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Religious Orders

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against him in London prevented his taking the post. He continued the Bible translation, however, but after several crises, illness, and financial difficulties caused by the death of the original printer, pressure of time led him to borrow almost word for word the last five or six books of the New Testament from Juan Pérez's version; it was finally published in Basel in 1569. There is evidence that Reina was also connected with the production of *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae artes* (1567).

Reina returned to live in Frankfurt am Main, ceaselessly badgered by the church council of the French congregation to get himself cleared of the London charges. The intransigence of these and of Théodore de Bèze concerning these allegations of moral and doctrinal lapses, contrasted with the friendship of Matthias Ritter the Younger, finally caused him to join the Lutheran church. In 1573 he published two Latin commentaries, one on *Matthew 4* and the other on John's gospel, the latter apparently to establish definitively his trinitarian orthodoxy. In 1577 he issued the first printed version of his Spanish Confession of Faith of London. Resolution of the charges against him became imperative when the chance arose to become pastor of the French-speaking Lutheran congregation of Antwerp. He returned to England in 1578 to be cleared in the consistory court of the archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, and was free to take up his post. Calvinists in Antwerp attempted to discredit him by publishing the text of his declarations before the court, where he proclaimed his Calvinist orthodoxy in an Anglican setting so that he could minister to Lutherans. His diligence and irenic spirit, however, soon brought Calvinist respect. He collaborated in the publication of the Antwerp Lutheran catechism in 1580.

After the Spanish attack on Antwerp in 1585, Reina led his congregation into exile in Frankfurt am Main, where he set up an exiled French-language Lutheran church and a charitable fund for indigent refugees from the Low Countries. His ministry was not ratified by the city council until 1592, two years before he died.

From his days in Spain Reina was dominated by a desire to produce a Spanish translation of the Bible for the purpose of evangelizing in Spain. It would later serve as a support for his fellow exiles. It was the first complete Bible translated into Castilian directly from the original languages and, with revisions, remains standard among Spanish Protestants.

Reina was an open-minded Christian, who, while remaining firmly Protestant, was willing to consider all points of view in the Reformation field, even those seen as unacceptable. He was reluctant to condemn anyone for doctrinal reasons. His theology could be described as pragmatic and biblical rather than dogmatic. A major influence on his attitude seems to have been the liberal Italians and Sébastien Castellion. An assessment of his caliber can be obtained from the knowledge that, besides his Bible, the Dutch Lutheran catechism and his charitable foundation in Frankfurt am

Main have stood the test of time, and the church he founded there existed until World War II.

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A. GORDON KINDER

REIS, Hans de. See Ries, Hans de.

RELICS. See Saints, *article on* Cult of Saints.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS. On the eve of the Reformation most of the religious orders were subject to a wide range of criticism. Many humanists, above all Desiderius Erasmus, derided their formalism, sloth, and attachment to pettifogging scholasticism. Vernacular writers from Boccaccio and Chaucer to Sebastian Brant and Marguerite d'Angoulême made the friars the butts of jokes. The criticism sometimes reflected prejudice but often rested on solid ground and was shared by bishops, who resented the papal exemptions from ordinary church jurisdiction that the orders enjoyed. In 1537 the famous reform commission set up by Paul III argued that all the conventual orders had become so deformed that they should be done away with by prohibiting the admission of novices. Other cardinals urged the amalgamation of the existing orders into a few basic types.

Pressure to reform sometimes came from the outside. Thus Ferdinand and Isabella, urged on by the austere Franciscan Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, attempted to reform the Spanish church and especially the orders. Their efforts rested on mixed motives—religious idealism and the desire to bring the orders under greater royal control. While generally successful, their efforts met resistance. Hundreds of Franciscans refused to give up their concubines, fled to Africa, embraced Islam, and married. Most efforts at reform came from within the orders and centered not on the vow of chastity but on that of poverty. The food and drink allowed in most religious houses were generous by contemporary standards. Many monks and friars enjoyed a small private purse. When reformers insisted that they re-

turn to the full rigor of their rules, the result was friction that frequently split religious orders into conventual and observant (reformed) observances. The extreme example was the male Franciscans, who split into six observances. Efforts to encourage or block reform often involved lobbying at the papal Curia, Martin Luther's trip to Rome as a young Augustinian being but one example.

