

# Sister Reformations III

# Schwesterreformationen III

Edited by / Herausgegeben von  
DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG,  
EUAN CAMERON  
and / und MARTIN OHST

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

*Sister Reformations III*  
*Schwesterreformationen III*





# Sister Reformations III

## Schwesterreformationen III

From Reformation Movements to Reformation  
Churches in the Holy Roman Empire and  
on the British Isles

Von der reformatorischen Bewegung zur Kirche  
im Heiligen Römischen Reich und auf den  
britischen Inseln

Edited by / Herausgegeben von

Dorothea Wendebourg, Euan Cameron  
and/und Martin Ohst

Mohr Siebeck

*Dorothea Wendebourg* war zuletzt ordentliche Professorin für Mittlere und Neuere Kirchengeschichte/Reformationsgeschichte an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

*Euan Cameron* ist Henry Luce III Professor am Union Theological Seminary New York.

*Martin Obst* ist ordentlicher Professor für Kirchengeschichte und Systematische Theologie an der Bergischen Universität Wuppertal.

ISBN 978-3-16-158932-4 / eISBN 978-3-16-158933-1

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-158933-1

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2019 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. [www.mohrsiebeck.com](http://www.mohrsiebeck.com)

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlags unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für die Verbreitung, Vervielfältigung, Übersetzung und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

Das Buch wurde von Gulde-Druck in Tübingen auf alterungsbeständiges Werkdruckpapier gedruckt und von der Großbuchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier gebunden.

Printed in Germany.

## Vorwort

Der vorliegende Band enthält die Beiträge der dritten deutsch-angelsächsischen Tagung *Schwesterreformationen*, die in den Tagen vom 9. bis zum 11. April 2018 an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin stattfand. Die erste Tagung von 2009 hatte ein breites Spektrum verschiedener Themen im Zusammenhang der Reformation im Heiligen Römischen Reich und in England und namentlich ihrer Beziehungen behandelt (dokumentiert in: *Sister Reformation – Schwesterreformationen. Die Reformation in Deutschland und England*, hg. v. Dorothea Wendebourg, Tübingen 2010) und die zweite von 2012 sich mit der Ethik in der Reformation hier und dort befaßt (dokumentiert in: *Sister Reformation II – Schwesterreformationen II. Reformation und Ethik in Deutschland und England*, hg. v. Dorothea Wendebourg u. Alec Ryrie, Tübingen 2015). Die hier dokumentierte dritte Tagung nun, wegen des alle Kräfte bindenden Reformationsjubiläums von 2017 erst sechs Jahre nach der letzten veranstaltet, ging der Frage nach, wie diesseits und jenseits des Kanals aus der reformatorischen Bewegung Institutionen, evangelische Kirchen wurden; tastend wurde der Blick erstmals auch nach Schottland gerichtet.

Das Programm der Tagung gliederte sich in vier Teile. Den Anfang machten drei großflächige Überblicke, in denen skizziert werden sollte, wie reformatorische Impulse in England, in Schottland und im Heiligen Römischen Reich geschichtlich wirksam wurden. Da für das Reich ein solcher Überblick nicht zustandekam, an diesem Punkt aber keinesfalls eine Lücke bleiben durfte, haben drei Teilnehmer (DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG, ANDREAS STEGMANN, MARTIN OHST) sie nachträglich gefüllt, das aber nicht in Form einer Darstellung, sondern in einer Reihe knapper Thesen. Deren Anliegen ist es herauszustellen, wie der von Wittenberg ausgehende reformatorische Impuls in Umformungen des kirchlichen Lebens auf allen Ebenen wirksam wurde, dabei aber selbst zugleich Klärungen und Modifikationen erfuhr, die sich in einer Pluralität verschiedener evangelischer Kirchen niederschlugen.

ASHLEY NULL widmete sich der Reformation in England. Sein Beitrag identifiziert als Schlüssel für die Anziehungskraft der vom Kontinent herüberkommenden evangelischen Einflüsse wie für die Theologie der von Thomas Cranmer verfaßten Formulare der Kirche von England die affektive Frömmigkeit des spätmittelalterlichen Englands. Humanisten der Tu-

dorzeit, die von dieser Frömmigkeit geprägt waren, fanden in Martin Luthers Konzeption der in der Heiligen Schrift mitgeteilten bedingungslosen Gnade und der dadurch ausgelösten antwortenden Liebe als Motivation christlichen Handelns die Erfüllung ihrer Anliegen. Unter Eduard VI. schrieb Cranmer diese lutherische Soteriologie in die offiziellen Formulare der Anglikanischen Kirche ein. Erst unter Elisabeth trat eine eher reformierte Konzeption in den Vordergrund, nach der Gehorsam und Furcht die Motive christlichen Handelns sind. Doch die ältere Sicht blieb in der Privatfrömmigkeit des englischen Protestantismus die ganze frühe Neuzeit hindurch lebendig.

JOHN MCCALLUM bot den Überblick über die schottische Reformation. Sein Beitrag konzentriert sich auf die Einflüsse der früh eingedrungenen reformatorischen Ideen und auf den Prozeß, in dem die ihnen anhängenden Gruppen sich zu einer protestantischen Nationalkirche entwickelten. Wie er zeigt, kam die nationale Reformation von 1559–60 zwar spät und in mancher Hinsicht unerwartet, doch als sie kam, war das ein dramatisches Geschehen. In den folgenden Jahren lag die Hauptherausforderung darin, protestantische Institutionen in einem Land zu entwickeln, das zuvor nur wenig offenen protestantischen Aktivismus erlebt hatte. Entscheidend für das Gelingen waren die Amtsträger und die *kirk sessions* in den Gemeinden.

Der zweite Teil galt *Faktoren des Kirchwerdens*, d.h. institutionellen Elementen und Orten, die, durch die Reformation transformiert, zu Mitteln und Räumen ihrer spezifischen Institutionalisierung wurden. ALBRECHT BEUTEL beschäftigte sich mit der Predigt. Sein Beitrag vergleicht zunächst die während der Reformationszeit in Deutschland und England entfaltete Theologie der Predigt, die nun, anders als zuvor, der gottesdienstlichen Verkündigung des Wortes Gottes eine exklusive heilsmittlerische Funktion zuerkannte. Er wendet sich dann den volkssprachlichen Bibelübersetzungen zu und stellt das seinerzeit unreflektiert gebliebene Konkurrenzproblem heraus, dass auch die privatreligiöse Bibellektüre als Möglichkeit einer unmittelbaren Glaubensapplikation des Wortes Gottes in Betracht kam. Im ausführlichsten dritten Teil werden am Beispiel namhafter, exemplarisch ausgewählter Kanzelredner weitgehende Analogien, aber auch signifikante Differenzen der in Deutschland und England gehaltenen Reformationspredigt herausgearbeitet.

KONRAD KLEKS Thema war das Singen. Sein Beitrag beschreibt das Singen der Gemeinde als *das* Medium der Durchsetzung der Reformation – diese werde zu Recht als Singebewegung bezeichnet. Den Sitz im Leben der am Anfang stehenden Lieder Martin Luthers sieht er im Alltag, auf Straßen, am Arbeitsplatz und in der Familie, nicht in der – evangelischen –

Messe, wo der Chorgesang vorgeherrscht habe. Liturgisch wirksam sei das Singen der Gemeinde hingegen in den übrigen Gottesdiensten gewesen. Dort, wo sich die Messe nicht hielt, sondern der Predigtgottesdienst sich als Hauptgottesdienst durchsetzte, habe es von vorneherein eine größere Rolle gespielt, so in Straßburg, Württemberg, Genf, hier in Gestalt des gesungenen Psalters. Dieser verbreitete sich auch in England, obgleich das *Book of Common Prayer* dem Gemeindegesang gegenüber zurückhaltend war. Der Beitrag schließt mit dem Fazit, der Liedgesang der Reformation lasse sich der Polarität *Luthergesangbuch* versus *Liedpsalter* zuordnen.

Bei THOMAS KAUFMANN ging es um das Buch, genauer, um einen spezifischen Ausschnitt reformatorischer Buchproduktion. Da aufgrund der insularen Lage Englands hier Repressionsmechanismen in Bezug auf Druckwaren wirkten, die im Reich nicht funktionierten, bemühten sich englische Anhänger der Reformation, im Reich drucken zu lassen. Bekannt ist das Beispiel William Tyndales. Kaufmann stellt dar, daß die englischen Glaubensexulanten im Reich um Tyndale weniger den Kontakt zu den etablierten Reformatoren der sich formierenden ›Lager‹ suchten als zu Buchproduzenten, die den Druck englischen Schrifttums förderten. Anhand der Verbindungen zu Köln und Worms werden Interaktionen zwischen klandestin operierenden deutschen und englischen Buchproduzenten sichtbar.

WOLF-FRIEDRICH SCHÄUFELE handelte von der häuslichen Gemeinschaft. Wie sein Beitrag zeigt, erfuhren Ehe, Familie und ›Haus‹ in der Reformation eine umfassende theologische Neubewertung, wobei die Reformatoren auf dem europäischen Kontinent dieses Thema schon seit den 1520er Jahren behandelten, in England sich ihm aber vor allem puritanische Autoren seit dem ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert widmeten. Übereinstimmend kam es einerseits zu einer Entsakramentalisierung der Ehe, andererseits zu einer starken Aufwertung des Ehestandes als Gottes Stiftung und Gebot oder Schöpfungsordnung. Ehe, Familie und Haus wurden als Keimzelle der Gesellschaft und der staatlichen Ordnung gewürdigt. Zugleich waren sie als Ort religiöser Kindererziehung und häuslichen Gottesdienstes eine ›kleine Kirche‹.

SUSAN KARANT-NUNNS Beitrag vergleicht die Ansichten von der Natur der Frau und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Stellung im nachreformatorischen deutschsprachigen und englischen Protestantismus des späten 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts. Er fragt nach den Medien, durch die das Volk auf beiden Seiten des Kanals über die rechte Stellung christlicher Männer und Frauen belehrt wurden, sowie nach dem Inhalt, der durch diese Medien verbreitet wurde, und vergleicht dann die Aussagen hier und dort. Wie sie zeigt, waren auf dem Kontinent viele Bände mit Traupredigten führender



Theologen verbreitet. Deren Zahl war in England deutlich geringer, weil die Traupredigt dort nur erlaubt, aber nicht geboten war. Dennoch gab es in England eine Reihe von Schriften zu jenem Thema. Die Gegenüberstellung ergibt, daß die englischen Autoren erheblich härter über angebliche sexuelle Verirrungen von Frauen schrieben und daß sie im Vergleich etwa mit Martin Luther eine deutlich negativere Einstellung zur Sexualität, selbst innerhalb der Ehe, hatten. Gewalt gegenüber ungehorsamen Ehefrauen wurde freilich hier wie dort selten bejaht. Abschließend mahnt der Beitrag, die Vorstellungen der Prediger und Autoren nicht mit dem realen Leben zu verwechseln.

