

Representations of Satan in 16th Century Scotland

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ABSTRACT

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Scotland in the 16th century was a highly unstable country, both politically and religiously. As a result of a weak monarch, corrupt papacy, an increase of literacy, and the strong leadership of a few individuals, Scotland experienced a Protestant Reformation that began in the early 16th century, and ended in the 1560's. John Knox was the leader of the Reformation, and this thesis focuses predominantly on his life and contribution to the Reformation within Scotland.

Reformation also occurred throughout Europe, with other leaders arising to create different forms of Protestantism. Martin Luther, who has been acknowledged as the original Protestant reformer, and Jean Calvin, who's understanding of Protestantism was both unique and influential, heavily effected John Knox's theological beliefs. This thesis examines the effect Luther and Calvin had on Knox in regards to both his reformation beliefs, and his understanding of Satan.

The final section of this thesis summarized the effect that Luther and Calvin had on Knox's beliefs regarding Satan, and also examined John Wyclif and the Lollards as potentially being a strong influence on the Scottish reformer's beliefs regarding the anti-Christ. Finally, Knox's beliefs were explained as being characteristic of much of Scotland, and although Scotland was in many ways a Calvinist country, Martin Luther predominantly influenced Scotland's beliefs regarding the anti-Christ.

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Introduction

The religious temperament of Scotland in the 16th century was one of extremes and, in many instances, was even apocalyptic. These feelings were based partially on the remembrance of the great plague that had killed hundreds of thousands in the 14th century, but also simply reflected a time when life was precarious. In Scotland this was especially true as the monarchy was weak, and the various parts of Scotland were ruled by powerful families who showed no concern for their tenants or neighbours, and would not hesitate to murder in an attempt to gain more land. This was a time of great disruption and reform for Scotland, and the transition of religious leaders (including Catholic Popes) as well as secular leaders was usually the catalyst for such changes, and inadvertently influenced representations of the anti-Christ.

Although this was a time when the church and state were still undeniably intertwined, it was also the start of modernity, meaning that within a few generations, the split between the two aforementioned organizations would start to become more apparent, leading to a very different type of society. An essential aspect of this division involved characterizing the other as the anti-Christ, or, seeing the world in a dualistic manner which can best be explained as an “us versus them” mentality. This way of viewing the world would be a major aspect in understanding the proper way to live. It is interesting that after the division of the church and state had been completed (a major aspect of modernity), the need for such black and white characterizations of evil became virtually non-existent. One example of the beginning of modernity, that is especially relevant to this study, was the proliferation of educational institutes. Throughout Europe,

universities were being founded at a rather rapid rate (for such a process), and this was true in Scotland as well. Between 1412 and 1495, the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen were opened, and the next century was dedicated to organizing them. This process may have taken slightly longer than the founding itself, but the desire for increased education throughout Scotland was noticeably felt. With the increase in educational institutions, came a matched increase in the circulation of literature, allowing for a common understanding of the anti-Christ (Cowan 1982, 15).

To achieve a complete understanding of the various causes and manifestations of the anti-Christ within 16th century Scotland (especially as represented by Knox), the prevalent understanding of battles against evil constantly being fought must be emphasized as the most essential feature. Therefore, when all aspects of my thesis are examined, this common thread will be isolated to ensure a comprehensive understanding of why the term anti-Christ remained prevalent in Knox's writings and theology. A detailed background of Scotland immediately prior to, and during the Reformation, must be given as the first chapter of my thesis, as it greatly influenced Knox's world-view. This analysis will include the role of the Papacy within Scotland, the style of government, and the increase of literacy. All three factors are very important to completely comprehend Knox's understanding of the anti-Christ, as he was undoubtedly Scottish, and Scotland was indubitably an uncertain country. The role of the papacy that will be examined within the first section has some similar characteristics to the role of the Catholic Church as experienced by Luther and Calvin, as will be realized when the second chapter is reached. It is also important to understand how the papacy influenced and labored alongside the Scottish government, as the two were inseparable during the

early modern era. In addition, the men who influenced and shaped the Scottish reformation, including John Knox will be examined.

For this thesis, I have chosen to examine Martin Luther and Jean Calvin. These two men were both prominent leaders of the continental reformation and maintained a strong influence on Knox, although in different regards. Within the second section of my thesis therefore, a detailed examination of Luther and Calvin's theologies will be given, focusing especially on both men's attitudes regarding the mass, Calvin's understanding of predestination, and the goals that they had for themselves in regards to reform. The first analysis will be useful in providing a comparison of the two men's reformation beliefs, while the second examination provides insight into Calvin's lack of influence on Knox's characterizations of the anti-Christ. Luther's understandings of the anti-Christ developed alongside his burgeoning theology, and therefore after explaining his reformation beliefs (especially in regards to the mass), his influence on Knox's belief of the anti-Christ will be developed. The last element is very important, as it will be essential to understand the way in which Luther and Calvin experienced the world and therefore the reformation, in order to ascertain the influence that each man had on Knox.

Lastly, the world of the anti-Christ will be delved into, in order to ascertain what would cause an individual to be deemed as Satan or one of his minions, within the Reformation world. This third chapter will open with an examination of a leader and his followers who were both reform and apocalyptically oriented: John Wyclif and the Lollards. Wyclif was an Englishman who lived in the mid-14th century, yet his decidedly apocalyptic views present an interesting foreshadowing to the events that were to take place in the 16th century. After a brief examination of the aforementioned historical

influence on Knox's beliefs regarding Satan, the theological examination from the second section will be applied to the actual characterizations of the anti-Christ that Knox gave during the reformation in Scotland.

My thesis therefore will be structured into three parts. The first chapter will focus on the political and religious background of Scotland, and analyzed especially in regards to it being so unstable as to create a dualistic world-view. Secondly, I will examine Luther's and Calvin's theologies briefly to ascertain the ways in which they are similar and/or different, and more intensively to establish the way in which they viewed the anti-Christ. This will be completed by examining their goals in regards to reform, and their subsequent theologies concerning the role of the anti-Christ in this world. With this analysis completed, I will therefore examine Knox's theology and understanding of the world, to determine the extent to which the Scotsman was influenced by the two continental reformers. Knox's view of the anti-Christ will also be examined partially at this time, although only in regards to his theological beliefs. The third section of my thesis will begin with an analysis of Wyclif and the Lollards, as this group possessed both an apocalyptically oriented world-view and concrete understandings of the role of Satan within their world centuries before Knox lived. Wyclif's theology, though, was very pervasive, and similarities between his beliefs and Knox will be used to in an attempt to understand if a connection exists between the two men. Finally, I will argue that Calvin's theological beliefs heavily influenced Knox but in regards to Satan, it was Luther who remained the predominant influence on the Scottish reformer.

Chapter 1

I begin my thesis with an examination of Scottish History, beginning in the 12th century and concluding in the 1560's. This work will include examining the monarchist system within Scotland (including the monarchs themselves), the role of the Catholic Church and its various employees that lived in Scotland, the manner in which power was distributed throughout Scotland, as well as the effect that the increase of literacy and printed documents had on the Scottish Reformation. Within my analysis of all of these key factors, various key figures will be introduced and have their relevance explained as is necessary to fully comprehend the various causes and factors of the Scottish Reformation. These factors will also contribute to my central point that characterizations of the anti-Christ were found to be so pervasive throughout Scotland (as is illustrated by Knox's writing), due to the instability that was created and encouraged by the religious, political and educational events that occurred for the most part during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Any analysis of the Scottish Reformation must begin with an examination of the politics of Scotland; similarly, if one is to understand the representations that Knox gave of the anti-Christ, his feelings regarding the way in which Scotland was being managed must be understood. As a result of his anger, Knox often saw the world as being rife with evil, and therefore his characterizations of the anti-Christ were often directed to whomever he believed was thwarting the possibility of Scotland being one of God's true countries.

Politics, Monarchs and the Catholic Church in Scotland

As J.H.S. Burleigh argues, the Church of Scotland was unique in that it struggled for centuries prior to the Reformation in regards to its ruling power. There was a constant controversy as to whether or not England or France should have power over the numerous Scottish territories. In many ways, the Vatican helped to clarify the geography of Scotland, because in 1192 Pope Celestine III issued a bull that explained that the sees of St. Andrews, Dunblane, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness were all a part of *Ecclesia Scotiana*. Furthermore, these areas were all to be held responsible to the Pope directly, or to one of his representatives. The Scottish Church was unique in that although the Pope may have decreed that it was subject to the Vatican, because Scotland lacked conurbation the Pope could not hold it as being truly the Catholic Church's own domain, without there being an urban area large enough to hold an archbishop. In writing, therefore, Rome was able to possess a large amount of power and influence over the Church of Scotland in the late 12th century, as it ordained that all episcopal matters were the responsibility of Rome. In practice, Burleigh further explains, it would have been much more difficult to see the institution of the Pope's authority realized. For example, even though three bishops already chosen by the Pope were responsible for the consecration of a newly elected bishop, the committee of three bishops had to first travel to Rome in order to finalize the decision. In addition, all issues that arose regarding bishops had to have been resolved in Rome, by the Pope. Scotland was a relatively large country at that time, though, and travel would have often been slow and dangerous. Therefore, although the Pope had definitive power, it can be understood that certain issues which should have been decided by the Pope would not have been.

Similarly, authority and control that the Pope should have maintained over his many rural congregations was often felt to be lax, as there was simply no easy way to provide such discipline (Burleigh 1960, 86-88).

As Burleigh further explicates in his insightful analysis, Scotland therefore had a very close yet unique relationship with the papacy, as it was theoretically unable to make any decision regarding its bishops without them. Because the rulers of the Catholic Church (not always Rome – it was Avignon between 1378 and 1417) refused to grant an archbishopric in Scotland, it remained rather diversified. This situation would continue virtually unchanged until 1472, when St. Andrews was granted an archbishop that seemed destined to never attain much more than a name itself. It was not involved in politics, and might have been unable to achieve a position of status due to the refinement of Scottish Parliament, which took place in the 14th century. The possibility of reform came with the next step of Catholic control over the Church of Scotland. The bishop of Brechin, Patrick Graham, became the bishop of St. Andrews in 1465 and worked to attain archbishopric status in St. Andrews by 1472. Having an archbishop at St. Andrews was bothersome for the archbishops of Trondhjem and York, as they were deprived of their suffragans (bishops whose job it was to assist with administrative duties), but there were other problems within the system as it was instituted in Scotland. Many of the Scottish residents and the monarchy were unhappy with the presence of the archbishop at St. Andrews (Burleigh 1960, 88-90). Within this struggle for religious authority in Scotland can be seen the origins of an unstable and often evil-filled world-view. The bishops themselves seemed to be locked in constant struggles for authority, and as is now to be explained, nor was the monarchy happy with the current situation.

James III was king at the time and was enraged that an archbishopric could be given without him being a part of the process, or at least having knowledge of such an occurrence. In Burleigh's Scottish history, he elucidates that despite King James the III's anger, he was only able to punish Graham, and grant life-long immunity to the bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Glasgow (in order that they would not be subject to the archbishop of St. Andrews), but could he not do away with the archbishop office of St. Andrews. It was not long before Glasgow also received an archbishop's office, and the new king, James IV was in full support of this appointment. The two archbishop offices were the cause of and exemplified many of the problems that existed in an ecclesiastical institution that was marked by a hierarchical struggle. The two offices were never equal, and Glasgow seems to have become subject to St. Andrews rather quickly. As a result there were often disputes, and even physical confrontations that continued until the eve of the Scottish Reformation (Burleigh 1960, 88-90). For a common citizen of Scotland, it would be understandable that being a witness to this would not cause confidence in either Catholicism or the monarchy, and even those within the aforementioned powerful institutions would seemingly be open to strong feelings of fear and uncertainty. It is here that an understanding of the world being ruled by those who were evil becomes apparent, and it can be understood that Knox would have perceived such actions by both the monarchs and the papacy to be the work of the anti-Christ.

Preserved Smith gives a succinct analysis of the many of the key events within Scotland's history. He explains that the bishops and priests of Scotland held an admirable position in Scotland during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, as they were responsible solely to their Popes. This was considered to be a fantastic job, as the

bishops and priests needed to merely collect the Pope's taxes, and ensure that the money made it to Rome in order to be virtually absolved of all other duties. The priests were also not subject to the monarchy (weak as it may have been), as is evidenced by their regular tax payments to Rome. Adding to the benefits of being a representative of Rome was the influential role these men played in Scottish Parliament as spiritual representatives, while simultaneously remaining outside the jurisdiction of the monarch. Although various monarchs throughout Scotland's tumultuous history asked that Rome delegate its responsibility regarding episcopal duties to the kings, it became apparent that the royalty's intentions were rarely much better than the Popes, and furthermore, kings or queens were unable to acquire any real power without the agreement of Rome until Scotland was a non-Catholic country (Smith 1920, 269-270). This abuse of papal power (as was seen through the struggle for land and power) would no doubt lend uncertainty as to the word of God, and as the Scottish citizens would have felt a strong allegiance to both their God and country, strong feelings of fear must certainly have prevailed. These were the seeds of the reformation, in addition to the foundation for an understanding of the world as being rife with evil, as it would soon become apparent that definitive authority throughout Scotland was needed. When the decision was made, it became clear that political reform would not be possible without religious reform, and this therefore strengthened the belief that evil needed to be fought against within the earthly realm.

The various kings fought to prevent the papacy from retaining what they believed to be an inappropriate amount of power concerning the election of bishops and abbots.

By 1487,

[t]he king, who contended that, since prelates served him as officials and councillors, he ought to have a say in their appointment, was ultimately successful

in obtaining recognition of his right, first to be consulted when promotions were made...and in the end actually to make nominations (Donaldson 1974, 179).

This effectively prevented the Church of Scotland from ever being a sovereign Church of Scotland, although the seeds were being sown within Scotland for reformation, as the desire to have an independent church that coincided with the ever-growing independent parliament was fast becoming an attainable idea (Burleigh 1960, 90-94; Chadwick 1963, 26). Knox himself best explained the situation, and utilized the notions of evil that would be so prevalent throughout all of his writings. In 1553, Edward the VI of England died, and Knox expressed his fear through his understanding of fighting evil. As he wrote,

And so thought Sathan that his kingdom of darkness was in quietness and rest, as well in the one realm as in the other: but that provident eye of the Eternal our God, who continually watches for preservation of his Church, did so dispose all things that Sathan short after found himself far disappointed of his conclusion taken. For in that cruel persecution used by that monster, Mary of England, were godly men dispersed in divers nations, of whom it pleased the goodness of our God to send some unto us for our comfort and instruction (Knox 1949, 1:118).

Knox was desperate to see a government established in Scotland that would respect both the new religion, and the country's autonomy. He thought that he had had that with Edward the VI, and when the King passed away, he saw those hopes begin to dissipate. There was still some hope, however, for although Knox genuinely believed that Satan's minions were coming to power, he also believed that God was sending him amongst others on a divine mission to prevent his country from literally going to the Devil (Knox 1949 1:118).

Reform in Scotland was bred from a variety of sources, including a frustration and lack of rapport with Rome and the Pope. It is understandable that the Scottish people would have a hard time understanding or retaining loyalty to the Catholic Church when the bishops and abbots continued to live what would have been popularly considered

highly immoral life-styles, and the monarchs took care of their illegitimate children by ensuring them a place in the church. As Philip Hughes explains, good government could not be had in Scotland while Catholicism ruled, and as such, the Reformation in Scotland is considered to be one of the most political (Hughes 1960, 324-6).

Building throughout the end of the 15th and into the 16th century, many Scots began to see that change was possible, and could be achieved with a major revolution in Scotland. Actual change began to occur in 1549, with the first of three councils of the Scottish church being held (the other two were held in 1552 and 1559). The leader of these councils was a man named John Hamilton, who was familiar with Luther and supported changes being made in the Scottish Church that were of a Lutheran vein. Through the councils, changes included attempts at better maintenance of the churches, conscientious appraisal of the clergy and, perhaps most importantly (and most Lutheran), an increase in the amount of preaching and teaching performed by the clergy (Donaldson 1974, 184). Knox conveyed some of these ideas of reform in his *History of The Reformation in Scotland*, which further demonstrated his belief that he was battling true evil on earth:

- I. No mortal man can be the head of the Church.
- II. The Pope is an Antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body.
- III. Many may neither make nor devise a religion that is acceptable to God: but man is bound to observe and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.
- IV. The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practiced by his Apostles: nothing ought to be added unto them; nothing ought to be diminished from them. (Knox 1949, 1:87).

Throughout the 1550's, the Archbishop of St. Andrews began to execute certain tasks that were the responsibility of the pope, and the monarch began to blatantly ignore the

right of the head of the Catholic church regarding the commission of various ecclesiastical functions and virtually all other matters that the pope had formerly influenced (Donaldson 1974, 183-184). Catholicism within Scotland became increasingly tenuous as there was infighting between the archbishops throughout the country, in addition to reform sentiments beginning to enter the country in the form of written works, which will be discussed shortly.

The roots for reformation in Scotland lie partially in its government, as it developed at much the same time and with many of the same ideals as the reformation on the continent did. Despite Scotland having a monarchy, the nobility of the country who were violent and volatile at best, often ruled it completely. At this point, a brief explanation of the administrative geography of Scotland as outlined by W. Croft Dickinson can be given for clarification purposes. Scotland was partitioned into three regions during the 16th century: the Border, the Highlands and the Lowlands. Realizing that it had neither the money nor the numbers, the Scottish monarchy often encouraged the nobility of each area to regulate themselves; this often meant that there was no consistent government or laws. Adding to the problem, the three groups fought and pillaged each other, and England, mercilessly and constantly. By condoning and encouraging this type of government, the monarchs of Scotland were continuously taking the power that should have belonged to them and were placing it into other less reliable hands. Scotland had no money due partly to the almost complete lack of national tax collection (taxation rarely occurred unless there was an emergency or an exceptional event), and the pittance of taxes that was collected was done in such a manner that the individual who collected the tax, most often simply kept it for him or herself. Dickinson

further argues that the nobility of Scotland had no desire to change the way in which Scotland was run, as they had considerable power and were most likely connected to or were responsible for the collection of taxes. In the rare cases when the monarchy or the other governing bodies of Scotland (the Privy Council, the Parliament, or the Convention of Estates) attempted to discipline a noble, they would often find themselves unsuccessful, unless they were able to obtain a large group of men that would go to whatever part of the country the noble lived in and execute the punishment. The nobility continued to run the majority of the country and were infamous for the bloody feuds that took place between families (Dickinson 1977, 319-322). Knox provides an excellent example of this situation in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. He was explaining the history of a Cardinal, but cannot fully do so without stating

[N]ot that these bloody beasts ceased by all means to suppress the light of God, and to trouble such as in any sort were suspected to abhor their corruption, but because the realm was troubled with intestine and civil wars, in the which much blood was shed; first, at Melrose, betwix the Douglas and Buccleuch, in the year of God 1526, the nineteenth day of July; next, at Linlithgow, betwix the Hamiltons and the Earl of Lennox, where the said Earl, with many others, lost his life, the thirteenth day of September, the year foresaid; and last, betwix the King himself and the said Douglasses, whom he banished the realm, and held them in exile during his whole days (Knox 1949, 1: 22).

