

Lindhardt, Poul Georg. *Skandinavische Kirchengeschichte seit dem 16. Jahrhundert*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3M3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

Locher, Gottfied W. "Huldrych Zwingli". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformationszeit I*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1981: 187-216.

Locher, Gottfried W. *Die Zwinglische Reformation im Rahmen der europäischen Kirchengeschichte*. Göttingen and Zurich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.

Locher, Gottfried W. *Zwingli und die schweizerische Reformation*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Vol. 3J1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

Lodewigs, Siegfried. *Der Pietismus im Spiegel seiner theologischen Kritiker*. Tübingen: Unpublished. Dissertation, 1972.

Löhr, Winrich. "Western Christianities". In: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds). *Constantine to c. 600*. The Cambridge History of Christianity 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2010: 9-51.

Lorenz, Rudolf. *Das vierte bis sechste Jahrhundert (Osten)*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch 1/C2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.

Lorenz, Rudolf. *Das vierte bis sechste Jahrhundert (Westen)*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch. Bd. 1/C 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970.

Lorenz, Rudolf. *Das vierte Jahrhundert (Osten)*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 1/C2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.

Lorenz, Rudolf. *Das vierte Jahrhundert bis sechste Jahrhundert (Westen)*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 1/C1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970.

Lotz, Denton. *"Evangelization of the World in This Generation". The Resurgence of a Missionary Idea Among the Conservative Evangelicals*. Hamburg: Unpublished Dissertation, 1970.

Löwe, Heinz. "Pirmin, Willibrord und Bonifatius. Ihre Bedeutung für die Missionsge-schichte ihrer Zeit. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte II.1. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 178: 192-226

Lucky, Hans. *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus.* Kassel: Ver-lag J. G. Oncken, 1954.

Lutz, Heinrich. *Reformation und Gegenreformation.* Durchgesehen und ergänzt von Alfred Kohler. Munich: Oldenbourg, ⁵2002.

Maag, Karin. *The Reformation in Eastern Europe and Central Europe.* Aldershot: Sholar Press, 1997.

Macher, Johan. "Hungary. The Baptist Union of Hungary". In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 185-188.

Maier, Gerhard (ed.) *Der Kanon der Bibel.* Giessen and Wuppertal: Brunnen and Brock-haus, 1990.

Maier, Gerhard. *Streiflichter meines Lebens. Ursprünglich sollte Gott gar nicht vorkommen.* Holzgerlingen: SCM Hänssler, 2019.

Mansfield, Patti Gallagher. *... wie ein neues Pfingsten. Der aufsehenerregende Anfang der Charismatischen Erneuerung in der Katholischen Kirche.* Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 1993.

Maraval, Pierre "Das Konzil von Chalkedon". In: Luce Piétri (ed.). *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431-642).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 3. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2001: 90-119.

Maraval, Pierre. "Der christliche Osten in der Verschiedenheit seiner Tradition". In: Luce Piétri (ed.). *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 1. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2003: 555-575.

Maraval, Pierre. "Die neuen Grenzen". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Ent-stehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 1076-1095.

Maraval, Pierre. "Die Religionspolitik unter Justinian I.". In: Luce Pietri (ed.). *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431-642).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 3. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, Herder, 2001: 421-461.

Marguerat, Daniel. "Einleitung: Jesus von Nazaret". In: Luce Piétri (ed.). *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 1. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2003: 1-53.

Maron, Gottfried. *Die römisch-katholische Kirche von 1870 bis 1970.* Die Kirche in ihrer Ge-schichte N2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972.

Marquardt, Horst and Ulrich Parzany (eds.). *Evangelisation mit Leidenschaft. Berichte und Impulse vom II. Lausanner Kongress für Weltevangelisation in Manila.* Neukirchen-Vlujn: Aussaat, 1990.

Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American Culture. The Shaping of Twentieth-Cen-tury Evangelicalism 1879-1925.* New York: Oxford Univerity Press, ²²1982.

Marsden, George M. *Jonathan Edwards. A Life.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Maser, Peter, Dietrich Meyer and Christian-Erdmann Schott (eds.). *Der Pietismus und seine Nachwirkungen im östlichen Europa.* Beiträge zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte Folge 6. Münster: Verein für ostdeutsche Kirchengeschichte, 2004.

Masters, Bruce. "Christian under Ottoman Rule, 1453-1800". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 107-127.

Matthias, Markus. "3.2 Philipp Jakob Spener". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 101-114.

Mau, Rudolf. *Evangelische Bewegung und frühe Reformation 1521-1532.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen II/5. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000.

Maurer, Wilhelm. *Der junge Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Der Humanist (Vol. 1). Der Theologe (Vol. 2).* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967/1969.

Mayer, Cornelius. "Aurelius Augustinus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 179-214.

McGinn, Bernard, John Meyendorff and Jean Leclercq (eds.). *Geschichte der christlichen Spiritualität. 1. Von den Anfängen bis zum 12. Jahrhundert.* Würzburg: Echter, 1993.

McGrath, Alister E. *Reformation Thought.* An Introduction. Third Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, [7]2004.

McGrath, Alister E. *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation.* Reprinted. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1995.

McLaughlin, R. Emmet. "Caspar Schwenckfeld". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformationszeit I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1981: 307-321.

McLaughlin, R. Emmet. *Caspar Schwenckfeld. Reluctant Radical. His Life to 1540.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986.

McLeod, Hugh. "Introduction". In: Hugh McLeod (ed.). *World Christianities c. 1914 – c. 2000.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006:1-14

McLeod, Hugh. "The Crisis of Christianity in the West: Entering a Post-Christian Era?". In: Hugh McLeod (ed.). *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 323-347.

McNally, Robert E. "Die keltische Kirche in Irland". In: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters.* Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte II.1. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 178: 91-115.

Meiß, Klaus. *Geschichte der Alten Kirche.* Spuren des lebendigen Gottes 1. Marburg: Verlag der Francke-Buchhandlung, 2007.

Melle, Otto. *Das Walten Gottes im deutschen Methodismus.* Bremen: Verlag des Traktathauses, n. d. [1924].

Merkt, Andreas (ed.). *Das frühe christliche Mönchtum. Quellen und Dokument. Von den Anfängen bis Benedikt.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2008.

Metaxas, Eric. *Luther. Der Mann, der Gott neu entdeckte.* Holzgerlingen: SCM Hänssler, 2019.

