

# Notes

## Introduction

- 1 The origins of this concept as a method of characterizing developments in German Protestantism can be found in L. Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit. Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft* (Gütersloh, 1996), p. 393.
- 2 Previous discussions about the range of activity available to the clergyman in his dealings with the commune and the authorities were in general extremely sharp as the debates raged between a strict socio-historical analysis and a series of new approaches. The results brought with them an expansion of knowledge, especially as the new approaches made it easier to call into question the extremely one-sided concentration on questions dealing with modernization theory.
- 3 See the contribution by R.N. Swanson in this volume.
- 4 See the contribution by R. Emmet McLaughlin in this volume.
- 5 B. Lohse, *Luthers Theologie in ihrer historischen Entwicklung und in ihrem systematischen Zusammenhang* (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 343–5.
- 6 G.R. Elton, 'Luther and Society', *Luther Jahrbuch*, 54 (1985), pp. 213–19, here p. 216. Elton's views emerged in the context of a debate with the thesis of Thomas A. Brady on the same theme on the occasion of the quincentenary of Luther's birth.
- 7 See Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 390–433.
- 8 The data and associated arguments are based on Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*; L. Schorn-Schütte, 'Priest, Preacher, Pastor: Research on Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe', *Central European History*, 33 (2000), 1–39, with additional references to the European literature on the theme; E. Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität. Die protestantischen Geistlichen zwölf süddeutscher Reichsstädte zwischen Passauer Vertrag und Restitutionsedikt* (Leinfelden, 2002); J. Wahl, *Lebensplanung und Alltagserfahrung. Württembergische Pfarrfamilien im 17. Jahrhundert* (Mainz, 2000). At present a comprehensive database is being drawn up as part of a research project sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation under the direction of Luise Schorn-Schütte. Tables 1–4 are based on these results.
- 9 See Schorn-Schütte, 'Priest, Preacher, Pastor', pp. 12–15. For example (details taken from Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, p. 168): of the incumbents of 25 clerical posts of a general superintendancy in northern Germany (Gandersheim near Braunschweig), soon after the (rather late) introduction of the Reformation in 1569, three were dismissed immediately, while five were allowed to stay in office initially, only to be removed after renewed examination or as a consequence of the results of the visitations introduced in the 1570s. Two parishes remained vacant. As a consequence of these measures, in the 1570s, twelve new pastors (less than half) were required for the region. The other clerical offices were looked after by the former Catholic clergy.

- 10 Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität*, pp. 104ff; for references to similar arguments for other regions, see among others Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit* and B. Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la réforme, 1555–1619* (Paris, 1976), pp. 182ff; Wahl, *Lebensplanung und Alltagserfahrung*, pp. 50ff.
- 11 Wolfgang Reinhard has thus characterized the clerical office in Protestantism and Catholicism as a ‘channel of mobility’. See W. Reinhard, ‘Kirche als Mobilitätskanal der frühneuzeitlichen Gesellschaft’, in W. Schulze (ed.), *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität* (München, 1988), pp. 334–51.
- 12 In many parts of the Holy Roman Empire and other regions of Europe the education of the Protestant clergyman was carried out with the help of scholarships set aside specifically in order to support the younger generations of clergymen. Acceptance of such a scholarship obliged the student to return to the territory or city that had sponsored him. On this compare Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 178ff. and Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität*, pp. 76ff.
- 13 See the contribution by Thomas Kaufmann in this volume.
- 14 Kaufmann also draws attention to the downward trend in educational affairs as one moves from city to countryside.
- 15 This fact is important for any comparison with the situation facing the Catholic clergy of the time; it leads to the revision of the traditional picture (still in place) of the educational superiority of the evangelical clergy. Cf. Schorn-Schütte, ‘Priest, Preacher, Pastor’, pp. 15–21.
- 16 For details, see Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 159ff; Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität*, pp. 49ff.
- 17 In the German context such institutions included consistories, preaching ministries and inspectorates.
- 18 The participation of the nobility and the urban and rural communes in the appointment and the dismissal of the pastor was as widespread in German-speaking territories as it was in England and some regions of France. In light of this fact, we should speak of the centralization of church governance with a degree of reservation. For a good example of local conditions where the commune had a considerable say in church affairs, see I.S. Hippenmeyer, ‘Der Pfarrer im Dienste seiner Gemeinde. Ein kommunales Kirchenmodell: Graubünden 1400–1600’, in N. Haag, S. Holtz and W. Zimmermann (eds), *Ländliche Frömmigkeit. Konfessionskulturen und Lebenswelten 1500–1850* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 143–57.
- 19 Recent research offers important results. See Wahl, *Lebensplanung und Alltagserfahrung*, pp. 58–82; Riegg, *Konfliktbereitschaft und Mobilität*, pp. 111–209.
- 20 Until the end of the eighteenth century, the major part of a pastor’s income in the parishes of Europe was comprised of dues from the parishioners for clerical services (baptism, confession, burial), annual church taxes and income from the leasing or cultivation of the land at the clergyman’s disposal. Only in the very large parishes (primarily urban) was there the possibility of yearly tribute in cash. Thus the annual income was closely bound to the natural economy of old Europe; the pastor had to earn a certain part of his income either through his own handiwork or through the exploitation of the natural resources like the vast majority of his own parishioners.