Knox does not refer to Satan or the anti-Christ here, but the description of the battles, including one between a king and a powerful family, are indicative of the divided world in which Knox found himself. Within Scotland, it would have been quite difficult to ignore all the violence that was occurring, and it would seem logical for Knox to understand that all the struggles that he would undertake were battles against evil, whether they were of the sword or the pen.

Despite their power, the nobility of Scotland were often short of funds, and were therefore bribed rather easily. Money in 16th century Scotland did not equal power, land did, and the nobility ensured their positions by retaining their own property and stealing the property of others. As Michael Lynch explains, whoever leased land was held directly responsible to their landlord, and any governing body, including the monarchy, was virtually powerless and unable therefore to get involved in disputes. It is not surprising then, that tenants would feel greater loyalty to their landlord, compared to the monarchy. The largest problem for the tenants of Scotland (who would have made up the majority of the population) was the lack of assurance regarding the land. This was true also for the Catholic Church, as land was often owned by bishops or abbots, who would die childless (or with illegitimate heirs), meaning that the Catholic Church would lose property. In an attempt to prevent this from happening, the Catholic Church, in accordance with James V, instituted the law of “feuing” lands in the early 16th century. This benefited the average tenant as well, as it ensured that the land would remain within the family indefinitely after the owner had passed away. Unfortunately, landlords would only allow this to occur at an extremely high cost, meaning hypothetically the average tenant could benefit, but realistically only the church and James V would, especially as the king used the law in order that the Catholic Church might repay some of the money they owed the monarch. The issue of land, Lynch further explains, was a formidable one for the Catholic Church, the burgeoning Protestants, the monarchy and the nobility. For every one of the aforementioned groups, the fear or hope was that one association would gain enough power and money to control the whole country (Lynch 1991, 171; 181-183).

For those not living in the Scottish countryside, there were burghs, or towns that were also spread throughout Scotland, each relying on various trades for economic stability. Throughout the 16th century, Scotland's population almost doubled, and it was in the burghs that this population increase was felt most strongly. An increase of illness and economic instability throughout Scotland was felt, and it was the reformers and their new church, which would actually cause beneficial change to occur for the majority of the population, who found themselves living on the poverty line (Lynch 1991, 171; 181-183). Again, the belief of battling evil, or un-godly forces created by such unstable laws and government must be drawn out, as it these events which partially allowed for Knox's prolific understanding of the anti-Christ living throughout Scotland, France and England.

It cannot be forgotten that religion and the rest of society were intertwined to such a great extent in the 15th and 16th centuries, but in the case of Scotland, this became more noticeable due to its monarchy. Not only was Scotland fighting to become independent from Rome, but it was also striving to become a nation that would live with the ideals of only one of its powerful neighbours: England or France. Because Scotland had a weak monarchy, it was extremely susceptible to the two aforementioned countries, and consequently spent much of its time attempting to achieve a balance between being protected and being independent. As Chadwick explains

As in France and the Netherlands, the Reform was entangled in the political strife of Scottish factions. One party looked to French support, accepted French money, tried to rule Scotland with the assistance of French troops, wanted to increase the power of the crown in the person of the French Regent Mary of Guise, and was identified with the maintenance of the Catholic religion. The other party looked to English support, accepted English money, wanted the assistance of English troops and ships, and was identified with reforming ideals and antipathy to the Catholic bishops (1964, 171).

England and France used Scotland mercilessly in their attempts to gain more power, land and money, in addition to occasionally desiring their religious beliefs to be homogeneous with Scotland's (Chadwick 1964, 171).

Dickinson can once again be relied upon for his analysis of the Scottish Reformation. As he explains, Protestantism had a small jump-start in the early 1540's when Henry VIII attempted to convince the regent of the time, James Hamilton, the Earl of Arran to join allegiances with England by arranging the marriage of the future Queen of Scotland, Mary, to Henry's son, Prince Edward. Although there was support at the time for an allegiance with England, as opposed to France, Henry VIII was too transparent with his idea of domination of Scotland, as opposed to partnership. Therefore, the Earl of Arran resumed his broken alliance with Cardinal Beaton and ergo, France. Despite their being support for an alliance with England, Protestantism was at the time not much more than an ideal, and would not have been viewed as a force that could provide the support needed to help run a country. In addition, the few nobles who supported Henry VIII and Protestantism were known to be taking such a position solely because the king of England had bribed them. Overall, the Scots knew that they wanted an independent country, or at the very least a semblance of one, and although being in an alliance with France was not the equivalent of being self-governed, it was far from the complete domination that England was offering (Dickinson 1977, 330-334). Knox also realized that he could not liberate Scotland single-handedly, and, in fact, it would be virtually impossible to completely liberate Scotland at all; therefore, he chose his battles carefully, and appealed to those he thought would help him at the very least achieve a country where he could truly practice God's word as he understood it.

There can be no doubt that Knox used language rife with references to evil and Satan because it was first and foremost what he believed. That is to say, he firmly believed that he was fighting God's war against Satan and his representatives on earth, in Scotland. It needs also be mentioned that Knox's powerful language would have undoubtedly caused many to act, and although it was not Knox's primary reason, I think subconsciously he used such powerful, dualistic language to further his cause. Knox wrote a letter to the Nobles of Scotland, as to what should be done in regards to the comprehensive state of the country. He explained,

We, perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to downthring and to destroy the Evangel of Christ, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in Him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majesty of God, and his congregation, that we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful Ministers purely and truly to minister to Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to his people (Knox 1949, 1:136).

Knox was trying to achieve many things at the same time, but simultaneously, all were parts of an interchangeable puzzle, meaning that without the proper form of government, Protestantism could not exist. And if Protestantism could not exist, Knox could not be completing God's word in Scotland, as he understood it.

By the end of the decade, the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scotland had been arranged to the dauphin, after a great amount of French assistance had been sent to Scotland to help prevent England from taking over. This was more than a simple arrangement between a few key figures, it was actually condoned by the Scottish Parliament. The agreement included a clause that necessitated Mary be brought up and educated in France, meaning as a Catholic. In 1550, peace was finally declared and

England was driven out of Scottish territory. There was a change of rule in Scotland immediately following the peace treaty. The Earl of Arran was quickly replaced by Mary of Guise who had been instrumental in ensuring that peace was brought to Scotland, and who was also respected by both Protestants and Catholics. She was made Regent in April 1554 (Smith 1920, 273).

In 1553 there was a change of temperament when England became Catholic again, meaning that, within Scotland, all Protestants who had formerly looked to England for support were at a loss. The Scottish Protestants were still fighting with the French for control of their country, and as such, Protestantism in Scotland was still very much linked to the desire for independence. Scotland desperately needed a leader of both the Protestant and Scottish independent clause, and it obtained this in Knox. Knox had been released from his sentence in February 1549, but only returned to Scotland in 1555 at the request of a few nobles who called themselves Protestant. He remained only a year, but his time there was well spent, as he was able to provide some organization for the men who desired religious and or political change within Scotland. Although the degree of sincerity that the men felt regarding religious reform may be questionable, Knox was able to find enough support for his work, most notably through the men who called themselves 'the Congregation' (Barrington 1971, 314; Cowan 1982, 105).

In October of 1557, Knox quoted his and his followers' belief regarding reform:

We, perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to downthring and to destroy the Evangel of Christ, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounded duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of victory in Him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majesty of God, and his congregation, that we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his Congregation (Knox 1949, 1:136).

This quote describes not only the battle they believed they were fighting, but also their goal of establishing Scotland as one of God's countries, as God had dictated.

Throughout the following year, certain events took place that expedited the Protestant Reformation, including: the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots to the dauphin of France on April 24th; on an unknown date in April a heretic named Walter Milne was burnt by a group of bishops; on September 1st (the day of the Feast of St. Giles), Edinburgh had its first Protestant riot; and finally in December of 1558 the Estates (the three branches of the government, the Clergy, the Nobility and the Burgesses) gathered and gave to the Queen a powerful anti-Catholic document identifying their supporters. It would seem that the public was the only motivating force desiring change in Scotland, but on November 17, 1558 Elizabeth took the throne in England, meaning that Scotland's powerful neighbour would once again be Protestant, or at the very least sympathetic to the cause. With Elizabeth on the English throne, Mary could no longer simply tolerate the Protestants, but would soon be forced to confront them head on. This combination of a public desire and the political means was necessary for reform in Scotland, as it was linked so closely with its independence as a country. With all of these events occurring, Knox and other Scottish reformers further solidified their belief that they were fighting the anti-Christ, who appeared in a variety of different situations and persons, throughout Europe.

The theological causes of reform were undeniably present up to 1559, but would not have been as powerful a motivation as national causes. With Knox's re-entry into Scotland in the spring of 1559, the theological motivations of the Reformation were about

to emerge and become the dominating force that would finally allow reform to occur, and eventually to be successful, in Scotland (Smith 1920, 273-275).

Again, the unique situation of Scotland as a country with a weak government fighting for both religious and political autonomy must be taken into consideration. While Knox roused the troops in Scotland in 1559, Elizabeth was forced to act in England, as Mary had been publicly acknowledged as the Queen not only of Scotland, but also of England and Ireland. In addition, with Roman Catholicism again gaining great power, the Pope had asserted that royalty who had denied Catholicism were heretics, and therefore were no longer in possession of their authority. Out of this came the Treaty of Berwick that put Scotland under English rule, where the former would be protected from harm, but would also have their independence defended. The treaty provided protection for Scotland, though, by having England send aid to Scotland immediately. Scotland would assist England by providing military assistance if France were to invade England. The Treaty of Berwick allowed the Reformation to develop as it did, as opposed to being something completely different if Scotland had not gained that independence from both England and Scotland. This agreement completely satisfied the politics of England, but Knox was to record that regarding Elizabeth, he was unsure of her position as she “reigneth over them [England] neither good Protestant nor yet resolute Papist” (Knox 1949, 1:369).

The Treaty of Berwick in conjunction with the failing health and death of Mary of Guise in Edinburgh on June 10th or 11th, 1560 brought the revolution to an end. England left Scotland satisfied that it would be a semi-independent country that would not constitute a threat to England’s liberty, while Scotland rejoiced in their new religious and

spiritual accomplishments. France was not completely rejected though, as the Treaty of Edinburgh (that was created to recognize Scotland's independence) only acknowledged Elizabeth's crown, while it affirmed that Scotland would remain loyal to France. In addition, the Treaty of Edinburgh stated that no aggressive, war-like tactics were to occur between France and England; France also agreed not to profess dominance over England or Ireland through their flags. Scotland was conspicuously absent from the Treaty, although it was able to feel satisfied with what it believed was the victory of a religious war. While in Parliament in August of the same year, certain Catholic traditions were rejected while Knox was celebrated for preaching freely about the House of God as it was explained by Haggai in the Hebrew Bible (Ezra 5:1-2 NRSV). For Knox and Scotland, it truly was a victory of God (Knox 1949, 1:xlix-1; 335; Knox 1895, 2:47-52).

With battles constantly being fought, and power changing hands from monarch to monarch, a consistent air of uncertainty would have hung over the heads of all parties concerned, and therefore would have caused an understanding that wars were being constantly fought for the final goal of Scotland being governed as a free country. It was not only a free country that Knox wanted, though, but one that was godly; therefore he understood all of his struggles to be against Satan personified in various individuals. The evil throughout Scotland would have therefore been anything (or anyone) that was seemingly fighting against the leaders and groups that were believed to be working towards a serene Scotland.

Literacy and Education in Scotland

Before continuing on to explain the strands of theology that influenced Scotland's burgeoning Protestantism, it must be explained how these ideas were transmitted. The

first person accused of bringing Lutheran ideas to Scotland was a French man named M. de la Tour, as James McGoldrick explains. Virtually nothing is known about him, including his first name, although there is documentation that states that de la Tour was executed after returning to France from Scotland where he allegedly spread Lutheran ideas. It cannot be forgotten that by the early 1500's, there was approximately 60 Scotsmen studying at the University of Paris, and any one of these individuals could have returned to their native land with Lutheran ideas and documents. What can be proved and accepted is the spread of the New Testament in English, which theologically was a major aspect of the reformation, and pragmatically reflects the changes that occurred. This occurred very early in the 16th century, as by the quarter mark of the 1500's, Scottish Parliament had legislated that Luther's books were banned from being imported to Scotland, and two years later the law had been broadened to include punishment for any person who aided in such an act. McGoldrick further describes that the law was virtually ineffective as Scotland's government was incapable of providing adequate human and financial support to properly police the many ports that were to be found throughout the country. In England, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey was working on behalf of Henry VIII and was also trying to prevent such literature from entering his country in the first third of the 16th century. The English ambassador to Antwerp, John Hackett, reported "to Wolsey that there were 'divers merchants of Scotland that bought many such like books and took them into Scotland, a part to Edinburgh, and most to the town of St. Andrews'" (McGoldrick 1989, 33). Patrick Hamilton (who will be discussed in more detail shortly), Lynch explained, was the first reformer to be burned as a heretic and may have been the partial or complete cause of the legislation that aimed to prevent Lutheran

literature from entering Scotland, as he had very quickly caused the Catholic establishment to take notice of him and oppose his teachings. At approximately the same time, the English translation of the New Testament done by William Tyndale was completed and began to circulate throughout Scotland. These factors combined were essential in laying the literary groundwork for the Scottish Protestant reformation (Lynch 1991, 187-188).

Bruce Webster explains that Scotland experienced an increase in literacy beginning in the early 16th century, and a portion of the population that could afford education, attended university on continental Europe. James IV, who lived between 1488 and 1513, founded King's College in Aberdeen, which exemplified his love of learning and desire to be a renaissance man. The most important element, though, remains the introduction of the printing press to Scotland, as this would be mandatory to Protestantism being accepted. With the printing press, the new English documents (including the Bible translated into the vernacular) could be circulated easily. In addition, it was no longer necessary for a person to travel to the countries which were experiencing religious reform in order to obtain the ideas, one simply had to find the appropriate documents that were circulating. The influence of Protestantism and humanism had begun to spread throughout Scotland (Webster 1975, 192; 220-222).

Being a Christian humanist at the time included studying classical secular texts, as well as Biblical and other contemporary Christian sources, and applying this knowledge with the intention of reforming the church and society based on the teachings of the read texts. Although this may have occurred much more slowly in Scotland than it did in continental Europe, nonetheless the sentiments were similar, if not at times identical.

John Major was an interesting case as he represented that group of people who found themselves on both sides of the reformation debate. While wanting to see some of the problems (most notably the corruption) in the Church disappear, he vehemently opposed any kind of theological change, especially one that involved denying transubstantiation during the Eucharist. In fact, when Major wrote on the Gospel of Matthew, he openly attacked John Wyclif, Martin Luther, and Ulrich Zwingli as they denied transubstantiation. Major was denied any kind of respect by the reformers, and Francois Rabelais went as far as to mock “that Major had written an absurd treatise entitled *The Art of Making Puddings*” (McGoldrick 1989, 32). Because Major felt himself unable to deny the necessity of change within the church, he may have unknowingly assisted in spreading the “heresy” of the Protestants in the early 16th century, although reform would not occur for quite some time in what was definitely Catholic Scotland (Greaves 1980, 148-149).

With an increase in both literature and literate people, the divide between those that wanted reform and those that did not, deepened. As the rift became more solidified, the identification of a person as an enemy would have become easier to make. If this is taken in conjunction with the knowledge that the majority of Scotland was ready for change, an even deeper understanding of fighting battles against evil can be perceived.

This understanding of the way in which the increase of literacy helped to promote ideas of the anti-Christ can be applied to Knox’s own writings. Knox utilized the terms Satan primarily when describing the Pope and the papacy; even when he discussed the possibility of Queen Mary being ruled by Satan, it was only in reference to her religious beliefs. Therefore, Knox’s understandings of evil within Scotland represent the belief in

Christ versus the anti-Christ, and it can be then understood that religious reform in Scotland followed a similar understanding of the role of Satan throughout the country. For example, in his preface to his Second Book of a *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Knox wrote in a blunt tone about the reason for his writing, in addition to his previous and current actions:

Lest that Sathan by our long silence shall take occasion to blaspheme, and to slander us THE PROTESTANTS OF THE REALM OF SCOTLAND, as that our fact tended rather to sedition and rebellion, than to reformation of manners and abuses in religion, we have thought expedient, so truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the causes moving us (us, we say, a great part of the Nobility and Barons of the realm), to take the sword of just defence against those that most unjustly seek our destruction. And in this our Confession we shall faithfully declare what moved us to put our hands to the Reformation of Religion;...as also, that our brethren, natural Scotsmen, of what religion so ever they may be, may have occasion to examine themselves, if they may with safe conscience oppose themselves to us, who seek nothing but Christ Jesus his glorious Evangel to be preached, his holy Sacraments to be truly ministered, superstition, tyranny, and idolatry to be suppressed in this realm; and finally, the liberty of this our native country to remain free from the bondage and tyranny of strangers (Knox 1949, 1:146).

Knox loved to write, and the section just quoted is reflective of his belief regarding the anti-Christ, and the influence that he would have had can be understood through his choice of words.

Heresy might have been the most frequent charge laid against new Protestants by the Catholics, as it involved any action or belief that was contrary to the accepted theology. For this study, the label of heretic can be understood as another way of identifying one's enemy, and subsequently is another reflection of the belief of battles being fought against evil in 16th century Scotland. One prominent example of heresy can be seen with a basic complaint of Luther against the Catholic Church. The Catholics who were in power at the time would have considered virtually any form of Protestantism in

Scotland in the early 16th century heresy. One of the main issues that Luther focussed on as he brought about the Reformation in Germany involved individuals achieving salvation through a proper understanding of the Scriptures, which could only be accomplished if the Bible was available to all citizens. Within the Catholic Church, the congregants were discouraged from reading scriptures themselves (especially as they were in Latin), and it was this tenet that Luther used to explain the evil running rampant through the Catholic Church. As Luther explained, God had given the scriptures to humanity in order that they might read and receive the teachings, so that they might live properly and therefore achieve salvation. The Pope, then, must be the anti-Christ if he was trying to prevent the people from achieving God's saving grace. As some Scotsmen and women felt themselves drawn to the newly arrived literature, and the Protestant theology that accompanied the majority of it (including ideas of anti-Christ), the schism deepened between the old Catholics and the burgeoning Protestants (Luther 1962, 250; 91).

Key Contributors to the Reformation in Scotland

The groundwork now being completed for the history of the Reformation in Scotland, a few of the key figures that influenced Knox will be examined, as they are all essential to any comprehensive study of Scotland's reformation. Patrick Hamilton was an early Lutheran who influenced Knox greatly with his written texts, as did George Wishart and Henry Balnaves. As all were such strong Lutherans, it will therefore be argued that Wishart and Balnaves were a strong influence on Knox regarding his ideas of the anti-Christ. Hamilton was not as concerned with Satan or the battle against evil, but

he was a strong Lutheran, and he will therefore be studied in an attempt to establish a strong connection between Knox' and Luther's theologies.