AMY BURNETTS Thema war das Leben der Gemeinden. Ihr Beitrag stellt heraus, daß in vorreformatorischer Zeit Gemeinden in Deutschland und der Schweiz gegenüber England erheblich mehr Glieder umfaßten, was die angemessene geistliche Versorgung durch die Pfarrer erschwerte. Städte hatten mehr religiöse Optionen außerhalb ihrer Gemeinde, was sie empfänglicher für die Ideen der Reformation machte. Dabei spielte das Predigen in der frühen Reformation in Deutschland und der Schweiz eine viel größere Rolle als in England. Doch am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts besaß es auch in England große Bedeutung. Glieder dörflicher Gemeinden pflegten auf beiden Seiten des Kanals weiterhin ein gemeinschaftsorientiertes Christentum, das Wert auf den Erhalt sozialer Harmonie und eine zufriedenstellende Amtsführung des Pfarrers legte.

ANDREAS STEGMANN schließlich befaßte sich mit dem neuen Typ von Pfarrer, wie er von der Reformation geformt wurde und ein entscheidendes Element der Kirchwerdung der Reformation darstellte. Wie der Beitrag zeigt, waren für den neuen Typus des Pfarrers entscheidend zum einen die Aufgabe der Verkündigung, die theologische Aus- und Weiterbildung erforderte, weshalb kirchliches Amt und Bildungswesen eng miteinander verklammert wurden (*necessaria coniunctio scholarum cum ministerio evangelii*), und zum anderen die Einordnung der kirchlichen Amtsträger in die bürgerliche Welt, die u.a. die neuartige Lebenswelt des Pfarrhauses hervorbrachte. Deutsche und englische Reformation unterscheiden sich in den Grundlinien des neuen Verständnisses des geistlichen Amtes kaum, doch wurde der neue Typ von Pfarrer hier und dort auf unterschiedliche Weise Wirklichkeit: In Deutschland vergleichsweise schnell und konsequent, wie am Beispiel des brandenburgischen Luthertums gezeigt wird, in England dagegen über einen längeren Zeitraum und mit vielen Kompromissen.

Im dritten Teil der Tagung ging es um *alte und neue Traditionen*, d.h. um institutionelle Formen, die von der sich institutionalisierenden reformatorischen Bewegung übernommen und verändert wurden und die deren

Institutionalisierung ihrerseits prägten. DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG handelte vom Gottesdienst. Ihr Beitrag vergleicht den Weg, der im Heiligen Römischen Reich und in England von der reformatorischen Kritik an der überlieferten Messe zur Ausbildung und Einführung neuer, evangelischer Liturgien führte. Wie sie zeigt, gab es in verschiedenen Territorien und Städten des Reiches längere, z.T. auch experimentelle Prozesse der Abweichung vom bisherigen Gottesdienst und liturgischen Veränderung auf der Ebene der Gemeinden, bis die alte Liturgie offiziell, von Räten und Fürsten, durch – mehrere – neue ersetzt wurde. In England dagegen gab es keine Zwischenphase. Das straffe Kirchenregiment der Krone machte bis zum Tod König Heinrichs VIII. jede liturgische Abweichung und Veränderung unmöglich, bis unter seinem Nachfolger dann ebenso zentral gesteuert sehr schnell eine – einzige – neue Liturgie für das ganze Land eingeführt wurde. Einzige Ausweichmöglichkeit für Anhänger der Reformation außer dem Exil war bis dahin die Äquivokation.

ANDREW SPICERS Beitrag befaßt sich mit dem liturgischen Raum. In Martin Luthers wie in John Knox' Augen waren bestimmte Einrichtungsgegenstände für den Gottesdienstraum erforderlich. Doch die Kirchen der Lutheraner und der reformierten *kirks* wiesen in ihrer Ausstattung deutliche Unterschiede auf. Luther betrachtete die Ausstattung von Kirchen als *adiaphoron* (heilsindifferent) und machte dazu folglich keine Vorschriften. Es ergab sich ein gewisses Maß an Kontinuität in der Gestaltung des Kircheninneren, andererseits aber auch eine allmähliche Veränderung, insofern die Einrichtungsgegenstände, die erhalten blieben, den neuen liturgischen Verhältnissen angepaßt wurden. Im Gegensatz dazu drangen die schottischen Reformatoren darauf, die Kirchen von allen ›monuments of idolatry‹ und mit der Zelebration der Messe verbundenen Gegenständen zu reinigen. Wie der Beitrag zeigt, spiegelt diese Veränderung nicht zuletzt eine Differenz zwischen der deutschen lutherischen und der schottischen reformierten Kirche hinsichtlich der Sakramentsverwaltung, genauer hinsichtlich der Häufigkeit der Abendmahlsfeier, die entscheidende Konsequenzen für die Ausstattung des Gottesdienstraumes hatte.

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM untersuchte, wie sich der Übergang des Protestantismus von einer Protestbewegung zur kirchlichen Institution in der materialen Kultur niederschlug. Ihr Beitrag, der sich auf Objekte konzentriert, die antikatholische Vorurteile und Feindseligkeit förderten, beschreibt, wie konfessionelle Identität im häuslichen Rahmen gebildet wurde. An jenen Artefakten und ihre Bildprogrammen zeigten sich der dauernde Austausch und die Wanderungsbewegungen kultureller Praktiken und Bildmotive zwischen den Schwesterreformationen im nördlichen Europa. Damit werde zugleich das konventionelle Stereotyp in Frage gestellt,

wonach der reife Protestantismus asketisch ist, und neues Licht auf die protestantische Haltung zu Muße und Spiel geworfen.

CHRISTOPHER VOIGT-GOYS Thema war das Recht. Sein Beitrag verfolgt die Ausbildung der Reformationskirchen Wittenberger Prägung und in England unter dem Aspekt ihres je spezifischen Umgangs mit dem kanonistischen Rechtsinstitut des Kirchenguts. Im Fall der Wittenberger Reformation lässt sich nach Voigt-Goy eine Transformation feststellen, die darin besteht, daß das hergebrachte anstaltsrechtliche Verständnis des Kirchenguts, gemäß dem als Rechtsträger des Kirchenguts die geistlichen Institutionen qua juristische Personen fungieren, durch Verweis auf den Zweck des Kirchenguts, in allen Ständen den »Gottesdienst« zu fördern, modifiziert wird. In England hingegen findet eine »reformatorische Adaption« des Kanonischen Rechts in der Weise statt, dass die Kirchengenichte der Church of England die bestehende kanonische Rechtsvorstellung und -rechtsprechung grundsätzlich weiterführen, dabei aber als reformatorisch illegitim eingestufte Sachverhalte ausscheiden. In beiden Fällen wird somit der im Kanonischen Recht betonte Anstaltscharakter des Kirchenguts in seinen Grundzügen erhalten.

Bei GEOFFREY DIPPLE ging es um die »radikalen Geister«. Sein Beitrag setzt mit der Feststellung ein, daß die Geschichtsschreibung auf dem Kontinent die sog. radikalen Geister als Teil der frühen, »wildwüchsigen« Reformation betrachte, aus der sie allmählich verdrängt worden seien, während sie auf den Britischen Inseln als ursprünglich fremde Gewächse angesehen werden, die sich weitgehend am Rande der Hauptgeschichte der Reformation befunden hätten, bis sie im 17. Jahrhundert mit Macht auf die Bühne drängten. Diese Differenz der Perspektive sei zumindest teilweise auf die unterschiedlichen Haltungen gegenüber den Erfahrungen der »Radikalen« bei den Historikern hier und dort zurückzuführen. Beide Einordnungen dieser Gruppen und Individuen verdunkelten aber die Ähnlichkeiten, die zwischen den Erfahrungen der Radikalen diesseits und jenseits des Kanals bestünden – Verdunkelungen, die auch damit zusammenhängen, wie die »radikalen« und »mainstream«-Bewegungen sich zu Kirchen entwickelten hätten.

Die an der Reformation beteiligten Menschen waren sich dessen bewußt, daß sie Geschichte machten. Sie haben ihr Tun und Erleben gedeutet und in Konzeptionen eines übergreifenden, letztlich theologisch zu verstehenden Geschichtszusammenhanges gestellt. Diesem Aspekt galt der vierte und letzte Block der Tagung, in dem die *Selbstdeutungen der Reformation* zur Sprache kamen. EUAN CAMERONS Beitrag galt dem Bild der Wittenberger und der Schweizer Reformation von sich selbst. Danach war für viele Reformatoren, insbesondere Luther, die Kirche, wie ein christli-

ches Individuum, immer zugleich ›gerecht und Sünder‹. Gleichwohl waren fast alle überzeugt, daß die Kirche nach relativer Reinheit in der Spätantike im Mittelalter verfallen sei, ein Zustand, aus dem die Reformation sie gerettet habe. In diesem Zusammenhang wird der Gebrauch patristischer Belege bei Philipp Melancthon und John Jewel verglichen. Schließlich wird anhand dreier Beispiele untersucht, wie in Wittenberg und in der Schweiz der lange Verfall der Kirche erklärt wird: am Beispiel der Abkehr des Mönchtums von seinen ursprünglichen Impulsen, der Selbstüberhebung des Papsttums und der Ausgestaltung der Abendmahlsliturgie.

KRISTEN WALTONS Thema war das Selbstbild der schottischen Reformation. Ihr Beitrag zeichnet zunächst die Anfänge der schottischen Reformation und deren Durchführung durch John Knox und das Reformationparlament von 1560 nach, bevor er sich George Buchanans und anderer Deutung der schottischen Reformation zuwendet. Diese Männer hätten die Reformation gefördert und die schottische Kultur verwandelt, indem sie argumentierten, daß die Reformation nichts anderes sei als die Wiederherstellung der alten schottischen Kirche, nachdem diese von Rom pervertiert worden sei. Damit hätten sie zugleich ein neues Bild der schottischen Geschichte entworfen.