Metcalf, Michael F. "Settlements: Scandinavia". In: Thomas A Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.). *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation. Visions, Programs, and Outcomes*. Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996: 523-550.

Methuen, Charlotte. "John Knox". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016: 138-146.

Metzger, Bruce M. *The Canon of the New Testament. It's Origin, Development, and Significance.* 4th Printing. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Meyer-Blanck, Michael. *Liturgie und Liturgik. Der evangelische Gottesdienst aus Quellentexten erklärt.* Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²2009.

Micheau, Francoise. "Eastern Christianities (Eleventh to Fourteenth Century). Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites". In: Michael Angold (ed.). *Eastern Christianity*. The Cambridge History of Christianity 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 373-403.

Mieth, Dietmar. "Meister Eckhart". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 124-154.

Milhou, Alain. "Entdeckungen und Christianisierung der Fremden". In: Marc Venard (ed.). Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530). Geschichte des Christentum 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 521-611.

Mittelalter. Gütersloh: Christian Kaiser and Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995.

Moeller, Bernd. *Spätmittelalter*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch 2/H 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966.

Möller, Lenelotte and Hans Ammerich. *Einführung in das Studium der Kirchengeschichte*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2014.

Moreschini, Claudio. "Ambrosius von Mailand". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 101-124.

Mörke, Olaf. *Die Reformation. Voraussetzungen und Durchsetzung.* Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte 74. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2011.

Mühling, Andreas. "Bullingers Bedeutung für die europäische Reformationsgeschichte". In: *Evangelische Theologie.* 64.2 (2004): 94-105.

Mühling, Andreas. *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik.* Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 2001.

Müller, Heribert. *Die kirchliche Krise des Spätmittelalters. Schisma, Konziliarismus und Konzilien.* Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 90. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012.

Mundadan, Mathias. *History of Christianity in India 1. From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century (up to 1542).* Bangalore: Church History Association, 1989.

Nagel, William. *Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes.* Sammlung Göschen. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962.

Needham, Nick. *2000 Years of Christs Power 4: The Age of Religious Conflict. 16th to 18th Century*. Fearn: Christian Focus Publication, 2016.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Mission.* 2nd Edition. London: Pinguin Books, ¹⁰1990.

Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India. The Beginnings to AD 1707.* Reprinted. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Neuser, Wilhelm H. "Prädestination". In: Herman J. Selderhuis (ed.). *Calvin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008: 307-317.

Nicholls, David. "France". In: Andrew Pettegree (ed.). *The Early Reformation in Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [3]1998: 120-141.

Nirenberg, David. "The Erection of Boundaries: Christendom and Islam". In: Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (eds.). *Christianity in Western Europe 1100 c. 1500.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009: 149-169.

Noll, Mark A. *The Rise of Evangelicalism. The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys.* A History of Evangelicalism 1. Leicester: IVP, 2004.

Noll, Mark A. *Turning Points. Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity.* 2nd Edition. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000.

Noll, Mark. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, [2]1993.

Noll, Mark. *Das Christentum in Nordamerika.* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen IV.5. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000.

North, Michael. *Europa expandiert. 1250-1500.* Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 4. Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 2007.

Obermann, Heiko A. *Werden und Wertung der Reformation. Vom Wegestreit zum Glaubenskampf.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1977.

Obermann, Heiko A. *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus. Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation.* Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1981.

Obermann, Heiko A. *Zwei Reformationen. Luther und Calvin. Alte und Neue Welt.* Berlin: Siedler, 2003.

Oberste, Jörg. *Der "Kreuzzug" gegen die Albigenser. Ketzerei und Machtpolitik im Mittelalter.* Nachdruck. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2016.

Oberste, Jörg. *Ketzerei und Inquisition im Mittelalter.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, [2]2012.

Oden, Thomas C. *Early Libyan Christianity. Uncovering a North African Tradition.* Downers Grove: IVP, 2011.

Oden, Thomas C. *How Africa Shaped the Christian Mind. Rediscovering the African Seedbed of Western Christianity.* 17th Printing. Downers grove: IVP, 2024.

Ohlemacher, Jörg. "VI. Evangelikalismus und Heiligungsbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert": In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.). *Der Pietismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 371-391.

Onasch, Konrad. *Russische Kirchengeschichte.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3M1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.

Ooert, Johannes van. "De civitate dei (Über die Gottesstadt)". In: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.). *Augustin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007: 347-363.

Opitz, Peter. "Heinrich Bullinger". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016: 82-90.

Orliac, Paul. "Das Schsima und die Konzilien (1378-1449)". In: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 6. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991: 75-131.

Ortner, Franz. *Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation im Erzstift Salzburg*. Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1981.

Oster, Uwe A. *Atlas des Mittelalters. Von der Völkerwanderung bis zur Entdeckung Amerikas*. Munich: C. J. Bucher Verlag 2008.

Ott, Heinrich. "Dietrich Bonhoeffer". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit IV*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 10.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1986: 270-289.

Paas, Steven. *Christianity in Eurafrica. A History of the Church in Europe and Africa*. Wellington, South Africa: Christian Literature Fund, 2016.

Packull, Werner O. *Die Hutterer in Tirol. Frühes Täufertum in der Schweiz, Tirol und Mähren*. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2000.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. "Albigenser". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1. Holzgerlingen: SCM Brockhaus, [2]2017: 89.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. "Kirchengeschichte im Spannungsfeld von Glauben und Wissenschaft". In: Thorsten Dietz and Hans-Jürgen Peters (eds.), *Seelsorge auf dem Feld des Denkens: Festschrift für Sven Findeisen zum 65. Geburtstag*, Marburg: Eigenverlag, 1995, 45-54.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. "Mittelalter". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 2. Wuppertal and Zürich: Brockhaus, 1993: 1353-1356.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. *Christianisierung im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2006.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. *Die Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1998.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. *In Gottes Namen? Von Kreuzzügen, Inquisition und gerechten Kriegen. Die 10 häufigsten Vorwürfe gegen das Christentum*. Giessen and Basel: Brunnen, 2010.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. *Mission und Christianisierung. Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995.

Padberg, Lutz E. von. *Wynfreth-Bonifatius*. Wuppertal and Zurich: Brockhaus, 1989.

Padberg, Lutz E. von and Fürstenberg, Michael von (eds.). *Bücherverzeichnis zur Kirchengeschichte*. Amateca Repertoria 1. Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1999.