- (It was in this aspect of life that the economic value of the pastor's wife becomes clear.) From the middle of the seventeenth century onward, the number of complaints coming from the evangelical clergy increase, as they claim they are being diverted from their pastoral responsibilities by the range of agrarian tasks – and were thus 'becoming countrified'. See Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 227–86.
- 21 For the Swiss Confederation: D. Gugerli, *Zwischen Pfrund und Predigt. Die protestantische Pfarrfamilie auf der Zürcher Landschaft im 18. Jahrhundert* (Zurich, 1988).
  - 22 See the contribution by Susan C. Karant-Nunn in this volume.
  - 23 There are reports in the second half of the sixteenth century of pastor's wives working as midwives and teachers at the village girls' schools. For individual references: L. Schorn-Schütte, "'Gefährtin" und "Mitregentin". Zur Sozialgeschichte der Pfarrfrau in der frühen Neuzeit', in H. Wunder and C. Vanja (eds), *Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehungen zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1991), pp. 109–53.
  - 24 Cf. on this theme, including additional literature: Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978); C.S. Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society. The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 102–202; J. Wahl, 'Kulturelle Distanz und alltägliches Handeln. Ökonomie und Predigt im Spannungsfeld von Pfarrfamilie und Laien', in Haag, Holtz and Zimmermann (eds), *Ländliche Frömmigkeit*, pp. 43–58.
  - 25 The expression 'heuristic indicator' comes from H. Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', in T.A. Brady, H. Oberman and J.D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* (Leiden, 1995), Vol. 2, p. 643.
  - 26 M.J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c. 1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 287–334; 289–90: 'political power was legitimated with reference to a particular (though variable) set of doctrinal beliefs and liturgical practices and ... this had administrative consequences ...'; W. Reinhard, 'Die lateinische Variante von Religion und ihre Bedeutung für die politische Kultur Europas. Ein Versuch in historischer Anthropologie', *Saeculum*, 43 (1992), 231–55; P. Hersche, "'Klassizistischer" Katholizismus. Der konfessionsgeschichtliche Sonderfall Frankreich', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 262 (1996), pp. 357–89.
  - 27 H. Millet and P. Moraw, 'Clerics in the State', in W. Reinhard (ed.), *Power Elites and State Building* (Oxford, 1996), p. 175.
  - 28 R. O'Day, *The English Clergy. The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558–1642* (Leicester, 1979), pp. 190–209.
  - 29 See the common prayer attached to the 1556 church order in the Electoral Palatinate: M. Hanisch, 'Zwischen Fürbitte und Obrigkeitsvergottung. Politische Gebete von 1500–1918', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, 48 (1988), pp. 55, 122.
  - 30 P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), pp. 21–155, 291–382; A.N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth 1558–1585* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 105–33.
  - 31 Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, S. 390–433; Riegg, *Konfliktbe-reitschaft und Mobilität*, pp. 256–98; N. Haag, *Predigt und Gesellschaft. Die*