Bei MARTIN OHST ging es um die englische Reformation. Sein Beitrag stellt als Dokument *eines* Selbstbildes dieser Reformation die beiden *Books of Homilies* (1547 und 1563) vor, die zu den normativen Lehrdokumenten der Anglikanischen Kirche gehörten. Er zeigt, daß die *Books of Homilies* für ein Verständnis der Reformation als Rückführung der Kirche zu ihrer Normgestalt in Leben und Lehre werben, wie sie die Bibel und die Alte Kirche miteinander bezeugten. Besonders positiv werde dabei hervorgehoben, dass die Reformation ein Akt der Krone war und dass sie die Krone – wieder – als irdisches Kirchenoberhaupt etablierte – gegen das Papsttum und seine antichristischen Herrschaftsansprüche.

In diesem Sammelband wird viel neues Material präsentiert, und wo Bekanntes aufgegriffen wird, steht es im Licht neuer Perspektiven. Dabei bilden die Beiträge in der Vielfalt ihrer Inhalte und Methoden ein Ganzes, weil in ihnen allen Veränderungen beschrieben und analysiert werden, welche das kirchliche Leben im Heiligen Römischen Reich, in England und in Schottland in den drei Menschenaltern zwischen 1500 und 1575 bis hin zur Institutionalisierung der Reformation durchlaufen hat. Freilich drängt sich beim Lesen immer wieder die Frage nach der Vergleichbarkeit der Vorgänge und ihrer Ergebnisse auf – und es wird zugleich deutlich, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten alle komparatistischen Unternehmungen konfrontiert sind. Wie die politisch-sozialen Strukturen überhaupt, so waren

auch die kirchlichen Strukturen im Reich, in England und in Schottland im Spätmittelalter ganz unterschiedlich ausgebildet. Sie prägten die konkreten Artikulations- und Rezeptionsgestalten allgemein kirchenreformerischer und spezifisch reformatorischer Programme. Und folglich gestalteten sie auch die Ergebnisse reformerischer und reformatorischer Anstrengungen ganz unterschiedlich. Wenn man auf einen in der gegenwärtigen deutschen Reformationshistoriographie gern benutzten Terminus zurückgreifen will, kann man konstatieren: Die Beiträge dieses Bandes bezeugen zunächst einmal eine – sicher noch vermehrbare – Reihe von *Transformationsprozessen*, die einmal parallel verlaufen, einmal divergieren, einmal konvergieren oder einander schneiden.

Nun ist das bloße Konstatieren von ›Transformationen‹ trivial und nichtssagend. Bedeutung gewinnt es erst, wenn transformierende Faktoren identifiziert und von ihren Voraussetzungen, Folgen und Sekundärursachen unterschieden werden. Und Vergleiche zwischen unterschiedlichen Transformationsprozessen werden nur dann zu diskussionswürdigen Ergebnissen führen, wenn sie eben zu der Frage nach den transformierenden Faktoren selbst vorstoßen und untersuchen, welche Interaktionen und Interdependenzen zwischen ihnen nachgewiesen werden können. Von hier aus werden sich dann stichhaltige Einschätzungen von Fremdheits- und Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen zwischen unterschiedlichen Phänomen und Ereignissen gewinnen lassen. Diesen Punkt haben wir noch nicht erreicht.

Der Eindruck, daß noch viele Aufgaben historischer Forschungs- und Deutungsarbeit vor uns liegen, war allen deutlich, die mit ihren Vorträgen und Diskussionsbeiträgen das Berliner Symposium Schwesterreformationen III im Frühjahr 2018 gestaltet haben. Die Herausgeber geben das Buch mit der Erwartung an die Öffentlichkeit, daß es zu weiteren Arbeiten in dieser Richtung anregen möge.

Finanziert wurde die Tagung von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) und der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (EKD). Beiden Institutionen sei hiermit herzlich gedankt.

Berlin, New York, Wuppertal  
Herbst 2019

Dorothea Wendebourg  
Euan Cameron  
Martin Ohst

## Preface

This volume presents the contributions to the third German/Anglo-Saxon conference *Sister Reformations* which took place on April 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> at the Humboldt-University of Berlin. The first conference in 2009 had comprised a wide scope of different topics concerning the Reformations in the Holy Roman Empire and in England, not least the relations between them (documentation in: *Sister Reformations – Schwesterreformationen. The Reformation in Germany and England*, ed. Dorothea Wendebourg, Tübingen 2010). The second one in 2012 had dealt with ethics in both Reformations (documentation in: *Sister Reformations II – Schwesterreformationen II. Reformation and Ethics in Germany and England*, eds Dorothea Wendebourg and Alec Ryrie, Tübingen 2015). The third conference whose contributions are published here – which because of the Reformation jubilee of 2017 that tied up all forces took place only six years after the previous one – asked how on both sides of the Channel the Reformation movements became Reformation churches. For the first time also Scotland was included, though only with a first touch.

The program of the conference was divided in four parts. The point of the first part was to present three large scale overviews which outlined how evangelical impulses took historical effect in England, Scotland, and the Holy Roman Empire. Since for the Holy Roman Empire such an overview was not realized, and must in no way be lacking, three participants (DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG, ANDREAS STEGMANN, MARTIN OHST) have subsequently filled the gap, not, however, by writing an essay but by formulating a set of theses. These theses point out how the Reformation impulse starting from Wittenberg took effect in various transformations of the ecclesial life and how in the course of these transformations the impulse itself underwent clarifications as well as modifications which were embodied in a plurality of Protestant churches.

ASHLEY NULL's topic was the Reformation in England. His contribution finds the key to understanding both the original appeal of evangelical thought in England and the missional theology of Thomas Cranmer's formularies in late medieval English affective piety. Some Tudor humanists who were influenced by this piety found what they looked for in Martin Luther's conception of God's unconditional grace communicated through Holy Scripture and the believer's love brought about by this communi-

cation as motivation of Christian ethics. Hence, under Edward VI, Cranmer embedded this Lutheran soteriological conception into the formularies of the Church of England. Only Elizabeth's *Second Book of Homilies* began to move towards a more Reformed conception where obedience and fear replaced love as the motivation for Christian ethics. However, the former view continued to remain central to private devotions in Protestant English piety throughout the Early Modern Period.

JOHN MCCALLUM provided the overview of the Scottish Reformation. His essay focuses on the processes by which early reforming ideas and dissenting groups developed into a national Protestant Church. Although the national Reformation of 1559–60 was late in coming, and in some senses unexpected, when it did arrive it was a dramatic moment of transition. In the years that followed, the central challenge was developing Protestant institutions in a country which had only witnessed limited overt Protestant activism previously. The clergy, and the parish kirk sessions, were central to the Church's successes in meeting this challenge.

The second part was dedicated to *factors contributing to the emergence of evangelical churches*, i.e. institutional elements and places which, transformed by the Reformation, became instruments and spaces of its institutionalization. ALBRECHT BEUTEL's subject was the sermon. His contribution, firstly, compares the theologies of the sermon which now, differently from before, attributed to the proclamation of the Word in the liturgy a unique function of communicating salvation. Secondly, Beutel's contribution deals with the translations of the Bible in the vernacular and points out the problem, not discussed at the time, of a competitive relationship between the sermon and private reading of the Bible as a possible way of direct communication of the Word of God. Thirdly, in the longest section, several exemplary preachers are singled out, to show far-reaching analogies as well as significant differences between evangelical sermons preached in Germany and in England.

KONRAD KLEK dealt with singing. According to his essay singing was *the* medium which implemented the Reformation – the Reformation is often rightly described as a »movement of singing«. In Klek's view the *Sitz im Leben* of the hymns by Martin Luther which marked the beginning of this movement was everyday life on the streets, at the working place, and in the family, not the – evangelical – mass, where choir singing predominated. However, in the other church services besides the mass, congregational singing had its place within the liturgy. In regions where the mass was not preserved, but preaching service became the main liturgy on Sunday, congregational singing in church from the start played a greater role, e.g. in Straßburg, Württemberg, Geneva – here in the form of the sung

Psalter. The sung Psalter also spread in England, although the *Book of Common Prayer* was reserved as regards to congregational singing. Klek's concluding remark is that singing in the Reformation can be attributed to two poles: *Lutheran hymn book* and *sung Psalter*.

THOMAS KAUFMANN's topic was the book. In fact, his contribution looks at a specific case of book production in the Reformation. Since due to England's insular position mechanisms of repression against book printing took effect which would not have worked in the Empire, English adherents of the Reformation tried to get books printed in the Empire. The example of William Tyndale is well known. As Kaufmann demonstrates, the circle of English evangelical exiles around Tyndale in the Empire were less interested in contacts with the leading Reformers of the protestant camps on the way to institutionalization than with book-producers who would help printing English books. Tyndale's connections with Cologne and Worms show interactions between Germans and Englishmen clandestinely working on the book market.

WOLF-FRIEDRICH SCHÄUFELE's paper spoke about marriage, family, and household. As his chapter shows marriage, family, and the ›home‹ through the Reformation received a new theological appreciation. This is obvious in writings by the continental Reformers starting from the 1520s and by English protestant authors, predominantly Puritans, who wrote on marriage and family life from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. All of them, on the one hand, refused to regard marriage as a sacrament, but, on the other hand, they raised its status as an estate instituted by God and a divine commandment, in other words, as a created order. Marriage, family, and ›house‹ were valued as the nucleus of society and political order. At the same time they, as place of religious education and private devotion, were seen as a ›little church‹.

SUSAN KARANT-NUNN's essay on clerical advice for the sexes, marriage, and the household compares teachings on women's nature and position in society during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in German and English Protestantism. It inquires into the media used in teaching the populace concerning the proper roles of Christian men and women as well as their content, and compares what was said in this respect on both sides of the Channel. As the essay shows, on the continent many volumes of wedding sermons given by leading divines were published and widely disseminated. In England their number was considerably smaller because nuptial preaching was permitted but not required. Nevertheless there, too, existed writings on the same topic. The result of a comparison of both groups is that, in general, the English writers are harsher than their continental counterparts in their description of the alleged aberrations of wo-



men. They also have a more negative attitude toward sexuality than Martin Luther, even within marriage. However, husbands' beating their disobedient wives was rarely approved. In the final section the reader is admonished not to mistake the ideas of the preachers and authors for reality.

