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# Select Bibliography

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This is intended to provide a basic reading list of recent works in English, and of some important recent works in German, which are listed at the end of each section. The sections correspond to the chapter divisions, and also serve the purpose of providing references to the works on which I have relied throughout. The 'Miscellaneous' section at the end contains largely collected works and reference items. Place of publication is London, unless otherwise stated.

## General Surveys, Interpretations

- [1] A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther* (1974). First recent work to examine the socio-political context of the Reformation; coined the phrase 'the Reformation was an urban event'.
- [2] A. G. Dickens and J. Tonkin, *A Historiography of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985). Comprehensive survey, from earliest sixteenth-century writings up to modern social historical approaches.
- [3] W. Monter, *Ritual, Myth and Magic in Early Modern Europe* (Brighton, 1983). Misleadingly titled, but excellent on piety, 'superstition' and the authoritarian attitude to religion (from both Protestant and Catholic).
- [4] S. E. Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250–1550* (New Haven, 1980). Very good survey of theological and intellectual antecedents of the Reformation. Takes account, if patchily, of social historical approaches, but dismissive of 'popular religion'.
- [5] S. E. Ozment (ed.), *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St Louis, Miss., 1982). A guide for the advanced student, concentrated heavily on Germany and Switzerland, but contains some very informative essays and bibliographies.
- [6] M. Mullett, *Radical Religious Movements in Early Modern Europe* (1980). Excellent attempt to break out of traditional categories,

tracing 'radical religion' from Hus to Quakers in five thought-provoking thematic chapters.

- [7] B. M. G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Reformation* (1981). Old-fashioned approach which equates 'religious thought' with theology, but a very useful survey of Reformation doctrine.
- [8] R. W. Scribner, 'Is there a Social History of the Reformation?', *Social History*, II (1977), 483–505. Discusses approaches to social history of the Reformation, especially West German debates with marxist interpretations.
- [9] R. W. Scribner, 'Religion, Society and Culture: Reorientating the Reformation', *History Workshop*, 14 (1982), 2–22. Discusses recent views on Reformation, popular culture and popular religion.
- [10] R. W. Scribner, 'Interpreting Religion in Early Modern Europe', *European Studies Review*, XIII (1983), 89–105. Examines approaches to history of religion which use sociology and social anthropology to interpret Reformation as part of long-term cultural change.
- [11] P. Blickle, *Die Reformation im Reich* (Stuttgart, 1982). Brief overview, containing the author's interpretation of the Reformation as a 'communal Reformation'. See also [36].
- [12] K. von Greyerz, 'Stadt und Reformation: Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LXXVI (1985). Perceptive survey of literature on the urban Reformation, mostly works to appear since 1980.
- [13] B. Moeller, *Deutschland im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1977). Brief but stimulating synthesis of recent trends to that date, especially tries to incorporate social historical material.
- [14] B. Moeller, 'Problems of Reformation Research' in [65]. Classic 1965 article, which called for a more historical and less purely theological approach to the Reformation.
- [15] R. Wohlfeil, *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Reformation* (Munich, 1982). Stimulating analytical discussion of concepts and approaches to Reformation, especially good on social historical approach and on recent controversies.

## Religion and Reformation

See also [136], [141]

- [16] J. Bossy, 'The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1983), 29–61. Discusses the significance of the Mass, though concentrates only on its central ceremony, the canon.

- [17] H. Bornkamm, *Luther in Mid-Career 1521–1530* (1983). Magisterial study of Luther, combining lucid exposition of his theology with historical perspective. For later period of Luther's life, see [89].
- [18] W. A. Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981). Important anthropological view of late-medieval religion; along with [19] one of the most important works of recent years for understanding religion as social phenomenon.
- [19] W. A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth Century Spain* (Princeton, 1981).
- [20] J. Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire* (1977). Important for 'christianisation' thesis.
- [21] K. von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe* (1985). Proceedings of recent conference on popular religion, with important papers from international scholars.
- [22] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1955). Classic study on 'decayed' religion at end of middle ages, though written from perspective of cultural elites.
- [23] R. E. Lerner, 'Medieval Prophecy and Religious Dissent', *Past and Present*, 72 (1976), 3–24. Places Luther in tradition of medieval prophecy.
- [24] B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Visions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979). Valuable collection of documents on the apocalyptic tradition, unfortunately stops at 1500. See also [31], [34].
- [25] B. Moeller, 'Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation', in G. Strauss (ed.), *Pre-Reformation Germany* (1972), 13–42. Originally published 1965, arguing for strength of piety on eve of Reformation.
- [26] F. Oakley, 'Religious and Ecclesiastical Life on the Eve of the Reformation', in (5). Useful short survey with excellent bibliography.
- [27] F. Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1979). Perceptive and balanced survey, especially good on piety, reform.
- [28] H. A. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and Devil* (1985). Best biography of Luther of recent times for seeing him in religious perspective of his age.
- [29] H. A. Oberman, *Masters of the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981). Places the Reformation in medieval and south German perspective.
- [30] S. E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities* (New Haven, 1975). Good on the appeal of the evangelical message, suggestive on the urban Reformation.

