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“Reformation Revisited - Women on the wheel” or “In the footsteps of women”

Should we care about women of the Reformation? Did women play any significant role in the Reformation and its legacy? The answer is Yes! We are very fortunate today to have access to a steadily increasing amount of information on

Reformation women: we know about women by name, about their works and their actions; we can study their voice and experience, and we can learn from them as mothers of faith. This is thanks to the creative and pioneering archival research of many scholars who have devoted their time for finding clues, leads and materials (regardless of perhaps unsolicited warnings of a “career suicide” for choosing such a “lesser” topic, when one could enjoy the company of the good old staples like Aquinas, Augustine, Luther, and other much revered teachers of Christian faith).

The data on women allows us to move forward and to correct our faulty perception of the Reformation past, which has everything to do with the Reformation’s future.ⁱ

Inclusivity is paramount to the future of the Reformation tradition. This means that we include women in the task of interpretation, as both subjects and objects in the Christian story with essential perspectives to offer, and thus build a foundation of women’s voices going back to the Reformation century and beyond, to track down

Stjerna

our mothers' footsteps and finger prints - just like we have built a tradition with our church fathers. Women of the Reformation give us stones with different shapes that promise to alter the landscape of the Reformation and the tracks of its scholarship.

A kind of a Tsunami is ahead of us, the Reformation of reformations, when in the world of research the principle of equality is thoroughly applied and - enter the women! We can expect a major rewriting of Reformation history with women in the main picture and with their horizons coloring the panorama. The contribution of women does not belong in footnotes or specialty articles only. Could you imagine your family album without our mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters, daughters, or if the women's pictures were stacked away in the forgotten back-pockets of the album? Of course not.

Speaking of pictures, on the screen we have a *Gallery of the Reformation Women*. These are some of the women with whom I've had the pleasure to work. We will return to some of them in more detail.

II Reformation women and their writing as lay theologians

Women of the Reformation century are not known for their scholastic treatises and textbooks, or from their preaching; the systems in place would not have tolerated that in any way. The “rules” in place for Protestant women were geared towards “domestication” of women. Forbidden from the preaching office and from academia, and with the convents closed, women were to find their place and satisfaction in the now newly glorified roles of wife and mother.

After all, our reformation theologians, generally speaking, saw the rationale for the creation of Adam’s rib to be his helpmate and procreation partner. Otherwise, why would there be two sexes? (Our church fathers actually wondered about these things).

Even if considering “conventionally” women’s purpose and realm in the world, on a par with the medieval church’s teaching, protestant Reformers strikingly emphasized the spiritual equality between sexes; this would show clearly in the resurrection where there would be no male or female, and also in the realization of the new take on Christian vocation: in the priesthood of all believers, and in their baptism, all Christians were considered equal in Christ. If only that idea had translated into practice in real life: in Luther’s world, women remained

institutionally subjected to the authority of their husbands and male pastors, whose duty it was to care for the “weaker” link, as women were traditionally seen by theologians.)ⁱⁱ In a world ordered with patriarchal values, women’s education – now a new opportunity for girls outside the convents – was geared to nurture women for their future domestic roles. “Amazons”, that is, learned independent women, made men nervous and were suspected of sexual unchastity. Women were not to aspire for higher learning, nor were Protestant women to seek the path of a mystic or a visionary, unlike their visionary medieval foremothers who had produced an abundance of theological texts. (Women and books have historically posed a dilemma for Christian men, beginning from the nearly writing out of women from the earliest canonical Christian texts, regardless of their contributions from the very beginning.)

It (supposed to be) clear and simple: Protestant women were to enter the noble calling of motherhood, which was as glorious as that of the priests and bishops. It was in this role, however, that women would emerge as leaders and teachers and ministers – as church mothers, some explicitly calling themselves as such. Some of the women whose texts have survived appear as down-right feminists: women sometimes articulated their rights and interests as “women” specifically, and they demonstrated a distinct sense of sisterhood, with awareness of other women’s

situations and concern for one another. They also understood the written and unwritten gender-specific rules that shaped their options and strategies. This becomes clear when looking at women's genre options.

Right from the beginning, women mostly wrote letters – both private ones and others meant for publication. In addition, they prepared guidebooks or manuals for their children and family; they crafted songs or hymns and poems, and they were keen on biblical interpretation. Often women's works included autobiographical elements. Letters were the most efficient and diverse tool to advise, console, defend, teach, urge, admonish, reminiscence, record events, interpret scripture, and mediate. Letters were the women's systematic theologies and church histories and biblical exegesis. They were hardly ever “just” letters. Most importantly, they could be published. These letters are a goldmine for us.