Alexander Mitchell details the life of Patrick Hamilton, a man who was burned in 1528 for being one of the first proponents of Lutheran reform within Scotland. Patrick Hamilton had been taught by Desiderius Erasmus during his youth, in the early 1520's. When he returned to Scotland in 1523 he obtained a teaching position at the University of St. Andrews in the Faculty of Arts; Hamilton had received his Master of Arts from the University of Paris previously. Hamilton was soon uncomfortable in the strict Catholic atmosphere and proceeded to Wittenberg in an attempt to study with Luther. Although he was not able to remain there long (due to fear caused by an outbreak of the plague), he was able to obtain a job at the newly founded University of Marburg. At Marburg, Hamilton wrote a group of theses that were Lutheran in every word, and this series of Hamilton's came to be known as "Patrick's Places". After the completion of this work, Hamilton felt he could no longer resist preaching in his homeland and in late 1527 he returned to Kincavil, Scotland and began lecturing to his friends and neighbours. Hamilton was moderately successful, but was also considered to be enough of a threat, that he was called to a meeting with Archbishop Beaton, at St. Andrews. Mitchell further explains that the Hamilton's were one of the most powerful families in Scotland, and as has been earlier demonstrated, such families ran Scotland. Therefore, although Archbishop Beaton may have vehemently disagreed with what Patrick Hamilton was preaching, he most likely found himself in a position where harsh action could prove difficult and wrought with negative consequences. Nonetheless, after Beaton's and Hamilton's meetings, Hamilton returned to preaching a Lutheran gospel, and Beaton was

left with no choice but to have him burned as a heretic in 1528. Luther's main tenets will be explored in some detail later, but a brief note about what Hamilton chose to emphasize from Luther's varied teachings is important to note at this point, as it provides a strong link between Luther and Knox (Mitchell 1900, 21-32).

Hamilton focused on Luther's doctrine of justification through faith alone, which was further expounded upon by Knox. Luther's doctrine of justification through faith alone explained that for a person to be truly holy, there is no need to do acts through the church that involved more than the actions that were detailed in the Bible (Luther 1962, 58; Burleigh 1960, 121-122). As Luther's anger continued to grow towards the Catholic Church, he began his characterizations of the Pope and the papacy as the anti-Christ. I would like to draw the connection therefore, between the document *Patrick's Places*, John Knox, and the development of understandings of the anti-Christ within Scotland. John Frith wrote an introduction for *Patrick's Places* when he translated it into English, in approximately 1532, and explained the reasoning for the document, which I feel lays a strong basis for Knox's beliefs:

Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in these last and perilous times, hath stirred up, in all countries, witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at the least some from the snares of Antichrist, which lead unto perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well-learned young man, Patrick [Hamilton], born in Scotland of a noble progeny...(Knox 1949, 2:219).

It is telling that "countries" are mentioned, as it is reflective of the belief that God chose certain countries to protect, furthering the understanding of battles against the anti-Christ. Along with this belief went the understanding that if one's country was destined to be God's country, it must be protected as such, especially from those who have fallen under the influence of the anti-Christ.

Patrick Hamilton was first influenced by Erasmus' humanism that was introduced to him while he was studying in Paris. His work is important to note here as his emphasis on solving some of the moral problems that existed within both church and society through a humanistic way of studying (i.e. through primary sources as opposed to secondary texts) is exemplary as one of the major causes of the reformation. Evidence for this can be found once again in Frith's preface to *Patrick's Places*, which McGoldrick includes as an appendix to his text *Luther's Scottish Connection*. It states:

Nevertheless, God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered), hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places: for it treateth exactly of certain common places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlasting. Amen (quoted in McGoldrick 1989, 74-75).

With this introduction, Frith partially explained Hamilton's desire to have the written word become the basis for much of the changes that the latter believed were necessary to occur within Scotland, and the Scottish Catholic church. In this way, the literature of Hamilton is important to the study of the causes of the reformation for two reasons. First, he emphasized the importance of reading in English, and intended to have his texts be an integral aspect of the changes of religion within Scotland. Secondly, he understood the dualistic nature of Scotland and, although he did not refer to the anti-Christ, later reformers understood that Patrick's Places could "save at least some from the snares of Antichrist" (McGoldrick 1989, 74). Therefore, the importance of Hamilton can be seen with the origins of the belief of earthly battles being fought against the anti-Christ or his minions (McGoldrick 1989, 38-39).

Although Hamilton was but a young man when he was burned (he was 24), his influence was strong and carried right through to Knox, who described his death as if he had been there himself. Knox wrote,

The innocent servant of God being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, some timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made and set afire...but neither kindled the wood, nor yet the coals. And so remained the appointed to death in torment, till that men ran to the Castle again for more powder, and for wood more able to take fire; which at last being kindled, with loud voice he cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?...But most of all he grieved by certain wicked men, amongst whom Campbell the Black Friar...was principal, who continually cried, "Convert, heretic: call upon your Lady: Say *Salve Regina*," etc. To whom he answered, "Depart, and trouble me not, ye messengers of Sathan." (Knox 1949, 1:14).

J.A. Barrington records that after Hamilton, three friars were put to death for advocating many of the Protestant complaints. This is a remarkably small number, and may be reflective of the lack of an impact that the new Protestants were having throughout Scotland (Barrington 1971, 312). It was not only Protestants that wanted reform in the Church, but some Catholics agreed in theory with the reformers. Yet these men vehemently opposed those who clearly identified themselves with the new Lutherans/Protestants, and believed they should be burned as heretics. John Major, who was previously mentioned as being a Catholic concerned with the Church, taught alongside Hamilton at St. Andrew's and might possibly have been the cause of Hamilton's early departure. This is another dualistic occurrence within Scotland, as it represented the uncertainty of religion but resolve of belief that was held by all of the men involved in the reformation. Burleigh explained that Major,

[D]eclared that the wealth of the Church had stifled its piety, and he even showed interest in parochial ministrations which he knew had been neglected. He suggested some redistribution of the Church's resources, but believed that the canon law if enforced by the bishops would be adequate for the remedy of abuses.

Most striking of all is the description of the state of the Church due to the evil lives and ignorance of its clergy contained in Archibald Hay's panegyric on David Beaton on the occasion of the latter's elevation as Cardinal-Archbishop of St. Andrews (1960, 125).

The changes that an orthodox Catholic such as Major desired were very similar if not identical to those propounded by Luther or Protestants. Nonetheless, Catholics who welcomed change but resented Lutherans would never come to agree with or accept the degree of changes that the reformers wanted, as Burleigh suggests (1960, 124-125). It is interesting to note that it was not only the Protestants who believed the Catholic Church was being influenced by evil, but also some Catholics. This dualism would seem to reflect a common viewpoint of the time, that was not limited to any particular group.

The next individual influential and essential to the burgeoning Scottish Reformation is George Wishart. As McGoldrick explains, this was a man from whom Knox learned from and maintained a great respect for, as his teachings were thorough and identified the necessary elements for reform in Scotland. Wishart led a long life of disobedience for the cause of a new religion, beginning with a teaching career at Montrose, where he educated his students in the New Testament as it was written in Greek. The popular charge of heresy was threatened against Wishart for his teaching, and as a result he fled to Bristol, England. Again, Wishart was forced to flee after Henry VIII published his Six Articles, which amongst other things affirmed that transubstantiation did occur during the mass. Wishart denied this and therefore went to Switzerland, where reformation sentiments were strong and somewhat accepted. McGoldrick, in his book *Luther's Scottish Connection*, further explains that the first contact Wishart had was with reformers who had been rejected by Luther, and who advocated the First Helvetic confession, which Wishart accepted. This document

focussed on laying out the tenets of Protestantism that had developed in Switzerland, and was later widely accepted throughout Scotland. After receiving high praise for teaching once again in England, Wishart returned to Scotland in 1543/4. While in Scotland, Wishart preached in Dundee, Ayrshire and East Lothian, where he was recognized as having made a huge impact. Although later reports state that he was a violent man engaged in a political struggle (which included a plan for murdering Cardinal Beaton), this is contradicted in other reports that claim his major influence occurred with his theological preaching for reform within Scotland. It is unknown which characterization of the man is correct, although John Knox's later praises of the man would lead one to believe that it is the latter which is appropriate. Wishart was burned at the stake as a heretic at St. Andrews, on March 1, 1546, on orders from Cardinal Beaton (McGoldrick 1989, 70; Burleigh 1960, 128-129).

The death of Wishart had an immediate effect, especially for Cardinal Beaton. Revenge was taken on May 29, 1546, when followers of Wishart (some of whom had been personally wronged by Beaton themselves) entered the bedroom of the cardinal in St. Andrews Castle and murdered him while he slept. The men who committed the murder did not flee but rather barricaded themselves inside the castle of St. Andrews, where they were soon joined by other supporters, one of them being the satirist and poet Sir David Lindsay, who is said to have remarked "Although the loon be well away the deed was foully done" (Burleigh 1960, 129). Circumstances boded well for the 'Castilians', as they soon came to be called, as the death of Francis, head of France prevented help being sent from France to Scotland; it would not be long though, until the Castilians were hit by a patch of bad luck of their own. An appeal was sent to Henry VIII

for support for the Castilians, but his death in January 1547 ensured that no help would be forthcoming. Nonetheless, the Castilians were in a fairly secure position as they held the Earl of Arran's son hostage in the castle with them, meaning that Arran would be much less likely to commit any kind of act against the Castilians while his much beloved son was in danger (Burleigh 1960, 128-129). While the Castilians were at St. Andrews, the notion of earthly battles being fought against evil forces was furthered to a large extent, as it definitively polarized the two groups, the new Scottish Protestants and the established Catholics.

Throughout continental Europe, many leaders arose that focused on reforming their religions within their home and neighbouring countries, including Martin Luther, Desiderius Erasmus, and John Calvin. In Scotland, Henry Balnaves was, prior to Knox, probably the most successful reformer in teaching Lutheran theology. He lived in approximately the first seventy years of the 16th century, and therefore was in a prime position to be of assistance to the new Protestants, whom he supported even while working for a Catholic government. Balnaves was arrested and put in prison at Rouen for murder during the late 1540's and 50's, although it is unclear if Balnaves actually committed the murder, or how long him and his supposed accomplices remained imprisoned. While he was incarcerated, Balnaves wrote the work that would become such an influence on Knox, *The Confession of Faith, containing how the troubled man should seek refuge at his God, thereto led by faith: with the declaration of the articles of justification at length*. Balnaves picked up Luther's beliefs regarding salvation through works, and used an intensive analysis of Scripture to explain this theory, as did Luther

when he wrote a commentary of Galatians, in 1535. The following quote by Balnaves explained a major element of his theology:

The substance of the Article of Justification is to cleave and stick fast to our God, knowing him our Maker...and to believe firmly, undoubtedly, that we are not righteous nor just by ourselves, nor yet by our own works, which are less than little, but by the help of another—the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, who has delivered and redeemed us from death, the devil, and sin, and has given to us eternal life (quoted in McGoldrick 1989, 65).

Although Balnaves seemingly placed a lesser emphasis on works in the above quote, it does not mean that he was discrediting right actions; he was simply explaining the importance of the Bible in achieving salvation as it teaches (through Jesus Christ) the proper way to live. The works that Balnaves was opposed to were those that were taught by the church as being the only path to salvation. As such, within this last line regarding the role of Christ, a clear reference to the evil nature of those who would attempt to prevent citizens from achieving salvation by encouraging works through the Catholic Church, or by denying the scriptures, can be read. Balnaves, like Luther believed that it was impossible for one to redeem their evil ways except through their reading and understanding the Bible, and the Catholic Church taught differently. Without Balnaves, the Scottish Reformation may have become an entirely different event, as Knox relied so heavily on Balnaves, as will now be explained.

Knox received and read Balnaves *The Confessions of Faith*...while he was in prison at Rouen from 1547-1549, (being placed there as punishment for being a Castilian) and declared it be an incredibly rewarding and worthwhile document, and subsequently attempted to have it printed; unfortunately the manuscript was lost and was not published for approximately a generation. John Knox's praise for Balnaves *Confession of Faith* was as follows:

But one thing bouldly I dare affirme, that no man which commeth with a godly heart hereto, shall passe from the same without satisfaction. The firme and weake shall find strength and confort; the rude and simple, true knowledge and erudition; the learned and godly humbly rejoycing, by the omnipotent spirite of Jesus Christ, to whome bee glorie before his congregation (Knox 1895, 3:11).

Knox felt that Balnaves' *The Confessions*, was such an important document that the former even made some adjustments himself to it. The three main issues that Knox believed to be of prime importance in Balnaves work involved "(1) how sinful man should seek refuge with God; (2) how faith in Christ justifies a sinner; and (3) how good works follow faith as its inevitable fruits" (McGoldrick 1989, 65). Balnaves was influential in the beginning of the Reformation, and therefore advocated for the most part a Lutheran theology that was accepted and advocated by Knox until Calvinism began to achieve a greater amount of authority amongst the new reformers in Scotland. Therefore, with Balnaves seemingly alluding to Luther's writings, and Knox then advocating the usage of Balnaves texts, a connection can be made between the author of the 95 theses and the Scottish Reformation, especially as understood by Knox (Edington 1998, 39-40).

Violence was not often an aspect of the Protestant Reformation, even in Scotland, which had had a relatively bloody and tumultuous history. Therefore, the actions of the Castilians must be taken as a sign of the deep frustration and religious and political conviction held by the men who undertook to take Scotland back by force. This event holds interest for this study in that it was a physical representation of the battle against evil that was often expressed only in writing. The appearance of John Knox and his hesitant nature towards his role in the event which will soon be discussed, lends even further insight into the general outlook of the best way in which reform could be achieved.

While they were in the castle, the Castilians often discussed their position and reasoning for being there. Prior to John Knox making his first sermon, he explained why he had joined the Castilians,

For, as for your Roman Kirk, as it is now corrupted, and the authority thereof, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt but that it is the synagogue of Sathan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, to be that man of sin, of whom the Apostle speaks, than that I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible Kirk of Jerusalem (Knox 1949, 1:84).

As Knox described his own role in *History of the Reformation of Scotland*, he was unsure whether the Castilians were of the same mindset as him, or indeed would provide the context for which he would soon understand his role.

Life for the Castilians was not an easy affair, but it was interesting as they were able to preach amongst themselves, and they held discussions regarding the way in which reform should be experienced in Scotland. In April 1547, John Knox joined the Castilians and participated in his first recognized debate with a Franciscan Friar named Arbuckle. The debate centred on the issue of whether the church had the power to legislate rites that were not regulated in the Bible. It is unknown who won the debate, although apparently the moderator, John Winram, indicated that his allegiance to the recognized church was weakening, possibly signifying that Knox's opinions were those that were slowly becoming favoured (Knox 1949, 1:88-92; Burleigh 1960, 130).

King Henry II of France sent help to Scotland soon after he had been crowned, and in July of 1547 the Castilians were forced to surrender. Those who came from noble backgrounds were contained in France while French Catholics attempted to convince them of their heretical actions and beliefs. Knox and the other less fortunate prisoners were forced to work in the galleys of French ships for a period of 18 months, after which

time they were released (Burleigh 1960, 130). When Knox later wrote his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, he quoted himself as having said “[t]hat their corrupt life could not escape punishment of God” (Knox 1949, 1:95). Knox was referring to the French Catholics who had captured the Castilians, but this quote also relates a deep theological understanding of Knox that is essential to this study. According to Knox, because God was ordaining the battle that Knox and the other reformers were participating in, the wrath of God would be inflicted upon those that captured the Castilians, either in this life or the next. The Catholics would be sufficiently punished for having thwarted God’s plan for a true Christian Scotland, as understood by the reformers.

Knox wrote about the reaction that was given to one man, Adam Wallace who admitted to reading the scriptures. He quoted a dialogue between Wallace, the Earl of Huntly, the Duke, the Bishop, Master John Lauder and others who supported the Catholic cause. One of the Catholics asked “Knave...what have ye to do to meddle with the Scriptures?”. Wallace answered “I think...it is the duty of every Christian to seek the will of his God, and the assurance of his salvation, where it is to be found, and that is within his Old and New Testament”. Wallace continued to speak after being accused of numerous offences regarding his beliefs, were levelled at him:

The Bishops can be no judges to me; for they are open enemies to me and to the doctrine that I profess...but I cannot be convict (as I am assured by God’s word I shall not) then I in God’s name desire your assistance that malicious men execute not upon me unjust tyranny (Knox 1949, 1:115).

The fear that so many of the original Protestants felt can be sensed through this quote, despite these individuals believing that they were truly battling alongside God.

John Knox: His Life and Involvement with the Scottish Reformation

The examination of John Knox will be thorough as the details of his life are important to understanding his world-view. In addition, he was the main figure of the reformation in Scotland, and his actions and interactions with monarchs and other reformers are essential to understanding why he consistently labelled the Catholic Church and the Papacy, the monarchs, and anyone else he felt to be subverting the will of God, as the anti-Christ.

The exact date of Knox's birth is unknown, although it was probably around 1515, in Haddington, Scotland. After examining Knox's education, it can be inferred that his parents came from a comfortable background. Knox went to a grammar school in Haddington that utilized a liberal teaching method, which his parents hoped would provide an adequate background for him to go into ministry. At the age of 16, Knox went to either the University of Glasgow or St. Andrews, where it was intended (whether by him, his parents, or both is unknown) that he would receive a Master of Arts degree. Midway through his program, Knox left university without receiving a degree. Over approximately the next 18 years of Knox's life little is known, although he resurfaced as a priest (but as one who did not have enough education to be given the title *Magister*) and is next known to have worked as a tutor for individual families. Until March 1543, Knox continued to associate with the Roman Catholic Church as a bishop, in addition to working as a private tutor.

In his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Knox first referred to himself as having heard of a man by the name of George Wishart (who was previously discussed)

who preached in Lothian in 1546. Knox quoted a sermon that Wishart gave, as it was reflective of what both men obviously felt to be problematic within Scotland:

O Lord, how long shall it be that thy holy word shall be despised, and men shall not regard their own salvation. I have heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would have been at a vain Clerk play [a clerical play that focussed on scripture] two or three thousand people; and now to hear the messenger of the Eternal God, of all thy town nor parish can not be numbered a hundred persons. Sore and fearful shall the plagues be that shall ensue this thy contempt: with fire and sword thou shalt be plagued; yea, thou Haddington, in special, strangers shall possess thee, and you, the present inhabitants shall either in bondage serve your enemies, or else ye shall be chased from your own habitations; and that because ye have not known, nor will not know the time of God's merciful visitation (Knox 1949, 1:68).

Wishart influenced Knox greatly, and this excerpt from his sermon that Knox quoted is illustrative in showing the original issues that first began to infuriate the reformer. In Haddington, a play was performed by clerics that Wishart recorded as being very popular. Following a performance of the play, Wishart used his sermon as an opportunity to berate those who had chosen to attend such an anti-Christian event, while simultaneously ignoring the true word of God, as spoken by him. Wishart then continued and threatened the citizens of Haddington; this is a tactic that Knox utilized especially when writing to his fellow Scots (Knox 1949, 1:xxxii-xxxiii).