- [31] M. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (1976). Important on Joachimism's influence on the Reformation apocalyptic tradition.
- [32] L. Rothkrug, *Religious Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1980). Stimulating but controversial interpretation of popular religion and Reformation. For a critique see [9], [10].
- [33] R. W. Scribner, 'Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the time of the Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxv (1984), 47–77. Defines 'popular religion' in terms of liturgical practices.
- [34] W. E. Peuckert, *Die grosse Wende. Das apokalyptische Säkulum und Luther* (Hamburg, 1948). Much neglected, but important study of the apocalyptic dimension of the Reformation.
- [35] R. W. Scribner, 'Luther-Legenden des 16. Jahrhunderts', in G. Vogler (ed.), *Martin Luther. Leben, Werk, Wirkung* (Berlin, 1983). Examines myths built around Luther from beginning of the Reformation.
- [35a] R. W. Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther: the Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany', *Past and Present*, 110(1986), 38–68. Discusses persistence of the view of Luther as saint and miracle-worker until the eighteenth century.

### **The Reformation as Evangelical Movement**

See also [6], [8], [11], [12], [15], [29], [30], [134], [137], [138], [144]

- [36] P. Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525* (Baltimore, 1981). Sees the Peasants' War as the 'revolution of the common man'. See also [5], [9], [10], [11].
- [37] M. U. Chrisman, 'Lay Response to the Protestant Reformation in Germany, 1520–1528', in [126]. Examines lay pamphlets in support of Reformation.
- [38] H. J. Cohn, 'Anticlericalism in the German Peasants' War', *Past and Present*, 83 (1979), 3–31. Argues importance of socio-economic hostility to clergy.
- [39] R. G. Cole, 'The Reformation Pamphlet and Communication Processes', in [129]. Argues for importance of printing in communicating Reformation ideas.
- [40] R. G. Cole, 'Reformation Printers: Unsung Heroes', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xv (1984), 327–39. Emphasises the importance of printers as supporters of the Reformation.

- [41] E. M. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979). Perceptive if rather over-argued case for cultural impact of printing.
- [42] J. M. Kittelson, 'Humanism and the Reformation in Germany', *Central European History*, ix (1976), 303–22. Points out continuing importance of humanism for Reformation.
- [43] S. E. Ozment, 'The Social History of the Reformation: What can we learn from Pamphlets?', in [129]. Argues for importance of pamphlets as a historical source. See [30], [113] for examples, [46], [127] for criticism of this approach.
- [44] R. W. Scribner, 'The Reformation as a Social Movement', in [127]. Tries to define meaning of 'social movement', using central German examples.
- [45] R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981). Study of broadsheet propaganda as a means of spreading evangelical ideas to the illiterate and semi-illiterate.
- [46] R. W. Scribner, 'Oral Culture and the Diffusion of Reformation Ideas', *History of European Ideas*, v (1984). Argues that role of printing has been overestimated and that oral communication should be given more attention in spread of Reformation.
- [47] R. W. Scribner, 'Practice and Principle in the German Towns: Preachers and People', in [124]. Analysis of role and social profile of leading Reformation preachers.
- [48] H. J. Cohn, 'Reformatorische Bewegung und Anticlericalismus in Deutschland und England', in [127]. Illuminating comparison of anticlerical feeling in German and English Reformations.
- [49] H. Fast, 'Reformation durch Provokation. Predigtstörungen in den ersten Jahren der Reformation in der Schweiz', in [102]. Discusses use of public provocation to further reform.
- [50] B. Moeller, 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Thema: Predigten in reformatorischen Flugschriften', in [129]. Points out importance of sermon for dissemination of Reformation.
- [51] B. Moeller, 'Stadt und Buch. Bemerkungen zur Struktur der reformatorischen Bewegung in Deutschland', in [127]. Argues importance of printing for spread of Reformation, though position qualified by [50].
- [52] B. Moeller, 'Was wurde in der Frühzeit der Reformation in den deutschen Städten gepredigt?', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LXXV (1984), 176–93. Studies collections of printed sermons to

discover what was preached in the towns during the early years of the evangelical movement.