Italy was the scene of several reform efforts on the eve of the Reformation. The Venetian aristocrat Tommaso Giustiniani tried to reform the Camaldolese. The Augustinian friars had a reforming general in the gifted humanist Giles of Viterbo, who as prior-general (1507-1518) improved their educational standards and insisted on common life, sending around visitors with broad powers to enforce reform and dismiss lax superiors. Cajetan, the leading theologian of his day, was Dominican master general (1508-1518) and tried to reform the Dominicans by stressing studies and common life. Lack of support from the papacy limited the effectiveness of these early reforms. More lasting were reform efforts of the Italian Benedictines, who linked monasteries together with a common membership in the Cassinese Congregation (1515); a general chapter elected their abbots so that they escaped the curse of abbots *in commendam*—absentee laymen who siphoned off revenues. There were parallel developments among the Spanish and German Benedictines.

The Franciscans were easily the largest religious order, but efforts in Italy to return to their demanding original rule resulted in the split of the Franciscans into the Conventual and the Observant branches in 1517. There were some 25,000 Conventuals and 30,000 Observants. The desire of many for a still stricter observance of the rule, especially regarding poverty, led to the establishment of the Capuchins in 1528. The Capuchins can be regarded as either reformed Franciscans or, perhaps better, as a new order. Aside from the Jesuits, they were the most influential new order. The papacy approved the Capuchins in 1536 but restricted them to Italy until 1574; thereafter they spread rapidly in France, Germany, Spain, and Poland. Linked to the Observant Franciscans were the Reformed Franciscans, who began in Italy in 1532. Parallel reform movements in Spain resulted in the Discalced Franciscans and the Recollects (1570). By 1700 there were 15,000 Conventuals, 34,900 Observants, 6,200 Discalced, 9,600 Recollects, 12,000 Reformed, and 27,300 Capuchins.

Impact of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. In Protestant countries the orders were either driven out or forced to carry on a clandestine existence, but in Catholic countries their numbers gradually rose through the period 1550-1700. Many orders reached an all-time high about 1700, when decline again set in. By 1700 there were some 30,000 Dominicans, 19,000 Jesuits, 17,000 Augustinian hermits, 17,000 Benedictines, 14,000 Carmelites, plus many smaller orders. Most of the new male orders of the Catholic

Reformation counted fewer than a thousand members. These statistics suggest that reform movements in the older orders contributed more to the Catholic Reformation than did the foundation of new orders. After the Council of Trent, reformers consistently enjoyed the support of the papacy, and the mendicant orders generally enjoyed a silver age of fervor and influence. Efforts at reform sometimes ran into determined resistance. For example, some members of the Humiliati in Milan tried to kill the reforming Cardinal Carlo Borromeo.

The military religious order largely disappeared during the period 1517-1650. The Spanish and Portuguese crusading orders lost much of their purpose after the fall of Granada in 1492. The popes allowed the Iberian kings to become grand masters and transformed them into honorary societies of noblemen. The grand master of the Teutonic Knights converted to Lutheranism and secularized their Prussian lands. The heroism of the Knights of Malta in defending Malta from the Turks in 1565 increased their popularity and prolonged their life.

The New Male Orders. Both the Capuchins and the Discalced Carmelites can be regarded as new orders. The Capuchins have already been discussed. The Spanish Discalced Carmelites secured independent status in 1593 and established many convents in France and Italy, where they spread the mysticism of Teresa of Ávila and Juan Álvarez.

The most important and innovative of the new orders were the Jesuits, founded at Rome by Ignatius Loyola in 1540. His first companions were mainly Spaniards but included others from France, Portugal, and Savoy. The Jesuits spread rapidly outside Italy, in contrast to several other new orders. The most important Jesuit ministry was education, followed by missionary work. During the sixteenth century their growth was most rapid in Spain, Italy, and Portugal. During the seventeenth century they grew strong in France, Germany, and Poland. Several characteristics set the Jesuits apart from the friars: they did not sing or recite the Divine Office in common; they had different grades of membership, with only an elite being admitted to solemn vows; the superior general was elected for life and appointed lesser officials; and their training was usually long and demanding.