Here are some examples of such letters from Olimpia Morata, Marie Dentiere, Elisabeth von Braunschweig and Jeanne d'Albret:

Olimpia Morata (1526/27-1555) was a highly educated Calvinist scholar from Ferrara, Italy. She used letters to support her sisters, and she wrote to women about the importance of education and devotion. She also wrote letters to scholars in Italy

and Germany to facilitate translation of Reformation works into her native tongue, Italian. (In her letters she urged her old friend Anna of Guise in France – daughter of Renée of France in Ferrara and married to one of the arch-catholic families in France - about the responsibility of the ruler to take risks in defending those persecuted for their evangelical faith, in her case the Huguenots.)ⁱⁱⁱ

Marie Dentière (1495-1561) from Geneva was a married ex-nun and a distant associate of Jean Calvin. She wrote a letter to Queen Marguerite de Navarre of France – her daughter’s godmother - to chronicle what had happened with Calvin’s arrival and expulsion in Geneva. She included in her work an explosive “defense of women” and their rights in the church. Not coincidentally, the whole letter was “forgotten” and when discovered, the piece on defense of women had been intentionally cut out.^{iv}

Lady Elisabeth von Braunschweig (1510-1558), duchess of Lüneburg and Calenberg, grand-daughter of a Danish princess, wrote a letter to her subjects to advise them as their “mother” about the new Lutheran faith she was about to instill. As a widow, ruling as regent for her underage son, she used the powers she had: In her “Sendbrief” letter, she introduced to her land the Augsburg Confession (1530) and sponsored a new Lutheran church order to be followed. As she spelled out her

Reformation plans (following the reforms in Wittenberg), her motto was that “One should obey God, the emperor and their mother!” The latter was an important expectation in the case of her son who would rebel (not just in private but under the public eye – he turned Catholic, temporarily, before returning to the faith of his mother).^v

Jeanne d’Albret and *Marguerite de Navarre*, and *Renée of France in Ferrara* were three noble French ladies, all related to the King of France, and all supporters of Calvin’s reforms. In their correspondence, the women supported one another and other women, and also dialogued with Jean Calvin – the superstar of the Reformation who delegated noble women in high places to promote the Protestant faith in distant corners of Europe. Also, in their correspondence these royal women expressed their personal faith commitments – sometimes hiding it from the world for the purposes of survival - and they used their authority, connections and savvy to sway, solicit, and support as they saw fit in order to benefit the Protestant cause.

We have intriguing letters from e.g. *Renée of France*, or Renata di Ferrara, to Calvin and vice versa. In these letters we learn about Calvin’s clandestine visit to Ferrara, about the dangers Renée encountered with the Jesuits in her castle and when persecuted by her own Catholic husband, and of the measures she took to

protect the persecuted Huguenots, and to stay alive herself. While in public she professed the Catholic faith, under significant pressure from her husband, but in her testament she revealed her Calvinist faith. She was buried with a Protestant ceremony.^{vi}

Jeanne d'Albret is one of the most fascinating Reformation women: The niece of the French King, daughter of Marguerite de Navarre, showed her spunk at the early age of 14, when for political reasons she was forcibly married to Charles of Cleves from Germany. She resisted and kicked and screamed when she was carried to the altar, in addition to writing letters to the pope. She demanded the annulment of her marriage. That actually did happen just few years later, after the marriage of a French princess to the German Cleves family had lost its political benefit for the throne (and since the marriage had never been consummated), Jeanne happily remarried another man, Anthony de Bourbon, whom she passionately loved. Jeanne became the leader and supporter of the fighting Huguenots. To specific, she opened her castle to the Huguenots, wrote manifestos and even rode into the battlefields. Jeanne's and Anthony's son subsequently rose to the throne in France in his time as King Henry IV and bring peace to war-torn France. The price for the peace was the King's conversion to Catholic faith. That, in addition to Henry

marrying a Catholic lady, was a painful blow to Jeanne who had taken great risks to promote and protect Protestant faith.^{vii}

IV The bestselling female theologians and their letters

The most remarkable examples of powerful letter writing come from two bestselling lay authors: Argula von Grumbach *and* Katharina Schütz Zell.

Argula von Grumbach: Defending Lutheran “heresy”

Argula von Grumbach (1492?-1563?) from Bavaria, Germany, became famous when she began a letter campaign against the Catholic University faculty in Ingolstadt in defense of a young student accused of Lutheran heresy. Arcasius Seehofer had come home from Wittenberg with some Luther-literature in his bags. If found guilty of heresy, he could face death penalty. Argula, a lady with young children, was the only one defending the boy in public against what she considered plain cruelty and injustice.^{viii}

She had read her Luther – all of it in German, she boasted – and she could discern heresy. In the case of Luther and Arsacius, there was no heresy, in her opinion.