- [53] H. J. Goertz, 'Aufstand gegen den Priester. Antiklerikalismus und reformatorische Bewegung', in P. Blickle (ed.), *Bauer, Reich und Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1982), 182–209. Argues importance of anticlericalism for reform movements, especially for radical tradition.

### **Social Location of the Reformation**

See also [12], [36], [40], [134], [137], [143], [144]

- [54] T. A. Brady, *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg 1520–1555* (Leiden, 1978). Study of socio-economic influence on urban reform, underpinned by excellent analysis of social and political system in Strasbourg.
- [55] T. A. Brady, 'Social History', in [5]. Overview of tasks for social historical study of reform movements.
- [56] P. Broadhead, 'Politics and Expediency in the Augsburg Reformation', in [124]. This and following item show importance of political calculation in urban Reformation.
- [57] P. Broadhead, 'Popular Pressure for Reform in Augsburg, 1524–1534', in [127].
- [58] M. U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform* (New Haven, 1967). First of the current wave of works on the urban Reformation.
- [59] M. U. Chrisman, 'Women and the Reformation in Strasbourg 1490–1530', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LXIII (1972), 143–67. First careful examination of the role of women in Reformation not just concerned with 'famous women'.
- [60] H. J. Grimm, *Lazarus Spengler. A Lay Leader of the Reformation* (Columbus, Ohio, 1978). Rewarding biography of a central figure of the Nuremberg Reformation.
- [61] H. J. Hillerbrand, 'The Reformation and the German Peasants' War', in [125]. Argues that religion played only a minor role in peasant grievances.
- [62] J. Irwin, 'Society and the Sexes', in [5]. Useful survey of the rather sparse work on the role of women in the Reformation. Shows how much work is still to be done.
- [63] S. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: the Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 69 (1979). Examines effectiveness of Lutheranism in rural areas through investigation of the ministers implementing reform.

- [64] B. Moeller, 'The German Humanists and the Beginning of the Reformation', in [65]. First published 1965, argues for importance of humanists for initial reception of the Reformation.
- [65] B. Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1972). Classic essay from 1962 which set off current discussion of the social dimension of Reformation. Here with other important essays by same author, see [14], [64].
- [66] R. W. Scribner, 'Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt', *Past and Present*, 66 (1975), 29–60. Examines importance of social conflict in fate of the Reformation in a major European town; critical of Moeller [65] for underestimating social conflict.
- [67] R. W. Scribner, 'Memorandum on the Appointment of a Preacher in Speyer, 1538', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLVIII (1975), 248–55. Why Reformation was postponed in Speyer for economic and political reasons.
- [68] R. W. Scribner, 'Why was there no Reformation in Cologne?', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLIX (1976), 217–41. Social and political pressures, internal and external, which prevented growth of a reform movement.
- [69] R. W. Scribner, 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-down', *Social History*, III (1977), 303–29. Use of carnival and popular culture to spread Reformation.
- [70] J. C. Stalnaker, 'Residenzstadt und Reformation: Religion, Politics and Social Policy in Hesse, 1509–46', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LXIV (1973), 113–46. One of the few studies of a residence-town outside south Germany (Marburg) examining socio-political dimensions of reform.
- [71] V. Press, 'Adel, Reich und Reformation' in [127]. Excellent overview of response of nobility to Reformation in sixteenth century; with English summary.

### **Politics and the Reformation**

See also [1], [6], [36], [54], [56], [66] to [71], [89], [137]

- [72] T. A. Brady, 'Patricians, Nobles, Merchants: Internal Tensions and Solidarities in South German Ruling Classes at the Close of the Middle Ages', in [126]. Useful overview of oligarchies.
- [73] T. A. Brady, 'Princes' Reformation versus Urban Liberty: Strasbourg and the Restoration in Württemberg, 1534', in [128].
- [74] P. N. Brooks, 'Visitor: Luther as Visitor', in P. N. Brooks (ed.), *Seven-headed Luther* (Oxford, 1983). On Luther's role in the first Saxon church visitation.