Pally, Marcia. *Die Neuen Evangelikalen in den USA. Freiheitsgewinne durch fromme Politik*. Berlin: Berlin University Press, 2010.

Parisse, Michel. "Innerhalb und außerhalb der Klostermauern – die Erneuerung des Ordenslebens (1050-1120). In: André Vauchez (ed.). *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 5. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 136-178.

Parisse, Michel. "Zwischen actio und contemplatio – die Orden im 12. Jahrhundert". In: André Vauchez (ed.). *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 5. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 391-433.

Parisse, Michel and Jerzy Kloczowski. "Die christlichen Reiche in Auseinandersetzung mit der Kirche: Der Investiturstreit und sein Ergebnis". In: André Vauchez (ed.). *Machtfülle des Papsttums (1054-1274)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 5. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 88-135.

Parker, G. Keith. *Baptists in Europe. History & Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982.

Parkman, Allan. "Hofprediger Wrangel und die Societas Svecana Pro FIde et Christianismo". In: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1982): 43-51.

Paulsen, Henning. "Ignatius von Antiochien". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 38-50.

Pauly, Wolfgang (ed.). *Geschichte der christlichen Theologie.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 2008.

Pearson, Birger A. "Egypt". In: Margaret M. Mitchell and France M. Young (eds.). *Origins to Constantine. The Cambridge History of Christianity 1.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008: 331-350.

Perrin, Michel-Yves. "Die neue Form der Missionierung: Die Eroberung von Raum und Zeit". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 667-704.

Pettegree, Andrew. "The Early Reformation in Europe". In: Andrew Pettegree (ed.). *The Early Reformation in Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [3]1998: 1-22.

Piétri, Charles. "Christianisierung der kaiserlichen Repräsentation, der staatlichen Gesetzgebung und der römischen Kultur". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 193-241.

Piétri, Charles. "Das Scheitern der kaiserlichen Reichseinheit in Afrika". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 242-270.

Piétri, Charles. "Die Erfolge: Unterdrückung des Heidentums und Sieg des Staatskirchentums". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 462-506.

Piétri, Charles. "Die Schwierigkeiten des neuen Systems im Westen: Der Donatistenstreit (362-420)". Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Base and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 507-524.

Piétri, Charles. "Von der partitio des christlichen Kaiserreichs bis zur Einheit unter Konstantius: Arianerstreit und erste 'Cäsaropapismus'". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 345-395.

Piétri, Charles and Christoph Markschies. "Eine neue Geographie: A. Der Orient". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 55-117.

Piétri, Charles and Christoph Markschies. "Theologische Diskussionen zur Zeit Konstantins: Arius, der 'arianische Streit' und das Konzil von Nizäa, die nachnizänischen Auseinandersetzungen bis 337". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 271-344.

Pietri, Luce. "Das Frankenreich unter Chlodwig". In: Luce Pietri (ed.). *Der lateinische Westen und der byzantinische Osten (431-642).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 3. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, Herder, 2001: 353-375.

Piétri, Luce. "Das Hineinwachsen des Klerus in die antike Gesellschaft". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 633-666.

Piétri, Luce. "Die großen missionarischen Kirchen: Spanien, Gallien, Britannien und Irland". IV. Irland. In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1996: 938-986.

Pipkin, H. Wayne and John H. Yoder (eds.). *Balthasar Hubmaier. Theologian of Anabaptism.* Scottdale: Herald Press, 1989.

Podskalsky, G. "Nestorius". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 215-226.

Pörtner, Regina. "Die Gegenreformation in der Steiermark (Innerösterreich)". In: Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.). *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie.* Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007: 376-385.

Prien, Hans-Jürgen. *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Lateinamerika.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978.

Prinz, Friedrich. "Peregrinatio, Mönchtum und Mission". In: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters.* Erster Halbband. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978: 445-465.

Raedel, Christoph. *Methodistische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert. Der deutschsprachige Zweig der Bischöflichen Methodistenkirche.* Kirche – Konfession – Religion 47. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.

Rapp, Francis. *Christentum IV. Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (1378-1552).* Die Religionen der Menschheit 31. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006.

Ratschow, Carl Hein. "Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 121-155.

Raupp, Werner. "Plütschau, Heinrich, luth. Missionar". In: *Biographisch Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* VII. Herzberg: Bautz, 1994: 774-758.

Raupp, Werner. "Ziegenbalg, Bartholomäus". In: *Biographisch Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* XIV. Herzberg: Bautz, 1998: 452-461.

Reiling, Jannes. "Netherlands. The Union of Baptist Churches in the Netherlands". In: G Keith Parker (ed.). *Baptist in Europe. History and Confessions of Faith.* Nashville: Broadman, 1982: 81-87.

Rétat, Pierre. "Voltaire". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 221-235.

Rexer, Jochen and Volker Henning Drecoll. "Vita: wichtigste lebensgeschichtliche Daten". In: Volker Henning Drecoll (ed.). *Augustin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007: 36-49.

Řičan, Rudolf. *Die Böhmischen Brüder.* Berlin: Union-Verlag, 1961.

Richard, Jean. "Die orientalischen Kirchen Asiens und Afrikas". In: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 6. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991: 205-246.

Richard, Jean. "Die römische Kirche und die Nichtchristen außerhalb der Christenheit: Kreuzzüge und Missionierung". In: Michel Mollat du Jourdin and André Vauchez (eds.). *Die Zeit der Zerreißproben (1274-1449).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 6. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1991: 871-887.

Riché, Pierre. "Das Christentum im karolingischen Reich (Mitte 8. bis Ende 9. Jahrhunderts)". In: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.). *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 4. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 686-777.

Riché, Pierre. "Von Gregor dem Großen bis Pippin dem Jüngeren". In: Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché and André Vauchez (eds.). *Bischöfe, Mönche und Kaiser (642-1054).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 4. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1994: 604-685.

Richter, Julius. *Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika.* Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschichte 3. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1922.

Richter, Julius. *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient.* Allgemeine Evangelische Missionsgeschichte 2. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1930.

Riecker, Otto. *Ruf an alle. George Whitefield. Bahnbrecher der modernen Evangelisation und Erweckungsträger auf zwei Kontinenten.* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1962.

Riedemann, Peter. *Love is Like Fire. The Confession of an Anabaptist Prisoner. Written at Gmunden, Upper Austria between 1529 and 1532.* Translated and Edited by the Hutterian Brethren. Farmington: Plough Publishing House, 1993.