Argula had read not only Luther but her Bible, she could read it for herself and demanded that the university faculty to show her, from the scripture and in writing,

where the problem was. She wrote: “I beseech you for the sake of God, and exhort you by God’s judgment and righteousness, to tell me in writing which of the articles written by Martin or Melanchthon you consider heretical. In German not a single one seems heretical to me. And the fact is that a great deal has been published in German, and I’ve read it all. . . .” Furthermore, “I have always wanted to find out the truth. . . . I don’t intend to bury my talent, if the Lord gives me grace.”^{ix}

Argula deemed it an urgent matter to fight against injustice and persecution of an innocent youth. The boy avoided death penalty, but was shipped to a monastery far away, and the debate Argula wanted never took place. She continued her letter campaign and the faculty was rather irritated. We have records of correspondence of men wondering if they should cut Argula’s finger off or ask her husband to strangle her. In the end, she received an anonymous slandering poem from a student, while the university faculty simply dismissed her as a desperate “bitch”. They penalized Argula through her husband who, after losing his position, engaged in some form of domestic abuse. (In Argula’s words, her husband was persecuting the Christ in her.) Her second husband was more favorably inclined towards the Protestant faith, but even he ended up leaving Argula. Undeterred, Argula continued her letter campaign and between 1523-1524 she was a best-selling lay

author in Germany.^x She eventually disappeared, perhaps due to pressures put on her and her family – she had little children to nurture and raise. Rumors state that she continued to speak and even preach and help build new Protestant churches in the neighboring areas. There were plans to silence the “diabolic”, “wrinkly woman”.

What can we learn about Argula’s theology and faith from her letters?

As a Protestant writer, Argula argued about and with the Word. Her authorization (in addition to her prominent “von Sauff” status) arose from the Bible she knew thoroughly and her ultimate concern was its proper interpretation. First of all, she explicitly defended Protestant theology and teachers: “What do Luther or Melanchthon teach you but the word of God? You condemn them without having refuted them For my part, I have to confess, in the name of God and my soul’s salvation, that if I were to deny Luther and Melanchthon’s writing I would be denying God and his word...”^{xi} The issue at stake was the integrity of God’s own Word, the source of truth, as she understood it.

Lady Argula was consciously writing as a woman, but first and foremost, as a Christian theologian who in the priesthood of all believers embraced the ultimate primacy of the Scripture. “What I have written to you is no woman's chit-chat, but

the word of God; and (I write) as a member of the Christian Church, against which the gates of Hell cannot prevail . . . ”^{xii} It is from the scriptural foundation and her conviction that Christian faith calls to confess, that she quite boldly broke free from the confines set for women in her time, giving a feminist scare to those whose attention she wished to grab: “Yes, and whereas I have written on my own, a hundred women would emerge to write against them. For there are many who are able and better read than I am; as a result they might well come to be called ‘a school for women’ We have to confess publicly”^{xiii} Luther deemed the Bavarian lady a brave instrument of Christ, a true and exemplary confessor of faith.^{xiv}

Important theological themes for Argula were the characteristic Lutheran convictions: Salvation is not earned but received as a gift of faith. Salvation is based on Christ’s work. The Holy Spirit is active and present even beyond institutional church structures, thus as if “blowing” authorization to proclaim in unexpected places. Most uniquely, perhaps, Argula focused on a topic of utmost theological importance: justice and Christian freedom. To her, theology was best used not for minute articulation of doctrinal divides but for compassion and defending the vulnerable. She confessed with passion: “I am prepared to lose everything – even life and limb. May God stand by me! Of myself I can do nothing

but sin.” She could not do otherwise as she felt compelled by God calling: “I had intended to keep my writing private; now I see that God wishes to have it made public. That I am now abused for this is a good indication that it is of God”^{xv}

Katharina Schütz Zell

Defending Protestant reforms of marriage

Katharina Schütz Zell (1498-62), a pastor’s wife from Strasbourg, wrote with similar compassionate confidence and developed a distinct theological voice through several treatises that made her one of the most published women in her century.^{xvi} Looking back, she wrote: “Since then the Lord drew me from my mother’s womb and taught me from my youth, I have diligently busied myself with His church and its household affairs, working gladly and constantly.” She was lucky in the marital department: “My devout husband too was very heartily glad to allow this; and he also loved me very much for it.”^{xvii}