- [75] W. D. J. Cargill-Thompson, *The Political Thought of Martin Luther* (Hassocks, 1984). Surveys main lines of Luther's political thought.
- [76] C. R. Friedrichs, 'Citizens or Subjects? Urban Conflict in Early Modern Germany', in [126]. On tendency of ruling authorities to treat citizens as subjects and to behave as sovereign authorities.
- [77] K. von Greyerz, *The late city Reformation in Germany: the Case of Colmar 1522–1638* (Wiesbaden, 1980). Singles out typology of towns with 'late' Reformations.
- [78] H. Hopfl, *The Christian Polity of John Calvin* (Cambridge, 1982). Development of Calvin's views on government within practical context of Geneva.
- [79] G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976). Fine and most recent biography of Zwingli in English.
- [80] G. R. Potter, *Huldrych Zwingli* (1978). Excellent collection of documents to accompany [79].
- [81] H. C. Rublack, 'Political and Social Norms in Urban Communities in the Holy Roman Empire', in K. von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion, Politics and Social Protest. Three Studies on Early Modern Germany* (1985). Overview of political and social norms, and their relationship to urban reform.
- [82] B. Scribner and G. Benecke (eds), *The German Peasant War 1525: New Viewpoints* (1979). Collection of translated articles from the best and recent (to 1978) German scholarship.
- [83] H. Schilling, 'The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, xv (1983), 443–56. Argues for a 'Hansa-city' Reformation.
- [84] W. J. Wright, 'The Homberg Synod and Philip of Hesse's Plan for a new Church-State Settlement', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, iv (1973), 23–46.
- [85] P. Blickle, *Deutsche Untertanen: ein Widerspruch* (Munich, 1981). Argues that there is a long tradition of peasant protest and political struggle to achieve autonomy.
- [86] M. Heckel, *Deutschland im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Göttingen, 1983). On Protestant confessional politics and legal implications of reform in the Empire.

### **Varieties of Reformation**

See also [6], [7], [49], [53], [78] to [80], [123], [135], [139]

- [87] C. P. Clasen, *Anabaptism. A Social History 1525–1618* (1972). First extended social analysis of the Anabaptists.



- [88] M. U. Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren* (Stanford, 1975). Valuable study of how Luther fell out with other reformers.
- [89] M. U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles. Politics and Polemics 1531–46* (Leiden, 1983). Excellent study of Luther's polemics in his mature years.
- [90] G. Haendler, *Luther on Ministerial Office and Congregational Function* (Philadelphia, 1981) Study of how Luther's views changed 1520–4.
- [91] R. Kolb, *Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565)* (Nieuwkoop, 1978). Illuminating study of Luther's disciple who tried to preserve Luther's thought as a rigid orthodoxy after 1546.
- [92] J. S. Oyer, *Lutheran Reformers against Anabaptists* (The Hague, 1964). Valuable study of how the 'mainstream' reformers stigmatised the Anabaptists.
- [93] C. A. Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father of the Baptist Movements: the Emergence of Lay Protestantism* (Toronto, 1984). Rescues Karlstadt's reputation as a serious evangelical thinker, and argues for his wider influence on Zwingli and the Anabaptists.
- [94] J. S. Preus, *Karlstadt's Ordinaciones and Luther's Liberty. A Study of the Wittenberg Movement 1521–22* (Harvard, 1974). Study of where and how the two disagreed.
- [95] G. Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation* (1969). Brief treatment of some reformers hitherto neglected in English, especially good on Karlstadt and Müntzer.
- [96] J. M. Stayer and W. O. Packull (eds), *The Anabaptists and Thomas Müntzer* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1980). Translations of significant recent articles on radical reformers.
- [97] J. M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword* (Lawrence, 1972). Important discussion of Anabaptist views on political authority.
- [98] J. M. Stayer, 'The Anabaptists', in [5]. Sums up succinctly the state of present research.
- [99] L. H. Zuck (ed.), *Christianity and Revolution. Radical Christian Testimonies 1520–1650* (Philadelphia, 1975). Selection of documents which allows the revolutionary reformed tradition to speak for itself.
- [100] K. Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman. Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1979). Exemplary biography combining social history with theological analysis.
- [101] H. J. Goertz (ed.), *Profiles of Radical Reformers* (Scottsdale, Penn., 1982). Biographical sketches from Müntzer to Paracelsus.