- lutherische Orthodoxie in Ulm 1640–1740* (Stuttgart 1992), pp. 36–44; on the broad framework: John Witte, Jr, *Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002).
- 32 This conception of the clerical office, common throughout Europe, belongs to a vision of the relationship between church and state characterized as *politica christiana*. On this, see H. Dreitzel, *Monarchiebegriffe in der Fürstengesellschaft* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1991), Vol. 2.
- 33 W.G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester, 1994); Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 390–433; Haag, *Predigt und Gesellschaft*, pp. 185–216.
- 34 See the contribution by Bruce Gordon in this volume.
- 35 A. Pettegree, ‘The Clergy and the Reformation: from “Devilish Priesthood” to New Professional Elite’, in A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation of the Parishes* (Manchester, 1993), p. 1: ‘[the] end of the Reformation century saw the emergence in several parts of Europe of a new sort of clergy, characterised by a professional esprit de corps and elitism, and confident in the possession of a unique expertise’.
- 36 H. de Ridder Symoens, ‘Training and Professionalization’, in Reinhard (ed.), *Power Elites*, pp. 149–72; R. O’Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (London, 2000), pp. 45–107; U. Pfister, ‘Pastors and Priests in the Early Modern Grisons: Organized Profession or Side Activity’, *Central European History*, 33 (2000), 41–65; for a critical view of the ‘professionalization’ idea: M. Hawkins, ‘Ambiguity and Contradiction in “the Rise of Professionalism”: the English Clergy, 1570–1730’, in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J.M. Rosenheim (eds), *The first Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 241–69.
- 37 P. Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 435–59; V. Barrie-Curien and M. Venard, ‘Les clergés’, in M. Venard, *Le Temps des Confessions (1530–1620/30)* (Paris, 1992), pp. 889–95, 913–14; Schorn-Schütte, ‘Priest, Preacher, Pastor’, pp. 15–26; A. Nelson Burnett, ‘Basel’s Rural Pastors as Mediators of Confessional and Social Discipline’, *Central European History*, 33 (2000), 70–3; B. Vogler, ‘Recruitment et carrière des Pasteurs strasbourgeois au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, 48 (1968), 151–73; Pfister, ‘Pastors and Priests’, pp. 41–6; O’Day, *The English Clergy*, pp. 126–71; P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 92–140; C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 268–84; V. Barrie-Curien, ‘The English Clergy, 1560–1620: Recruitment and Social Status’, *History of European Ideas*, 9 (1988), 451–63. After the Council of Trent the same developments took hold in the lands of Catholic Europe. See J. Bergin, ‘Between Estate and Profession: The Catholic Clergy of Early Modern Western Europe’, in M.L. Bush (ed.), *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500: Studies in Social Stratification* (London, 1992), pp. 66–85; M.R. Forster, *The Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge, 2001).
- 38 Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 96. On the importance of preaching, see B. Moeller and K. Stackmann, *Städtische Predigt in der Frühzeit der*

- Reformation. Eine Untersuchung deutscher Flugschriften der Jahre 1522 bis 1529* (Göttingen, 1996), *passim*; Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 188–91, 268–84; T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620–1643* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 95–122; for a recent collection of articles on the early modern sermon, see L. Taylor (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2001). On the post-Tridentine Catholic sermon: R. Dürr, ‘Priesthood Images. Analysis of Catholic Sermons from the Late Seventeenth Century’, *Central European History*, 33 (2000), 87–107.
- 39 N. Enssle, ‘Patterns of Godly Life: The Ideal Parish Minister in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century English Thought’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997), 3–28; Pfister, ‘Pastors and Priests’, pp. 44–5.
- 40 Barrie-Curien and Venard, ‘Les clergés’, p. 876.
- 41 See the contribution by Ian Green in this volume.
- 42 The phrase comes from the Puritan George Herbert. Citation in I. Green, ‘Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church’, *Past and Present*, 90 (1981), 89.
- 43 W. Dobras, *Ratsregiment, Sittenpolizei und Kirchenzucht in der Reichsstadt Konstanz 1531–1548. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der oberdeutsch-schweizerischen Reformation* (Gütersloh, 1993), pp. 274–366; Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed*, pp. 467–9.
- 44 See the contribution by Jay Goodale in this volume.
- 45 Citation in Webster, *Godly Clergy*, p. 95.
- 46 O’Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, pp. 92–9.
- 47 Cited in C. Haigh, ‘Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth’, *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 47.
- 48 For the similar difficulties facing the Lutheran clergy in the parishes of Germany see Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning*; Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society*, pp. 102–202.
- 49 O’Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, pp. 80–90; H.-C. Rublack, ‘“Der wohlgeplagte Priester.” Vom Selbstverständnis lutherischer Geistlichkeit im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie’, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 16 (1989), 1–30.
- 50 See the contribution by Mark Greengrass in this volume.