Italy was the birthplace of several other new orders of clerics regular; their numbers remained small, and their ministries were often specialized, but they all shared with the Jesuits a reorientation of the religious life toward a more active ministry with less emphasis on prolonged prayer. Thus the Somaschi, founded by Girolamo Emiliani in 1528, devoted themselves to the care of orphans, while the Camillans, founded by Camillo de Lellis in 1586, undertook the care of the sick. The Theatines were founded at Rome in 1524 by Cajetan of Thiene and the learned aristocrat Gian Pietro Carafa (later Paul IV). The Theatines fled Rome during the sack of 1527 and settled in Venice and Naples before returning to Rome in 1555. Devoted exclusively to parish

work, they furnished the church with many reforming bishops. The Clerics Regular of the Pious Schools (Piarists), founded in 1597 at Rome by José Calasanz, taught boys. The Clerics Regular of Saint Paul were founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria at Milan in 1530 and won papal approval in 1533; they were popularly known as the Barnabites from their mother church of Saint Barnabas in Milan. Carlo Borromeo encouraged their efforts to raise the level of morals and devotion in Lombardy and the Veneto by preaching and encouraging frequent Communion and various devotions. A parallel women's order, the Angelics, was approved two years after the male branch. Francesco Caracciolo founded the Minor Clerics Regular in Naples, who won papal approval in 1588 and spread to Rome and Spain. They engaged in works of charity and spread the perpetual adoration of the Eucharist.

The Oratorians, begun at Rome by Filippo Neri in 1564, were not technically a religious congregation because they did not take religious vows, but they did live in community under a superior and adopted constitutions (1588). Later communities were only loosely linked to the Roman Oratory. The flourishing French branch founded by Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle in 1611 edged closer to religious congregations. The Italian Oratorians worked in parishes; the French staffed colleges and seminaries.

The Catholic Reformation in France flourished only after the Wars of Religion ended. The most important French male congregation was the Congregation of the Mission (Vincentians, Lazarists) founded by Vincent de Paul in 1625. The Vincentians were technically not an order, but secular priests living in community with simple, private vows. Their main work was giving parish missions to the peasantry, but they staffed fifteen seminaries by 1660. They spread quickly to Italy and Poland. Much smaller than the Vincentians were the Eudists (Congregation of Jesus and Mary) founded by Jean Eudes. A popular preacher of parish missions, Eudes left the Oratorians in 1643 and began his new society of priests without vows; they were devoted to giving parish missions and running seminaries in western France.

The Work of the Male Orders. The ministries of the orders partly overlapped with those of parish priests, who sometimes regarded the religious as archrivals and sometimes as valued helpers. Many of the new orders engaged in ministries for which the secular clergy were unsuited. In the Americas the first missionaries were the friars, later helped by the Jesuits. The Jesuit role in the Asian missions was larger still. The Jesuits, French Oratorians, and Piarists ran schools for boys and young men. Religious often staffed the new seminaries. The Jesuits, Capuchins, and Vincentians preached parish missions in rural areas. The Somaschi ran orphanages, and the Camillans ran hospitals. When plague swept the land, religious were expected to volunteer to help the stricken; the Capuchins showed outstanding heroism in

this dangerous work. The orders were uniquely able to provide chaplains for Catholic armies and fleets. The medieval Trinitarians and Mercedarians continued their traditional work of ransoming and ministering to Catholic slaves in Muslim countries. The Dominicans supplied most of the Inquisitors, helped by the other friars. The Spanish kings usually took a Dominican as confessor; the kings of France and the emperors usually chose Jesuit confessors. Members of the orders served occasionally on papal commissions or as papal diplomats. Three important popes (Paul IV, Pius V, and Sixtus V) of the late sixteenth century belonged to religious orders.

The orders ran many of the confraternities that were central to Catholic social and devotional life. The Jesuits gave retreats based on Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*. The Jesuits, Theatines, Oratorians, and Barnabites urged frequent Communion for the laity. Certain orders encouraged particular devotions: Jesuits and Capuchins encouraged the Forty Hours devotion to the Eucharist. All the new orders were devoted to preaching, as were the friars. The majority of Catholic philosophical, theological, and polemical works of the sixteenth century came from the friars or the Jesuits. The sixteenth century was rich in spiritual classics; here Jesuit and Capuchin writers were the most popular, but the Carmelites were the most profound. Members of the orders encouraged Catholic publishers; some, notably the Cologne Carthusians, ran their own presses.