Due to Wishart's unfavourable attention (he was captured and later killed by Cardinal Beaton on the night that Knox recorded himself listening to Wishart), Knox found himself living a precarious life, although he continued to teach his then-pupils on the behest of George Wishart. It was not long before the murder of Cardinal Beaton and the capture of the Castle at St. Andrews occurred, in revenge for the death of Wishart, which caused Knox to be captured and then placed in the galley of a French ship for just over a year and a half. While in prison Knox was seemingly able to communicate and

write as he received Balnaves' *Justification by Faith* to which he added his own prologue entitled "John Knox the bound Servant of Jesus Christ". After his sentence, Knox went to England where he worked in Berwick, Newcastle, and eventually in London where he would meet his future wife and her family. In Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, he spends very little time discussing this period of his life, indicating that he deemed it unimportant, and it is therefore hard to attain any information regarding his life and work there. Knox's reformation work in the early 1550's involved gathering a group of men together that could protest cohesively against the devilish religion of Catholicism; without such support, Knox had little chance of successful reform within Scotland. Knox formed his own notions of how reform should be carried out within Scotland, which included appealing to the nobles of the land, as he believed that they would be of the social standing that would have both the knowledge and resources that were necessary to proper reform. From this idea (with a few modifications) was formed the Congregation, "a body of men organized as a political party, under the leadership of a few nobles, but depending more on the support of the country gentry and the merchants of the towns than on the nobility" (Ridley 1968, 174). Throughout the 1550's, Knox also slowly developed his theory from obeying the monarchs, whether they be evil or not, to denying them completely lest one desires to spend an eternity in hell. As he wrote in his *Letter to the Faithful in London, Newcastle and Berwick*

Consider with me, deare Brethern, (I speake to you of Newcastle and Barwike,) your miserable estate and most dolorous condition...Ye feared not to go before statutes and lawes, yea, openly and solemnedly you dyd professe, by receiving the sacrametes, not as man had appointed, but as Christ Jesus the wisdome of God the Father had institute, to be subject in all thinges concerning religion to his yoke alone, to acknowledg and avouche him before the world to be your onely Lawegyver, soveraigne Prince, and onely Saviour...O miserable change! that ye who were once fervent professors of Christ Jesus, and of his Gospel shulde now

be subjects to Antichriste, gevinge obedience to his false and decevable doctrine (Knox 1895, 5:477-478).

Throughout the approximate 10 years that were necessary for the completion of reform within Scotland, the Congregation and Knox himself worked tirelessly in various ways to achieve their goal (although Knox was not often in Scotland).

Knox left the United Kingdom in 1553, as the first of two pro-Catholic factors combined to bring the minimal protestant movement to a halt, as Burleigh explains. First, Mary of Tudor took the throne in England, meaning that a Catholic would once again rule England. Secondly, Mary of Guise was given great power in Scotland as the Hamilton family and the Earl of Arran both agreed to relinquish their control of the regency to the Queen Mother (Burleigh 1960, 133). Knox described the fear that this caused for himself and other like-minded individuals:

After the death of this most virtuous Prince, of whom the godless people of England (for the most part) were not worthy, Sathan intended nothing less than the light of Jesus Christ utterly to have been extinguished within the whole Isle of Britain; for after him was raised up, in God's hot displeasure, that idolatress Jezebel, mischievous Mary, of the Spaniard's blood; a cruel persecutrix of God's people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can sufficiently witness. And in Scotland, that same time (as we have heard) reigned that crafty practiser, Mary of Lorraine, then named Regent of Scotland (Knox 1949, 1:118).

Knox' understanding of Satan is here reflected as a character that is real enough as to have had an influence on actions that occur on earth. Following his description of Satan's belief regarding the world, Knox furthers his understanding of battling evil on earth by explaining that Satan is not the only ethereal being who has a say in what happens in the world; God is also watching and ensuring that one of His chosen countries will remain under his attentive gaze. Nonetheless, Knox still believed that he would have

to leave Scotland, until it was fully under God's rule, as opposed to being ruled by those who adhered to the will of Satan.

Knox recorded his arrival in Frankfurt-am-Main in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* as a response to a call for a preacher at an English congregation, after he had spent some time wandering through Switzerland. His job in Germany did not work out, and he later stated he regretted having made such a decision. After his brief (6-month) stint in Germany, he returned to Geneva to fulfill another position for an English congregation that was in need of a pastor. He visited Scotland in 1555 to see the beginning of a Protestant church in his home country, and encouraged by this step he wrote a letter to Queen Mary of Guise in 1556 entitled *Letter to the Regent of Scotland*. The response Knox received is less than courteous as "Mary of Guise only passes his letter to the Bishop of Glasgow with the 'mockage Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil,'" (Knox 1949, 1:123).

Knox wrote that he returned to Geneva after a year in Scotland during which time he probably married Marjory Bowes, as she and her mother accompanied him back to his congregation. After he left Edinburgh, two rather disturbing instances occurred: a representation of him was burnt and he was formally excommunicated. With these two instances and the busy life he led in Scotland, Knox found himself under a vast amount of pressure. In 1557 Knox was again invited back to Scotland but partway through his journey he received letters telling him that it was not wise for him to return (Knox 1:123). As such, Knox turned around and returned to Geneva where he wrote to those in power

I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprise...but O joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for [the] accomplishment of God's will, revealed by his word! For how terrible that ever they appear to the judgment of the natural man, yet are they never able to devour

nor utterly to consume the sufferers. For the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him...your subjects, yea, your brethren are oppressed, their bodies and souls held in bondage: and God speaketh to your consciences (unless ye be dead with the blind world) that you ought to hazard your own lives (be it against kings or emperors) for their deliverance. For only for that cause are ye called Princes of the people, and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage at god's commandment; not by reason of your birth and progeny (as the most part of men falsely do suppose), but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power (Knox 1:135).

In writing this, Knox demonstrated his frustration with the nobility and their inability (or refusal) to protect their subjects from eternal damnation caused by maintaining Scotland as a Catholic country. Knox's writings would continually reflect the different obstacles Scotland would experience in its attempts at reform due to its political instability.

With the coronation of Elizabeth to the crown of England in November 1558, many of the Protestants who had fled England began to return. Despite the politics of the time (France and Spain conspired to conquer a heretical England), Knox set foot in Scotland in May 1559. Within a few days of arriving in Scotland, Knox gave a sermon in Perth that focused on opposing idolatry, and all that went along with such practice, including Knox's negative understanding of Catholicism. Knox's main complaints regarding Catholicism focus on the misinterpretation of the Bible. For instance, he wrote,

bicaus thair is ane grete difference betuix the worschipping of God inventit be manne, without expres contrar to the command of Gode; the ane may never stand with the Scripture; the other aggreis with the Scripture, bayth Auld Testament and New, as I haif allreddy declarit (Knox 1895, 6:159).

Within this quoted passage, Knox explained the difference between understanding and following God's word, and choosing to act and profess that one is following God's word, while simultaneously creating an understanding of God's wishes. This is only one

example, but is sufficient as a basis to state that Knox's objections to Catholicism lay in his understanding of the guiding role that Scripture played.

The response to the sermon that Knox gave in Perth, in May 1559, involved mass destruction throughout the town, of any object that could be considered idolatrous. After decades of unknown preparation, the Reformation had begun. The French still occupied Scotland and attempted to prevent the Reformation from occurring, but the factors had all combined to allow for a majority of the population to support the change, as opposed to the opposite, which had consistently happened on previous occasions. Knox preached at St. Andrews a month after he had in Perth, and two and a half weeks later, on June 29th, Knox gave a sermon at St. Giles in Edinburgh. As a result there was a battle of bodies, not just of minds or souls, and although the Reformers began with approximately 5,000 troops, after two weeks of intense fighting they had dwindled to a mere 1,500. Solving this immediate problem lay just to the south of Scotland, in England, where there were many Protestant's already established who, it was hoped, would help their Protestant neighbours (Knox 1949, 1:xlili-xliv).

Knox found himself in a difficult position, as Queen Mary of Guise remained in power in Scotland, and had recently gained control over France as well. England and France continued to battle for control of each other's land, and Knox maintained his involvement by writing letters to the monarchs, in an attempt to have Scotland be realized as a Protestant country (therefore one of God's countries, not Satan's). One of these letters was entitled *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. This document described in the most unfavourable way why Knox believed that women could not rule a country. In it he explained

To promote a Woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or empire above any Realme, Nation, or Citie, is repugnant to Nature; contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reveled will and approved ordinance; and finallie, it is the subversion of good Order, of all equitie and justice (Knox 1895, 4:373).

Now that he was asking Queen Elizabeth of England to come to his aid, Knox had quite a bit of pacification and specious reasoning to complete. In his attempt to mollify Elizabeth, Knox explained that his document was directed against the two Marys (Guise and Tudor), while Elizabeth was that rare other kind of woman, who need not be offended by such a work. Knox wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, in which he pleaded his case,

I cannot deny the writing of a book against the usurped Authority and unjust Regiment of Women; neither [yet] am I minded to retract or call back any principal point, or proposition of the same, till truth and verity do further appear. But why, that either your Grace, either yet any such as unfeignedly favour the liberty of England, be offended at the author of such a work, I can perceive no just occasion. For first, my book touched not your Grace's person [in special], neither yet is it prejudicial to any liberty of the realm, if the time of my writing be indifferently considered (Knox 1949, 1:292).

The editor's notes explain that Knox was referring to the reign of Mary Tudor when he wrote, "indifferently considered"; that is, he hopes that Elizabeth will not apply the criticism to herself that Knox applied to Mary Tudor. Not only did Knox compromise his position by writing such documents, but the letters that he wrote to Elizabeth in his attempts to gain her support also received criticism, as he was noted as being too bold and unrestrained in his requests for help (Knox 1949, 1:xliv-xlvi).

Politics and religion were so intertwined that although Knox made his appeals to Elizabeth based on a professed desire to see "the advancement of Christes religion, and the libertie of this poore Realme" (Knox 1949, 1:36), as England was likely to respond to the fear of losing their autonomy. Unfortunately for Scotland, England delayed too long,

and France and Scotland, led by Mary of Guise, were able to make preparations that allowed them to disband what became known as the Army of the Congregation (the Reformers).

Although the situation began to appear helpless, the leader of the Reformation, Knox, rose to the occasion and explained in biblical terms why they were failing. As Knox concluded in a powerful sermon that he recorded in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*,

Rests [remains] that both they and we turn to the Eternal our God (who beats down to death, to the intent that he may raise up again, to leave the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance, to the praise of his own name), which, if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confusion, and fear shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after that twice with ignominy they were repulsed and dought back. Yea, whatsoever shall become of us and of our mortal carcasses, I doubt not but that this cause (in despite of Sathan) shall prevail in the realm of Scotland. For, as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, so shall it once prevail, howsoever for a time it impugned (Knox 1949, 1:270).

With this exhortation to action, Knox proved his intent to ensure that Scotland would be the true realm of God, not the anti-Christ, regardless of the obstacles he and his followers might encounter. The previously mentioned Treaty of Berwick ended the violence and revolt in Scotland, although theological disputes regarding the nature of their national church would continue for 400 years.

In the fall of 1560, Knox was asked to be the sole minister at St. Giles church in Edinburgh, which was a major honour due to St. Giles' importance as a religious institution. Over the next few years, many changes occurred within the Church of Scotland, and many changes occurred simultaneously for Knox. His first wife, Marjory Bowes died in late December 1560, and he remarried within approximately four years. His second wife (Margaret) was the daughter of Andrew Lord Stuart, a well-known

reformer, and he continued to work tirelessly both as a preacher and a reformer to see what he believed to be God's work truly instituted in Scotland. Knox still faced opposition at times, though, and was forced variously to leave Edinburgh for his own safety. The remainder of Knox's life was spent preaching and working towards reform, and his last prominent undertaking involved selecting his replacement for St. Giles, where he had returned to in August 1572 after seeking refuge in St. Andrews for just over a year. Knox was last seen in public on November 9th, 1572 when he spoke at his successors, James Lawson's, induction ceremony. He died two weeks later, on November 24th, with his wife and friends surrounding him, and was interred in an area connected with St. Giles church (Knox 1895, 1:xix-xxii).

Knox continuously referred to scripture when he was advocating reform. For example, when in 1554, Knox attempted to have the Protestant's leave England, he asked them to do so or risk sacred retaliation. He wrote a poem that prefaced his *Letter to the Faithful in London, Newcastle and Berwick* that stated

I fear not for death, nor pass out for bands;
Only in God I put my whole trust,
For God will require my blood at your hands,
And this I know, that once die I must;
Only for Christ my life if I give;
Death is no death, but a mean for to live (Knox 1895, 3:161)

Knox wholeheartedly believed he was fighting a religious battle, and that those who followed the true directives of God (as he understood them) would be rewarded, but those who chose not to, would face not just death, or imprisonment, but the complete wrath of God. Therefore his followers should not be motivated by anything but the desire to live a proper life according to God, as He had dictated within the scriptures. By utilizing the Scriptures, Knox could draw a parallel between what was occurring within England,

Scotland and France to what is recorded to have happened in the Bible. Divine punishment would no doubt instil great fear in the hearts of those who read Knox's work, and within passages such as these, Knox further advocated his belief that he was fighting battles against evil forces that were directed by Satan.

This chapter has focussed on detailing the religious, political, and educational aspects of the Scottish reformation, including many of the key figures and events. Three individuals (Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and Henry Balnaves) who influenced Knox and early Protestantism in Scotland were examined; a detailed examination of Knox's life, and involvement with the Scottish reformation was then undertaken. The thread has been drawn throughout all the key figures and events so as to illustrate the belief of battles being carried out against Satan and his representatives, and Knox's writings are especially reflective of this belief.

Chapter II

Knox's desire for reform within Scotland affected many aspects of life including the political and social structures of his country. As has been seen, the various events led to a world-view that was often characterized by identifications of the enemy; indeed, the enemy was created by an unstable government and a corrupt Papacy. The introduction of a plethora of written material allowed Knox, specifically, to develop a complete understanding regarding the character of the anti-Christ. This section will aim to come to an understanding of three men's theologies, and the way in which their circumstances influenced the differences that arose in their reformation efforts, as this is essential to determining the effect that Luther and Calvin had on Knox regarding characterizations of the anti-Christ. Examining the idea of battles being fought against evil forces that was so heavily relied upon to explain why the term anti-Christ would be branded in the first chapter, will be continued in the second chapter. Luther's and Calvin's world-views will be analyzed to determine whether they allowed for definitive characterizations of the anti-Christ. After the analysis of Luther and Calvin, I will apply their theologies to Knox to determine who was influential regarding ideologies of Satan. I will preface Luther and Calvin's theological sections with a brief examination of their lives, especially as it led them to Protestantism. This chapter will therefore begin with an examination of Luther's life, and the original issues that led him to protest against the Catholic Church.

Martin Luther

Before explaining Knox's theological views regarding the Reformation, Luther and Calvin will be analyzed to determine the extent that they influenced the former. Martin Luther is recognized as having begun the Reformation, and therefore it is not

unusual for his beliefs to be used as a comparison with other subsequent Reformers. For example, Luther argued that all Christians should receive both the bread and wine at communion (the practice at the time was that the laity should only receive the bread while the clergy partook of both elements); therefore when another Reformer like Calvin, Zwingli or Knox discussed the mass, and who should receive the cup of Christ, they more likely than not would be compared to what Luther wrote concerning the subject (Luther 1962, 270).

Martin Luther was born in 1483 and experienced a religious epiphany while he was in his early twenties. While he walked from home to his law school in Erfurt, he was nearly killed by a bolt of lightning, and is quoted as exclaiming, “St. Anne, help! I will become a monk!” (Dillenberger 1962, xiv). Unlike many who make promises they have no intention of keeping while experiencing a crisis, Luther joined an Augustinian monastery approximately two weeks after his near-death experience. It would be untrue to say that Luther’s experience with the lightning was the sole cause of his career change from lawyer to monk, as Dillenberger describes Luther in his introduction as having struggled with the notion of righteousness before God, prior to his illuminating experience.

It is impossible to understand Luther’s progression from dissatisfied Catholic to Protestant Reformer without starting with his very first complaint, the *95 Theses on Indulgences* that were nailed to the door of the Wittenburg Cathedral within the university of the same town. Alister McGrath explains in his book *Luther’s Theology of the Cross* that such postings of works to doors was considered to be quite normal at the time, and reflect a desire of Luther’s for a debate to occur within the confines of the

school. This is in keeping with Luther's desire for later reform, as it is based on his understanding of what the Scriptures said regarding that specific topic (McGrath 1985, 19; McGrath 1988, 7). When Luther first wrote about indulgences he was particularly upset with the notion that one could immediately free a soul from purgatory with a simple donation. To make matters worse, these donations would not go to German churches or causes, but to Italy where the papacy was revelling in an abundance of wealth and power. The indulgences were even sold in a way that was particularly repulsive to Luther, as Johann Tetzel promoted them by creating the slogan, "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings/The soul from purgatory springs!" (McGrath 1988, 31). In response to his anger at such occurrences, Luther wrote his *95 Theses against Indulgences*. Within five years, Luther realized that the battle against the Papacy would be one that was long and arduous, and could not be fought within the confines of academia. To completely understand Luther's objections as they were raised in the *95 Theses*, a few key sentences will be quoted here: "Accordingly, the Holy Spirit, acting in the person of the pope, manifests grace to us, by the fact that the papal regulations always cease to apply at death, or in any hard case" (Luther 1962, 491). "Hence those who preach indulgences are in error when they say that a man is absolved and saved from every penalty by the pope's indulgences" (Luther 1962, 492). "We assert the contrary, and say that he, and any pope whatever, possesses greater graces, viz., the gospel, spiritual powers, gifts of healing, etc., as is declared in I Corinthians 12 (:28)" (Luther 1962, 498). With these three quoted theses written by Luther, it is possible to see much of the basis for his later reform. Luther objected to the Pope taking power that wasn't rightfully ascribed to him as was described in the scriptures, which he believed were divinely ordained by God.

One of Luther's well-known documents, entitled *The Pagan Servitude of the Church*, focussed on applying practical reform to the church through the number of sacraments that were ordained by scripture and therefore acceptable in a house of God. As Luther explained, the Catholic Church used the seven sacraments to justify a person so that they might comfortably stand before God and ask for forgiveness or for assistance. Luther first disagreed that seven sacraments were necessary; and secondly that the two sacraments (mass and baptism, although confession was accepted as retaining the proper elements necessary for a sacrament) that were acceptable were being performed properly.