AMY BURNETT's subject was life in the parish. As her contribution demonstrates, in comparison to England, parishes in Germany and Switzerland before the Reformation were much more densely populated making it difficult for parish priests to provide adequate pastoral care. Urban laypeople had a wider variety of religious options outside of the parish. This made them more receptive to evangelical ideas. Preaching played a much greater role in the early Reformation in Germany and Switzerland than in England, but by the end of the sixteenth century preaching had an important place also in English towns. In both Germany and England, rural parishioners continued to practice a communal Christianity that emphasized maintenance of social harmony and the pastor's satisfactory performance of his duties.

Finally ANDREAS STEGMANN dealt with the new type of pastor brought forth by the Reformation as a decisive element of the institutionalization of the Reformation. According to Stegmann two aspects were essential for this new type: Firstly preaching as the central task of the pastor's office, requiring theological studies and continued education – which is why ministry and academia were tightly connected (*necessaria coniunctio scholarum cum ministerio evangelii*), and secondly the integration of the minister into civil society, which among other things led to the new world of the protestant parsonage. Stegmann underlines that the basic lines of the understanding of the new type of pastor were similar in the German and English Reformation, but that its realizations differed. In Germany the process was relatively swift and thorough-going as is shown at the example of the Lutheran Church in the electorate of Brandenburg, whereas in England it took longer and involved more compromises.

The third part of the conference was dedicated to the examination of *old and new traditions*, i.e. institutional elements which were taken over as well as changed by the Reformation in the process of its institutionalization, and which in turn left their mark on this institutionalization itself. DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG's theme was worship. Her chapter compares how the Reformers' criticism of the traditional mass led to the formation and eventual introduction of new evangelical liturgies. In many territories and cities of the Empire there were lengthy and at times also experimental processes of deviation from the traditional church service as well as liturgical changes on the parish level before the old liturgies were officially replaced by several new, evangelical ones through city councils or princes.

In England, however, there was no intermediate phase. The king's firm grip on the church made any liturgical deviation and change impossible until the death of Henry VIII, when under his successor the equally centralized introduction of a single new liturgy for the whole country took place in very little time. Until then the only evasion possible besides exile was equivocation.

According to ANDREW SPICER's essay on liturgical space, both Martin Luther and John Knox recognized that certain liturgical furnishings were necessary for places of worship. Yet the appearance and arrangement of Lutheran churches and Reformed kirks were markedly different. Luther considered church furnishings as *adiaphora* (matters indifferent for salvation), so he did not prescribe what was required in this respect. There was a degree of visual continuity in the appearance of church interiors, but nonetheless over time a gradual change took place, and while former Catholic fittings may have survived, they were often altered to meet the needs of the new liturgical reality. By contrast, the Scottish reformers sought to strip their churches of all ›monuments of idolatry‹ and items associated with the celebration of the mass. As Spicer demonstrates, these changes to the setting of worship also reflected the difference between the German Lutheran and Scottish Reformed churches in the administration of the sacraments, particularly as regards the frequency of the eucharist, which had significant implications in determining the arrangement and liturgical fittings of their places of worship.

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM looked at material culture. Her essay shows how Protestantism's transition from protest movement to institutionalized church manifested itself therein. Focusing particular attention on objects that fostered anti-Catholic hostility and prejudice, it explores how confessional identities were forged in the forum of the home. These artefacts and their iconographies illustrate the continuing exchange and traffic of cultural practices and pictorial motifs between the sister Reformations of northern Europe. They also raise questions about the conventional stereotype of mature Protestantism as morally ascetic and shed fresh light on reformed attitudes to leisure and play.

CHRISTOPHER VOIGT-GOY's theme was law. His contribution looks at the institutionalization of the Wittenberg church and the Church of England with an eye on their use of the canonical institution of ›ecclesiastical property‹ (Kirchengut). In the Wittenberg Reformation the traditional, medieval understanding according to which the ecclesial institutions which own this property function as legal entities, was transformed with reference to its purpose, the promotion of church service in all estates. In England, however, the adaptation of canon law in the context of the Re-

formation took place in such a way that the Church of England's ecclesiastical courts continued the traditional canonical concepts and court rulings but eliminated those matters which, according to the categories of the Reformation, were illegitimate. Thus in both cases the institutional character of the ecclesiastical property was in principle upheld.

GEOFFREY DIPPLE's essay on ›radical spirits‹ starts with an observation regarding Reformation scholarship on the continent and on the British Isles: They describe the place and experiences of radical spirits in very different terms. On the continent the radical spirits appear as an integral part of the early Reformation *Wildwuchs*, until they are gradually tamed over the course of the sixteenth century; while on the British Isles they arise initially as foreign growths, largely peripheral to the main Reformation story, until they explode onto the scene in the seventeenth century. Dipple argues that these differences in perception derive, at least in part, from the different approaches to the experiences of the radical spirits adopted by scholars of the continental and British Reformations. He maintains that both the methods employed to identify the groups and individuals identified as radical spirits, obscure similarities in experiences between the continent and Britain. Finally, the essay suggests that those similarities have been hidden by processes involved in the transition of movements, both radical and mainstream, into churches.

Those who partook in the Reformation knew that they were writing history. They interpreted what they did and experienced and integrated it in conceptions of an overarching historical continuity which in the end is to be understood theologically. The fourth and last part of the conference took up this perspective. It explored how the Reformation was understood by its own adherents as a distinct phase in the history of the Christian Church. EUAN CAMERON's topic was the self-image of the Wittenberg and Swiss Reformation. As his contribution demonstrates, for many reformers, Luther especially, the Church was always, like a Christian individual, both righteous and sinful. Nevertheless, nearly all were convinced that it had lapsed from relative purity in late antiquity into a medieval decline, from which the Reformation rescued it. The chapter compares the use of patristic evidence in Philipp Melancthon and John Jewel. Then it explores how historians from Wittenberg and the Swiss Confederation accounted for the Church's long decline in three specific areas: the diversion of the monastic instinct from its first impulse; the self-aggrandizement of the papacy; and the progressive elaboration of Eucharistic ritual.

KRISTEN WALTON dealt with the Scottish Reformation. Her essay discusses the early roots of the Reformation and addresses the work of Knox and the other reformers to implement the Reformation in Scotland follo-

wing the 1560 Reformation Parliament, before she looks at how George Buchanan and others interpreted the Reformation. In fact, in order to change the Scottish culture and further the Reformation ideas, these men created a new history of Scotland arguing that the Reformation was actually just a restoration of an ancient Scottish church that had been perverted by Rome.

Finally MARTIN OHST's task was to look at the self-image of the English Reformation. As a document of *one* such self-image his contribution presents the two *Books of Homilies* (1547 und 1563) which were part of the official documents of the Church of England. He demonstrates how these documents advertised an image of the Reformation as return of the Church in life and doctrine to its normative form, testified to both by Holy Scriptures and the ancient Church. What is seen as a particularly positive feature is the fact that the English Reformation was brought about by the crown and that the crown was again installed as the church's – temporal – head, against the papacy and its Anti-Christ-like claims of supremacy.

Altogether this volume presents a lot of new material, and where material is presented which was not new, the aim was to look at it in the light of new perspectives. The contributions, although manifold as regards contents and methods, nevertheless must be seen as a whole because all of them aim to describe and analyze changes which Christian life and the Church have undergone during the three generations between 1500 and 1575 up to the institutionalization of the Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire and on the British Isles. More than once the question imposes itself on the reader how far the developments that took place here and there and their results are really comparable. Indeed, it is obvious what are the difficulties faced by every comparative endeavour. As the social-political structures in general, so the ecclesial structures in the Empire, in England, and in Scotland differed from each other widely. They had considerable impacts on all programs of church reform as well as on the Reformations. Thus the results in each case were equally different. Taking up a term frequently used in the present historiography on the Reformation one could say: The contributions of this volume show a string of transformation processes which at times run parallel, at times in different directions, at times on convergent lines, and at times intersecting each other. Their number could certainly be increased.

Of course simply to state »transformations« is trivial and means little. It makes sense only when the factors responsible for the transformations are identified and distinguished from their presuppositions, consequences,

and secondary causes. Therefore comparisons between different processes of transformation will only yield results worth discussing when they advance as far as to the transforming factors and then show which interactions and interdependencies can be found between them. On this basis it would be possible conclusively to identify relationships of kinship and foreignness between different phenomena and events. We have not yet reached that point.

All persons present at the Berlin conference *Sister Reformations III* in April 2018, those who gave papers as well as those who participated in the discussions, shared the impression that there are many tasks ahead on various levels of historical research and interpretation. The editors hand this volume over to the public hoping thereby to stimulate further work on the same field.

The conference was financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). Our sincere thanks to both of them.

Berlin, New York, Wuppertal  
Autumn 2019

Dorothea Wendebourg  
Euan Cameron  
Martin Ohst

## Inhalt – Contents

DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG, EUAN CAMERON, MARTIN OHST Vorwort, Preface .....	V
--	---

### I.

*Von der kritischen Gruppe zur evangelischen Kirche im  
Heiligen Römischen Reich, in England und in Schottland.  
Ein Überblick*

*From Dissenting Groups to Evangelical Churches:  
An Overview*

ASHLEY NULL Protestant England: From Movement to Institution .....	3
DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG, ANDREAS STEGMANN, MARTIN OHST Von der reformatorischen Bewegung zur evangelischen Kirche. Das Heilige Römische Reich .....	27
From Reformation Movement to Evangelical Churches: The Holy Roman Empire .....	33
JOHN MCCALLUM Protestant Scotland: From Dissenting Groups to Institution .....	39

### II.

*Faktoren des Kirchewerdens*

*Factors Contributing to the Emergence of Evangelical Churches*

ALBRECHT BEUTEL Predigt .....	53
Preaching .....	73
KONRAD KLEK Singen .....	93
Singing .....	109
THOMAS KAUFMANN Literarisch-publizistische Interaktionen zwischen England und dem Heiligen Römischen Reich. Beobachtungen zur frühen Reformation .....	125

Literary and Promotional Interactions in the Reformation: Observations on Anglo-German exchange in the Early Reformation .....	147
WOLF-FRIEDRICH SCHÄUFELE	
Ehe, Familie und Haus in der Reformation im Heiligen Römischen Reich und in England .....	169
Marriage, Family, and Household in the Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire and in England .....	191
SUSAN KARANT-NUNN	
English and German Sister Reformations: Similarities and Differences in Clerical Advice for the Sexes, Marriage, and the Household .....	213
AMY NELSON BURNETT	
The Parish and Lay Religious Life .....	231
ANDREAS STEGMANN	
Der neue Typ von Pfarrer .....	249
A new type of clergy .....	315

*III.**Alte und neue Traditionen**Old and New Traditions*

DOROTHEA WENDEBOURG	
Der Gottesdienst. Von Vision und Kritik zur neuen Gestalt .....	371
Church Service. From Vision and Criticism to a New Liturgy ....	407
ANDREW SPICER	
Liturgical Space in the German and Scottish Reformations .....	443
ALEXANDRA WALSHAM	
Mockery and Memory in the Protestant Home: The Material Culture of Anti-Catholicism in Reformation Europe .....	465
CHRISTOPHER VOIGT-GOY	
Tradition und Innovation. Recht .....	495
Tradition and Innovation. Law .....	509
GEOFFREY DIPPLE	
Radical Spirits and Their Experiences .....	523

## IV.

*Das Bild der Reformation von sich selbst**The Reformation's Self Image*

EUAN CAMERON

The Reformation's Self-Image: The Perspective of the Wittenberg  
and Swiss Reformations ..... 547

KRISTEN POST WALTON

The Scottish Reformation: Vision, Implementation, Memory ..... 565

MARTIN OHST

Das Selbstbild der englischen Reformation. Eine Fallstudie ..... 583

The Self-perception of the English Reformation: A Case Study .... 603

Autoren – Authors ..... 621

Abkürzungen – Abbreviations ..... 623

Personenregister – Index of Names ..... 625





I.