## Chapter 1

- 1 J.F. Puglisi, *The Process of Admission to Ordained Ministry: a Comparative Study*, 3 vols (Collegeville, MI, 1996–, in progress), 2, ch. 5. For general comment on the transformation, see I. Green, ‘“Reformed Pastors” and *Bons Curés*: the Changing Role of the Parish Clergy in Early Modern Europe’, *Studies in Church History*, 26 (1989), 251–2. For Protestant experience, A. Pettegree, ‘The Clergy and the Reformation: from “Devilish Priesthood” to New Professional Elite’, in A. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation of the Parishes: the Ministry and the Reformation in Town and Country* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 1–21; R. O’Day, *The English Clergy: the Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558–1642* (Leicester, 1979); R. O’Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450–1800: Servants of the*

- Commonweal* (Harlow, 2000), pt. 2. For Catholics – a more tentative process – O. Chadwick, 'The Seminary', *Studies in Church History*, 26 (1989), 3–17, 26.
- 2 Puglisi, *Admission to Ordained Ministry*, 1, p. 189.
  - 3 M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge, tome II: le pontifical de la curie romaine au XIIIe siècle* (Vatican City, 1940), p. 341; *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge, archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, Surtees Society Publications, 61 (1873), p. 34.
  - 4 See comments of Puglisi, *Admission to Ordained Ministry*, 1, pp. 180–3, 189, 210–11. Although historical these are not historicized, yet fit evolutions visible in the later Middle Ages.
  - 5 Gregory, *Pastoral Care*, 1.1: J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 77 (Paris, 1896), col. 14. For citations, N.P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London and Washington DC, 1990), 1, p. 248; F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (eds), *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, II: A.D. 1205–1313*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1964), 1, p. 250.
  - 6 Tanner, *Decrees*, 1, p. 243.
  - 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 242–5, 248–50, 265.
  - 8 The phrase is Brenda Bolton's: *The Medieval Reformation* (London, 1983); see also Giles Constable, *The Twelfth-Century Reformation* (Cambridge, 1997).
  - 9 Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, 1, pp. 245–59; 2, pp. 747–92.
  - 10 R.N. Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation', in D.M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 1999), pp. 163–4; H.L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent, Policy, and Practice* (Aldershot, Burlington, Singapore and Sydney, 2000), p. 166; T.F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole, Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 18–19, 23.
  - 11 In general, M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).
  - 12 J.A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London, 1987), pp. 214–23, 251–2.
  - 13 For broader discussion of the issues in this paragraph, Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate', pp. 160–77.
  - 14 R.L. Storey, 'Malicious Indictments of Clergy in the Fifteenth Century', in M.J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill (eds), *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 222–4, 228–30, 233.
  - 15 Cases also appear in royal courts: Storey, 'Malicious Indictments', pp. 230–2.
  - 16 B. Moeller, 'Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation', in G. Strauss (ed.), *Pre-Reformation Germany* (London and Basingstoke, 1972), p. 25; Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate', pp. 173–4; A.-J.A. Bijsterveld, 'Reform in the Parishes of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century North Brabant', in B.A. Kümin (ed.), *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c.1470–1630* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1996), pp. 30–1.
  - 17 G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, 1962), pp. 337–43; J. Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 185–7.