The main issue of the sacraments and the way in which they seemingly purified an individual came through most clearly with the sacrament of penance. Luther struggled with the idea that one may receive absolution through a priest from God when the individual may not have confessed all their sins, knowingly or unknowingly. In his own personal attempts to clarify this issue, Luther began to confess everything that could be considered a sin to the priests at the monastery, at all times and locations. After continuing this course of action for a while, Luther was supposedly told that, in order to be absolved, he needed to confess to a deed that truly required absolution. This led Luther to his belief that the Church did not treat penance with the solemnity they should, meaning that either the Catholic Church had to modify its view regarding confession, or a genuine practical and theological change was required (Luther 1962, xv-xvi, 315-316)

From this view of penance, Luther came to his understanding that what makes a person righteous before God is not solely their actions, including any deeds they may perform in the process of taking confession or performing penance, but rather their faith,

leading to the everlasting statement “justification through faith alone”. The process took time, especially as Luther was adamant that he was a Catholic through and through. Indeed, Luther did not want to split from the Church and it was only when it became apparent that his only course of action was to cleave fast to his beliefs in the three years prior to the Diet of Worms (held in 1521) that Luther realized he no longer could remain honest with himself and his beliefs, and simultaneously remain a Catholic. Therefore, when Luther finally arrived at the Diet of Worms, he was prepared and confident in his beliefs (Luther 1962, xvii-xviii). Luther’s realization of the Pope as anti-Christ was tied directly into his burgeoning theology, in addition to his understanding of the way in which the Papacy revealed itself in regards to faith and works. As Ebeling explains,

The realization that the Reformation was an encounter with the power of Antichrist is one with the recognition which he expressed more and more clearly as time went on, that this force could only be met with what is apparently the weakest instrument of all, the word alone (Ebeling 1970, 63).

Ebeling continues to make clear that Luther believed he was battling the anti-Christ with his reform attempts. This belief solidified with Luther in that he came to firmly believe that the anti-Christ was not only alive and well in Rome, but could also be found anywhere the word of God was being subverted. In 1545, Luther wrote two documents entitled *Against the Roman Papacy: An Institution of the Devil* and *The Depiction of the Papacy* both of which focussed on spreading the word as to the true and effective nature of Satan within this world. Perhaps Luther found the anti-Christ to be so prevalent in his life, as he ultimately believed that the anti-Christ was possessed of human characteristics. As Bernard McGinn explains: “The association of farting and shitting with Antichrist in these treatises...was part of a conscious program of insult by inversion of values meant to unmask the ultimate evil found in Antichrist” (1994, 207).

This passage is interesting in that it reflects the extent to which Luther was prepared to go in order to have others believe that the Pope was the anti-Christ. It is also interesting that McGinn focuses on Luther bringing out the inherent human evil that is to be found with his characterizations of the anti-Christ, as Knox did this repeatedly in his explanations of the anti-Christ (McGinn 1994, 206-207)

When Luther attempted to understand his beliefs regarding the righteousness of God, he was not simply disputing what the Catholic Church said. Rather Luther turned to the Bible for his proof, and found his evidence throughout the pages. This must be understood as the major cause for Luther's distress regarding his division from the Catholic Church, as the reformer had been raised to believe that the Pope and the various employees of the Papacy were well educated in order that they might interpret the Scriptures for their fellow Christians. When Luther himself turned to the Scriptures and found a truth that opposed the actions and beliefs of the Catholic Church, he would have been quite distressed to realize that the Catholic Church was not interested in hearing what for Luther was the truth, as told by God (Luther 1962, 54).

Luther's realization that the Catholic Church was not interested in teaching its members what the reformer felt to be the true gospel of God, was both a cause for devastation as well as a strong motivator, as Luther felt that he had a responsibility to bring what he felt to be the true meaning of the gospel to light. For example, Luther wrote about one of the sacraments that he believed should remain within the Church, but should be modified: the mass. At the time that Luther lived and wrote, only the clergy were allowed to receive both the wine and the bread during communion. As Luther explained, this was based on a misinterpretation of the Scriptures:

Because Christ had said: 'I am the living bread', and not, 'I am the living cup', he concludes that this passage institutes, for the laity, the sacrament in one kind. But he learnedly avoids touching the words that follow. These say: 'My flesh is truly food, and my blood is truly drink'; and, again: 'Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood'. But when it entered the friar's head that these words supported the use of both kinds, and irrefutably discountenanced the use of only one kind, with what felicity and learning did he explain it away! He said that 'Christ meant by these words simply that he who partook of the one kind, partook under this kind of both the body and the blood'! He puts this forward as the 'infallible foundation' of a structure well worthy of holy and heavenly 'Observance' (Luther 1962, 253).

Luther disputed the friar's claims regarding whether just the bread should be served to the laity during communion, or whether both the bread and the wine should be served.

Although the friar stated that he received his authorization for only serving one half of the mass to the congregation from the Bible (specifically John 6:48-63), Luther believed that he had completely misinterpreted the purpose of the mass, and needed therefore to be shown that the Gospel of John actually justified the opposite stance. Luther realized that not everyone would be able to read the Bible, and use it to his or her advantage, but he did want to ensure that those who could not would have a layperson, or a man of the cloth, interpret the scripture for him/her, in order that he/she might receive the full benefit. The German reformer would continue to fight what he considered the misinterpretation of the Bible, though, as he believed that such occurrences were not only dangerous and dishonest to Christians, but were also disrespectful to God (Luther 1962, 253-4). Luther's convictions necessarily required that he understand those that held different beliefs than him to be the enemy. As was seen with Knox, this was expressed in terms of battling evil that was brought to earth by Satan.

Dillenberger compiled a collection of Luther's works, and within his introduction he succinctly states the theological premise held by the Catholic Church that Luther opposed:

The medieval church did not believe that man could do this [stand before God] in terms of his own righteousness. Rather, in the prevailing medieval view, man hoped to stand before the righteousness of God by virtue of a combination of serious intentions, righteous works whose imperfections are met by grace, and the sacramental realities which covered all the situations of men. It was a combination of grace and of the best acts of men (Luther 1962, xviii).

Luther's opinions regarding the Eucharist were strong, and gave him the conviction to continue his tirade against the Catholic Church and the Vatican. For Luther, the Reformation meant specifically the resurrection of the Biblical God in relation to the individual, as Luther understood. Therefore, he emphasized the Bible, and the various ways that humanity could approach God to receive justification, absolution, and comfort. Luther's next step after identifying the way in which God should be realized, was to explain what grace or justification was, in order that all Christians might realize how they could achieve it.

Luther delivered a sermon, entitled *Two Kinds of Righteousness*, that set out to explain what the title itself stated: two kinds of righteousness. Here Luther explained that the first kind of righteousness was external, and was actually given to humanity through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. When he explained this, Luther constantly referred to the Scriptures to provide evidence for his beliefs. The second kind of righteousness involved utilizing the internal belief that one has in Christ and God to perform works that are proper. As Luther himself explained

This righteousness is the product of the righteousness of the first type, actually its fruit and consequence, for we read in Gal. 5 [:22]: "But the fruit of the spirit [i.e., of a spiritual man, whose very existence depends on faith in Christ] is love, joy,

peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control.”...This righteousness goes on to complete the first for it ever strives to do away with the old Adam and to destroy the body of sin. Therefore it hates itself and loves its neighbour; it does not seek its own good, but that of another, and in this its whole way of living consists. For in that it hates itself and does not seek its own, it crucifies the flesh. Because it seeks the good of another, it works love. Thus in each sphere it does God’s will, living soberly with self, justly with neighbour, devoutly toward God (Luther 1962, 89).

Luther accepted that justification came through faith and the proper expression of the Eucharist and baptism, while he continuously berated the Catholic Church for advocating what he understood to be rites and actions that had no theological basis, as a means of achieving justification.

It was only as he neared the end of his battles that Luther realized he could no longer be a Catholic if he was to retain his beliefs, despite his original hopes that the Papacy would see the truth. As one of the first reformers, Luther’s belief that Scripture was being misinterpreted is essential to understanding the strong feelings that came with the Protestant Reformation, including characterizations of the anti-Christ.

As has been briefly touched upon in this second chapter, Luther believed that the anti-Christ was first and foremost to be found residing within the Pope, but could also be found in any situation that involved the desecration in one form or another of God’s word. It can briefly be concluded here that Luther developed the anti-Christ into his theology as one who was relevant to the struggle for religious reform, and this belief is reflective of a dualistic world-view. Within Chapter Three I will expound upon this in more detail, especially in regards to the heavy influence that Luther had on Knox regarding their views of the anti-Christ, but my analysis of the reformation will not be complete until Calvin’s life, theology, and influence on Knox is completed.

Jean Calvin

A brief biography of the life of Calvin will be given, as it is important to understand a person's history, especially as it is often reflective of his or her beliefs. Alister McGrath will be relied upon for this brief biography, as he wrote an excellent, detailed text of Calvin's life entitled *A Life of John Calvin*. Calvin was born on July 10, 1509 and although little of his early life is known, it can be stated with authority that he was raised and educated in France. In addition, it is recorded that his father wanted him to study theology at the University of Paris, most likely because the senior Calvin had connections with the bishop of Paris, and probably envisaged a comfortable life for his son within the Church. It is believed that Calvin's father later (1527 or 1528) had his son transfer to Orleans to study law because Calvin's father believed that his son would be wealthier if he were to become a lawyer. Calvin graduated as a lawyer in 1531, and within the same year he published his first work, which was a commentary on *De Clementia*, written by Seneca. His book was unsuccessful, and by 1532, he went to Orleans to complete more legal studies. By the early 1530's, Calvin had begun to criticize the Catholic Church, and his 1536 edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* reflects his encounter with humanism, which did not entail an adherence to one particular ancient philosopher, but rather encouraged the skills of rhetoric and study (McGrath 1990, 13-14; 22-23; 51-52).

As McGrath explains, Paris in 1533 had been thoroughly introduced to Lutheran reform, and it was the faculty of theology at the University of Paris that held authority to censor such theology, and subsequently did so. Calvin was known to be sympathetic to Lutheran ideas, and left Paris briefly towards the end of 1533. In 1534, Calvin felt it best

for him to remain out of Paris and the spotlight of reform, and went to stay with friends in Angouleme. While there, he worked as a chaplain at La Gesine, although he resigned within months, which is most likely reflective of his frustration with the Catholic Church. In October of 1534, Calvin felt it best to leave France after signs had been placed throughout Paris denouncing Catholicism and its religious services were causing great religious instability. He then spent some time in Switzerland, before arriving in Geneva, where he would eventually spend the rest of his life, with the exception of a short period of time when he was in exile (McGrath 1990, 62-63; 71-77).

Calvin, who was to be born approximately a generation later than Luther, would not be fighting to remain Catholic, or to convince the Pope and his employees that he could show them the truth, and therefore his utilization of the terms “anti-Christ” and “Satan” are much more infrequent. Rather, Calvin would dispute with other Protestant’s concerning the proper way to establish a church, and what power an ecclesiastical institution should have in relation to the power that a secular establishment should possess. Calvin would still turn to the Bible for his guidance regarding the foundation and maintenance of a church within a semi-secular society, but although his battles were theologically based, they were also grounded much more in the pragmatic aspects of life (Luther 1962, 86-89; Hughes 1960, 251).

Jean Calvin is documented as being a strict, over fastidious man who was obsessed with the proper way of living in all aspects of life. Calvin believed that the lack of usage of the law was a major problem for all Christians, but as he felt no need to attempt to modify the Catholic way of life (unless they directly challenged him), he focused on establishing Protestant communities that would be right in the eyes of God

from the beginning. Therefore, when he first arrived in Geneva in September 1536, although he was only planning on staying a night he felt that he had no choice but to accept the position that was offered to him by William Farel, a citizen of the city who pleaded with Calvin that Geneva was badly in need of proper organization according to the rule of the Bible. Geneva was an interesting city in that it was free politically, and it was also known as being a somewhat morally lax town. With the political freedom it held, it was an ideal place to implement the new Christianity that many reformers were so eager to see realized throughout Europe (Hughes 1960, 251; Calvin 1971, 3-4). When Calvin entered Geneva, a system of government had already been established, namely the “Little Council” and the “Council of Two Hundred”; these two organizations were responsible for instituting the new Protestant reforms (i.e. education) that were being introduced. These councils, though, also undertook it to be moral guardians, meaning that they were allowed to level fines against those who missed a worship service, in addition to having the power to determine what were morally correct and incorrect actions (Mackinnon 1962, 54-55).

Like Luther, Calvin rejected the Catholic mass as being pomp and ceremonial as opposed to being a conduit for a true connection with God. Indeed, Calvin placed an incredibly high emphasis on communion as an act that was necessary for true faith to be realized. As he explained in his *Short Treatise on the Holy Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ*

Our Lord, therefore, instituted the Supper, first, in order to sign and seal in our consciences the promises contained in his gospel concerning our being made partakers of his body and blood, and to give us certainty and assurance that therein lies our true spiritual nourishment, and that having such an earnest, we may entertain a right reliance on salvation. Secondly, in order to exercise us in recognising his great goodness toward us, and thus lead us to laud and magnify

him more fully. Thirdly, in order to exhort us to all holiness and innocence, inasmuch as we are members of Jesus Christ; and specially to exhort us to union and brotherly charity, as we are expressly commanded (Calvin 1971, 510).

According to Calvin, it is through communion that an individual can constantly reiterate their faith in God, as well as their proper intentions for living a morally correct life. For this reason, Calvin insists that true Christians must participate in communion regularly (weekly), and simultaneously, those who stray from leading a proper life must be excluded from the ceremony. Calvin gave five reasons as to why he wrote *Three Forms of Exposition: Short Treatise on the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ* in 1540, and it is only with the fourth reason that he discussed the manner in which the Catholics had understood and subsequently performed the Eucharist; this reflects his lack of concern with the Catholic beliefs. He does also mention in his introduction the various ways it had been interpreted within his lifetime, reflecting his knowledge of the other Reform movements that were occurring. Although he may have listed five reasons for needing to discuss the Eucharist, it is the first which must be considered the most important and relevant to his beliefs. Calvin wrote “First, then, we will explain to what end and for what reason our Lord instituted this holy sacrament” (Calvin 1971, 508). With this statement, it can be seen that Calvin also believed that it was the Scriptures, not the Papacy that needed to be relied upon when the purpose and carrying out of the sacraments was being discussed.

With his return to Geneva after a brief exile, Calvin was able to institute his moral rigidity to its full extent, which included twice-yearly examinations of all households within Geneva. He was a strict man that forbade dancing, playing games with dice or cards, taverns (although his replacement cafe’s were not to last long), and made

attendance mandatory at his five weekly sermons. Those who did not follow the rules exactly, were ostracized, excommunicated, imprisoned, or in worst-case scenarios, burnt as heretics. To the modern day reader, it seems difficult to understand how Calvin was tolerated, let alone admired and desired as a leader. Through his doctrine of predestination, though, Calvin was able to justify his regulations and his incredibly demanding standard of life as being the way of living God's word as it had been decreed through the Bible for all true Christians. For Calvin, works were a necessary way of showing faith in God, although they were only part of the way one could achieve justification. The other way involved faith, although faith was something quite different for Calvin than it was for Luther.

It is confidence in God that Calvin relied heavily upon to explain his theology to his fellow Genevans, as well as to those who felt the need to dispute with Calvin, like Cardinal Sadolet, who had been given the task of trying to reconvert Geneva to Catholicism after Calvin had left for Strassbourg. Those who are able to have faith and confidence in God are those that know they are elect and are therefore predestined for a pleasant afterlife. According to Calvin, God has complete mastery over everything, including the lives of all humans, from start to finish. This was intended and was received as a consolation for the followers of Calvin who lived in a precarious time when all aspects of life were susceptible to numerous kinds of ruin. Regarding confidence and predestination, Calvin wrote,

To this end, the prophet is mindful that in their desperate straits God suddenly and wonderfully and beyond all hope succours the poor and almost lost; those wandering through the desert he protects from wild beasts and at last guides them back to the way (Ps. 107:4-7); to the needy and hungry he supplies food (v. 9)...he raises up the humbles. By setting forth examples of this sort, the prophet shows

that what are thought to be chance occurrences are just so many proofs of heavenly providence, especially of fatherly kindness (Calvin 1971, 341).

Through his use of the Psalms, Calvin illustrates his belief that God has pre-ordained all matters of life. This should serve as a comforting fact for all who know God, according to Calvin, as they would then be able to also understand that they are protected and predestined to be welcomed into a heavenly afterlife (Calvin 1971, 341).

The theological explanation for predestination can be confusing at best, as it implied that God sent Jesus Christ as a redeemer for only some. In Catholicism, a person decided which actions he or she would perform in order to deserve redemption. In this form of Protestantism, one does not have a choice, which would seem to imply that there is no point in performing “Christian” actions. Indeed, if one has been chosen to be saved, it does not matter if he or she performs evil actions throughout their lives. Yet it does matter that the individual understand Jesus through the Scriptures, because that is the way in which God chose to reveal his form of justification to humanity. Therefore, when one is able to understand and relate to the Scriptures, they have been predestined to be saved. In order to be saved, though, one cannot simply pick up a Bible and state that he or she believes or understands. The process of realizing that one is saved can come only after reflection upon what is written in Scripture in relation to the life of the individual (McGrath 1988, 126-7). With Calvin’s understanding of predestination, the need to convert others was not felt as strongly as the desire to create Geneva as a city that conformed to the Bible’s morality instructions. This could be understood as one reason why Calvin’s activity in Geneva was not based on earthly battles against evil, in addition to why Calvin did not feel it necessary to utilize the term anti-Christ on a regular basis.

Luther became famous as a reformer for his phrase “justification through faith alone”; Calvin could have been known for saying, “have confidence that you will receive justification”. With this confidence came also the belief that one knew he or she was saved, and therefore predestined for a positive afterlife after the completion of a good life on earth. The difference between confidence and faith may seem difficult to apprehend (as it certainly is to this student) although an attempt will be made here to distinguish the two important terms. For Luther, faith meant trust that God had sent his only begotten Son to die on earth for humanity’s sins; for Calvin, confidence meant that one must accept God’s decisions regarding humanity. As Calvin explained,

For how can the thought of God penetrate your mind without your realizing immediately that, since you are his handiwork, you have been made over and bound to his command by creation, that you owe your life to him?—that whatever you undertake, whatever you do, ought to be ascribed by him...Again, you cannot behold him clearly unless you acknowledge him to be the fountainhead and source of every good (Calvin 1971, 325).

Calvin therefore understood confidence as the complete inability of any true believer to think of God (or themselves for that matter) in any way without realizing the vast power that He possessed and the way in which God had used that power to create life for humanity. When an individual was able to realize the power of God, he or she would be overcome by fear and therefore desire to live a proper life so that the person would not need to fear God in the life to come. For this reason, Calvin believed that any kind of rite or ceremony is an impediment to a true connection with God. He wrote,

Here indeed is pure and real religion: faith so joined with an earnest fear of God that this fear also embraces willing reverence, and carries with it such legitimate worship as is prescribed in the law. And we ought to note this fact even more diligently: all men have a vague general veneration for God, but very few really reverence him; and wherever there is great ostentation in ceremonies, sincerity of heart is rare indeed (Calvin 1971, 326).

Although humanity must immediately think of the greatness of God, they are stopped from living in the exact manner that God desired by their own human nature, as humanity is inherently selfish in wanting to create God to satisfy their needs and wishes. With the fall of Adam, it became impossible for any person to be born without the taint of sin on them. The difference in those who are saved and those who are damned though, lies in the individual's ability to connect with the Scriptures. For Calvin understood that one could connect with God through Jesus Christ as the latter is illustrated in the Scriptures. It would be like a baby learning how to walk. Before the child can stand independently and take steps, they must first learn how to crawl, in order to achieve the strength and balance needed for walking. For Calvin, one needed to be able to read and understand the Scriptures in order to understand the nature of Jesus (who was human according to Calvin) to be able to proceed and know God (Calvin 1971, 377).