Von der kritischen Gruppe zur evangelischen  
Kirche im Heiligen Römischen Reich,  
in England und in Schottland  
Ein Überblick

From Dissenting Groups  
to Evangelical Churches  
An Overview



## Protestant England: From Movement to Institution

John Ashley Null

»All the world's a stage, / And all the men and women merely players.«  
With these famous words Shakespeare concisely captured the Sixteenth Century's ›self-fashioning‹ approach to life. Although human beings had to play a role in society which was largely pre-determined, they were still expected to perform their part with as much insight and artifice as possible. The challenge was to discern the right model to imitate, the best script to follow. For Jaques, Shakespeare's libertine-turned-philosopher who uttered those memorable lines in *As You Like It*, his goal in life was to find the true way of discharging the foul infections, both corporal and spiritual, which he had acquired on his many world travels. At the end of the play, Jaques pinned his hopes for a return to wholeness on meeting the former persecuting Duke Frederick who had abandoned the pomp of court life to become a monastic penitent:

»To him will I. Out of these convertites / There is much matter to be heard and learn'd.«<sup>1</sup>

Of course, in Shakespeare's England none of those in his audience who wished to purge themselves of the world could actually avail themselves of Jaques' solution, for English converts no longer congregated in monasteries. The reason lay in changes beginning much earlier during the reign of Henry VIII in the 1520s and 1530s. At that time courtiers like Sebastian Newdigate and Sir John Gage could still convert in the traditional medieval meaning of the word by turning from a life lived in this world to the retreat of a monastic way-station in preparation for admittance to heaven after death.<sup>2</sup>

Others, however, took conversion in a completely different direction. Concerned that the medieval emphasis on human effort obscured the suf-

---

<sup>1</sup> William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene 7, lines 139–40; Act V, Scene 4, lines 184–85. For the theme of ›self-fashioning‹ in the English Renaissance, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> Peter Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Cambridge, 2006), 27, n. 40.

ficiency of Christ's redeeming work on the cross, they sought to cleanse themselves of their sins by rejecting much of the church's established belief and practice. Returning to the fountainhead of the Christian faith, they found a new model to follow for forgiveness, a script based only on the plain sense of the Bible, as read through the prism of the writings of St. Paul. These dissenters from both the world and the church insisted that a true Christian should give priority to this radically new script over everything else in shaping one's life:<sup>3</sup> priority over culturally-hegemonic beliefs like purgatory, pardons, and penance; priority over universally cherished devotional practices like praying to saints and burning lights before their images; priority over time-honoured ›unwritten verities‹ and centuries of well-reasoned biblical interpretation that authorised such practices; priority over even the ancient institutional authority of the church itself which had notoriously endorsed them. After the sword of scriptural authority had cut away centuries of error, what remained, these reformers believed, was the simple message of salvation by faith in Christ alone. This ›fervent biblicism‹ was the coat-of-arms by which they presented themselves on the doctrinal battlefield and by which they recognized their comrades-in-arms.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. Recent Historiography of the English Reformation

A. G. Dickens famously portrayed the rise of these English gospellers as a popular movement arising as a natural response to the ›rational appeal of a Christianity based upon the authentic sources of the New Testament‹.<sup>5</sup> For in his view, Protestant conversion in England was simply a matter of intellectual insight,<sup>6</sup> rather than an experience of an existential inner resonance, including Luther's own *Turmerlebnis*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 93–105.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Dickens, ›The Shape of Anti-clericalism and the English Reformation‹, in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (London, 1987), 379–410, at p. 380.

<sup>6</sup> ›Luther declared war between bible-Christianity and churchly, scholastic Christianity. Within this intellectual context, by 1530 widely apparent, we should also locate the core of the English Reformation‹, Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1989), 21.

<sup>7</sup> ›Whatever the importance of the tower-experience, it should not be regarded as a ›religious experience‹ as one applies this term either to medieval mystics or modern revivalists. [...] The tower-experience was something different; it taught [Luther] what he believed to be the true sense of the Scriptures, the understanding of something objective, of something God had long ago thrown open to the insight of men‹, A. G. Dickens, *Martin Luther and the Reformation* (London, 1967), 30.

Dickens took as his baseline an essentially negative view of the medieval English church:

»English Catholicism, despite its gilded decorations, was an old, unseaworthy and ill-commanded galleon, scarcely able to continue its voyage without the new seamen and shipwrights produced (but produced too late in the day) by the Counter-Reformation.«<sup>8</sup>

In contrast, however, with the advent of an increasingly educated populace, Protestantism's book-based faith was inevitably more persuasive than the medieval church's affective ritualism and ignorant popular piety. This thesis is, of course, as old as John Foxe himself:

»[A]s printing of books ministered matter of reading: so reading brought learning: learning showed light, by the brightness whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, error detected, and finally God's glory, with truth of his word, advanced.«<sup>9</sup>

Since Dickens saw the English Reformation as essentially following an intellectual script based on the Bible alone, he naturally linked its eventual success to the surviving underground network of England's previous bible-based lay church reform movement, the Wycliffe-inspired Lollards, who were still being actively suppressed by English church officials in the early decades of the Sixteenth Century. According to Dickens, »Scholars who seek an historical understanding of the English Reformation would be wise to think a little less about Bucer, Bullinger, and even Cranmer, and somewhat more in terms of a diffused but inveterate Lollardy revived by contact with continental Protestantism.«<sup>10</sup> And again, »The Lollards were the allies and in some measure the begetters of the anticlerical forces which made possible the Henrician revolution, yet they were something more, and the successes of Protestantism seem not wholly intelligible without reference to this earlier ground-swell of popular dissent.«<sup>11</sup>

Of course, at the heart of Dickens' reformation from below is a whiggish assumption of the inherent superiority of a »rational« Protestantism over an ignorant, moribund medieval church life, an assumption which has been so successful challenged by revisionist Tudor historians of the last thirty years.<sup>12</sup> On the one hand, Eamon Duffy has illuminated how tra-

<sup>8</sup> Dickens, *English Reformation*, 108.

<sup>9</sup> John Foxe, *Ecclesiasticall history containyng the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in euery kynges tyme in this Realme* (London, 1570), 838. Spelling has been modernized in all quotations from this text. Cf. Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), 2–3.

<sup>10</sup> A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509–1558* (London, 1982), 243.

<sup>11</sup> Dickens, *English Reformation*, 59.

<sup>12</sup> Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 4–5. Cf. Hebert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931).

ditionalist religious beliefs and practices were just as appealing to members of the educated classes as they were to rural labourers.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, Richard Rex has helpfully shown that English humanism, the force that Dickens posits as leading inevitably to Protestant thought, was in fact originally a flowering of late medieval Catholic learning in support of traditionalist belief which then fuelled the Counter-Reformation as much as the Reformation.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, Alec Ryrie has found little evidence for Dickens' grass-roots movement of Protestant conversions. According to Ryrie, »most English people never experienced a dramatic, individual conversion; Protestant England was formed by pragmatic gospellers«. <sup>15</sup>

In the face of the demise of the Dickens' model, what have we learned in the last thirty years? The late medieval English catholicism remained vibrant, if not as idyllic as Eamon Duffy first seemed to present in his landmark *Stripping of the Altars*, which he made sure to clarify in his introduction to the revised edition;<sup>16</sup> that parish life was cohesive and remarkably well-financed;<sup>17</sup> that parishes could be the recalcitrant, if ultimately unsuccessful, in responding to mandated religious changes from above;<sup>18</sup> there were »as many Reformations as there were monarchs on the Tudor throne«, from Henry VII through Elizabeth;<sup>19</sup> that England might

---

<sup>13</sup> Eamon Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–1570* (London, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> Richard Rex, »The Role of English Humanists in the Reformation up to 1559«, in N. S. Amos, A. Pettegree and H. van Nierop, eds., *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot, 1999), 19–40.

<sup>15</sup> Alec Ryrie, »Counting sheep, counting shepherds: the problem of allegiance in the English Reformation«, in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, eds., *Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), 84–110, at p. 105.

<sup>16</sup> »*The Stripping of the Altars*, then, was at one level an elegy for a world we had lost, a world of great beauty and power which it seemed to me the reformers – and many historians ever since – had misunderstood. [...] In attempting to offer a corrective to conventional assessments of medieval religion, I opted for a thematic, analytic treatment of a vast and intractable mass of source material. That decision about procedure exacted a price, similarly acknowledged in the introduction, in terms of the elimination of narrative, and the consequent muting of a sense of change and development within the thematic sections of the first and longer part of the book. I had indeed gone so far as to use the phrase »the social *homogeneity*« of late medieval religion. By that phrase, however, I certainly did not mean to suggest that all was well in an harmonious pre-Reformation Merry England, a consensual garden of Eden only spoiled by the arrival of the serpent of reform«, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New Haven, 2005), xiv, xx.