Riesner, Rainer. *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus. Studien zur Chronologie, Missionsstrategie und Theologie.* Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994.

Rist, Josef. "Gottesgeschenk oder Sündenfall? Realität und Mythos der sogenannten Konstantinischen Wende". In: Michael Fiedrowicz, Gerhard Krieger and Winfried Weber (eds.). *Konstantin der Große. Der Kaiser und die Christen. Die Christen und der Kaiser.* Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 2006: 31-67.

Ritter, A. M. "Arius". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 215-223.

Ritter, Adolf Martin (ed.) *Alte Kirche: Ausgewählt, übersetzt und kommentiert.* Kirchen und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen 1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, ⁶1994.

Ritter, Adolf Martin. "Dogma und Lehre in der Alten Kirche". *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte* 1. Ungekürzte Studienausgabe. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989: 99-283.

Ritter, Adolf Martin. "Klemens von Alexandrien". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1* Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 121-133.

Ritter, Adolf Martin and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Mittelalter*. Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen 2. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, ⁹2021.

Robeck Jr., Cecil M. and Amos Yong. *The Cambridge Companion to Pentecostalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Rödding, Gerhard. *Luther und Calvin. Briefe, die nie geschrieben wurden*. Neukirchen-Vlujn: Aussaat, 2008.

Roper, Lyndal. *Der Mensch Martin Luther. Die Biographie*. Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 2016.

Rosell, Garth M. *The Surprising Work of God. Harold Ockenga, Billy Graham, and the Rebirth of Evangelicalism.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2008.

Rott, Ludwig. *Die englischen Beziehungen der Erweckungsbewegung und die Anfänge des wesleyanischen Methodismus in Deutschland.* Frankfurt/Main: Studiengemeinschaft für Geschichte des Methodismus, 1968.

Rottenwöhrer, Gerhard. *Die Katharer. Was sie glaubten, wie sie lebten.* Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2007.

Rouse, Ruth and Stephen Charles Neill. *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948. London: SPCK,* ²1967.

Ruden, Erik. "Die Baptisten des Kontinents Europa". In: J. D. Hughey (ed.). *Die Baptisten.* Die Kirchen der Welt 2. Stuttgart: Evang. Verlagswerk, 1964: 166-185.

Ruhbach, Gerhard. "Allianz, Evangelische". In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ⁴1998: 317-318.

Ruhbach, Gerhard. "Euseb von Caesarea". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 224-235.

Ruhbach, Gerhard. "Konstantin der Große (ca. 272-337)". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 2.*Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1993: 1157-1158.

Runciman, Steve. *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge.* Gesamtausgabe in einem Band. Nachdruck. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983.

Rushbrooke, James Henry. *The Baptist Movement in the Continent of Europe: A Contribution to Modern History.* London: Carey Press and Kingsgate Press, 1915.

Rüttgardt, J.O. "Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von (1694/95-1755)". *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 2.* Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1993: 1378-1379.

Ryken, Leland. *Worldly Saints. The Puritans as They Really Were.* 6th Printing. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1995.

Salamito, Jean-Marie. "Christianisierung und Neuordnung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens". In: Charles Piétri and Luce Piétri (eds.). *Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 2. Freiburg, Basel and Vienan: Herder, 1996: 770-772.

Salomies, Ilmari. *Der Hallesche Pietismus in Russland zur Zeit Peters des Grossen.* Helsinki: o. V., 1936.

Sandberger, Jörg F. "David Friedrich Strauß". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit II*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 20-32.

Sandvoss, Ernst. "David Hume". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 207-220.

Saxer, Victor. "Das christliche Afrika". In: Luce Piétri (ed.). *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250)*. Die Geschichte des Christentums 1. Freiburg: Herder, 2003: 269-339.

Schaff, Philip and Henry Wallace. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second Series. Vol. 1. Eusebius: Church History, Life of Constantine the Great, Oration in Praise of Constantine.* New York: Cosimo, 2007.

Schatz, Klaus. *Allgemeine Konzilien – Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997.

Schäufele, Wolfgang. *Das missionarische Bewusstsein der Täufer*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche XXI. Neukirchen-Vlujn: Neukirchener, 1966.

Scheibelreiter, Georg. "Das Christentum in Spätantike und Mittelalter – von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit Friedrich III". In: Rudolf Leeb, Maximilian Liebmann, Georg Scheibelreiter and Peter G. Tropper (eds.) *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich*. Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003: 13-159.

Schicketanz, Peter. *Der Pietismus von 1675 bis 1800*. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/1. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt 2001.

Schilling, Heinz and Heribert Smolinsky (eds.). *Der Augsburger Religionsfrieden 1555*. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 206. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007.

Schirrmacher, Christine. *Der Islam. Geschichte – Lehre – Unterschiede zum Christentum*. vol. 1. Revised and updaten edistion. Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 2003.

Schlachta, Astrid von. "Menno Simons". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016: 231-238.

Schlachta, Astrid von. *Täufer. Von der Reformation ins 21. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: UTB Narr Francke Attempto, 2020.

Schleich, Thomas. "Konstantin der Große". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 214-189.

Schmidgall, Paul. *European Pentecostalism. Its Origins, Development, and Future*. Cleveland: CPT Press, 2013.

Schmidt, Gerhard. "René Descartes". In: Martin Greschat (ed.): *Die Aufklärung*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 77-87.

Schmidt, Heinrich Richard. *Konfessionalismus im 16. Jahrhundert*. Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte 12. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992.

Schmidt, Kurt Dietrich. *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ⁸1984.

Schmidt, Martin Anton. "Anselm von Canterbury". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 123-147.

Schmidt, Martin. "Erweckungsbewegung". In: *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956: 1135-1144.

Schmidt, Martin. "Speners 'Pia Desideria'. Versuch einer theologischen Interpretation". In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977: 113-166.

Schmidt, Martin. *Der Pietismus*. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, ³1983.

Schmitz, Otto (ed.). *Pietismus und Theologie. Beiträge zu ihrer Verständigung*. Neukirchen: Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1956.

Schnabel, Eckhard. *Early Christian Mission*. 2 vol. Downers Grove: IVP, 2004.

Schneider, Hans. "Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982: 347-372.

Schneider, Reinhard. "Karl der Große – politisches Sendungsbewußtsein und Mission". In: Knut Schäferdiek (ed.). *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*. Erster Halbband. Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1978: 227-248.