Katharina’s Protestant theological perspectives matured during her marriage to the newly protestant pastor Mathew Zell in Strasburg. She had deliberately married with a strong sense of calling to the office of a “church mother” (her own term): she ministered to the people through different venues, through hospitality in her own house, hosting ecumenical table discussions between different confessional parties, caring for the sick and the imprisoned, and offering refuge and shelter and

a word of comfort for all in need, without discrimination. She used letters to offer consolation and advice, to defend Protestant changes, and to critique both Catholics and fellow-Protestants when needed, in addition to sharing abundantly from her biblical interpretation. She even preached and officiated at funerals in the final days of her life. Death prevented her from suffering the otherwise inevitable punishment for these “transgressions.”

Katharina’s first text (not the first published, though) was a highly polemical defense of clergy marriage in general, and her own in particular – and of the goodness of marriage in the first place. (A similarly important confessional text comes from the aging Katharina who wished to remind her beloved Strasburgians of the earlier generations’ ecumenical orientation and to caution them against the rigid and divisive confessionalism of the newer hot-headed generation.) Christian love-based fellowship should overcome doctrinal, or personal, disputes.

Katharina’s theology was infused and oriented with her (well demonstrated) gift of compassion, and with some originality in her biblical interpretation and application of Protestant theology.

Katharina wrote distinctly with compassion: texts with a strong pastoral care emphasis, catechetical orientation, and always, with robust biblical interpretation

and autobiographical themes. Last but not least, she provided a lasting tool for her dear citizens of Strasburg in a hymn book. (The hymnal, built on the first edition of the Bohemian Brethren's hymns, was the first of its kind published in German.) With an expansive and inclusive vision for lay theology, she wrote: "I found such an understanding of the work of God in this songbook that I want all people to understand it. Indeed, I ought much rather to call it a teaching, prayer, and praise book than a songbook. However, the little word 'song' is well and properly spoken, for the greatest praise of God is expressed in song".^{xviii}

Power of the compassionate word

Both writers Argula and Katharina most obviously acted with the principle of "sola scriptura". Therein lay their empowerment and call to intervene when they saw the gospel in jeopardy.^{xxix} Both theologians wrote on the basis of their personal transformative experience of Christ's redeeming work at some point in their life, and by the scriptures. They were unabashedly Protestant in their proclamation of the doctrine of justification by grace and by faith alone, and applied that in their lives. (E.g. Katharina Schütz Zell wrote in her explanation of the Lord's Prayer that "the basic source of consolation for sick souls is true teaching; that Christians are made right with God solely by Christ's grace").^{xx}

Both Katharina and Argula “lived out” their understanding of their call as those baptized into the priesthood of all believers, and they took significant risks in that calling in the service of God’s word. A significant stimulus for both of them to reinterpret Scripture and re-prioritize was their particular compassionate theological lens that compelled them to act against the injustice and violence they witnessed. As Argula chastized the professors of Ingolstadt (“How in God’s name can you and your university expect to prevail, when you deploy such foolish violence against the word of God”. . .), she wrote: “I am compelled as a Christian to write to you.”^{xxi} Katharina Schütz Zell explained similarly: “Thus I cannot excuse myself and persuade my conscience that I should be silent. . . . Yes, just as the commandment to love my neighbor does not allow me to excuse myself from acting, so also I cannot excuse myself for the following reason. That is, it is proper to (and part of) being a Christian to suffer, but it is not at all proper for him to be silent.” She wished to live by the principle of forgiveness: “I forgive all people as I believe God also forgives me”.^{xxii} Katharina, like Argula, believed that the freedom of conscience promised in the gospel called Christians to overlook doctrinal and confessional differences, and personal disputes, and focus rather on eradicating injustice. (This said, the ladies were not “saints” by any means but had their own issues and a wicked tongue!)

These “women concerned” wrote theology as “church mothers, with a biblical stimulus and a theological vision that compelled them to not just speak but to care for others whom they felt responsible for as Christians (Protestants).^{xxiii} Katharina lost her infants to death but devoted her maternal care for the whole city of Strasbourg filled with her spiritual children. (She wrote, “Since I was ten years old I have been a church mother (7), a nurturer of the pulpit and school.”) Motherhood “expressed” in the service of the people of the church became her entrance to the world of theology and church leadership and ecumenical ministry.^{xxiv} It is quite fantastic how motherhood (so strongly promoted by Reformers as a nearly-exclusive vocation for women) was interpreted by women in their own lives drastically more expansively as the very calling that could draw them into the world to take care of business where men seemed to be failing (such as finding theological concord, prioritizing Christian charity over doctrinal disputes, and focusing on issues that urgently mattered, most importantly human suffering).