At times, Calvin seemed to be saying that God was unfeeling in the way he had chosen some to be saved, while others would spend eternity burning in hell. It is interesting to note that Knox also advocated the belief in double predestination, as I see this as representing a fear of life that was based on unstable surroundings. Calvin would have experienced some uncertainty, but as has been argued before, his concern was first and foremost with the organization of a true church and city of God. Knox wanted this too, but he realized that he would most likely have to fight bloody wars to achieve his goal. When looking for an explanation regarding Calvin's belief in double predestination, I think it is therefore essential that Calvin as an insecure person be recognized, in addition to his scriptural understanding of the fate of humanity. The two reformers (Calvin and Knox) were very similar, however, in their notion of fear that was

most likely originally advocated by Calvin. Calvin wrote in *The Institutes*, under a section entitled “True and False Faith”

We see that God, while not ceasing to love his children, is wondrously angry toward them; not because he is disposed of himself to hate them, but because he would frighten them by the feeling of his wrath in order to humble them to repentance. Therefore, at the same time they conceive him to be at once angry and merciful toward them, or toward their sins (Calvin 1971, 387).

This understanding of an angry yet forgiving God fits in well with Calvin’s notion of predestination, because if one understood that they were saved, they would feel the guilt of the times they knew they had sinned. For those who are damned, although they may experience periods of time when they perform right actions or possess the proper beliefs regarding God, they would never fully understand the mercy that accompanies God’s wrath (Calvin 1971, 387).

Calvin’s understanding of evil or sin can be found within his doctrine of predestination, which will also explain the French reformer’s view of Satan, or the anti-Christ. As God had preordained everything, a person cannot be saved regardless of their actions if it has been decided that they are damned, and therefore there is not much of a place for an active Satan, the way there is for Knox and Luther. Calvin does allow for a certain amount of evil influence within the world, though, as he does explain that one may choose to do evil within their lives, even if they have been predestined to be eternally damned (the opposite can also occur) (Calvin 1971, 386).

Beside the evil influence that could be found throughout the world, Calvin also used the term “anti-Christ” to designate the Pope and all that was associated with him in a few select instances. In 1539, Calvin wrote a response to Cardinal Sadolet regarding the latter’s attempt to have Geneva returned to a Catholic state. Like Luther, Calvin

recognized the basis of Christianity that was to be found within the Catholic Church, but strongly expressed that

We maintain that the Roman Pontiff, with his whole herd of pseudo-bishops, who have seized upon the pastor's office, are ravening wolves, whose only study has hitherto been to scatter and trample upon the kingdom of Christ filling it with ruin and devastation...Nor should you think this absurd, since Paul tells you (2 Thess. 2:4) that antichrist would have his seat in no other place than in the midst of God's sanctuary (Calvin 1971, 103).

This writing is so reflective of Luther and the way in which he wrote regarding the Papacy that it is startling, and simultaneously paints an exceptional picture of the religiosity of these men, and their beliefs as they are understood through scripture.

Calvin wrote another document in which he attacked the papacy, and this one was also directed to the Catholics. After the Council of Trent, which was formed and had as its goal a clear reaction to the reforming attempts of the Catholic Church, Calvin contributed to the "Antidote of the Council of Trent"; at this time it was revealed that the split was permanent, as the causes for reform amongst the Protestants were still felt to be ignored by the Catholics. The following quote by Calvin reflected the anger that was still felt amongst the reformers:

After pondering for eighteen months they declare their approval of ancient discipline, provided the Roman See retain its right of dispensing as before...And that the Pope may not be prevented by modesty from boldly exercising the power, they confirm him in the title of Universal Bishop, which Gregory calls nefarious, blasphemous, abominable, and the forerunner of Antichrist, while they leave nothing more to the Bishops than to be his vicars (Calvin 1971, 227).

Here Calvin's anger at both the Pope and all that support him shines through so clearly, that his derogatory name-calling can virtually be seen as a response to the high level of feelings that were occurring at the time.

With the completion of my theological analysis of Luther and Calvin, I will proceed to examine their influence on Knox and his opinion of the anti-Christ, partially within this chapter, and continued in Chapter Three. The extent to which Knox was influenced by Luther can first be seen through Henry Balnaves, and secondly through the amount of predominantly Lutheran literature that began entering into Scotland. Both issues have been touched upon briefly in the first section of this thesis, and therefore the direct way in which Luther's influence appeared in Knox's writings will be examined here. Knox left a vast collection of his written work that included his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, political writings such as *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, as well as personal correspondence to both figures of authority and personal family members. In addition, many of his sermons or treatises regarding reform have been preserved, providing valuable insight into his own opinions as well as the influence that others had on him. To a certain extent, time can be the tool that assists in assessing the influence of Luther and Calvin on Knox, although my conclusion will prove that Luther remained the decisive influence on Knox's understanding of the anti-Christ, despite the intimate and lengthy contact Knox had with Calvin. Again, Luther and Calvin had some similar notions, and these will be examined, but the focus will be on the difference between Luther's and Calvin's theologies regarding justification through faith alone, and confidence in God's eternal design.

Luther's and Calvin's Theological Influence on Knox

In 1548, Knox wrote a summary of Balnaves influential work *The Confession of Faith...* and it is within this document that one of the clearest influences of Luther on Knox can be seen. As Knox wrote

And so the glorie of works is excluded by the law of faith. For in our Justification, wee onely receive, as did our father Abraham (whose sonnes wee are by Faith), which was reaked just before he wrought any good works. The veritie of the Scripture proveth, that the heritage commeth not by the Law...for the Law ever accuseth, and craveth more of us then we ar able to pay; and therefore, damnation abydeth us, without we apprehend Jesus Christ, which payeth for us that which the Law requireth. For hee alone taketh away the sinnes of the world. Hee called all to him self, and sendeth none to the Law to seek Justification. And therefore, who seeketh any parte thereof by their Workes, spoile Christ of his office (Knox 1895, 3:21).

Despite the old Scottish writing, the meaning comes through clearly that Knox understands Balnaves as rejecting works as a means of achieving justification. This included the mass, which was considered to be idolatrous because of the focus it placed on ceremony as being the conduit through which one received justification.

In 1550, Knox found himself facing an audience of his supporters and critics, including “the Bischope of Dureham and his Doctouris” (Knox 1895, 3:33), and discussing why the mass is idolatrous. It does not take Knox long to reach the core of his argument, which he sums up as such: “The masse is idolatrie. All wirshipping, honoring, or service inventit by the braine of man in the religioun of God, without his own express commandment, is Idolatrie: The Masse is inventit be the braine of man, without any commandement of God: Thairfoir it is Idolatrie” (Knox 1895, 3:34). This succinct summary entails Knox’s belief and is reflective of Luther’s beliefs.

In 1528, Luther wrote and preached a series of sermons including one on the Last Supper. Although in it Luther does not directly identify the Catholic mass as being idolatrous, he does explain its main purpose relating to the forgiveness of sins. This sermon would have been given approximately 10 years after Luther had nailed his 95 *Theses* to the door of the Church, and as such can be seen as further expounding his beliefs regarding reform in all regards. The emphasis that Knox placed on the Mass

being the invention of humans is spoken of differently in Luther's sermon but, nonetheless, the message remained the same. Luther wrote "A hundred thousand learned men are not as wise as one little hair of our God" (1962, 235) and this statement was given as he attempted to explain the purpose of mass. Knox wrote similarly on the mass in his sermon *That the Mass is Idolatry*. Neither Luther nor Knox desired to see the mass be done away with entirely; both wanted it to be done with the right purposes and intentions. Luther especially spoke out against people attaining forgiveness through the paying of indulgences, while he believed that true forgiveness (or justification) came through baptism, mass, and confession when a believer who had the proper intentions performed all three sacraments. Knox had similar feelings, but spoke more about disobeying God and displeasing Him, while Luther spoke about acting properly for oneself, in addition to God.

It would be impossible for Knox to not be aware of Luther's opinions regarding the hierarchy and power of the Catholic Church, as these would have been amongst the first opinions to have reached Scotland, possibly in a pamphlet form of the 95 Theses, or of other sermons or treatises that Luther had written (see above, pp.21-22). Knox also spoke out strongly against the Church, or "the Kirk" as it was sometimes called, although Scotland also had problems regarding authority of the secular and the sacred. When Knox wrote regarding his issues with the Lord's Supper, he spoke strongly about no one person being the head of the Church but God, as did Luther when he wrote about the same topic (Knox 1895, 3:42; Luther 1962, xviii). This is a direct statement against the Papacy, and would also result in direct characterization of the Pope or all of Rome being

directed by Satan. Knox explained how his fellow Scots had come to be burdened with such idolatrous ceremonies:

Then who hath burdenit us with all theis Ceremonyis, prescrybed Fasting, compellit Chistitie, unlawfull Vowis, Invocatioun of Sanctis, and with the Idolatrie of the Masse? The Divill, the Divill, Brethrene, inventit all theis burdenis to depress imprudent men to perdition (Knox 1895, 3:42).

If anyone influenced Knox regarding who was responsible for all that was wrong with the Catholic Church, it would have definitely been Luther who identified the anti-Christ as constantly living up to his name, by preventing Catholics from being good Christians.

Both Knox and Luther wrote very similar documents regarding the sacrament of mass, and it is interesting to note that, within them, there are wordings that are very similar. Previously it was explained that Luther believed confession to be an essential part of the mass; Knox apparently believed the same thing. The two men's writings will be compared, with Luther being quoted first:

What is the use or fruit of the sacrament? Listen to this: 'given for you'; 'shed.' I go to the sacrament in order to take and use Christ's body and blood, given and shed for me. Therefore I use the sacrament for the forgiveness of my sins; I say: I will go and take the body and the blood; it is a sure sign that it was instituted for me and against my death. 'Which is given for you.' There is the benefit (Luther 1962, 235-6).

Knox wrote in approximately 1550:

Also we beleive that it is a Confessioun, whairin we schaw what kynd of doctrine we profess; and what Congregatioun we joyne our selves unto; and lykewyse, that it is a band of mutuall love amangis us. And finallie, we beleive that all the cummeris unto this holie Supper must bring with thame thair conversioun unto the Lord, by unfeaned repentance in Faith; and in this Sacrament receive the seallis and confirmatioun of thair faith" (Knox 1895, 3:74).

Both men focus on the importance of understanding the true purpose of the Mass, including the aspect of confession and forgiveness of sins. Within the quoted text of

Luther's, direct references are made to the Bible, while Knox does not quote the Bible but discusses "Godis Word", as being the authority for his understanding of the Mass.

Luther's connection to Knox has been amply proven in regards to their theology, especially concerning the Mass, and therefore Calvin's influence on Knox will now be examined. The importance for this paper lies with the amount that the theology of all three reformers influenced the overall Scottish reformation with regard to Satan, especially as taught through and by John Knox or his writings. Luther had very strong opinions regarding Satan and referred to him often; Calvin's beliefs are not quite as clear, but after a thorough examination of his texts, a miniscule influence shall be determined.

Calvin was so similar in his teaching regarding the mass that it will not be focused on to the extent it was with Luther. Instead, Knox's writings will be analyzed in order to ascertain whether or not they were influenced by Calvin's distinctive focus on predestination. Calvin believed that since God showed himself to be favourable towards those who believed in Him, this must be evidence of predestination. Knox did not seem to take such a stringent line regarding predestination but does explain that God treats all people equally who believed in Him and the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. This can be understood in the different places that Knox and Calvin were living in, as Calvin lived in a predominantly Protestant place where he was attempting to establish a Protestant government. In Scotland, Knox was speaking against the Papacy as well as to citizens of a country who were constantly faced with an unstable monarchy that could be seen as being English Protestant, English Catholic or French Catholic on any given day. Knox explained this in a document he wrote to the people of Scotland:

Of the Kinges and Judges it is required, that they kysse the Sonne, that is, give honour, subjection, and obedience to hym. And from such reverence doth not

God exempt the subject that shall be saved. And this is the equalitie which is betwixt the Kinges and subjectes, the most riche or noble, and betwixt the poorest and men of low estate; to wit, that as the one is obliged to beleve in heart, and with mouth to confesse, the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world, so also is the other (Knox 1895, 4:531).

Knox needed an entire reformation throughout his country, and he realized that the best way to attain this was not by convincing the monarchs of his country, but rather the common and noble men and women, who indeed would have more influence in achieving change in Scotland.

Because his country was also embroiled in a situation where the Queen at the time was one who had been raised in Catholic France (during the 1550's), Knox also needed to speak out against the Papacy, which he did using rather frightful terms. In a document entitled *A Letter to the Commonalty of Scotland* Knox wrote:

Not only I, but with me also divers other godlie and learned men do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in the waies of the Eternal our God, and in the synceritie of Christes Evangel, which this day, by the pestilent generation of Antichrist (I mean, by the Pope, and by his most ungodlie Clergie,) are almost hyd from the eies of men. We offer to jeopard our lives for the salvation of your soules, and by manifest Scriptures to prove that Religion, which amongst you is mentained by fier and sworde, to be vaine, fals, and diabolical (Knox 1895, 3:533).

Reading this, one does not receive the impression that Knox is attempting to sway a congregation through reason and logic like Calvin often did, but rather that he is sending out the battle cry to rouse the troops from inaction to action. Knox did not offer predestination as either a form of comfort or a means for change (which logically it cannot be), and as he was dealing with such a different political and religious situation, it is easy to see the way in which he may have chosen to ignore certain parts of Calvin's theology, while focusing on others that aided in his work for reform within Scotland. Using similar language to the above-mentioned quote, Knox threatens and cajoles his

fellow Scots with fears of an unhappy afterlife as opposed to any kind of fears they may have regarding punishments doled out in this life (Knox 1895, 4:532). Therefore, although Scotland may have been known as a Calvinist country, in regards to beliefs concerning Satan, it would seem that through Knox's understanding it was definitively Lutheran.

Chapter III

To this point I have examined the history of the Reformation in Scotland in order to ascertain the general religious temperament of the country. I concluded in the first section that due to the political instability that was based on an ineffectual monarchy, Scotland was ripe for any kind of reformation. In addition, the attempts of England and France to gain control over Scotland caused it to be a pawn in a game of power, thereby leading its citizens to desire a reform that would allow them to live as an autonomous country. When the Treaty of Berwick was finally signed in 1559, it was a triumph in many regards for Scotland. The unstable political history was also accompanied by a belief that Scotland was always fighting some evil, whether internal or external. The fighting occurred as Scotland attempted to become politically autonomous, through a cohesive and effective government. Knox was greatly affected by Scotland's volatile atmosphere, and the majority of his writings reflect his belief that he was fighting Satan, or his minions.

Within my second section, I analyzed Luther's, Calvin's, and Knox's theologies, especially as they reflected understandings of Satan within their worlds. Luther and Calvin were such powerful influences on Knox that it was inevitable that their understandings of the anti-Christ would be reflected in his writings. Calvin was an interesting case in that he was not often preoccupied with Satan within his writings, but when he did mention the figure, it was only in regards to the Pope and his institution. Therefore, the biblical theology that formed the basis for Luther's and Knox's understandings was contained in the dualistic world-view of fighting Christ's battle on earth against the representatives or incarnations of the anti-Christ that were also present

here on earth. Calvin's understanding of Satan was also that of the Pope, although it was not expressed nearly as often. As I begin the third section of my thesis, I must revert somewhat in time to England in the mid-14th century, in order to explain one of the leading influences regarding notions of Satan's presence within Europe.

John Wyclif and the Lollards

John Wyclif lived during the mid-14th century, and is thought by many (i.e. Dickens 1964, 22; Sharpe 1996, 25; Thomas 1971, 424) to be an original Protestant Reformer. For the purposes of this paper, he is of interest because he was also very original and vocal about his beliefs regarding the anti-Christ. Wyclif's subsequent influence was realized distinctly when a group of his followers solidified and named themselves the Lollards. Therefore, this third section will focus exclusively on Knox's understanding of the anti-Christ as Luther, Calvin, and Wyclif influenced it, and how it can be seen as a reflection of the understanding of Satan within Scotland throughout the 16th century (Rex 2002, 26-31).

The connection between a man who lived approximately 200 years before the Scottish Reformation and John Knox may seem at first hard to ascertain, yet the movement of the Lollards as begun by Wyclif was one that was predominantly apocalyptic and rife with references to the anti-Christ and Satan. It was also based heavily on many of the issues that would become central to the later Reformation movement, such as the role of the Bible, the Eucharist, and the authority of the Pope. Richard Rex can be relied upon for his analysis of Wyclif's life, including the development of his theological beliefs regarding the role of the anti-Christ. Wyclif attended Oxford in the 1350's, and eventually obtained a Doctorate in theology, which

has been described as his true calling, despite his studying and teaching both philosophy and logic. For approximately 15 years after he received his Doctorate, Wyclif faced many disappointments regarding employment through the Catholic Church. These setbacks were emotionally painful for Wyclif, who was described by others as undoubtedly having the intellectual ability, but lacking definitively in the administrative aspect of the jobs he expected. Within a year or two, Wyclif began to expound on his negative beliefs regarding the papacy, and what followed was a career of disputation with others, most notably a popular, successful papist named Adam Easton. Rex further explained that after the Peasants Revolt of June 1381, and the appointment of William Courtenay to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1382, Wyclif found himself without support, as upon his appointment, Courtenay created an ecclesiastical assembly in which the main topic was Wyclif's beliefs, in May of 1382. The result was devastating for Wyclif, as it was formally decided that his beliefs were to be completely condemned, and he could therefore no longer enjoy the privileges he had formerly retained within England's Royal Court. Wyclif already understood that the papacy considered him to be a heretic, but this condemnation was possibly the most devastating of his career. Indeed, Wyclif suffered a stroke within the same year, and although he may have initially agreed to a certain amount of temperance regarding his views, he did spend the last two years of his life writing (or dictating) further views (Rex 2002, 26-31). Within his text, Curtis Bostick explains that

As Wyclif circumscribes the authority reserved for the clergy, he delineates exactly who is the Antichrist: if the Roman pope or anyone else imagines that they hold the vicariate of Christ's authority on earth, and yet they depart from Christ's path according to the rule of scripture, then no other person deserves "*de facto*" more appropriately the name 'Antichrist' (Bostick 1998, 61).

Like Luther, it took Wyclif some time to reach this conclusion, although when he did, his message travelled clearly through generations of other religiously oriented men.

The term Lollard is thought to have once been a label for a heretic, although there are many theories that have arisen regarding the term. If it were to derive from one who was a heretic, it would be particularly fitting, as the majority of the English population would have considered the Lollards to be such. Wyclif died in 1384, and within 11 years, his followers had written and presented a document to Parliament that described the changes demanded by the Lollards. The reforms were based on Wyclif's views but were expanded to meet the times. W. H. Summers details the list of complaints:

Church endowments, vows of celibacy, transubstantiation, the exorcism and benediction of inanimate objects, the holding of secular office by the clergy, prayers for the dead, pilgrimages, image-worship, and auricular confession, were alike denounced, as well as war, capital punishment, and the practice of unnecessary arts (Summers 1906, 44-45).