Schnelle, Udo. *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity. An Introduction to Its History, Literature, and Development*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academics, 2020.

Schnepel, Erich. *Christus im Römerreich. Der Weg der Gemeinde Jesu in den ersten vier Jahrhunderten*. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, ⁵1952.

Schnurr, Jan Carsten. "6.7. Erweckungsbewegung". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 615-625.

Scholder, Klaus. *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich 1. Vorgeschichte und Zeit der Illusionen 1918-1934*. Frankfurt, Berlin, Vienna: Ullstein and Propyläen, 1977.

Scholder, Klaus. *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich 2. Das Jahr der Ernüchterung 1934 – Barmen und Rom*. Berlin: Siedler, 1985.

Scholtz, Gunter. "Immanuel Kant". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die Aufklärung*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 327-346.

Schubert, Anselm. "Balthasar Hubmaier". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (ed.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016: 133-137.

Schubert, Anselm, Astrid von Schlachta and Michael Driedger (eds.). *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism. Neue Forschungen*. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 209. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009.

Schwaiger, Georg. "Albertus Magnus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 317-331.

Schwaiger, Georg. "Symmachus, Papst". in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 9. Freiburg, Basel, Rome and Vienna: Herder, ³2000: 1165-1167.

Schwarz, Berthold (ed.). *Martin Luther. Aus Liebe zur Wahrheit.* Dillenburg and Nuremberg: Christl. Verlagsgesellschaft and VTR, ²2017.

Schwarz, Martin. "The Early Reformation in Denmark and Norway 1520-1559". In: Ole Peter Grell (ed.). *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995: 12-41.

Schwarz, Reinhard (ed.). *Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772). Augsburger Pietismus zwischen Außenwirkungen und Binnenwelt.* Colloquia Augustana 4. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.

Schwarz, Reinhard. *Luther.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3I. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.

Scopello, Madeleine. "B. Gnostische Strömungen". In: Luce Piétri (ed.). *Die Zeit des Anfangs (bis 250).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 1. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 2003: 518-554.

Seebaß, Gottfried. *Die Reformation und ihre Außenseiter. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.

Seebaß, Gottfried. *Müntzers Erbe. Werk, Leben und Theologie des Hans Hut.* Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 73. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002.

Seibt, Ferdinand. "Jan Hus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 251-266.

Selderhuis, Herman J. "Guy de Brès". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon.* Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, ²2016: 59-64.

Selderhuis, Herman J. (ed.). *Calvin Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

Selderhuis, Herman J. *Johannes Calvin. Mensch zwischen Zuversicht und Zweifel.* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009.

Settgast, Ann-Charlotte. *Der Mann in Tranquebar. Ein Porträt des Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg.* Moers: Brendow, 1987.

Sierszyn, Armin. "Mein Herz dem Herrn zum Opfer. Eine kurze Einführung in Calvins Leben und Werk". In: Sven Grosse and Armin Sierszyn (eds.). *Johannes Calvin – Streiflichter auf den Menschen und Theologen. Vorträge und Tagungsbeiträge an der Staatsunabhängigen Theologischen Hochschule Basel zum Calvin-Jahr 2009.* Studien zu Theologie und Bibel. Vol. 5. Berlin and Vienna: LIT-Verlag, 2011: 9-38.

Sierszyn, Armin. *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte.* Witten: SCM Brockhaus, 2012.

Smend, Rudolf. "Gotthold Ephraim Lessing". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die Aufklärung.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 281-297.

Smolitsch, Igor. *Geschichte der Russischen Kirche 1700-1917.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964.

Smulders, P. "Hilarius von Pointiers". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1 Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 250-265.

Snape, Michael. "Narratives of Change: 8. The Great War". In: Hugh McLeod (ed.). *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 131-150.

Soboth, Christian and Pia Schmid (eds.). "*Die Schrift soll leserlich seyn". Der Pietismus und die Medien. Beiträge zum IV. Internationalen Kongress für Pietismusforschung, 2013.* 2 vol. Halle and Wiesbaden: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen and Harrassowitz, 2016.

Sommer, Wolfgang and Detlef Klahr. *Kirchengeschichtliches Repetitorium. Zwanzig Grundkapitel der Kirchen-, Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [5]2012.

Spener, Philipp Jakob. *Pia desideria. Umkehr in die Zukunft. Reformprogramm des Pietismus.* Neu bearb. von Erich Beyreuther. Giessen: Brunnen, [5]1995.

Spijker, Willem van't. *Calvin. Biografie und Theologie.* Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 3J2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.

Spinelli, Mario. "Gelasius, Päpste: Gelasius I". In: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 4. Freiburg, Basel, Rome and Vienna: Herder, [3]1995: 401-402.

Spinks, Bryan D. "The Growth of Liturgy and the Church Year". In: Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (eds.). *Constantine to c. 600.* The Cambridge History of Christianity 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2010: 601-617.

Staats, Reinhart. "Antonius". Martin Greschat (ed.). *Alte Kirche I. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 1.* Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1984: 236-249.

Stadtmuseum Münster (ed.). *Das Königreich der Täufer. Reformation und Herrschaft der Täufer in Münster (Vol. 1). Die Münsterischen Täufer im Spiegel der Nachwelt (Vol. 2).* Münster: Stadtmuseum, 2000.

Staehelin, Ernst. *Die Christentumsgesellschaft in der Zeit von der Erweckung bis zur Gegenwart. Texte aus Briefen, Protokollen, Publikationen.* 2 vol. Basel: F. Reinhardt Verlag, 1970-1974.

Stanley, Brian. *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism. The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott.* A History of Evangelicalism 5. Leicester: IVP, 2013.

Stark, Rodney. *Der Aufstieg des Christentums. Neue Erkenntnisse aus soziologischer Sicht.* Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1997.

Stark, Rodney. *Gottes Krieger. Die Kreuzzüge im neuen Licht.* 1st paperback ed. Berlin: Haffmans & Tolkemitt, 2014.

Stasiewski Bernhard. *Die Anfänge der Christianisierung Polens.* Forschungen zur Volkskunde. Heft 61. Münster: Verlagshaus Monsenstein & Vannendar, 2014.

Stayer, James M. "Balthasar Hubmaier. Der bedeutendste Theologe der Täufer". In: Hans-Jürgen Goertz (ed.). *Täufer. Anführer – Friedfertige – Märtyrer. Eine Galerie kleiner Porträts.* Bolanden-Weierhof: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 2021: 25-31.