<sup>17</sup> See Beat A. Kümin's examination of ten church warden accounts in *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400–1560* (Aldershot, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> See Eamon Duffy's examination of one conservative Devon village and its priest from the 1520s to the 1570s, Sir Christopher Trychay, in *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (London, 2001).

have become a clearly Protestant nation in 1547, but it did not become a nation of Protestants until well into Elizabeth's reign in the 1570s.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, some historians would argue for longer periods of Reformation, up to the Restoration Church of 1662 or even 1800, although by then what was really being debated was what the Reformation as a past event meant for England in the following centuries, rather than being the part of its process;<sup>21</sup> that the eventual advent of Protestant England was the result of a process of mutual cultural accommodation between the religious policies of Tudor regimes, and the populace, who modified them along the way according to their own interests.<sup>22</sup>

And what of the Lollards and their influence on the English Reformers? No consensus has yet emerged.<sup>23</sup> On the one hand, Duffy and Rex argue that Lollardy was a spent force by the Reformation era, marginal to both late medieval English religion and the Reformers' critique of it.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Diarmaid MacCulloch has noted that the geographic areas known for a strong Lollardy presence correspond to the same parts of England where Protestantism had its first major advances among the populace, the so-called ›great crescent‹ from Norwich to East Anglia to Kent to the Thames Valley.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, there are a number of instances of their interaction, both Lollards distributing Tyndale Bibles and reformers pub-

---

<sup>19</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch originally made this point with reference to Tudor rulers ›after the break with Rome‹ in ›The Church of England, 1533–1603‹, in Stephen Platten, ed., *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition* (Norwich, 2003), 18, but the insight applies equally to Henry VII and his mother's Catholic humanist renewal movement as well.

<sup>20</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), ix.

<sup>21</sup> See Peter Marshall, ›(Re)defining the English Reformation‹, *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009), 564–586, at p. 567; Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *England's Long Reformation, 1500–1800* (London, 1998).

<sup>22</sup> In embryo, see Geoffrey Elton's *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972) which showed the Henrician regime's necessary reliance on both power and persuasion to implement religious change; for this thesis more recently distilled, see Ethan H. Shagan's *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* and Peter Marshall's *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, 2017), although Shagan sees the local responses as more pragmatic secularism, while Marshall wants to insist on the fundamentally religious nature of those choices.

<sup>23</sup> See Peter Marshall, ›Lollards and Protestants Revisited‹, in Mishtooni C. A. Bose and J. Patrick Hornbeck II, eds., *Wycliffite Controversies* (Turnhout, 2011), 295–318.

<sup>24</sup> See Duffy's robust rejection of the criticism that *The Stripping of the Altars* failed to appreciate the dynamic force of Lollardy in late Medieval England in the ›Preface to the Second Edition‹, xviii–xxviii, as well as Richard Rex's more extended argument for the marginal nature of the movement in *The Lollards* (Basingstoke, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Basingstoke, 2001), 106.



lishing Lollard books, if only to show where their church was before Luther.<sup>26</sup> Yet, one stubborn undisputed fact remains. While Lollardy may have aided English Protestantism's advance, the leaders of the movement, the Reformers themselves, came from orthodox Catholic backgrounds.<sup>27</sup> We cannot find the origins or even the momentum for early English Protestantism in Lollardy itself.

For that we must re-examine not only Dickens understanding of the medieval church but also his assessment of the first gospellers. In essence, he split the human being in two, dividing head from heart, assigning emotionalism to popular medieval piety and intellectualism to Protestant believers. Therefore, much revisionist ink has been well-spilt to show that medieval Christians held head and heart together. Yet why should this not be equally true of the first English Protestants, since they were late-medieval Catholics, too? Just as English piety on the eve of the Reformation did not solely focus on the affections, the script which began the process of the English Reformation did not merely appeal to the intellect.

Susan Karant-Nunn has shown this dual head-heart dynamic was true across confessions in Germany. She has investigated the emotion scripts for Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed preachers during the German Reformation, highlighting the emphasis in each on the importance of a 'heartfelt' response to God in the light of their doctrine. For Roman Catholics, that meant contrition through identification with the physical sufferings of Christ for their sins. For Lutherans, that meant *Trost* – Comfort because of justification *sola fide*, leading to gratitude and love, and for the Reformed that meant in the face of the clear preaching of predestination, human self-abasement, divine glorification and gratitude for salvation, but amongst the elect alone.<sup>28</sup> Alec Ryrie has also shown in *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* that Elizabethan and Stuart Protestants

---

<sup>26</sup> Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, 137–140; Anne Hudson, »No newe thyng«: the printing of medieval texts in the early Reformation period«, in *Middle English Studies Presented to Norman Davis in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 1983), 153–174; Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (London, 2014), 336, 358. For John Bale and John Foxe's description of Wycliffe as the *stella matutina* of the Reformation, see Marget Aston, »John Wycliffe's Reformation Reputation«, *Past and Present* 30 (1964), 23–51, especially at pp. 24–27.

<sup>27</sup> »When we can ascertain anything about the religious antecedents of the English Reformers, we find that they came from highly orthodox backgrounds [...] Reformers were no doubt happy to recruit Lollards to their ranks. But we find no Lollards among the movers and shakers of the English Reformation. [...] The key to the success of the English Reformation lies not in the conversion of Lollards, but in the conversion of Catholics«, Rex, *Lollards*, 133, 141–42.

<sup>28</sup> Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2010).

were deeply committed to cultivating their feelings to strengthen their service to God. If English Protestants held head and heart together at the end of the Reformation period, what about the role of emotions at its beginning? The source for that script lay not in Lollardy, but in the medieval English affective tradition, a piety which the moralist focus of Lollard preaching rejected.<sup>29</sup>

## 2. *New Insights into Tudor Evangelical Conversion*

The heart of Tudor Protestantism was not right doctrine but right desire. The mystical and mixed-life writings of Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton had trained devout early Tudor Christians to embrace affective piety as the hallmark of true faith. Rolle, the most popular devotional writer for fifteenth-century England, encouraged his readers to embrace celibacy and to ruminate on the Scripture so that they would experience a sensible burning love for Christ.<sup>30</sup> Hilton also stressed the supernatural power of the Bible to transform human affections, but he was of a more practical mind than Rolle. Rather than seeing contemplation as a gateway to God-given physical sensations of ecstasy, Hilton encouraged his readers to channel their newly received divine love into a striving for moral perfection.<sup>31</sup> As a result, unlike Rolle, he encouraged devout lay people to stay in their current secular spheres of responsibility to better serve their fellow Christians, but to cultivate a rich contemplative life in private to sustain their work in the world as well.<sup>32</sup> Thoroughly embracing this ›mixed-life‹

---

<sup>29</sup> As Duffy himself pointed out: »Like the Lollard preachers, Langland had no interest in and no sympathy for the affective tradition of meditation on the Passion which was the dominant devotional mode of the late Middle Ages«, *Stripping of the Altars*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., xxviii. Cf. »The Lollards appealed to the same educated lay cadre as [Walter] Hilton, but their call was to action, not to contemplative thought. Lollard literature, like the works of Wyclif himself, carried no hint of a devotional disposition«, Jeremy Catto, »1349–1412: Culture and History«, in Samuel Fanous and Vincent Gillespie, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge, 2011), 120.

<sup>30</sup> For a brief introduction to his life and works, see Rosamund S. Allen, ed., *Richard Rolle: The English Writings* (New York, 1988), 9–63. For the most thoroughly study, see Wolfgang Riehle, *Englische Mystik des Mittelalters* (Munich, 2011), 117–208, and, in the light of Riehle's critique, Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>31</sup> For a short introduction see, Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, translated by John P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward (New York, 1991), 13–68. For a more thorough study, see Margarethe Hopf, *Der Weg zur christlichen Vollkommenheit. Eine Studie zu Walter Hilton auf dem Hintergrund der romanischen Mystik* (Göttingen, 2009).

<sup>32</sup> See »Epistle on the Mixed Life«, in Barry Windeatt, ed., *English Mystics of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1994), 108–30.

tradition herself, Lady Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII, promoted its piety as part of her highly influential humanist education program for the English church,<sup>33</sup> since continental humanism also stressed that Scripture's power to transform the affections would lead to moral reformation. Indeed, the great humanist scholar Erasmus insisted that the Gospel was the living mind of Christ whose words had the power to reprogram the human heart and mind so that people could lead godly lives.<sup>34</sup>

We can see this progression from scriptural meditation to transformed affections in the conversion narratives of the early English reformers Thomas Bilney and Katherine Parr. According to Bilney, he often »felt a change« in himself »from the right hand of the Most High God« when he read Scripture. It happened for the first time while reading Erasmus' new Latin translation of the Bible.

»I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul (Oh most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in I Tim. 1: »It is a true saying and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief and principal.« This one sentence, through God's instruction [...] working inwardly in my heart, did so gladdened it – which before was wounded by the awareness of my sins almost to the point of desperation – that immediately I felt a marvelous inner peace, so much so that my bruised bones leapt for joy. After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant to me than honey or the honey comb.«<sup>35</sup>

Katherine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII, used the same emotive language to describe the result of her reading of Scripture.

---

<sup>33</sup> For the best treatment of Lady Margaret, see Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992); for the wider Mixed-life movement, see Hilary M. Carey, »Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England«, *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1987), 361–81.

<sup>34</sup> For Erasmus' rhetorical theology, see Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto, 1977), and Manfred Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1994). For texts, see especially *Paraclesis* in the contemporary translation by the English Reformer William Roye, *An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture* (Antwerp: J. Hoochstraten, 1529), A 2<sup>rv</sup>, A 5<sup>v</sup>–A 6<sup>r</sup>. For the background of this translation, see the recent critical edition, Douglas H. Parker, ed., *William Roye's An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture; and, An exposition in to the seventh chapter of the pistle to the Corinthians* (Toronto, 2000), 28–36.

<sup>35</sup> John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1570), 1141–43. Bilney's description of his conversion is contained in correspondence to Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall during Bilney's 1527 heresy trial. Foxe has given two versions, the original Latin and an English translation. The quotations here are the author's revision of Foxe's translation in the light of the original Latin.