If one were to consider some of the reforms desired by the 16th century Protestants, it can be seen that there are definite similarities, including notions of the anti-Christ.

Although there are definite similarities, the extent to which Wyclif and the Lollards actually influenced the Reformation understanding of the anti-Christ must now be analyzed. Again, there was a strong reaction against the emphasis that the Papacy placed on action, as opposed to belief. Summers uses the documented story of a blacksmith in the mid 15th century, to explain how Wyclif sentiment had been communicated by many average citizens, some of whom could not read or write:

He also talked to his men about the Gospel of Nicodemus, an apocryphal book which Wycliffe had translated. From hearing it read (for he does not seem to have been able to read or write) he had come to the conclusion that "the sacrament of baptism at the font was only a token and a sign"...Of the Mass, he had spoken in terms which will hardly bear transcription, and had said, "I can make as good a sacrament myself between two irons; for a priest neither can nor

may make God that made him”...His audacious tongue had spared neither the Pope nor the King. Of the former he had said that “he would lie deeper in hell than Lucifer;” and he declared that the King also would go to hell “because of his great supportation of the Church” (Summers 1906, 71-72).

Being a true scripturalist, Wyclif used the Bible to analyze and determine who was acting as an “anti-Christ” in his own time, compared to those that were described in the Bible as living in such a way. Wyclif spoke mainly against the papacy, as he came to believe “that the church hierarchy had fallen prey to a diabolical conspiracy” (Bostick 1998, 57). Like Luther, Wyclif found himself slowly becoming more and more convinced of the evil nature of the papacy, despite starting his theology with the belief that the Pope’s power should still be acquiesced to in all cases. For Wyclif, one of the main indicators that the papacy was indeed under Satan’s rule can be seen with the priests who believed that they had the power of God to forgive sins (i.e. indulgences). Further evidence regarding the Pope and the priests being minions of the Devil can be seen with the liberties that they took in interpreting scripture. These two factors combined (the priests believing that the power of absolution rested in their hands, and the simultaneous misinterpretation of the scriptures) left only one conclusion for Wyclif: the anti-Christ was alive and active during his lifetime. Wyclif’s understanding of the nature of the anti-Christ was interesting, as Bostick explained: “Wyclif argues that the Antichrist is both the collective of those foreknown for damnation (*persona prescitorum*) and the one individual which will excel all others in wickedness” (Bostick 1998, 61). This is indeed interesting and not the least confusing, but it coincides to some degree with Calvin’s later theories of predestination, as well as Knox and Luther’s understanding of the anti-Christ being active within one individual who had the power to lead others into diabolical behaviour (Bostick 1998, 57-62).

Although Wyclif maintained that the Pope was the anti-Christ, he did continue to give distinguishing characteristics of the papacy that included, first and foremost, hypocrisy. This followed rather neatly from Wyclif's anger at the Bible being misinterpreted and misused; for what else would one be if that person were to claim they were a servant of God but then actively worked against His written and guiding word? With Wyclif's personal situation, it is understandable that he did not feel the need to actively pursue the labelling of any other citizens as the anti-Christ. Wyclif felt he was used and abused by the Papacy and, in his theological understanding, the Papacy was corrupting the word of God and the divine office it had been given to protect (Bostick 1998, 62).

After completing an analysis of Wyclif and the Lollards, and their ideas about the anti-Christ, Luther's and Calvin's influence on Knox regarding characterizations of the anti-Christ will now be more thoroughly developed. This chapter will conclude with a detailed examination of the exact nature of Knox's belief regarding the anti-Christ, and how this contributed to his writings and understanding of the course of the reformation within Scotland.

Luther's and Calvin's anti-Christ Beliefs

Based on his writings, it can be argued that Luther slowly developed his anti-Christ beliefs as the Reformation proceeded, most likely as he realized that it would be impossible for him to remain a Catholic, despite his original desire to be considered such. As he wrote in his *Preface to Latin Writings*: "Nevertheless, I did not draw the conclusion, namely, that the pope must be the devil. For what is not of God must of necessity be of the devil" (Luther 1962, 9). That was written in 1545, and referred to

approximately 1519, meaning that Luther realized with hindsight that his concept of a diabolical Pope would develop and become solidified, but at that point his beliefs had not reached the full maturity they would throughout his lifetime. When he wrote *The Pagan Servitude of the Church* in 1520, he had just recently been excommunicated, and this no doubt increased his interest in labelling the Pope the anti-Christ, which he did vehemently and repeatedly. The document is directed specifically against the mass and the use of 7 sacraments within the church, and became pivotal to the Reformation as it clearly laid out both the issue of indulgences, and the constant use of scriptures that the reformers thought the Catholics were misinterpreting or ignoring entirely. Most importantly for this paper, he began to hesitatingly refer to the Pope as the anti-Christ, signifying his burgeoning beliefs (Luther 1962).

In Luther's opening statement, he described how he had debated with five of the Papacy's wisest men in regards to the Pope's authority and centrality, but was not fooled and indeed requested that his former works be disregarded, including those that endorsed the Pope's authority. As he stated

But when I had heard and read the most ingenious argument put forward by these five gentlemen to establish their idol in a workmanlike manner, and as I am not entirely lacking in intelligence in such matters, I saw clearly that the Papacy was to be understood as the kingdom of Babylon and the regime of Nimrod, the mighty hunter (Luther 1962, 250).

This appeared to be Luther's first indirect reference to the Pope being anti-Christ, and it is important that it was done in a document that strictly dictated Luther's beliefs regarding the manner in which various aspects of faith were expressed. In a later section of the essay he discussed baptism, and again Luther expressed his anger towards the Pope saying

Our splendid freedom and our proper understanding of baptism, are in shackles to-day, and the blame can be laid at the door of the autocratic pontiff of Rome...But the Pontiff's only concern is with oppressing us with his decrees and laws, and in ensnaring and keeping us captive under his absolute authority (Luther 1962, 304).

Although this may have worked as a tool, I don't believe that Luther was naming the Pope the anti-Christ because it drew supporters. Luther genuinely believed that the Pope was being entirely selfish when he allowed the Christians that believed in him (including the priests and other employees of the Papacy) to stray from the true word of God. It was not that the Pope wasn't clever enough to properly interpret the Scriptures, it was that he chose not to, because he was the anti-Christ.

One more example can be given of Luther's faith-based belief that the Pope was the anti-Christ. In the same essay, Luther discussed all of the sacraments and explains why only two (the mass and baptism, although confession was maintained as possessing the necessary characteristics for a true sacrament) should really be considered as such. When Luther reached the sacrament of marriage (and inadvertently discussed divorce), he became quite incensed at the thought that the Pope would ignore the rule of the scripture for the wishes of humanity. He wrote,

And if the Pope, or bishop, or official, should dissolve a marriage contracted contrary to one of these man-made laws, then he is an anti-Christ; he does violence to nature, and is guilty of contempt of the divine Majesty; for the text still remains true that: "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder" (Luther 1962, 332).

Luther's anger at the Pope stemmed from his understanding of the Scripture, and the Papacy's inability to properly instruct its followers, especially those who were in a position to teach others the proper way to live according to God. As such, Luther in his anger continued to label the Pope, Rome, or the Papacy the anti-Christ, because he truly

believed that a true Christian (whom the Pope should be) would be able to see the truth as it was written in the Bible, and could not knowingly mislead his followers into hell. Luther's representations of Satan can therefore be understood to have been influenced by Wyclif, as their beliefs regarding the requisite characteristics of Satan are virtually identical. As has been shown hitherto, both men understood that as head of the Church of Christ, it was the Pope's responsibility to properly interpret the Scriptures for the Christians of the world. When the Pope emphasized alms giving over proper contrition, he was therefore either working on behalf of the anti-Christ, or was indeed the anti-Christ himself.

Luther differed from Calvin (and Knox) in his understanding of the Scriptures, as he laid a heavier focus on the Bible being able to teach the elements that were necessary for an individual's salvation, while Calvin used them to establish a new Christian community. Knox was adamant that teachings used within the Church not found within the Bible were sacrilegious; Calvin was not as strict in his application of the Scriptures compared to Knox, but basically adhered to the same belief. Luther on the other hand, took a very liberal view towards religious education, as he believed that unless something was deliberately proscribed within the Scriptures, it could be used as an educational tool. Regardless of their different treatment of the Scriptures, all three men adhered to the strict belief that anyone who contravened the true meaning of Scripture absolutely must be in alliance with the anti-Christ, if not the Devil himself (Luther 1962, 301; 305-306; Douglas 1982, 226).

Calvin does not refer to Satan often, but did consistently when he was discussing Catholicism and the actions of the Pope. His beliefs about the anti-Christ, though, were

intertwined with an understanding of predestination. As he explained in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, God was not responsible for Satan, evil, or those that chose to disobey God (thereby choosing evil over good). God does, however, discuss evil and the will that humanity has within themselves to utilize it; in this instance, evil can be understood as being virtually synonymous with the Devil, as Calvin wrote utilizing the same terms and explanations for evil as he did for the anti-Christ. As he wrote in 1536,

The question is difficult and involved, namely, whether God is the author of evil? Whether evil may be imputed to God, whether injustice should be regarded as belonging to his work? May we suggest that in the same act one may see both the work of a perverse man and the work of a righteous God. Reprobate men have the root of evil fixed in themselves; by themselves they think evil, they will evil, they strive for evil and achieve evil. Therefore, whatever evil and guilt there is in the works of man must be imputed to man, because by means of his own counsel, his will and his action he strives against God. But God causes the evil will and evil act, by which he wills to move man, sometimes to punish him, sometimes to restrain him, sometimes to give him success and power. But all is done just (Calvin 1971, 279).

Calvin was not often fighting against the Catholic Church, and did not feel the need to brand it evil in order to clearly illustrate the necessity of the Reformation. But he was primarily working towards developing the new Reformation church, which would therefore necessarily need an established, proven, belief system. Therefore Calvin wrote *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. This was a document that he worked on for virtually his entire Protestant life, and has been subsequently published in two different editions. Throughout these texts, Calvin expounded on the theology that would provide a firm basis for any church that would set itself up in the name of God. It is in this way that Calvin felt it relevant to explain the order of evil in the world, where it derived from, and what its function was. It is also partially within this text that Calvin made some of his limited references to the anti-Christ, and as such, the terms “evil” and “Satan” can be

understood to be synonymous for Calvin. Conceivably, these were questions that would have been asked by parishioners of the new churches, and Calvin understood that he needed to have a document that would properly educate the clergy who could therefore explain to the people why it was important to recognize evil and yet stringently avoid it.

Although Calvin did not refer to Satan as often as Knox or Luther, he did write commentaries on certain biblical books and, within these texts, Calvin identified his understanding of the Biblical anti-Christ. He wrote,

Paul now gives us a striking picture of Antichrist, for we may quickly deduce from these words what is the nature of his kingdom and of what it consists. By calling him an adversary, and by saying that he will appropriate to himself those things which belong properly to God, so that he is worshipped in the temple as a divine being, Paul directly contrasts his kingdom with the kingdom of Christ....Paul will afterwards attribute to Antichrist the power of deception by means of godless doctrines and false miracles. To recognize Antichrist we must set him in diametrical opposition to Christ (Calvin 1960, 400).

This was taken from Calvin's commentary on *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*, and as Calvin continued his explanation of II Thessalonians 2, he also furthered his understanding of the Antichrist in his world. Calvin's ideas regarding predestination were used as the basis for virtually all of his theological suppositions. Even when he was discussing the role of the anti-Christ in his mid-16th century world, he considered the way in which those who are not affected (like himself) are protected from Satan's influence by God. In the same manner, those who are working against the blatant word of God (i.e. the Pope), have never known God's protection, and therefore were susceptible to the influence of the anti-Christ. As he wrote in his commentary on II Thessalonians,

Satan therefore puts on the mask of Christ for the purpose of opposing Him in the person of His vicar, but at the same time, however, he chooses the weapons with which to attack Christ directly...Christ puts forth the power of His Spirit for our

salvation and seals His Gospel by miracles; the adversary, by the efficacy of Satan, alienates us from the Holy Spirit and confirms poor worthless creatures in their error by his delusions. By lying signs he means not simply those that clever individuals contrive with lies and deceit for the purpose of leading the simple-minded astray—the kind of fraud with which the whole of the Papacy abounds, for they are part of the supremacy which Satan has previously made his own—but he holds that falsehood consists in the fact that Satan reverse what are otherwise truly the works of God...He [God] limits the power of Satan so that it may not harm the elect of God, just as Christ frees them from this danger (Calvin 1960, 406).

With this explanation, the reader is led to understand that the criteria for a representation of, or actual embodiment of Satan, would involve actions that would subvert the will of God, and therefore Jesus. Calvin was unique compared to Luther and Calvin though in his constant references to predestination. All three reformers held similar beliefs regarding the active role of the anti-Christ within the Papacy, which reflects the commonalities of the theological understandings for the Protestant Reformation.

Calvin's understanding of predestination is therefore central to understanding the way in which he viewed Satan. Luther was so blatant in his belief that Satan was a true being, and could often be found residing in the body of the Pope, but could also be seen hiding in the shadows of Luther's room as he wrote his many works. Even when Calvin did mention Satan, he did not seem to view the anti-Christ in such realistic settings. What is more important for Calvin is the way in which the will of Satan (or Satan himself) are apparent in the anti-God actions of men who were irrevocably evil. This fits in with Calvin's focus on the internal, theological aspect of the Reformation, especially contrasted with Luther's external battle with the Catholic Church (Wendel 1950, 183; see above pp.50, 55-56; 58-59; 82).

Knox's Characterizations of the anti-Christ

Knox openly professed to be of the same opinion as Calvin regarding predestination; that is, God invoked predestination because, without it, it would be impossible to have faith or understand the will of God. As he wrote in his document on predestination:

Or, if we will have the definition of Predestination more large, we say, that it is the most wise and most just purpose of God, by the which, before all tyme, he constantly hath decreed to cal those whom he hath loved in Christ, to the knowledge of himself and of his Sonne Christ Jesus, that they may be assured of their adoption by the justification of faith (Knox 1895, 5:36).

According to Knox's understanding of predestination, some individuals are predestined for a glorious, saved life, while others are set at the beginning to be damned. Both those who are saved and those who are damned can experience moments in the other realm; such an experience could in fact help those who are saved realize the exact price of their salvation. Those who are damned, though, are damned regardless of how long they live a life of mercy and goodness. This is known as double predestination, because it rejects the theory that God has chosen the elect and ignores the rest. God deliberately and wilfully chooses the elect and the damned, before they are even born. There is nothing that one can do to change this situation, according to Knox (Knox 1895, 5:36).

Knox understood himself as a prophet. Soon after he gave his first sermon at St. Andrew's, he realized the effect he had on people and believed that he had been sent to work on spreading the true word of God throughout Scotland. Knox's opinion of himself was heightened when he was imprisoned both in France and in the galley of a French ship, and once again Knox realized how his preaching caused people to accept his beliefs regarding religious reform. After he had decided that he was a prophet, his anti-Christ

characterizations became even easier, as he could then compare himself to every God-favoured person in the Scriptures, while those who opposed him were obviously the representatives of the anti-Christ, as Firth observes (1979, 120-121). As Knox himself explained

The same Prophetes, for comfort of the afflicted and chosen saintes of God, who did lie hyd amongst the reporabate of that age (as commonlie doth the corne amongst the chaffe), did prophecie and before speake the changes of kingdomes, the punishmentes of tyrannes, and the vengeance which God wold execute upon the oppressors of his people. The same did Daniel, and the rest of the Prophets, everie one in their season....And further it is our dutie to open the truth reveled unto us, unto the ignorant and blind world; unlesst that to our owne condemnation, we list to wrap up and hyde the talent committed to our charge (Knox 1895, 4:366).

Knox's identification of himself as a prophet meant not only that he had the word of God and was meant to deliver it, but that, like Moses, God had given him the ability and responsibility to command others attention, give them cause to listen and understand that what he spoke was the truth.

The section of Knox's writings that I will now analyze (which I have already touched on in Chapter 2, pp.44) is illuminating to the point of my thesis in that it is decidedly political in tone. Its title is *The First Blast of the Monstrous Regiment of Women* and it was written against Mary Tudor being in power and persecuting Protestants in England, as well as Knox being treated as a subject to the Queen Regent in Scotland. Knox firmly believed that, within his role as a prophet, he was duty bound to identify problems within society that could be understood to be anti-Godly, and therefore often the work of the anti-Christ. When Knox explained his understanding of why women should not rule, he returned to the creation story in Genesis and wrote

But after her fall and rebellion committed against God, there was put upon her a newe necessitie, and she was made subject to man by the irrevocable sentence of

God, pronounced in these wordes: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrowe and thy conception: With sorrowe shalt thou beare thy children, and thy will shall be subject to thy man: and he shal beare dominion over thee (Knox 1895, 4:377).

Knox's explanation of why women are being anti-Godly if they are in a position of power continued with many examples of biblical and non-biblical writers. Before he explained Tertullian's understanding of why women are "the porte and the gate of the Devil" (1895, 4:382), Knox explained why he was going to such great extents quoting a variety of sources:

I have therefore thoght good to recite the mindes of some auncient writers in the same mater, to the end that suches as altogether be not blinded by the Devil, may consider and understand this my judgement to be no newe interpretation of Goddes Scriptures, but to be the uniforme consent of the most parte of godlie writers since the time of the Apostles (Knox 1895, 4:380).

Because Knox believed that he was a prophet of God and morally obligated to identify the problems within society that were resulting from anti-Godly behaviour, he did not hesitate to slander the women who had it within their power to kill him. Knox also did not hesitate to recant his views when it suited him, as he attempted to do in a letter to Queen Elizabeth he wrote within a year of his slanderous *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Within that document, Knox explained that God had allowed some women to rule, such as Deborah, and therefore there obviously must be exceptions to the rule that no good can ever come of women being granted any power. Knox also took his opportunity within that letter (and its various augmentations and additions) to explain to the Queen the ways in which she might avoid working for the anti-Christ:

This preface I used, to give your Grace occasion more depelie to consider what hath bene the condition of Christes membres from the beginnyng, that in so doing, ye might see that it is no newe thing that the saintes of God be oppressed in the world; that ye, moved by earnest contemplation of the same, might also studie

rather to save them from murther, (although by the wicked counsels of many ye were provoked to the contrary), than to be a sclave to Satan, obeying his servantes your Clergie, whose furie is bent against God and his veritie (Knox 1895, 4:434-5).

This representation of the Queen's priests as the servants of the anti-Christ, demonstrates the ease with which Knox used the term. His explanation for why they are such is rather simple: they are working against the word of God. The Queen herself should take the opportunity presented by Knox to realize that she is also close to being a servant of anti-Christ, and indeed she will be if she listens to her priests. It would therefore seem that there are many ways that one could become a servant of Satan, if indeed not be the anti-Christ without even being aware.