- [102] H. J. Goertz (ed.), *Umstrittenes Täufertum 1525–1975* (Göttingen, 1975). Important collection of revisionary essays, marking a move away from normative Lutheran assessments of the radicals.
- [103] H. J. Goertz, *Die Täufer. Geschichte und Deutung* (Munich, 1980). Excellent interpretation of the role of the Anabaptists in the Reformation.

### Impact of the Reformation

- See also [3], [6], [9], [10], [20], [21], [32], [35], [35a], [41], [63], [136], [140], [142], [143]
- [104] P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978). Argues for a 'Reformation of popular culture'.
- [105] M. U. Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg 1480–1599* (New Haven, 1982). Important study of impact of printing, with creation of two cultures, lay and learned.
- [106] M. U. Edwards, 'Lutheran Pedagogy in Reformation Germany', *History of Education Quarterly*, XXI (1981), 471–7. Thoughtful review of [120].
- [107] R. Gawthrop and G. Strauss, 'Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany', *Past and Present*, 104 (1984).
- [108] R. A. Houston, 'Literacy and Society in the West 1500–1850', *Social History*, VIII (1983).
- [109] S. Karant-Nunn, 'Continuity and Change. Some Effects of the Reformation on the Women of Zwickau', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XIII (1982), 17–42.
- [110] J. M. Kittelson, 'Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: the Report from Strasbourg', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LXXIII (1983), 153–75. Criticism of [120], based on analysis of Strasbourg materials.
- [111] H. Lis and C. Soly, *Poverty and Capitalism in Pre-industrial Europe* (Hassocks, 1979). Long-term study of development of treatment of the poor which sets the Reformation in perspective.
- [112] R. Muchembled, 'The Witches of the Cambresis. The Acculturation of the Rural World in the Sixteenth Century', in J. Obelkevich (ed.), *Religion and the People 800–1700* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 221–76. Interprets witch persecutions as an attempt of urban elite culture to undermine rural popular culture. See also [141].

- [113] S. E. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled. Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). A view of the Reformation's role in reaffirming the patriarchal family.
- [114] T. Robisheaux, 'Peasants and Pastors: Rural Youth Control and the Reformation in Hohenlohe, 1540–1680', *Social History*, vi (1981), 281–300. A view of the triangular struggle for social control between pastors, village elders and youth.
- [115] L. Roper, 'Luther: Sex, Marriage and Motherhood', *History Today*, xxxiii (1983). Assesses positive and negative effects of Luther's ideas.
- [116] L. Roper, 'Going to Church and Street: Weddings in Reformation Augsburg', *Past and Present*, 106 (1985). How the Reformation changed the celebration of weddings.
- [117] L. Roper, '“Discipline and Respectability”: Protestantism and the Reformation in Augsburg', *History Workshop Journal*, 19 (1985).
- [118] T. M. Safley, *Let no Man Put Asunder. The Control of Marriage in the German Southwest: a Comparative Study 1550–1600* (Kirkville, Miss., 1984). Study of Protestant and Catholic marriage courts in Basel, Constance, Freiburg.
- [119] G. Strauss, 'Success and Failure in the German Reformation', *Past and Present*, 67 (1975), 30–63. Uses visitation records to argue that Reformation failed to change Christian life in its territories.
- [120] G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning. Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978). Analyses Protestant pedagogy to argue that it was inadequate for purposes of reform.
- [121] R. Muchembled, *Culture populaire et culture des élites* (Paris, 1978). Argues that elite urban culture 'acculturated' rural culture in interests of absolutist state. See [9], [10] for further discussion.
- [122] B. Vogler, 'La politique scolaire entre Rhin et Moselle', *Francia*, iii/iv (1975–6). Scholarly study of educational policy in Duchy of Zweibrücken, 1556–1619.
- [123] B. Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la réforme (1555–1619)* (Paris, 1976). Detailed study of position of clergy in reformed parts of Rhineland.

### Miscellaneous and Addenda

- [124] P. N. Brooks (ed.), *Reformation Principle and Practice. Essays in Honour of A.G. Dickens* (1980).