- 18 R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, rev. edn (Oxford, 1993), pp. 58–9; R.N. Swanson, 'Chaucer's Parson and other Priests', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 13 (1991), 50–2, and refs; D. Hay, *The Church in Italy in the fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 51–2. On 'digamy', Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp. 252–3.
- 19 Swanson, 'Chaucer's Parson', pp. 53–4; R.N. Swanson, 'Problems of the Priesthood in pre-Reformation England', *English Historical Review*, 105 (1990), 851–2; C.M. Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges: Spirituality, Personal Reform, and Pastoral Renewal on the Eve of the Reformations* (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 116–17.
- 20 Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 59–60. See the comment on one set of sources traditionally used to demonstrate the poor quality of English clergy at the time of the Reformation in D.G. Newcombe, 'John Hooper's Visitation and Examination of the Clergy in the Diocese of Gloucester, 1551', in Kümin, *Reformations Old and New*, pp. 61, 66–70: the problem is as much one of commentators' interpretations as of the primary evidence.
- 21 J. Verger, *Men of Learning in Europe at the End of the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN, 1997), pp. 90–3; V. Davis, 'The Contribution of University-educated Secular Clerics to the Pastoral Life of the English Church', in C. Barron and J. Stratford (eds), *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R.B. Dobson; Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2002), pp. 255–72; Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 66–7; Bijsterveld, 'Reform in the Parishes', pp. 26–9.
- 22 But with moves towards their creation in fifteenth-century Italy: Hay, *Church in Italy*, pp. 81–2.
- 23 Williams, *Welsh Church*, p. 343, suggests that a quasi-hereditary priesthood was a solution to this problem.
- 24 Verger, *Men of Learning*, pp. 12–13.
- 25 Tanner, *Decrees*, 1, pp. 239–40. For a positive assessment of the effects in England, K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Manchester and New York, 1967), pp. 192–205.
- 26 On this early synodal activity, M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215–1272, with Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford, 1934), pt. 3; C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1968). On statutes in general, O. Pontal, *Les Statuts synodaux*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 11 (Turnhout, 1975). For pastoral manuals, L.E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in T.J. Heffernan (ed.), *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, Tennessee Studies in Literature, 28 (Knoxville, TN, 1985), pp. 30–44. For synods and pastoral formation, O. Pontal, 'Le rôle du synode diocésain et des statuts synodaux dans la formation du clergé', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 7 (1972), pp. 339–59 (although focusing on thirteenth-century southern France, the comments are transferable to other places and centuries). I have not been able to consult O. Pontal, *Clercs et laïcs au moyen âge d'après les statuts synodaux* (Paris, 1990).
- 27 R.N. Swanson, 'Speculum ecclesie? Sources for the Administrative History of the Late Medieval English Church', *Ricerca di storia sociale e religiosa*, n.s. 48 (July–December 1995), 23–4.

- 28 P.A. Dykema, 'Handbooks for Pastors: Late Medieval Manuals for Parish Priests and Conrad Porta's *Pastorale Lutheri* (1582)', in R.J. Bast and A.C. Gow (eds), *Continuity and Change: The Harvest of Late-Medieval and Reformation History. Essays presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th birthday* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2000), pp. 144–51. For an indication of production in England, R.R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction', in A.E. Hartung (ed.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, 7 (New Haven CT, 1986), pp. 2255–372, 2470–577.
- 29 H. Martin, *Le Métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du moyen âge (1350–1520)* (Paris, 1988), pp. 105–6; B. Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2000), esp. pp. 65–87, 91–6, 105–6, 123–33, 136–7, 139, 146–7, 167, 283–9; J. Verger, 'Studia et universités', in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII–XIV)* (Todi, 1978), pp. 175–203.
- 30 Roest, *History*, p. 81; Verger, 'Studia et universités', pp. 188–9.
- 31 R.N. Swanson, 'The "Mendicant Problem" in the Later Middle Ages', in P. Biller and B. Dobson (eds), *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy, and the Religious Life* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 224–5.
- 32 Roest, *History*, p. 49.
- 33 R.N. Swanson, 'Godliness and Good Learning: Ideals and Imagination in Medieval University and College Foundations', in R. Horrox and S. Rees-Jones (eds), *Pragmatic Utopias: Ideals and Communities, 1200–1630* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 50–1.
- 34 R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Catholic England: Faith, Religion, and Observance before the Reformation* (Manchester, 1993), p. 261; P.H. Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1/i–ii, Early English Text Society, o.s. 275, 280 (1976–80), 2, pp. 168–71. See also Swanson, 'Problems', p. 850.
- 35 *The Records of the Northern Convocation*, Surtees Society Publications, 113 (1907), pp. 146–72. Cf. attitudes of the *fraticelli* in Italy: R.C. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence under Interdict* (Leiden, 1974), p. 139.
- 36 T. Erbe (ed.), *Mirk's Festial: a Collection of Homelies by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk)*, Early English Text Society, e.s. 96 (1905), p. 169. Even though the unworthy priest's sacraments remained valid, he remained a sinner and would eventually incur due punishment. Discussion of late medieval Donatism usually homes in on heresy, but the weakness was systemic. See discussions in F. Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1979), pp. 159–61, 207–9; J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, 4: Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago and London, 1984), pp. 92–7.
- 37 See the *exemplum* (recorded by both Innocent III and William Durand) cited in J. Ayre (ed.), *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, Parker Society Publications, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1845–50), 2, p. 705.
- 38 G. Hasenohr, 'La Société ecclésiastique selon le chancelier Gerson: typologies et vocabulaire', in E.C. Lutz and E. Tremp (eds), *Pfaffen und Laien – ein mittelalterlicher Antagonismus? Freiburger Colloquium 1996* (Freiburg, 1999), pp. 217–18.
- 39 See note 7 above.