## Personenregister – Index of names

- Alber, Matthäus 383, 418  
Albrecht von Brandenburg (Herzog in Preußen, Duke in Prussia) 392  
Alesius, Alexander 567–72  
Alexander VI. (Papst, Pope) 566  
Ambrosius von Mailand, Ambrose of Milan 70, 89, 553  
Anselm von Canterbury 598, 618  
Askew, Anne 404, 439  
Augustinus, Augustine 12, 70, 89, 380, 416, 553–54, 589, 591, 609, 611  
Augustinus von Canterbury, Augustine of Canterbury 132, 153  
Bacon, Anne 552  
Bale, John 8, 404, 439, 488  
Balmford, James 483  
Barlow, Francis 481  
Barlow, William 15  
Barlowe, Jerome 141, 162  
Barnes, Robert 145, 158, 166, 395–96, 404, 430–31, 439, 560–61, 564  
Baronius, Caesar 488  
Basilius von Caesarea, Basil of Caesarea 553, 558  
Beaton, James 567–68  
Beaufort, Margaret 10  
Becon, Thomas 15–16, 24–25, 55, 75, 171, 184–85, 186, 188, 193, 205, 207, 209  
Bellarmin, Robert 478–79, 488  
Bentham, Thomas 291, 355  
Bernard, Richard 298, 361  
Bernhard von Clairvaux, Bernard of Clairvaux 554  
Bernhard von Luxemburg, Bernard of Luxemburg 136  
Beza, Theodor 223, 298, 360, 480, 573, 580  
Bidembach, Felix 267, 332  
Bilney, Thomas 10–12, 14, 16, 69, 89, 402, 437  
Birnie, William 459–60  
Boccacio, Giovanni 486  
Boece, Hector 580  
Boleyn, Anne 395, 430  
Bommelius, Heinrich 145, 166  
Bonifaz III., Boniface III (pope) 562  
Bonner, Edmund 289, 291, 353, 354, 584, 604  
Bower, Walter 578, 580  
Brenz, Johannes 533  
Briesmann, Johannes 253–255, 319–20  
Brunfels, Otto 138, 141, 159–60, 162  
Bucer, Martin 5, 28, 34, 103, 118, 171, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 192–93, 196–97, 200–01, 203, 239, 267, 280, 332, 344, 405, 440, 501, 515  
Buchanan, George 565–66, 572, 578–81  
Bugenhagen, Johannes 61, 127–31, 133, 149–55, 396, 431, 447, 501, 514  
Bullinger, Heinrich 5, 56, 76, 170, 174–76, 180–81, 186, 192, 196–97, 199, 201, 203, 207, 217–20, 222–23, 395, 400, 430, 435, 542, 559, 561, 563–64, 573, 594, 614  
Byfield, Nicholas 26  
Calderwood, David 580–81  
Calvin, Jean 29, 35, 57, 66, 77, 85, 100, 106, 116, 122, 215–16, 257, 296, 298, 322–23, 359–60, 400, 435, 444, 455, 462, 480, 542, 565, 573, 575  
Campbell, John 570  
Capito, Wolfgang 63, 83, 142, 162–63  
Carion, Johannes 557, 561, 563  
Cartwright, William 478  
Chaderton, Laurence 295, 298, 358, 361  
Chaderton, William 298, 361  
Charles I (King of England), Karl I. (König von England) 461, 471, 480  
Charles II (King of England), Karl II. (König von England) 470  
Chassanion, Jean de 469  
Christian IV. (König von Dänemark, King of Denmark) 472

- Christoph (Herzog von Württemberg, Duke of Württemberg) 532–34  
 Chyträus, David 259, 324  
 Clark, Edward 476–77  
 Clichtoveus, Johannes 130, 152  
 Cochläus, Johannes 127, 130–37, 139, 149, 151–58, 160  
 Cockson, Thomas 472  
 Coelestin, Georg 267, 332  
 College, Stephen 489  
 Conzen, Adam 94, 110  
 Cooke, Alexander 488–89  
 Coverdale, Miles 60, 80, 100, 105, 116, 121, 170, 192, 217–18, 220, 222–23  
 Cox, Richard 291, 355  
 Cranmer, Thomas 5, 17–19, 21–26, 60, 80, 171, 193, 276, 279–80, 288–89, 291, 341, 344, 352–53, 355, 401, 406, 436–37, 440–41, 584, 588–89, 593, 596, 599, 604, 608–09, 613, 615, 618  
 Cratander, Andreas 135, 147  
 Crome, Edward 395–96, 402–04, 431, 437–40  
 Cromwell, Thomas 17–19, 280, 287, 350, 395, 430, 599, 618  
 Cyprian von Karthago, Cyprian of Carthage 553  
 Dickens, Arthur Geoffrey 4–8  
 Dickens, Charles 490  
 Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (Count of Gondomar) 472  
 Dietenberger, Johannes 130, 136, 152, 157  
 Dietrich, Veit 63, 83, 171, 193  
 Dietrich von Niem 549  
 Dod, John 475  
 Döber, Andreas 385, 421  
 Downe, John 62, 81–82  
 Duffy, Eamon 5–7  
 Dunbar, Gavyn 571  
 Dionysius Areopagita 563, 616  
 Ebert, Andreas 249–50, 315–16  
 Eck, Johannes 130, 136, 152, 157, 567  
 Edgeworth, Roger 467  
 Edward VI (King of England), Eduard VI. (König von England) 19–23, 70, 98, 105, 121, 171, 174–75, 182, 192, 196, 203, 240, 276, 279–80, 283, 286, 289, 290–92, 299, 304, 341, 343–45, 347, 350, 353–56, 362, 366, 394, 402, 406, 429, 437, 441, 504, 518, 542–43, 573, 583, 592, 596, 603, 606, 611, 616  
 Eleutherius (Papst, Pope) 561  
 Eliot, T. S. 11  
 Elizabeth I (Queen of England), Elisabeth I. (Königin von England) 6–7, 23–25, 43, 223, 280, 283, 290–92, 294–95, 299–304, 344, 347, 354–58, 361, 362–66, 401, 406, 437, 441, 488, 543–44, 583, 585, 603, 605  
 Emser, Johannes 131, 152  
 Erasmus Roterodamus 10, 12, 69, 88, 126, 130, 133, 143, 145, 148, 152, 155, 164–65, 170, 239, 566–68  
 Erskine, John 574  
 Estienne, Henri 469  
 Evelyn, John 479  
 Fabricius, Andreas 170, 186, 192, 207  
 Farman, Thomas 15  
 Fergus (König, King) 579, 581  
 Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (Herzog von Alba, Duke of Alba) 478  
 Field, John 302, 365  
 Fish, Simon 144–45, 165–66, 437  
 Fisher, John 14, 16, 130, 133, 135–36, 141, 152, 154, 157, 162, 289, 352, 393, 429  
 Folkhyrde, Quintin 570  
 Forrest, Henry 572  
 Fotherby, Martin 62, 81  
 Foxe, John 5, 8, 10, 14, 544  
 Franck, Sebastian 144–45, 165, 527  
 Franz II. (König von Frankreich), Francis II. (King of France) 575–76  
 Freder, Johannes 215, 218  
 Frewen, John 67, 87  
 Frey, Claus 537  
 Friedrich III. (Kurfürst von Sachsen), Frederick III. (Elector of Saxony) 387, 423  
 Friedrich (Herzog von Württemberg) 533  
 Frith, John 143–44, 164–65, 394–95, 402, 430, 437, 568  
 Furttenbach, Joseph 451

- Gardiner, Steven 17  
 Garrett, Thomas 15–16  
 Gataker, Thomas 484  
 Gillray, James 490  
 Gilpin, Bernard 54, 74, 303, 366  
 Gouge, William 172, 177, 181, 185, 187, 194, 199, 203, 206, 208, 225–26, 230, 475–76  
 Grapheus, Johann 144, 165  
 Gratian 548  
 Greenham, Richard 58, 65, 67, 77, 85–86, 303, 366  
 Gregor I. (Papst), Gregory I (pope) 153, 553  
 Gregor VII. (Papst), Gregory VII (pope) 561–62, 598, 617  
 Greiner, Blasius 537–38  
 Greiner, Georg 537–38  
 Greiner, Jakob 537–38  
 Greiner, Klara 537  
 Greiner, Melchior 537–38  
 Griffith, Matthew 475  
 Grindal, Edmund 57, 77, 292, 300, 355, 363  
 Hackett 571  
 Hall, Joseph 303–04, 366–67  
 Hamilton, Patrick 40, 566–73  
 Harlaw, William 574  
 Harpsfield, John 291, 354, 584, 604  
 Harris, Benjamin 476  
 Hausmann, Nikolaus 385, 391, 421, 427  
 Hedio, Caspar 385, 420  
 Hein, Simon 384, 420  
 Heine, Heinrich 16  
 Heinrich IV. (Kaiser), Henry IV (Emperor) 598, 617  
 Heinrich IV. (König von Frankreich), Henry IV (King of France) 472  
 Heinrich von Langenstein 549  
 Hemmingsen, Niels 267, 273, 298, 332, 337, 361  
 Henry II (King of England), Heinrich II. (König von England) 598, 618  
 Henry VII (King of England), Heinrich VII. (König von England) 6–7, 10  
 Henry VIII (King of England), Heinrich VIII. (König von England) 3, 10, 13, 16–19, 21, 60, 80, 127, 131, 143–44, 149–50, 153, 165, 240, 276, 279, 286–88, 299–301, 341, 343, 350–52, 357, 362, 364, 392–93, 395, 397–99, 402, 404, 428–29, 431–34, 437, 439–41, 502–05, 517–19, 561, 592, 596, 611, 615  
 Henry Frederick (Prince of Wales) 480  
 Herbert, George 26  
 Hermann, Nikolaus 229–30  
 Hieron, Samuel 65, 84, 298, 361  
 Hilton, Walter 9, 11, 13, 21  
 Holl, Karl 495, 509  
 Hoochstraten, Johannes 143–45, 164–66  
 Hooker, Richard 58, 61–62, 77–78, 81, 301–02, 304, 364–66  
 Hus, Jan 570  
 Hyperius, Andreas 269, 298, 359, 361  
 Innozenz III. (Papst), Innocent III (Pope) 554  
 Jacobus de Voragine 549  
 Jakob von Hoogstraeten 136, 157  
 James I (King of England), Jakob I. (König von England) 292, 355, 472, 480, 488, 581  
 James II (King of England), Jakob II. (König von England) 481  
 James IV (King of Scotland), Jakob IV. (König von Schottland) 570–71  
 James V (King of Scotland), Jakob IV. (König von Schottland) 566, 571–72  
 Jenner, Thomas 471–72  
 Jewel, John 56, 72, 75, 91, 171, 193, 216, 221, 280, 291, 296, 344, 355, 359, 552–54, 585, 594–95, 600, 605, 613, 615, 619  
 Joachim II. (Kurfürst von Brandenburg) 250, 258, 261, 269, 308, 316, 324, 326–27  
 Johann von Brandenburg (Markgraf von Brandenburg-Küstrin) 270, 335  
 Johann Friedrich (Herzog von Württemberg) 553  
 Johanna (Päpstin), Joan (pope) 485–92  
 Johannes Cassianus, John Cassian 557  
 Johannes Chrysostomus 593, 597, 613, 616  
 John of Fordun 578  
 Jones, William 58, 72, 78, 91