- [125] L. P. Buck and J. W. Zophy (eds), *The Social History of the Reformation* (Columbus, Ohio, 1872).
- [126] M. U. Chrisman and O. Grundler (eds), *Social Groups and Religious Ideas in the Sixteenth Century* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1978).
- [127] W. J. Mommsen, P. Alter and R. W. Scribner (eds), *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1979). Contains essays in English and German (with English summaries).
- [128] I. Batori (ed.), *Städtische Gesellschaft und Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1980).
- [129] H. J. Köhler (ed.), *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart, 1981).
- [130] M. Brecht and H. Ehmer, *Südwestdeutsche Reformationsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1984). Most recent synthesis of Reformation history of the south-west, covering present-day state of Baden-Wuerttemberg.
- [131] E. Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics. The Waldenses of the Alps 1480–1580* (Oxford, 1984). Study of pre-Reformation communities of the French Alps and the impact on them of the Reformation. Suggestive for German parallels.
- [132] W. Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (1974). Now classic study of the two themes in medieval government – the descending and the ascending nature of power.
- [133] H. R. Hitchcock, *German Renaissance Architecture* (Princeton, 1981). Especially useful on impact of Reformation on building and building styles.
- [134] F. Conrad, *Reformation in der bäuerlichen Gesellschaft. Zur Rezeption reformatorischer Theologie im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1984). The first modern attempt to explore peasant reception and reaction to evangelical ideas. A splendidly suggestive study, which makes the best of limited surviving evidence.

(The following works appeared after this book was completed, and could only be briefly referred to in the text; accordingly they are commented on more fully here.)

- [135] L. J. Abray, *The People's Reformation. Magistrates, Clergy and Commons in Strasbourg 1500–1598* (Oxford, 1985). Excellent study of the varieties of reform in a major imperial city, and of the extended process required to establish a 'Lutheran' Reformation.
- [136] J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985). Scholarly and subtle argument about a 'communal' Christianity

- up to 1500, replaced thereafter by an 'individualised' religion. Ignores popular religion and popular culture to present an over-idealised view of pre-Reformation religion; Reformation and Counter-Reformation seen more through a 'history of ideas' approach than through examination of their social history.
- [137] T. A. Brady, *Turning Swiss. Cities and Empire 1450–1550* (Cambridge, 1985). Imaginative political study of the possibility of a 'third way' in late-medieval, early modern politics in Germany, involving free cities adopting Swiss models of collective government; although this did not have a long-term appeal, it was revived briefly by the 'communal Reformation' in south Germany. Splendidly suggestive and casts new light on political choices of imperial towns in wake of Reformation.
- [138] P. Blickle, *Gemeindereformation. Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil* (Munich, 1985). Fuller exposition of Blickle's thesis about a 'communal Reformation' (see also 11, 36, 137).
- [139] P. Blickle (ed.), *Zwingli und Europa* (Zurich, 1985). Proceedings of 1984 conference celebrating quincentenary of Zwingli's birth; papers reflect numerous new approaches to Reformation, as well as more positive evaluation of Zwingli's importance.
- [140] R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Munster 1535–1618* (New Haven, 1984). Fine study of the restoration of Catholicism in Munster in the three generations following the fall of the Anabaptist Kingdom. Full of suggestive material on the emergence of 'confessionalism'.
- [141] R. Muchembled, *Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1400–1750* (Baton Rouge, 1985). Translation of controversial 1978 work, arguing that rural 'popular culture' underwent an 'acculturation' by elite urban culture in the wake of the Counter-Reformation. For criticisms see [9, 10, 12, 21].
- [142] H. Rebel, *Peasant Classes. The Bureaucratization of Property and Family Relations under Early Habsburg Absolutism 1511–1636* (Princeton, 1983). Groundbreaking study of impact of absolutist state on peasant family, with valuable sidelights on social and political aspects of Counter-Reformation in the Austrian Monarchy.
- [143] L. Roper, *Work, Marriage and Sexuality: Women in Reformation Augsburg* (University of London Ph. D. Thesis, 1985). Outstanding pioneering work about how the Reformation affected the position of women, especially attempt to impose a form of 'civic righteousness' through a reformed moralism.

- [144] P. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation. Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany 1521–1525* (Cambridge, 1985). Studies the works of eight lay pamphleteers, showing the mixture of theological influences from Luther and from traditional thought found in their pamphlets.