Stayer, James M. "The Radical Reformation". In: Thomas A Brady, Heiko A. Obermann and James D. Tracy (eds.). *Handbook of European History, 1400-1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation. Visions, Programs, and Outcomes.* Leiden and Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill and Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996: 249-282.

Steck, Karl Gerhard. "Ferdinand Christian Baur". In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Die neueste Zeit I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 218-232.

Steward, Columba. "Der hl. Benedikt". In: Juan Maria Laboa, (ed.). *Atlas des Mönchtums*. License edition. Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007: 76-79.

Steward, Columba. "Die hl. Regel". In: Juan Maria Laboa, (ed.). *Atlas des Mönchtums*. License edition. Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007: 80-83.

Stievermann, Jan. "6.5 Methodismus". In: Wolfgang Breul (ed.). *Pietismus Handbuch.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021: 603-610.

Stievermann, Jan. "Christian Churches and Communities in North America to 1800". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 351-399.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. "Johann Arndt". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982: 37-49.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century*. Studies in the History of Religion XXIV. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.

Stoeffler, F. Ernest. *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism*. Studies in the History of Religions IX. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.

Stöve, Eckehart. "Kirchengeschichtsschreibung". In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* XVIII. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1989: 535-560.

Strahm, Herbert. *Dissentertum im Deutschland im 19. Jahrhunderts. Freikirchen und religiöse Sondergemeinschaften im Beziehungs- und Spannungsfeld von Staat und protestantischen Landeskirchen*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2016.

Streiff, Patrick. "XVI. Der Methodismus bis 1784/1791". In: Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (eds.). *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995: 617-665.

Strohm, Christoph. "Martin Bucer". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016: 65-73.

Strübind, Andrea and Martin Rothkegel (eds.). *Baptismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012.

Strübind, Andrea. *Die Unfreie Freikirche. Der Bund der Baptistengemeinden im "Dritten Reich"*. Wuppertal and Kassel: TVG Brockhaus and Oncken, 1995.

Strübind, Andrea. *Eifriger als Zwingli. Die frühe Täuferbewegung der Schweiz*. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2003.

Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 48. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2011.

Stunt, Timothy C. F. *From Awakening to Secession. Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain 1815-35.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.

Stürmer, Karl. *Konzilien und ökumenische Kirchenversammlungen. Abriß ihrer Geschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962.

Sunquist, Scott W. *The Unexpected Christian Century. The Renewal and Transformation of Global Christianity, 1900-2000. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015.*

Superintendentur Kärnten (ed.). *Die evangelische Kirche in Kärnten einst und heute*. Otto Bünker, Paul Pellar and Franz Reischer (editor). Klagenfurt: Kärntner Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1981.

Swarat, Uwe. "Das Werden des neutestamentlichen Kanons". Gerhard Maier (ed.) *Der Kanon der Bibel*. Giessen and Wuppertal: Brunnen and Brockhaus, 1990: 25-51.

Sweeney, Douglas A. and Brandon G. Winthrow. "Jonathan Edwards: Continuator or Pioneer of Evangelical History? In: Michael A. G. Haykin and Kenneth Stewart (eds). T*he Advent of Evangelicalism. Exploring Historical Continuities*. Leicester: IVP, 2008: 278-301.

Szücz, Ferenc. "The Reformation in Hungary and Its Relevance for Today". In: *FEET Newsletter*. (October 2017): 10-22.

Tellenbach, Gerd. *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch 2 and F1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.

Teschner, Klaus. "Lausanne II: Bericht über Schwerpunkte, Schwachpunkte und Zielpunkte des zweiten Kongresses für Weltevangelisation in Manila 1989". In: Horst Marquardt and Ulrich Parzany (eds.). *Evangelisation mit Leidenschaft. Berichte und Impulse vom II. Lausanner Kongress für Weltevangelisation in Manila*. Neukirchen-Vlujn: Aussaat, 1990: 11-34.

Thümmel, Hans Georg. *Die Kirche des Ostens im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert*. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/4. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1988.

Tidball, Derek J. *Reizwort evangelikal. Entwicklung eine Frömmigkeitsbewegung*. Stuttgart: Edition Anker, 1999.

Tiesmeyer, Ludwig. *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland während des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 1-4. Kassel: Verlag von Ernst Röttger, 1903-1910.

Tilley, Maureen A. "North Africa". In: Margaret M. Mitchell and France M. Young (eds). *Origins to Constantine. The Cambridge History of Christianity 1.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008: 381-396.

Treloar, Geoffrey R. *The Disruption of Evangelicalism. The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond*. A History of Evangelicalism 4. Leicester: IVP, 2016.

Trevett, Christine. "Asia Minor and Achea". In: Margaret M. Mitchell and France M. Young (eds.). *Origins to Constantine. The Cambridge History of Christianity 1.* by Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [2]2008: 314-329.

Trillhaas, Wolfgang. "Albrecht Ritschl". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit II*, Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 180-195.

Trimingham, J. Spencer. *Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, London and Beirut: Longman Group Ltd. and Librairie du Liban, 1979.

Troeger, Eberhard. *Kirche und Mission in Syrien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 2020.

Tröger, Karl-Wolfgang. *Das Christentum im zweiten Jahrhundert*. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/2. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 1988.

Tropper, Christine. "Geheimprotestantismus in Kärnten". In: Rudolf Leeb, Martin Scheutz and Dietmar Weikl (eds.). *Geheimprotestantismus und evangelische Kirchen*

Venard, Marc. "Das Europa der Renaissance". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 497-520.

Venard, Marc. "Die katholische Kirche". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Von der Reform zur Reformation (1450-1530).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 7. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1995: 239-308.

Venard, Marc. "Frankreich und die Niederlande". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 8. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992: 447-523.

Vicaire, M.-H. "Dominikus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 267-281.

Viny, Valdo. "Waldes". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 3. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 238-248.

Vogler, Berhnhard. "Die deutschen, schweizerischen und skandinavischen Gebiete". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/50).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 8. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1992: 391-446.

Vogler, Bernard. "Die Kirchen der Reformation: Das Luthertum". In: Marc Venard (ed.). *Das Zeitalter der Vernunft (1620/30-1750).* Die Geschichte des Christentums 9. Freiburg, Basel and Vienna: Herder, 1998: 411-420.