- 40 H.-C. Rublack, 'Anticlericalism in German Reformation pamphlets', in P.A. Dykema and H.A. Oberman (eds), *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1993), p. 471.
- 41 G. Kristensson (ed.), *John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, Edited from MS Cotton Claudius A II and Six Other Manuscripts, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary* (Lund, 1974), p. 67.
- 42 S. Wenzel (ed.), *Fasciculus morum: a Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park, PA, and London, 1989), pp. 405–7.
- 43 For example, M.J. Haren, *Sin and Society in Fourteenth-Century England: a Study of the Memoriale Presiterorum* (Oxford, 2000); Wenzel, *Fasciculus morum*; Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*.
- 44 London, British Library, MS Sloane 1584.
- 45 Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, 2/ii, pp. 900–5. For continued fifteenth-century influence, P. Hodgson, 'Ignorantia sacerdotum: a Fifteenth Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions', *Review of English Studies*, 24 (1948), pp. 1–11.
- 46 T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth (eds), *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, Early English Text Society, o.s. 118 (1901); S. Powell, 'The Transmission and Circulation of *The Lay Folks' Catechism*', in A.J. Minnis (ed.), *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A.I. Doyle* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 73–84.
- 47 Swanson, *Catholic England*, pp. 15–16; S.B. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 70–83; R.M. Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto, Buffalo and London 1989), pp. 160–2, 169–70, 174–5.
- 48 T. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996), p. 52.
- 49 Hasenohr, 'La Société ecclésiastique', pp. 224–6.
- 50 See above, pp. 43–4.
- 51 For the early development of pastoralia, see J. Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): the Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992), pp. 58–99. For later preaching, H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), ch. 5; Martin, *Métier de prédicateur*; L. Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford and New York, 1992); C.L. Polecristi, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience* (Washington, DC, 2000), ch. 1; R.C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York, London, etc., 1980), pp. 462, 468–90; F. Schevill, *History of Florence from the Founding of the City through the Renaissance* (New York, 1936), pp. 440–2, 444–7; T.M. Izbicki, 'Pyres of Vanities: Mendicant Preaching on the Vanity of Women and its Lay Audience', in T.L. Amos, E.A. Green and B.M. Kienzle (eds), *De ore domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1989), pp. 211–34. See also comment in Moeller, 'Religious Life', pp. 28–9.
- 52 J. Small (ed.), *English Metrical Homilies from Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1862), p. 2; Turville-Petre, *England*, p. 32.
- 53 Small, *English Metrical Homilies*, pp. 2–3, 5; Turville-Petre, *England*, pp. 32–3.
- 54 See comment of J.W. Dahmus, 'Dormi secure: the Lazy Preacher's Model of Holiness for his Flock', in B.M. Kienzle, E.W. Dolnikowski, R.D. Hale,

- D. Pryds and A.T. Thayer (eds), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp. 304–5.
- 55 G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Volume 2: the West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 362–491.
- 56 J.H. Morey, *Book and Verse: a Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana and Chicago, 2000), p. 331. M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1920), ch. 13–14; H. Hargreaves, ‘The Wycliffite Versions’, in Lampe, *Cambridge History*, 2, pp. 387–415.
- 57 Puglisi, *Admission to Ordained Ministry*, 1, p. 210.
- 58 Swanson, ‘Problems’, pp. 847–9; P. Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 51–6. The quasi-Donatism is implicit, but may need further nuancing. In discussion, Eamon Duffy has suggested that such concerns centre not on the priests’ sacramental actions, automatically accepted as valid *ex opere operato*, but on the effectiveness of their other intercessory activities. Such prayers, technically non-sacramental, were not covered by the doctrine, so that those of an ‘unworthy’ priest might legitimately be considered less effective than those of a ‘good’ or ‘honest’ priest. For precisely such a view, see A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), p. 317. However, the possible weakness of lay differentiation between the sacraments and the ancillary sacramentals may have allowed the transfer of Donatist concerns to the latter. On sacramentals, see R.W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London and Ronceverte, 1987), pp. 5–12, 31–40, 260–2.
- 59 *Statutes of the Realm*, 3 (London, 1817), pp. 293–4, 296.
- 60 P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London and Toronto, 1969), pp. 70–2; William de Melton, *Sermo exhortatorius cancellarii Eboracensis hii qui ad sacros ordines petunt promoveri* (London, c.1510).
- 61 W.R. Jones, ‘Relations of the Two Jurisdictions: Conflict and Cooperation in England during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 7 (1970), 109–12, 119–23; for the complexities see also S.E. Thorne (ed.), *Readings and Moots at the Inns of Court in the Fifteenth Century, volume I*, Selden Society Publications, 71 (1952), pp. 113–28.
- 62 P. Glorieux (ed.), *Jean Gerson: Œuvres complètes*, 10 (Paris, 1973), p. 135. For Gerson’s views on the ranking, Hasenohr, ‘La Société ecclésiastique’, pp. 213–17.
- 63 J.J. Ryan, *The Apostolic Conciliarism of Jean Gerson* (Atlanta, GA, 1998), pp. 43–5.
- 64 U.R. Blumenthal, ‘Pope Gregory VII and the Prohibition of Nicolaitism’, in M. Frassetto (ed.), *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform* (New York and London, 1998), pp. 242, 244, 248–53.
- 65 Moeller, ‘Religious Life’, p. 25; W. Scase, *Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 45–6. John Mirk had offered responses to such sparring (dealing with practicalities rather than doctrine) c.1400: Erbe, *Mirk’s Festial*, pp. 124–5.