V Concluding thoughts

Does the study of these women and the Reformation have any theological importance? I hope the women encountered today have made a convincing case.

Let me continue with them with a few observations.

(i) We gain from the study of women an indispensable reality check for how successful the Reformation was after all, from the perspective of “normal” people (vs school theologians who do not represent the majority normal experience). The women can reveal to us some of the failures or downsides of the changes that occurred in religious life and in society as a result of the Reformation. Through women we can also assess the integrity and effectiveness of the Christian proclamation message with the Reformation emphasis.

The principles to be highlighted include three in particular: 1) Equality in the basic human experience as a sinner in need of God’s grace, and in receiving forgiveness, justification and new life, as a gift, in faith, because of Christ; and with this, the unilateral call to love one another and proclaim God’s love. 2) Inclusivity in the invitation to baptism and into the life of the Church that is for sinners and saints, men and women, with no distinctions between persons. 3) Christian life transformed, guided by love of the other and fueled by a transformative experience of forgiveness with origins in God’s love. In other words, equality, inclusivity, and spirituality or spiritual theology – these are Reformation concerns, and these are recurring themes in women’s faith stories.

ii) Women theologians of the 16th century add to our understanding of gender and genderedness – how we understand humanness and ourselves as men and women.

They offer reasons to analyze s.c theological anthropology of the Reformation era

and its lingering influence today. The writing women offer their perspectives on basic theological loci/ notions, such as sin, grace, love and justification, the sacraments, and human beings' relation to God and to one another. They offer a vision for what the church, being a Christian, and the Christian mission can entail. Perhaps most importantly, they present alternate ways of interpreting the scripture and the church's tradition, from their life-experiences and in their situations, and always to boldly promote changes, that is, Reformation, against quite formidable odds – and always from the standpoint of compassion.

(iii) Especially in light of our current events and debates, the women invite us to revisit the Reformation teaching of marriage: what really changed, and as a result, how do we understand marriage today and to whom it belongs, and what are its blessings and boundaries? In a related vein, how do we understand divorce and single life as good options for women and from women's preferences – something that was not in the equation when 16th century men deliberated on these matters.^{xxv}

(iv) Related to teachings on marriage, the elevation of motherhood had clearly a positive impact on many women's lives –especially for those eager or able to have babies. Also, motherhood gained theological prominence in the hands of Martin Luther, who saw it the most blessed event in human life and with God's hand at work. Then there is the other side to the story: We know from the battles of many a

convent woman that the Protestant teaching of the bliss of marriage did not entice every woman. For some, non-married life was the best!^{xxvi}

(v) We can appreciate the bind in which women found themselves: outside the convents, opportunities were quite limited for independence, higher learning, and devotion to anything else but those wondrous things that come with marriage and motherhood and a household to run. Reformation-era women offer critique of the oversimplified glorification of motherhood as the essential dimension or as the exclusive proof and reason for a woman's worth. They encourage us to reflect on our situation and on the options truly available for women today, both at and outside of the home, and how we as a society value these options - and pay for them and support them! They inspire us to be careful in how we understand and teach our children about femaleness/womanhood and gender. They remind us of the evils of sexism and misogyny and of the chronic abuse of power.

We could duly ask what has changed for the better and where we could do better. Is sexism still a force to battle, with its evil sister misogyny? Unfortunately the answer is yes. Often implicit, powerful sexist values are transmitted from parents to their children, through our social structures, through our preaching and interactions, and through implicit and explicit images on who we are and who we could be as women. Explicitly, the manifold persistence of acts of violence against women go back to these roots – how we perceive who we are and who is in power.

Reformation women can give us insights in this regard; we share the experience of violence with them. We may be shocked when we learn about the mistreatment of the Reformation mothers, abused by their husbands or lords or clergy or opponents, or those suffering from poverty, or those murdered as martyrs and witches... but really, perhaps more shocking are the newscasts of our day, daily reminders that women continue to be harassed, tortured, bullied, raped, even killed, as we speak. Reformation mothers and women today share an experience of being a woman in a world that is not safe for women. The Reformation women need not our pity but rather they remind us to stay vigilant with the two-headed snake called misogyny and sexism and to use the powers we have to finally annihilate these avoidable manifestations of original sin.