As was seen earlier, Calvin used his doctrine of double predestination to explain the role of Satan within the world. Although God was not in control of Satan, those who were damned (or even saved) could be possessed by Satan or an evil spirit while they were conducting their anti-Christian acts. Knox believed the same about Satan, and he explained this understanding of the role of the anti-Christ in his letter *On Predestination, in Answer to the Cavillians by an Anabaptist*:

Because that now I have to do not onely with a blasphemer, but even (as it were) with a Devill incarnate, my first and chief defence is to say, The Lord putte silence to thee, O Sathan! The Lord confound thy dispiteful counselles, by the which thou studiest to pervert the righteous way of the eternall God! (Knox 1895, 3:392).

It can be inferred from Knox's belief regarding the will of "Sathan" that Knox believed that the former was an actual presence in the lives of many Christians and non-Christians as well. Although God predestined everything, and was both omniscient and omnipresent, humanity still had free will, which they used to fulfill the roles that God had ordained for them before they were born. In this way Satan's malice existed not as

something that God created, but as a choice made by Satan and by other individuals who chose to follow the path of the un-Godly. From the fall of Adam came humanity which was by nature corrupt; as such, when they chose to sin, they did so freely although God foresaw their actions. Because Adam chose to sin, so must humanity by inherent characteristics be naturally inclined to be evil. And just as Satan was there when Adam made his choice, so did he exist alongside those who chose to err. According to Knox therefore, God knew that Satan and humanity chose to do what was against God's nature, although God had made the decision that it would happen. It was not that God willed humanity to perform evil actions, but that he had decreed that human nature would logically choose to do such things in the face of God (Greaves 1980, 31-34).

This doctrine is somewhat confusing (at least for this student of Reformation thought), but it can aid in the comprehension of the ease with which Knox ascribed the names "Sathan", "Devill", and "anti-Christ" to those he felt opposed his work towards a reformed Church. Calvin was trying to establish a reformed Church; Luther was fighting the Catholics tooth and nail; Knox was trying to see his country achieve independence both politically and religiously. As such, when he perceived that any person was working against his ideas of reform, he would understand that they would have chosen to do evil actions, quite possibly with Satan encouraging them. As Knox wrote in his second volume of *History of the Reformation in Scotland*,

And yet further, albeit that some know that she [Queen Mary] has plainly purposed to wreck the religion within this realm; that to that Roman Antichrist she hath made her promise; and that from him she hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this realm; yet will they let the people understand that the Queen will establish religion, and provide all things orderly, if she were once delivered (Knox 1949, 2:6).

Within this quote Knox's understanding of Satan as working both in the monarchy and the Papacy to offer an ungodly choice to Queen Mary and the Pope can be seen quite clearly. Knox may have been appealing to Queen Mary (as he does on other occasions) to see where she had committed grievous errors; Knox would have done this as he believed that Mary might have changed her mind if she was to realize that she could choose the road of God as Knox illustrated it for her through his beliefs. Regardless of the reaction (or lack thereof) that Knox received, he continued to attempt to convince those he believed had erred that they had made the wrong choice, but still could afford to make the right one. I have not encountered evidence that Knox ever told anyone that they were damned or saved regardless of the decision they made.

This form of action utilized by Knox raises some doubts as to whether he did truly believe in the doctrine of predestination, or whether he simply believed that lying for the sake of God was not a sin worth worrying about. Surely Knox believed he was saved; this could explain the relative ease he seemed to have when trying to convince others to change their lifestyles in order that they might be saved. It would seem unlikely that Knox believed that people like Mary Queen of Scots were predestined by God for glory, although if he did believe that, it could also explain his attempts to try and open her eyes to what he saw as turning away from ungodly actions and influences. The other option remains that Knox may have felt that such rules did not apply to the monarchy, and therefore regardless of what he said or did, the Queen would be saved or damned based simply on her birthright. This would seem unlikely, based on all of Knox's other writings, but perhaps more research will reveal the truth. It is probable that Knox did not hesitate as a self-understood prophet of God to label the Queen the anti-Christ, while

simultaneously believing that she was going to hell, in order to further his own reformation goals.

When John Knox began to preach at St. Andrew's Castle in 1547, he used a passage from Daniel 7 that was apocalyptic in tone, and applied it to his understanding of what was beginning to occur in his homeland. Knox never deviated from using the Scriptures to explain how the Pope was wrong, as Firth explains:

Next he reviewed the 'lives of diverse Papes, and the lyves of all scheavelynges for the most part'; showed their laws and doctrines to be contrary to Scripture, using justification by faith as an example, also using holy days, fasts and celibacy. Knox then challenged any of his congregation to disprove him or dispute his use of 'scripture, doctour, or historye' (Firth 1979, 116).

Also within that sermon, Knox explained that the king who is described in Daniel 7 was the anti-Christ, who, at that point in time, could be found in a variety of men, who worked for and included the Pope. One theory states that Knox's choice of Daniel 7 and subsequent interpretation could have been based on a document Luther wrote, entitled *De Antichristo* that was an interpretation of Daniel 8. Although the books were different, the premise was virtually the same; that is, identifying the Pope and his followers as the anti-Christ (Edington 1998, 46-48). Both men have been shown as having numerous characterizations of the Pope as the anti-Christ, and therefore it is possible that Knox arrived at this conclusion independently. I hesitate to state this as being valid, though, as Knox seemed to be heavily influenced by Calvin in virtually every other area of reform thought. It is my conclusion, therefore, that these two texts (the interpretations of Daniel done by Luther and Knox) be seen as evidence that the Scotsmen was heavily influenced by the German reformer in regards to their beliefs in the anti-Christ.

While in Geneva, Knox worked with others on a translation of the Bible that was to be named after the city they were in. It is unclear to what extent Knox was part of the process, but there is some clear evidence of his influence. The relevant portions of the Geneva Bible for this study involve the Book of Revelation, which is of course known to be rife with apocalyptic images, including those of the Devil. Indeed, there were so many footnotes to the Book of Revelation that they comprised almost more space than the text itself. It is interesting that so much work was done on the Book of Revelation in Jean Calvin's adopted hometown, as he was for the most part, decidedly unconcerned with such issues. Calvin did not participate in the translation of the Book of Revelation; without his input, the heavy tone of evil that is found throughout the work can therefore be understood. In addition, the Book of Revelation was interpreted as a historical text, and events that were detailed in the Book of Revelation were thought to be a foreshadowing of what was to come. Therefore, when Knox and others were examining the Book of Revelation, they genuinely believed that what they were experiencing was a fulfillment of what had been predicted approximately 1500 years earlier. For example, "[t]he identification of the Antichrist with the papacy was maintained through the equation of the second beast with the usurpation of the empire by the papacy, and the scorpions and locusts were compared to the popish hierarchy" (Firth 1979, 123). This lends further evidence to Knox's belief that the anti-Christ was an immediate presence, and therefore must be challenged without delay.

Knox employed strong, violent imagery when writing about the Reformation as he understood it, which could be seen as a reflection of his country's particular situation. As I have argued in Chapter One, Scotland was indeed a bloody place at the time, and

there was constant fighting (or at the very least the threat of violence), especially between France and England, who both wanted control over the country. The lords and landowners would also consistently use violent action to solve disputes regarding property and money, as Scotland's monarchy was so weak it could not sustain any kind of military or police presence. Knox turned to Augustine's imagery of two cities when he wrote the defence of predestination against the Anabaptists (who were apparently the most hated group of all). Within the letter, Knox described the plight of some of his fellow English Reformers and wrote,

That none other cause do you see of the shedding of the blood of those most constant martyres of Christ Jesus, Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, John Hooper, John Rogers, John Bradfurth, and of others mo, but that God hathe partly revenged their blood, that is of your great prophet and prophetesse, upon their persecuters, and hath served them with the same measure with the which they served others...what is thy judgement of those most valiant soldiars and most happie martyres of Christ Jesus, upon whom, O blasphemous mouth, thou saiest God hathe taken vengeance, which is an horrible blasphemie in the eares of the all the godlie...And hereof I give thee warning, lest that after thou shalt complein, that under the cloke of friendship I have deceived thee (Knox 1895, 3:222).

This passage so illustrative of Knox' belief he was engaged in a battle that had been dictated and was understood by God. In addition, although the primary enemy in Knox's and the other Reformer's battle continued to be the Pope and/or the Papacy, there were others who indeed could be called Satan or understood to be his minions. Simply opposing any Reformer would constitute an anti-Christian deed, thereby earning anyone who had the gall to do so, the name of the anti-Christ.

Knox did not hesitate to state that he believed Satan to be an actual, independent presence, without being personified by an individual or a group of people, and in these instances, Knox would often detail the influence that Satan was having on a specific

person. Knox, in his *Letter to the Queen Regent* detailed the latter occurrence where he wrote

As Satan hath by craft corrupted the most holie ordinances of Goddes preceptes, I meane of the first Table, in the place of the spirituall honoring of God, introducing mennes dreames, inventions, and fantasies; so hath he, abusing the weakness of man, corrupted this precept of the second Table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers...(Knox 1895, 4:440-1).

Within the same document, Knox wrote again and in even more blatant language about the work that Satan was doing on earth. He wrote,

Knowing by what craft Satan laboreth continuall to kepe the world in blindnes, I added these two former points, to witt, that ye shuld not thinke your selfe free from the Reformation of religion, because ye have bishoppes within your realme; nether yet that ye should judge that Religion most perfect which the multitude by wrong custome hath embraced. In these two pointe doth Satan busilie travaile....Secondarilie, that impossible it is, that that religion shuld be false, which so long time, so many Counsels, and so greate a multitude of men of divers nations and realmes, have allowed, authorised and confirmed...For this is a chefe point, wherein I will joyne issue with all the Papistes in the earth: that their religion, such as it is this day, is not of such antiquitie as is that which we contend to be the true and onlie religion acceptable before God; nether yet that their church is the Catholic church, but that it is of late dayes in respect of Christes institution, crept in and devised by man, and therefore am bold to affirme it odious and abominable (Knox 1895, 4:445-6).

Within this long quote, the influence of the theology of the Reformation can be seen as Knox attempted to determine what was the true church or religion. Not quoted above, but found in the same letter are references to Islam and “the idolatrie of the Gentiles”, which Knox stated were even more authentic in their age than Catholicism was, because the former two religions had not allowed themselves to be changed according to the wishes of humanity. For there to be a true Christianity for Knox, the Scriptures must be adhered to consistently and properly; as Catholicism did not do that, it could not be considered as either the true religion, or indeed, Christ’s religion in any way.

Earlier in his letter to the Queen, Knox wrote of what has been detailed above as the first influence: “for now the Devill hast so blinded the senses of many, that they can not, or at the least, will not learn what appertaineth to God and to Cesar” (Knox 1895, 4:441). Throughout the thousands of pages of Knox’s writings, there are countless such references to the anti-Christ either working as a being, or influencing others, which is rather interesting as it seems to reflect a Lutheran influence. For Knox, Satan is indeed real and visible, just as he is for Luther. It would seem, therefore, that although Knox met and spent time with Calvin in Geneva, the Protestant influence he brought with him to Scotland in regards to the anti-Christ, was more Lutheran than anything.

Knox’s document on predestination is important in illustrating the extent to which Calvin did influence the Scotsman. Although the document *On Predestination, in Answer to the Cavillians by an Anabaptist* was written possibly to appease Calvin, when reading it one can not help but be struck by the thought that Calvin would be frustrated to see the constant references to Satan that are made. For example, Knox wrote

Not that either Christ Jesus had then the full glorie, as he was man, for as yet he had not overcome the death; neither that his Elect at any tyme in this life can attaine to the fruition of the same, but that the one was as assured in God’s immutable counsell as was the other. For as the Head shoulde overcome the bitter death, and so triumphe over Sathan the authour thereof, so should his membres in the tyme appointed; as he doth further expresse, sayinge, “I will, Father, that where that I am, there also be those which thou hast given unto me, that they may see my glorie” (Knox 1895, 4:51).

This was first of three reasons that Knox gave in response to the Anabaptists claims that predestination did not exist, and is the only one that necessarily need be studied in this instance as it gives a clear indication as to the influence that Calvin had on Knox.

Overall, I believe that the main ways in which Calvin influenced Knox regarding the role of Satan was through his doctrine of predestination. Luther, it seems, gave Knox

a realistic fear of Satan's work that Knox used to illustrate his beliefs regarding the anti-Christ. All three men were facing different forms of reformation struggles and therefore developed differing ideas of the anti-Christ based on that, as well as their understanding of scripture, especially the relative importance of certain apocalyptic texts like Daniel or the Book of Revelation.

Conclusion

Discussing Satan is fascinating in that this one character, like God, can embody a plethora of different understandings and meanings, in response to different contexts. In the case of Satan, it is most often the reflection of what people understand to be evil, but it also lends insight into the world-view that people hold. Within this paper, it has been shown that Scotland in the 16th century was a time of such disruption, uncertainty, fear and change, it was conducive to an understanding of constant battles being fought against evil. This world-view necessarily entailed an understanding that there are good forces battling evil forces, and this was undoubtedly true in Reformation Scotland. As was shown in Chapter One, the combination of politics, monarchs, certain key figures including George Wishart and Patrick Hamilton, in addition to an increase of literacy throughout the early modern period, created an unstable atmosphere that the notion that fighting against evil was an essential part of the reformation. This dualistic world-view heavily influenced Knox's understanding of the anti-Christ. Knox may not have understood the anti-Christ to be further proof of the existence of God, but he certainly held the belief that if there was any sort of evil that existed in the world, it was as a result of the anti-Christ, whether he be working on earth as an independent being, or working through others who were under his power. Within England at the same time, it is interesting to note that there were many who used the existence of the anti-Christ to prove the existence of God, as Keith Thomas describes: "So essential indeed was the belief in the personification of evil that the dogma was paradoxically elevated into the existence of God, so that to deny it was to lay oneself open to the charge of atheism" (Thomas 1971, 476). Although I think Knox would have truly loved to live in a world

where there was no evil or devil to contend with, for him the two did go together rather conveniently, especially as he saw himself as a prophet of God.

Within Chapter Two, I detailed the life of Knox, including the way in which he both experienced and affected the reformation in Scotland. This was followed by a detailed look at Luther and Calvin and the ways in which both men influenced the Scotsman with their beliefs regarding the reformation and the anti-Christ, although this last section was completed and focussed on more intensely within Chapter Three. It is interesting to note that Luther and Calvin differed so greatly in their world-view, directly resulting in a large difference in the amount of attention paid to identifying the role of the anti-Christ. Calvin may have begun his life in a turbulent place, where battles between Catholicism and Protestantism seemed reflective of the battles between good and evil, but while in Geneva he encountered a situation that required a logical and practical mind. As a result, he found himself only utilizing the name anti-Christ when he was directly challenged by a Catholic (as in the case of his written dispute with Cardinal Sadolet), or when he was directly addressing the issues that he held issue with, within Catholicism. With all of his influence on Knox, he could never understand what it was to live in a country that seemed reflective of an earthly battle between good and evil, God and the Devil.

Luther, therefore, became the stronger influence on Knox when it came to characterizing the anti-Christ. Both men seemed to be fairly liberal with their interpretations and characterizations, as they truly understood that anyone who stood in the way of what they believed to be God's desire, to be working for the anti-Christ. There was no middle ground for these men – they truly lived by the mentality that one

was either for or against them. Judging by the prolific amount of writing that each man produced, it would seem that although they may have been very liberal with the term anti-Christ, for them it was their understanding of the Scriptures that allowed for such easy and copious characterizations of Satan.

Chapter Three introduced a new influence on Knox, John Wyclif and his followers, the Lollards. It would be impossible to complete any kind of study regarding the anti-Christ in the early modern era without examining the influence and theology of Wyclif. It is startling to see how ahead of his time Wyclif was, especially in regards to his complaints against Catholicism. Similarly, it is astonishing to see how alike Wyclif and Knox (and Luther) were in regards to their understanding of the anti-Christ. Within Chapter Three I also discussed why representations of the anti-Christ were given by Luther, Calvin and Knox. Thomas explains that

The Protestant position was that steadfast faith in God was an infallible protection against the Devil's onslaught on men's souls, but did not provide similar immunity for their bodies and goods. But the Devil's real aim in molesting their material goods was to weaken men's faith and seduce them into looking away from God in the hope of relief (Thomas 1971, 495).

This belief of the anti-Christ as described by Thomas, was reflected throughout Knox and Luther's writing, as both men believed that the only cause for the anti-Christ on earth could be an attempt to subvert the will of God. Calvin was different in this regard, because although he may have used the term anti-Christ when describing the problems of the papacy, within his attempts at societal change he relied on predestination being the cause for men, women and children to act in a "Christian" manner. Again, Luther is seen as the clear influence on Knox regarding the Scotsmen's understanding of the anti-Christ.

I have argued that I do believe Knox and Luther to have held strong convictions regarding the nature of the anti-Christ on earth, and I have also explained that I believe it is possible that subconsciously they used such emotional language to gain support for their reform attempts. Understanding Scotland in the 16th century, I can state with assuredness that although I may hesitate to use the term anti-Christ, Knox's reasoning does make sense within his historical context.

It is fascinating to examine the way in which different people, at different times have conceptualized pure, raw evil, as it is often reflective of the way in which good was also perceived. I believe that characterizations of Satan are also quite reflective of a fear that is held, which although tangible, is often reflective of a greater uncertainty. Within this study I have found evidence that supports my understanding that the anti-Christ is often created as an understandable cause for the fear and uncertainty, in addition to being a figure of some kind, which can somehow be conquered in the name of what is understood to be good. Even today, we have world leaders who use terms like "Axis of Evil" to describe those countries or influential persons that they do not agree with. It is a prevalent aspect of western religious traditions to rely on basic concepts of good and evil throughout our lives, and I believe that we often do this as individuals as well. Luther certainly equated that which he thought was evil or disgusting (defecating) and equated it to the anti-Christ; although others may not be so crude, it is quite common to attempt to identify what it is within us that causes us to act in ways that are considered evil, and similarly good.

Within the same vein, what is popularly accepted as evil was also an idea that sparked my interest in this topic. I attempted to find what would be commonly

considered evil within Scotland, during the reformation. Knox became my central focus, and although it would be unfair to state that all reformers or citizens within Scotland believed that the Pope and or the monarchs were evil, I think that I did succeed in identifying common causes that led to fear and uncertainty, which subsequently led to characterizations of the anti-Christ.

The Protestant reformation in Scotland was a time that seemed especially disposed to characterizations of evil or Satan, as it was a time of much disruption and change regarding religious beliefs; I look forward to continuing this study with England being my focal point, as I feel that understanding good and evil is essential for a comprehensive analysis of any time period.

Knox believed himself to be a prophet of God that had fulfilled God's word by interpreting and teaching the Scriptures. Therefore he advocated that the Bible be read and studied in the vernacular, and, like Luther, endorsed justification through faith alone (as Luther found in the scriptures – Luther 1962, 355-356; Mark 9:23). In Knox's battle, he required an enemy, one that he believed to be subverting the word of God. It was only natural that Knox chose Catholicism.

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