The orders traditionally provided the church with scholars and theologians. Here the Dominicans and the Jesuits took the lead, but relative to their numbers the Oratorians were even richer in distinguished scholars. The Oratorian schools in France were more innovative than the numerous Jesuit colleges, whose curriculum was tied to their *Ratio studiorum*, which continued the tradition of Renaissance humanism. The Jesuits and Dominicans, with help from the other friars, were the leading representatives of the scholastic revival, which climaxed in late sixteenth-century Spain. There was a notable shift back to the *via antiqua* and especially to Thomas Aquinas. The Dominicans had always taken Thomas as their guide, but the Jesuits also embraced Thomism, a bit more flexibly. The Capuchins continued the shift from the *via moderna* by following the pious Bonaventure rather than the more subtle John Duns Scotus and William of Ockham within the Franciscan tradition. These developments muted but did not remove rivalry among the orders. The Dominicans and the Jesuits fought fierce theological battles over free will and the primacy of grace. The Jesuits in mission lands tended to be more accommodating to non-Christian cultures than the friars.

Orders and Congregations of Women. Both churchmen and secular elites felt that the breakdown of discipline among female religious flowed from contact with the world. The Council of Trent insisted that cloister be enforced and that semireligious lifestyles (Beguines in Germany and the

Netherlands, *beatas* in Spain) be gradually abolished, thereby restricting religious women to prayer and personal sanctification.

Nevertheless, several semiactive congregations sprang up, chiefly in Italy and France. The first and largest congregation was the Ursulines, started by Angela Merici in 1535 at Brescia. She and her followers lived at first in their own families without formal vows. Cardinal Borromeo organized the Ursulines into a community under episcopal control. By 1700 there were 11,000 Ursulines in France alone, where they were gradually converted into a semicloistered order with formal vows, but they continued to teach girls in their convents.

The Filles de Notre Dame won papal approval in 1607; concentrated in southern France, they were devoted to both contemplation and teaching. They were paralleled in northern France by the Congrégation de Notre Dame, begun in 1597. The Spanish Discalced Carmelites took their inspiration from Teresa of Ávila and remained strictly cloistered; they spread rapidly in France after 1601. The Visitation order, begun in 1610 in Savoy by Francis de Sales and Jeanne-François de Chantal, stressed simplicity rather than austerity and was semicloistered. By 1700 there were 6,500 Visitandines in France. A more radical innovator was Mary Ward, who modeled her English Ladies on the Jesuits. They were uncloistered and did not wear distinctive garb. Their first community was set up in Belgium in 1612, followed by others in Germany and Italy, until the congregation was suppressed in 1631. More successful were the Daughters of Charity, who helped the poor and the sick. They began taking private vows in 1640 and continued to wear secular garb so that their informality saved them from paternalistic regulations. Today they are the largest of all religious orders.

[See also Augustinians; Barnabites; Capuchins; Carmelites; Jesuits; Monasticism; Theatines; and Ursulines.]

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RELIGIOUS RIOTS. See Riots, Religious.

REMONSTRANCE OF 1610. A petition of Dutch Reformed clergy in the province of Holland asking its civil government to maintain the rights of the Arminians in the church, the *Remonstrantie ende Vertooch* (Remonstrance and Representation) provided the name by which the Arminian party would henceforth be commonly known; by extension the Calvinists came to be known as Contra-Remonstrants. The Remonstrance was but one episode in an ongoing struggle over the interpretation, authority, and possible revision of the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism in the Dutch church. The Calvinists upheld the documents as unchangeable standards. In November 1608 the States of Holland and West Friesland had invited the Arminians to present their alternative views. Upon the death of the Leiden theologian Jacobus Arminius on 19 October 1609, his party felt pressed to act. They met, probably in Gouda, and on 14 January 1610 forty-four ministers signed the Remonstrance, which is believed to have been composed by Johannes Wtenbogaert, court chaplain at The Hague and a long-time intimate friend of the late Arminius.

The signatures, although from only one province, provide insight into the makeup of the Arminian movement. Seven signatories had studied at Geneva while Théodore de Bèze was there, three of them, including Wtenbogaert, as fellow students with Arminius. Five of the Geneva alumni were also alumni of the University of Leiden, and sixteen others were Leiden alumni from the six years that Arminius taught there. There were also signatories of greater age: three who had been Roman Catholic priests before Holland opted for the Reformation and at least one who had been an early clandestine hedge preacher. The presence of these veterans of the Dutch Reformed ministry suggests that Arminianism was not the innovation it was said to be by the Calvinists.