(vi) Reformation women did not use the word sexism, but they knew it when they encountered it; they knew about the power-distortion between sexes, and one area where they experienced it visibly was in the world of education: Reformation women who yearned for higher learning or dreamed of preaching or teaching invite us to revisit our rules for “rights to proclaim,” and the criteria to determine who is taken seriously and to whom belongs the world of theology and biblical interpretation. The stories of women whose entrance to universities and teaching and preaching offices was blocked urge us to be vigilant about the power dynamics in church and academia and pay attention to such matters and consider carefully

whom we hire, whom we respect, whom do quote, and whose wisdom we value, etc. The glass ceilings and double standards need to be broken.

Reformation women remind us of the lingering temptation to build norms and hierarchies in preferring not just the male voice but specifically the clergy voice over laity and to aspire to control the interpretation of the word and religious experience for others. Reformation women remind us of the very basic

Reformation concern: to restore the freedom of Christian conscience, equality among believers, and empower people to encounter the Word in their lives, with an invitation to listen and interpret and proclaim! Reformation women's difficulties in this regard are a reminder to us to vigilantly protect the principles of equality and inclusivity!

(vii) Speaking of biblical interpretation and credentials: Reformation women bring to the table different ways to interpret Scripture, since their personal experiences and specific situations shape their distinct reading. They may use no footnotes but they do know their Bible and quote it incessantly – there was the source for their credibility. They also speak of the fundamental importance of religious experience: Embracing the new Protestant faith was considered a heretical move and was a genuinely dangerous decision. For those women who wrote for publication or exercised leadership against all odds, a transformative religious experience was crucial, but it had to be combined with rock-solid biblical literacy. In this regard,

the Reformation women are our teachers a) of the importance of Christian catechesis - with the Bible, and with every person; and b) of the vitality of faith that is genuine, personal, meaningful and transformative. In other words, they model healthy, educated, grounded spirituality. That was a central concern in 16th century Reformations, and is a central concern today.^{xxvii} We may conclude with the mothers of the Reformation that true theology is always spiritual theology – the egalitarian, inclusive and “spirited” kind of theology that makes a difference in real lives.

As we have seen, Protestant women in the 16th century wrote without visions or mystical experiences or formal scholastic training. They stretched the domestic calling of motherhood to include *caring* of the Word and with the Word, and in the world. In light of their reading of the Scripture, they acted from their sense of Christian duty, often reacting to a specific situation where someone had to speak up and protest when necessary! With their own lives transformed by the Protestant theological principles of justification by faith through grace, Reformation women emerged as emancipated lay reformers. In the priesthood of all believers, they were biblical theologians with clear catechetical intensions – they wished to educate and emancipate others. Their theology, expressed most often in letters, was expansive and compassionate: they wrote in the defense of the vulnerable and the suffering. One word characterizes the Reformation women’s theology the best:

“compassion”. That is both a powerful word and a good compass for continued Reformation. For us, too.

Thank you!

ⁱ See Kirsi Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Wiley Blackwell, 2009) for biographical introductions and theological interpretation, and for methodological discussion. For a pioneering historical study, see Roland Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy*. N.p.: Academic Renewal Press, Augsburg Publishing House, 1971, first edition. See *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* series, University of Chicago Press, including *Teaching Other Voices. Women and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Margaret L. King and Albert Rabil, University of Chicago Press, 2007.

ⁱⁱ Comparing men and women to the sun and the moon, Luther set the tone in admiring (as if) the created complementarity of the sexes, with an assumption of a natural order and hierarchy that required men to be in the lead, in the household and the church.

ⁱⁱⁱ Holt N. Parker, *Olympia Fulvia Morata, 1526-1555: The Complete Writings of an Italian Heretic* (University of Chicago Press, 2003).

^{iv} Mary McKinley, *Epistle to Marguerite de Navarre* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

^v Kirsi Stjerna Elisabeth, “Duchess of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1510-1558)”, *Lutheran Quarterly* 27:2, Summer issue.

^{vi} Anne Puaux, *La Huguenote: Renée de France*. 1997 (Collection Savoir: Letters. Hermann. Editeurs des Sciences et des Arts. Paris: Hermann.) Emmanuel, Rodocanachi, 1896/1970. *Une protetrice de la Réforme en Italie et en France: Renée de France, Duchesse de Ferrare*. Paris: Ollendorff. (Reprinted, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970. Microfilm: “History of Women,” reel 596, no. 4712. New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, 1976.)

^{vii} Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre; Jeanne d’Albret, 1528-1572* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968).

^{viii} See Peter Matheson, *Argula von Grumbach: A Woman’s Voice in the Reformation* (T&T Clark, 1995), and Kirsi Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Wiley Blackwell, 2009).