Vogler, Günter. *Die Täuferherrschaft in Münster und die Reichsstände. Die politische, religiöse und militärische Dimension eines Konflikts in den Jahren 1534 bis 1536.* Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 88. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014.

Vogler, Günter. *Europas Aufbruch in die Neuzeit* 1500-1650. Handbuch der Geschichte Europas 5. Stuttgart: UTB Ulmer, 2003.

Vogt, Hermann Josef. "Konstantin und die Konzilien". In: Michael Fiedrowicz, Gerhard Krieger and Winfried Weber (eds.). *Konstantin der Große. Der Kaiser und die Christen. Die Christen und der Kaiser.* Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 2006: 97-137.

Voigt, Karl Heinz. "'Menschenrecht, Religionsfreiheit'. Thema der Internationalen Evangelischen Allianz und des Deutschen Kirchentags in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts". In: Karl Heinz Voigt and Thomas Schirrmacher (eds.). *Menschenrechte und Minderheiten in Deutschland und Europa. Vom Einsatz für Religionsfreiheit durch die Evangelische Allianz und die Freikirchen im 19. Jahrhundert.* idea-Dokumentation 3/2004. Bonn and Wetzlar: VKW and idea, 2004: 37-73.

Voigt, Karl Heinz. *Die Heiligungsbewegung zwischen Methodistischer Kirche und Landeskirchlicher Gemeinschaft. Die 'Triumphreise' Robert Pearsall Smith und ihre Auswirkungen auf die zwischenkirchlichen Beziehungen.* Wuppertal: TVG Brockhaus, 1996.

Voigt, Karl Heinz. *Freikirchen in Deutschland (19. und 20. Jahrhundert).* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/6. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2004.

Volp, Rainer. *Liturgik. Die Kunst, Gott zu feiern 1: Einführung und Geschichte.* Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1992.

Wallmann, Johannes. "Das Collegium Pietatis". In: Martin Greschat (ed.), *Zur neueren Pietismusforschung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1977: 167-223.

Wallmann, Johannes. "Labadismus und Pietismus. Die Einflüsse des niederländischen Pietismus auf die Entstehung des Pietismus in Deutschland. In: J. van Berg and H. O. van Dooren (eds.). *Pietismus und Reveil. Referate der internationalen Tagung: der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und seine internationalen Beziehungen. Zeist 18.-22. Juni 1974*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978: 141-168.

Wallmann, Johannes. "Philipp Jakob Spener". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 7. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1982: 205-223.

Wallmann, Johannes. "´Pietismusforschung. Gesamt- und übergreifende Darstellungen und Aufsatzbände". In: *Theologische Rundschau* 76 (2011): 222-254 u. 296-322.

Wallmann, Johannes. *Der Pietismus*. Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 4O1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990.

Wallmann, Johannes. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*. UTB Mohr Siebeck, ²1985.

Wallmann, Johannes. *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, ²1986.

Walsh, Michael. "The Religious Ferment of the Sixties". In: Hugh McLeod (ed.). *World Christianities c. 1914-c. 2000*. The Cambridge History of Christianity 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 304-322.

Ward, Kevin. "Christianity in Africa, 1500-1800". In: Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm (eds.). *History of Global Christianity 1. European and Global Christianity, 1550-1789,* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021: 129-147.

Ward, Reginald. *Kirchengeschichte Großbritanniens vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen III/7. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, 2000.

Ward, W. R. "Evangelical Awakenings in the North Atlantic World". In: Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett (eds.). *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815*. The Cambridge History of Christianity VIII. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006: 329-347.

Ward, W. R. "John Wesley". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit I*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.1. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 43-58.

Ward, W. R. "William Booth. In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Die neueste Zeit II*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 9.2. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1985: 233-243.

Ward, W. R. *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648-1789*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Ward, W. R. *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*. Repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Ward, William R. "'An Awakened Christianity'. The Austrian Protestants and Their Neighbours in the Eighteenth Century". In: *Journal Ecclesiastical History* 40.1 (1989): 53-73.

Weigelt, Horst. "A. Die Allgäuer katholische Erweckungsbewegung". In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.). *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 87-111.

Weigelt, Horst. "B. Die Diasporaarbeit der der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert und die Wirksamkeit der Deutschen Christentumsgesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert". In: Ulrich Gäbler (ed.). *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000: 113-149.

Weigelt, Horst. "Joh. Aug. Urlsperger und seine Auseinandersetzung mit der Aufklärungstheologie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Spätpietismus". J. van Berg and H. O. van Dooren (eds.). *Pietismus und Reveil. Referate der internationalen Tagung: der Pietismus in den Niederlanden und seine internationalen Beziehungen. Zeist 18.-22. Juni 1974.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978:237-252.

Weigelt, Horst. "Johann August Urlsperger und die Anfänge der Christentumsgesellschaft". In: *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 7 (1982): 52-68.

Weigelt, Horst. "XVIII. Der Pietismus im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert". In: Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (eds.). *Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert.* Geschichte des Pietismus 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995: 701-754.

Weigelt, Horst. *Geschichte des Pietismus in Bayern. Anfänge – Entwicklung – Bedeutung.* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 40. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.

Weigelt, Horst. *Johann Kaspar Lavater. Leben, Werk und Wirkung.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.

Weigelt, Horst. *Lavater und die Stillen im Lande. Die Beziehungen Lavaters zu Frömmigkeitsbewegungen im 18. Jahrhundert.* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 25. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.

Wendland, Walter. "Erweckungsbewegung im 19. Jhd.". In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, [2]1928: 299-304.

Wengst, Klaus. *Didache (Apostellehre). Barnabasbrief. Zweiter Klemensbrief. Schrift an Diognet. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert.* Schriften des Urchristentums 2. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1984.

Werner, Hans-Joachim. "Johannes Duns Scotus". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Mittelalter II.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 4. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlhammer, 1983: 73-91.

Werner, Roland. *Das Christentum in Nubien. Geschichte und Gestalt einer afrikanischen Kirche.* Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 48. Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2011.

Westin, Gunnar. *Geschichte des Freikirchentums. Der Weg der freien Gemeinden durch die Jahrhunderte.* Kassel: Oncken, [2]1958.

Wetzel, Klaus. "Das aktuelle Bild der Christenheit nach der neuesten Ausgabe der World Christian Encyclopedia (Teil 1)". In: *evangelische missiologie* 37.2 (2021): 72-87.