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# Supplementary Bibliography

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In keeping with the original, this bibliography is meant to provide a basic reading list of recent works in English along with a selection of works in German that have special relevance for English-language scholarship.

- [1] M. Arnold, *Handwerker als theologische Schriftsteller. Studien zu Flugschriften der frühen Reformation (1523–1525)* (Göttingen, 1990). Study of ten artisan pamphleteers and their understanding of the evangelical message.
- [2] D. V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents. Catholic Controversialists 1518–1525* (Minneapolis, 1991). Examines the reaction of the Catholic theologians who first published against Luther. Emphasises the lack of unity and the need to establish authority.
- [3] R. B. Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis. Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, 1988). Survey, rich in primary materials, of the sense of crisis that ran through Lutheran orthodoxy in the latter half of the century.
- [4] R. J. Bast, *Honor Your Fathers. Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany 1400–1600* (Leiden, 1997). Traces the patriarchal discourse in catechetical literature from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.
- [5] P. Blickle (trans. Thomas Dunlap), *Communal Reformation. The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London, 1992). Translation of the influential German work cited in the original bibliography (no. 138). A full exposition of the Communal Reformation thesis, rooted in the details of the past.
- [6] P. Blickle (trans. T. A. Brady, Jr), *Obedient Germans? A Rebuttal. A New View of German History* (Charlottesville, 1997). Important study of the strength of communal culture in Germany in the early modern period. Challenges accepted notions.
- [7] P. Blickle, *Der Bauernkrieg. Die Revolution des gemeinen Mannes* (Munich, 1998). A short synthesis of many of the themes Blickle

has raised in related studies, including the relationship between the evangelical movement and the Revolution.

- [8] P. Blickle (trans. B. Kümin), *From the Communal Reformation to the Revolution of the Common Man* (Leiden, 1998). Translated collection of articles, primarily dealing with the Communal Reformation and the Peasants' War.
- [9] P. Blickle, 'Reformation and Communal Spirit: The Reply of the Theologians to Constitutional Change in the Late Middle Ages', in C. S. Dixon (ed.), *The German Reformation. The Essential Readings* (Oxford, 1999), 133–68. Translation of an article which effectively summarises the relationship between the reform movement and local political culture.
- [10] T. A. Brady, Jr, *Protestant Politics. Jacob Sturm (1489–1553) and the German Reformation* (New Jersey, 1995). Magisterial account of how the Reformation affected political relations in the Empire. Approaches the theme from the perspective of Jacob Sturm and his imperial city of Strasbourg.
- [11] T. A. Brady, Jr, *Communities, Politics and Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 1998). Collection which brings together many important articles on the social and political history of the Reformation.
- [12] M. Brecht (trans. J. L. Schaaf), *Martin Luther. His Road to Reformation 1483–1521* (Minneapolis, 1985). First part of an extremely rich and authoritative three-volume biography of Luther's life. Not only important for its contribution to our understanding of Luther, but the entire Reformation movement.
- [13] M. Brecht (trans. J. L. Schaaf), *Martin Luther. Shaping and Defining the Reformation 1521–1532* (Minneapolis, 1990).
- [14] M. Brecht (trans. J. L. Schaaf), *Martin Luther. The Preservation of the Church 1532–1546* (Minneapolis, 1993).
- [15] T. Brockmann, *Die Konzilsfrage in den Flug- und Streitschriften des deutschen Sprachraumes 1518–1563* (Göttingen, 1998). Careful examination of the published dialogue over the question of a church council. Reveals much of the broader theological issues.
- [16] J. Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert. Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart, 2002). Emphasises the historical importance of the Reformation as a media event as well as its contribution to the structural and institutional changes of the age.
- [17] A. Nelson Burnett, *The Yoke of Christ. Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline* (Kirkville, 1994). Examines the ideas of church



discipline developed by the reformer Martin Bucer and his relations with the secular authorities.

- [18] R. A. Cahill, *Philipp of Hesse and the Reformation* (Mainz, 2001). Valuable narrative history of the princely Reformation in the principality of Hesse.
- [19] E. Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991). The pre-eminent modern study of the European Reformation. Strong emphasis on theology, but in all aspects a very wide-ranging and authoritative synthesis.
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- [23] A. G. Dickens and J. M. Tonkin, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* (London, 1985). Comprehensive survey of the historiography of the Reformation, from the earliest interpretations to the modern day.
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