^{ix} Matheson, *Argula*, pp. 86-87 (“The Account”). See Argula von Grumbach, *Wie ein Christliche Fraw des adels / in // Beyern durch iren / in Gotlicher schrift / wolgegrund // tenn Sendbrieffe/ die hohenschul zu Ingoldstat /// vmb das sie eynen Euangelischen Jungling / zu widersprechung des wort gottes. Betrangt// haben / straffet*. Actum Ingelstat. M D Xxij. Erfurt: Matthes Maler

1523. [Köhler: Fiche 1002/2543.] *Ain Christennliche schrifft // ainer Erbarñ frawen / vom Adel // darinn sy alle Christenliche stendt / vnd obrigkayten ermant/ Bey // der warheit / vnd dem wort // Gottes zuo bleyben / vnd // solchs auß Christlicher // pflicht zum ernstlich // sten zuo handt // haben.* // Argula Staufferin. M.D.xxii. Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart Sr. 1523. [Köhler: Fiche 16/66.] *An ain Ersamen // Weysen Radt der stat // Ingolstat / ain sandt // brief / von Fraw // Argula von grun // back gebore // von Stauf // fen.* Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart Sr., 1523. [Köhler 5/19.] *Dem // Durchleuchtigen hochge // bornen Fürsten vnd herren /Herren Jo // hansen / Pfaltzgrauen bey Reyn // Hertzogen zuo Beyern / Grafen // zuo Spanheym x. Mey // nem Gnedigisten // Herren.* Argula Staufferin. Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart Sr., 1523. [Köhler: Fiche 284:818.] *Dem durchleuchtigisten Hoch // gebornen Fürsten vnd herren /Herrñ Fri // derichen. Hertzogen zuo Sachssen / Des // hayligen Römischen Reychs Ertz // marschalck unnd Churfürsten // Landtgrauen in Düringen / unnd Marggrauen zuo // Meyssen / meynem // gnedigisten // herren.* // Argula Staufferin. Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart Sr., 1523? [Köhler: Fiche 10/40.] *An den Edlen // und gestrengen he // ren / Adam von Thering // der Pfaltzgrauen stat // halter zuo Newburg // x. Ain sandtbrieff // von fraw Argula // von Grumbach // geborne von // Stauf // fen.* Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart Sr., 1523. [Köhler: Fiche 967:2427.] *Ein Sendbrieff der edeln // Frawen Argula Staufferin / an die // von Regensburg. // M.D. Xxiiiij. Nuremberg: Hans Hergot, 1524 [Panzer 2342]. Eyn Antwort in // gedichtß weiß // ainem auß d // hohen Schul zu Ingol // stat / auff ainen spruch // newlich con jm auß // gangen / welcher // hynden dabey // getruckt // steet. // Anno. D.M. Xxiiiij. // Rom. X. // So mann von hertzen glawbt / wirt // man rechtuertig / so man aber mit dem // mundt bekennet / wirt mann selig. // Argula von Grumbach // geboren von Stauff. // Eyn Spruch von der // Staufferin / jres Dispu // tierens halben. // Nuremberg: Hieronumus Höltzel, 1524. [Köhler: Fiche 285:820].*

^x Argula's published works include a letter from September 20th, 1523, to the University of Ingolstadt (printed in 14 editions) and another to the Duke Wilhelm (IV); letters from October 28th, 1523 to the Mayor and the city council of Ingolstadt, from December 1st, 1523 to the Count Palatine Johann von Simmern and to Fredrick the Wise, and from later that month a letter to Count Adam von Thering. After she wrote on June 29th, 1524 to the city of Regensburg, she was attacked by a student-authored anonymous poem.

^{xi} See Matheson, *Argula*, pp. 76-77 ("The Account").

^{xii} Matheson, *Argula*, p. 90 ("The Account"). "I am called a follower of Luther, but I am not. I was baptized in the name of Christ; it is him I confess and not Luther. But I confess that Martin, too, as a faithful Christian, confesses him." (1523 letter to Adam von Thering, the Count Palatine's Administrator in Neuburg). Matheson, *Argula*, p. 145.

^{xiii} Matheson, *Argula*, pp. 120-121 ("To the Honourable").

^{xiv} On Luther and Argula, see Bainton, *Women*, 106-109; WABr 4:706; 2:509. Also Matheson, *Argula* 18, 21, footnotes 48, 58; WABr 3: 247/25-34 21; WABr 3:235; 4:605.

^{xv} Matheson, *Argula*, p. 149 ("To Adam von Thering").

^{xvi} Elsie McKee (ed), *Katharina Schütz Zell. The Life and Thought of a Sixteenth-Century Reformer*, Vol 1. And *The Writings: A Critical Edition*, Vol. 2. Volume 2 (Leiden, Boston, Köln: E. J. Brill 1999). Elsie McKee, *Katharina Schütz Zell. Church Mother. The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, transl. by Elsie McKee (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 2006).