Wetzel, Klaus. "Das aktuelle Bild der Christenheit nach der neuesten Ausgabe der World Christian Encyclopedia (Teil 2)". In: *evangelische missiologie* 37.3 (2021): 124-153.

Wetzel, Klaus. *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Kompendium*. Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 2019.

Wetzel, Klaus. *Die Geschichte der christlichen Mission. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Ein Kompendium*, Giessen: Brunnen, 2019.

Wetzel, Klaus. *Kirchengeschichte Asiens*. Korntaler Reihe 8. Nuremberg: VTR, ²2010.

Wetzel, Klaus. *Wie handelt Gott in der Geschichte?* Giessen: TVG Brunnen, 1984.

Weyel, Hartmut. "Friedrich Wilhelm Baedeker (1823–1906)". In: Wolfgang Heinrichs, Michael Schröder and Hartmut Weyel. Zukunft braucht Herkunft. Biografische Porträts aus der Geschichte und Vorgeschichte Freier evangelischer Gemeinden 2. Witten: Bundes-Verlag, 2010: 11-22.

Weyel, Hartmut. *Evangelisch und frei. Geschichte des Bundes Freier evangelischer Gemeinden in Deutschland.* Geschichte und Theologie der Freien evangelischen Gemeinden 5/6. Witten: SCM Bundes Verlag, 2013.

Wick, Peter. *Die urchristlichen Gottesdienste. Entstehung und Entwicklung im Rahmen der frühjüdischen Tempel-, Synagogen- und Hausfrömmigkeit.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2003.

Williams, George Huntston. *The Radical Reformation.* 3ʳᵈ Edition. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2000.

Wilmshurst, David. *The Martyred Church. A History of the Church of the East.* London: East & West Publishing Ltd, 2011.

Windhorst, Christof. "Balthasar Hubmaier". In: Martin Greschat (ed.). *Reformationszeit I.* Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 5. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: W. Kohlham, 1981: 217-231.

Windhorst, Christof. *Täuferische Taufverständnis. Balthasar Hubmaiers Lehre zwischen traditioneller und reformatorischer Theologie.* Leiden et al.: Brill, 1976.

Winkelbauer, Thomas. *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter.* Teil 2. Österreichische Geschichte. Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2004.

Winkelmann, Friedhelm. *Die Kirchen im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (11.-13. Jahrhundert).* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/10. Leipzig: Evang. Verlagsanstalt,1994.

Winkelmann, Friedhelm. *Die östlichen Kirchen in der Epoche der christologischen Auseinandersetzungen (5. bis 7. Jahrhundert).* Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen I/6. Berlin: Evang. Verlagsanstalt, ²1983.

Witherington III, Ben. *Women in the Earliest Churches.* Reprinted. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Wohlfeil, Rainer. *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Reformation.* Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982.

Wolffe, John. *The Expansion of Christianity. The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney.* A History of Evangelicalism 2. Leicester: IVP, 2006.

Wolgast, Eike. "Thomas Müntzer". In: Irene Dingel and Volker Leppin (eds.). *Das Reformatorenlexikon*. Darmstadt: Lambert Schneider, [2]2016: 174-182.

Wolgast, Eike. *Thomas Müntzer. Ein Verstörer der Ungläubigen*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1988.

Wünsche, Matthias. *Der Ausgang der urchristlichen Prophetie in der frühkatholischen Kirche. Untersuchungen zu den Apostolischen Vätern, den Apologeten, Irenäus von Lyon und dem antimontanistischen Anonymus*. Calwer Theologische Monographien Reihe B: Systematische Theologie und Kirchengeschichte 14. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1997.

Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1977.

Yeòr, Bat. *Der Niedergang des orientalischen Christentums unter dem Islam. 7.-20. Jahrhundert. Zwischen Dschihad und Dhimmitude*. Gräfelfing: Resch-Verlag, [2]2005.

Zahn, Theodor. *Grundriß der Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, [3]1985.

Zahrnt, Heinz (ed.). *Gespräch über Gott. Die protestantische Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Textbuch*. Munich: Piper, 1968.

Zeller, Dieter (ed.). *Christentum I. Von den Anfängen bis zur Konstantinischen Wende*. Die Religionen der Menschheit 28. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2002.

Zimmerling, P. "Charismatische Bewegung". In: *Evangelisches Lexikon für Theologie und Gemeinde* 1. Holzgerlingen, [2]2017: 1199-1203.

Zimmerling, Peter. *Die charismatischen Bewegungen. Theologie, Spiritualität, Anstöße zum Gespräch*. Kirche – Konfession – Religion 42. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001.

Zimmerling, Peter. *Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine. Geschichte, Spiritualität, Theologie*. Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 1999.

Zopfi, Jakob. *...auf alles Fleisch. Geschichte und Auftrag der Pfingstbewegung*. Kreuzlingen: Dynamis, 1985.

Zschoch, Hellmut. *Die Christenheit im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*. Göttingen: UTB Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.

Zulehner, Paul M. and Regina Polak. *Religion – Kirche – Spiritualität in Österreich nach 1945. Befund, Kritik, Perspektive*. Innsbruck et al: StudienVerlag, 2006.

Zurlo, Gina A., Todd M. Johnson and Peter F. Crossing. "World Christianity and Mission 2020: Ongoing Shift to the Global South". In: *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 44.1 (2020): 8-20.

The Christian faith is a historical faith. In the Old Testament in particular, entire books recount God's story in the history of his people. But God did not only work in biblical times. He has been building his church since Pentecost. While the early centres of Christianity were mainly in the Middle East and the Mediterranean region, the Christian message quickly spread to Asia and North Africa and later to Europe. Today, the vibrant church in the Global South is growing rapidly as the global centre of the church shifts towards the majority world. Throughout this book, the global spread of Christianity is explored alongside the history of the Evangelical movement.

Rev. Dr. Frank Hinkelmann is Professor at the Doctoral School of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Aurel Vlaicu University of Arad, Romania. He is also the Principal of Martin Bucer Seminary, a German based evangelical seminary.

For many years, Frank served in several leadership functions with Operation Mobilisation.

He is a passionate church historian, and his research focusses on the study of European evangelicalism. In addition to his academic work, Frank serves as vice chair on the International Council of the *World Evangelical Alliance* (WEA) and on the board of the *European Council for Theological Education* (ECTE). He is the author of several books.

MARTIN BUCER SEMINAR EPH 4:12

9 783862 693030

9 783902 669599