- Jonson, Ben 470, 474  
 Josuttis, Manfred 268, 333  
 Jonas, Justus 61, 99, 115, 501, 514–15  
 Joye, George 394–95, 430  
 Kantz, Caspar 390, 426  
 Kantz, Gabriel 127, 149  
 Karl d. Gr. (Kaiser), Charles the Great (Emperor) 562, 600, 619  
 Karl V. (Kaiser), Charles V (Emperor) 499, 513  
 Karlstadt (Andreas Bodenstein) 28, 34, 126, 130–31, 148, 152, 237–38, 383, 386, 390, 419, 422, 426, 430, 524  
 Kessler, Johannes 562  
 Kirkwood, James 484  
 Kleinmayer, Michel 537  
 Knobloch, Johann 138, 159  
 Knox, John 42, 106, 121, 222–23, 456, 460, 566–67, 570, 573–78, 581  
 Konstantin d. Gr. (Kaiser), Constantine (Emperor) 548–49, 596, 616  
 Konstantin II. (Kaiser), Constantine II (Emperor) 580  
 Köhler (Colerus), Jakob 275, 339  
 Köhler (Colerus), Johannes 275, 339  
 Kruse, Gottschalck 137, 158  
 Lachmann, Johann 383, 418  
 Lambert, Franz 402, 437, 568  
 Latimer, Hugh 14, 54, 56–61, 65–66, 69–72, 74, 76–81, 84–85, 88–91, 280, 287–89, 344, 351–53, 402, 437, 467  
 Laud, William 458, 461  
 Leo X. (Papst, Pope) 559  
 Linck, Wenzeslaus 381, 471  
 Lockhart, John 574  
 Longland, John 504, 518  
 Lorich, Gerhard 267, 332  
 Lothar von Supplinburg (Kaiser), Lothar of Supplinburg (Emperor) 557  
 Lucius of Britain 561  
 Ludwig von Freyberg 532  
 Luther, Martin 4, 8, 11, 14, 17, 25, 27–29, 33–35, 54–71, 74–90, 94–107, 109–22, 126–28, 130–40, 143–45, 148–50, 152–59, 161, 164–66, 170, 174–78, 180–84, 186, 190, 192, 195–98, 200–05, 207, 210, 217, 223, 234, 236–39, 249, 253–54, 258, 262–63, 266, 272, 274, 285, 298, 305, 309, 315, 318–20, 323, 328, 331, 336–37, 339, 349, 360, 378–82, 384–96, 398, 414, 416–32, 434, 444–52, 462–63, 465–66, 470, 477, 480, 497–98, 500–01, 511–12, 514, 523, 526–27, 550–52, 555–61, 564, 565–69, 571, 588–90, 608–09  
 Lyndwood, William 299, 362, 504, 518  
 Lynne, Gwalter 142, 163  
 Machyn, Henry 105, 121  
 Major, John 567, 579–80  
 Marpeck, Pilgram 536, 539  
 Martt, Johann 539  
 Mathesius, Johannes 170, 192, 215, 229  
 Matthew, Simon 397, 432  
 Matzke, Gertrud 249, 315  
 Maria Anna (Infanta of Spain) 471  
 Mary of Guise 42–43, 573–75  
 Mary (Queen of Scots), Maria (Königin von Schottland) 566, 576, 579  
 Mary I (Queen of England), Maria I. (Königin von England) 23–24, 241, 290–91, 301, 354, 471, 543, 573, 584, 604  
 Mary II (Queen of England) 481  
 Matthias von Jagow 269, 334  
 May, Stephan 376, 411  
 Melancthon, Philipp 14, 28, 34, 61, 81, 101, 117, 126, 130, 138, 148, 152, 159–60, 255–56, 258, 266, 295–97, 321–323, 331, 359, 379, 386, 401, 421, 501, 514–15, 551–53, 555, 557, 561, 563, 569, 589, 609  
 Menius, Justus 170, 175, 178, 183–84, 186, 192, 197, 200, 204–05, 207  
 Middleton, Thomas 472  
 Mildmay, Walter 295, 358–59  
 Mörlin, Joachim 267, 332  
 More (Morus), Thomas 13, 15, 127, 149, 393, 429, 599, 618  
 Moritz von Oranien, Maurice (Prince of Orange) 472  
 Müntzer, Thomas 28, 30, 34, 36, 126, 148, 377, 382, 413, 418, 523  
 Musculus, Andreas 258, 269, 294, 324, 334, 357  
 Musculus, Wolfgang 100–02, 116–18  
 Myconius, Friedrich 564  
 Mylne, Walter 574

- Newman, John Henry 547  
 Nicolas de Clamanges 549  
 Northbrooke, John 469  
 Nowell, Alexander 24, 296, 359  
 Oates, Titus 470  
 Oekolampad, Johannes 381, 385, 417,  
 420–21  
 Osiander, Andreas 262, 276, 328, 340–  
 41  
 Osiander, Lukas (d.Ä., the Elder) 564  
 Oswald (King of Northumbria) 579  
 Palladius von Helenopolis 557  
 Parkyn, Robert 301, 364  
 Parr, Katherine 10–12, 21  
 Parr, Elnathan 58, 67, 78, 87  
 Pellikan, Konrad 146, 166  
 Pencz, Georg 478  
 Pendleton, Henry 291, 354  
 Perkins, William 172, 178, 180, 185,  
 187, 193–94, 200–01, 206, 208, 223–  
 24, 297, 301, 304, 364, 366, 483  
 Petreius, Johann 132, 154  
 Peucer, Caspar 557–58, 561–63  
 Philipp von Hessen 499, 513, 568  
 Pilkington, James 291, 355  
 Pius V. (Papst, Pope) 583, 603  
 Platina, Bartholomaeus 488, 560, 564  
 Plot, Robert 479  
 Pole, Reginald 23, 290, 354  
 Porta, Konrad 267, 332  
 Porter, John 399, 434  
 Pruystick, Eloy 126, 148  
 Quentel, Peter 130–32, 135–39, 154,  
 156–60  
 Ramsay, William 574  
 Rebhun, Paul 215, 228  
 Reinhart, Martin 380–81, 415–17  
 Reublin, Wilhelm 531  
 Rhegius, Urbanus 380–81, 388–89, 416–  
 17, 424–25  
 Rich, Barnaby 469  
 Ridley, Nicholas 400, 435  
 Rieker, Karl 495–96, 509–10  
 Rinck, Hermann 130–33, 137, 141, 152,  
 154, 158, 162  
 Rivius, Johannes 267, 332  
 Rolle, Richard 9, 21  
 Roth, Stephan 63, 82–83  
 Rothmann, Bernhard 125, 147  
 Roye, William 10, 126, 129, 131, 133–34,  
 137, 139, 141–42, 144–45, 148, 151,  
 153–56, 158, 162–65  
 Ruff, Simprecht 127, 149  
 Rupert von Deutz 132, 136, 154  
 Sachs, Hans 478  
 Sandys, Edwin 57, 77, 291, 355  
 Sarcerius, Erasmus 170, 186, 192, 207,  
 267, 332  
 Sattler, Michael 531–32  
 Schickhardt, Heinrich 452  
 Scherer, Georg 488  
 Schöffner, Peter 137–40, 158–61  
 Schott, Johann 141–42, 162–63  
 Schrott, Martin 487  
 Schwebel, Johann 385, 421  
 Schwenckfeld, Caspar 527, 531, 536,  
 539  
 Scultetus, Abraham 564  
 Selnecker, Nikolaus 171, 193  
 Semler, Ernst Salomo 564  
 Settle, Elkanah 489  
 Seymour, Edward (Duke of Somerset)  
 289, 353  
 Shakespeare, William 3, 470, 474  
 Shepherd, William 301, 364  
 Sylvester I. (Papst, Pope) 548  
 Sylvester II. (Papst, Pope) 561  
 Smith, Henry 66, 85, 171, 175, 179, 187,  
 193, 197, 200, 208, 221–22  
 Spalatin, Georg 97, 104, 112–13, 120,  
 139, 160  
 Spangenberg, Cyriakus 215, 218  
 Spangenberg, Johannes 218  
 Speratus, Paul 98, 114, 390, 426  
 Spottiswoode, John 461, 578  
 Stewart, John (Duke of Albany) 566–67,  
 571  
 Strauß, Jakob 380–81, 388–89, 416–17,  
 424–25  
 Stubbes, Philip 483  
 Teellinck, Willem 475  
 Thomas von Aquin, Thomas Aquinas  
 184, 205  
 Thomas Becket 598, 618  
 Thumb von Neufeld, Hans Konrad 535



- Troeltsch, Ernst 495, 509, 527  
 Tunstall, Cuthbert 10, 15  
 Trychay, Christopher 6, 231, 301, 364  
 Tyndale, William 7, 12–14, 16, 57, 60–61, 77, 80–81, 126–27, 129, 131, 133–34, 136–42, 148–51, 153–56, 158–63, 394–95, 430, 502–03, 516–17  
 Ulrich (Herzog von Württemberg, Duke of Württemberg) 500, 513, 532  
 Ursinus, Zacharias 223  
 Vadian, Joachim 558, 562  
 Velenský, Oldřich (Ulrich Velenus) 135, 157  
 Vermigli, Petrus 405, 440  
 Viret, Pierre 573  
 Wagner, Tobias 64, 83  
 Walsall, John 469  
 Walter, Hans 537  
 Ward, Samuel 471  
 Wedderburn, John 574  
 Whately, William 172, 178, 181, 188, 193–94, 200, 202–03, 208, 226–28  
 Wilcox, Thomas 302, 365, 483  
 William III (King of England) 481  
 Willock, John 573–74  
 Wilson, Thomas 68, 88, 298, 360  
 Winram, Gilbert 568  
 Winram, John 568  
 Wishart, George 40, 566, 572–73  
 Wolsey, Thomas 14, 131, 133, 137, 141–42, 153–54, 158, 162–63, 571, 599, 618  
 Wycliffe, John 5, 8–9, 138, 159–60, 395, 431, 480, 570  
 Ziegler, Bernhard 255, 321  
 Zwilling, Gabriel 386, 422  
 Zwingli, Ulrich 28, 34, 62, 65, 67, 82, 84, 87, 218, 392, 396, 427, 430–31, 572