^{xvii} Elsie McKee, *Katharina*, pp. 224-225. See *Entschuldigung Katharina Schützinn/für M. Matthes Zellen/jren Eegemahel/ der ein Pfarrher und dyener ist im wort Gottes zu Strassburg. Von wegen grosser lügen uff jn erdiecht* (Strasbourg: W. Köpffel, 1524) (= „Katharina Schütz’s Apologia for Master Matthew Zell, her Husband“); *Den leydenden Christglaubigen weyberen der gmein zu Kentzigen minen mitschwestern in Christo Jesus zu handen* (Strasbourg, 1524) (=that is, “Letter to the Suffering Women of the Community of Kentzingen”); *Den Psalmen Miserere/mit dem Khünig David bedacht/ gebettet/ und paraphrasirt von Katharina Zellin M. Matthei Zellen seligen nachgelassne Ehefraw/ sampt dem Vatter unser mit seiner erklärung/ zugeschickt dem Christlichen mann Juncker Felix Armbruster/zum trost in seiner kranckheit/ und andern angefochtenen hertzen und Concientzen/ der sünd halben betrubt &c. In truck lassen kommen* (=that is, “The Misere Psalm Meditated, Prayer, and Paraphrased with King David by Katharina Zell... Sent to the Christian Man Sir Feliz Armbruster”); *Klag red und ermahnung Catharina Zellin zum volk bey dem grab m: Matheus Zellen pfarer zum münster zu Straßburg/ deß frommen manns/ bey und über seinen todten leib.* (January 11, 1548) (=“Lament and Exhortation of Katharina Zell to the People at the Grave of Master Matthew Zell”); *Ein Brieff an die gantze Burgerschafft der Statt Strassburg/ von Katherina Zellin/ dessen jetz saligen Matthei Zellen/ deß alten und ersten Predigers des Evangelij diser Statt/nachgelassene Ehefraw/Betreffend Herr Ludwigen Rabus / jetz ein Prediger der Statt Ulm / sampt zweyen brieffen jr und sein/ die mag mengklich lessen und urtheilen on gunst und hasß/ sonder allein der war heit warnemen. Dabey auch ein sanffte antwort/ auff jeden Artickel/ seines briefs* (Strasbourg, December 1557) (=“A Letter to the Whole Citizenship of the City of Strasbourg from Katharina Zell . . . concerning Mr Ludwig Rabus”); *Von Christo Jesus unseerem saligmacher/ seiner Menschwerdung/ Geburt/ Beschneidung/ etc. etlich Christliche und trostliche Lobgsang/ auß einem vast herrlichen Gsangbuch gezogen/Von welchem inn der Vorred weiter anzeygt würdt* (Strasbourg: J. Froelich, 1534-36) (=that is, “Some Christian and Comforting Songs of Praise about Jesus Christ Our Savior”.

^{xviii} McKee, *Katharina* (2006), p. 93, see pp. 82-92, 82-96.

^{xix} “The word of God alone should – and must – rule all things. They call it Luther’s word; yet the words are not Luther’s but God’s.” Matheson, *Argula*, p 101, also 108 (“A Christian Writing”).

^{xx} McKee, *Katharina*, p. 128.

^{xxi} Matheson, *Argula*, pp. 75, 77.

^{xxii} McKee, *Katharina*, p. 64, 82.

^{xxiii} See Kirsi Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 32-39.

^{xxiv} McKee, Katharina, p. 226. See also *ibid.*, 15-16.

^{xxv} Scott Hendrix, “Luther on Marriage”, in Timothy Wengert and David C. Steinmetz, eds., *Harvesting Martin Luther's Reflections on Theology, Ethics, and the Church* (Lutheran Quarterly Books), Eerdmans, 2003, 169-184. John Witte, Jr. *From Sacrament to Contract: Marriage, Religion, and Law in the Western Tradition*. WJK; 1st ed., 1997. Kirsi Stjerna, “On Marriage with Luther, for Gay and Straight”, Fall Academy lecture 2013, *Seminary Ridge Review*, forthcoming Spring 2014.

^{xxvi} E.g. Jeanne de Jussie of Geneva.

^{xxvii} Scott Hendrix, “Martin Luther’s Reformation of Spirituality”, in Timothy Wengert and David C. Steinmetz, eds., *Harvesting Martin Luther's Reflections on Theology, Ethics, and the Church* (Lutheran Quarterly Books) (Eerdmans, 2003, 240-260).