- 66 Chadwick, 'The Seminary', p. 3.
- 67 A tension succinctly summarized in E.H. Shagan's vignette of Clement Armstrong: 'He was that most dangerous of creatures, a literate layman, amateur preacher and theological omnivore, the sort of instinctive radical whom the magisterial reformers at first embraced, then feared, and eventually sought to destroy': E.H. Sagan, 'Clement Armstrong and the Godly Commonwealth: Radical Religion in early Tudor England', in P. Marshall and A. Ryrie (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 73.
- 68 R.N. Swanson, 'Urban Rectories and Urban Fortunes in Late Medieval England: the Evidence from King's Lynn', in T.R. Slater and G. Rosser (eds), *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1998), pp. 100–30; idem, 'Economic Change and Spiritual Profits: Receipts from the Peculiar Jurisdiction of the Peak District in the Fourteenth Century', in N. Rogers (ed.), *Harlaxton Medieval Studies, III: England in the Fourteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1991 Colloquium* (Stamford, 1993), pp. 171–95; idem, 'An Appropriate Anomaly: Topcliffe Parish and the Fabric Fund of York Minster in the Later Middle Ages', in Diana Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100–c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 105–21; idem, 'Standards of Livings: Parochial Revenues in pre-Reformation England', in C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 151–96.
- 69 F. Manley, G. Marc'hadour, R. Marius and C.H. Miller (eds), *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, vol. 7 (New Haven and London, 1990), pp. 412–22.
- 70 Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 198–204.
- 71 Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 135, 204–5; G. Rosser, 'Conflict and Political Community in the Medieval Town: Disputes between Clergy and Laity in Hereford', in Slater and Rosser, *Church in the Medieval Town*, pp. 20–42.
- 72 D.A. Eltis, 'Tensions between Clergy and Laity in some Western German Cities in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992), 231–48; Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, pp. 249–50.
- 73 J.J. Tyler, *Lord of the Sacred City: the Episcopus exclusus in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Leiden and Boston, 1998), p. 53; Trexler, *Spiritual Power*, pp. 117–65, 169–85; D.S. Peterson, 'State-building, Church Reform and the Politics of Legitimacy in Florence, 1375–1460', in W.J. Connell and A. Zorzi (eds), *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 129–30.
- 74 Tyler, *Lord of the Sacred City*, pp. 64–5; Peterson, 'State-building', pp. 132–3.
- 75 H. Plard, 'Anticlérical, anticléricalisme: évolution de ces termes', in J. Marx (ed.), *Aspects de l'anticléricalisme du moyen âge à nos jours: hommage à Robert Joly. Colloque de Bruxelles – juin 1988* (Brussels, 1988), pp. 15–22.
- 76 A.G. Dickens, 'The Shape of Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in E.I. Kouri and T. Scott (eds), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Basingstoke and London, 1987), p. 379. Cf. A. Dierkens, 'En guise de conclusion ...', in

- Marx, *Aspects*, p. 133: 'L'anticléricisme du moyen âge doit donc être compris dans un sens plus large, celui du refus, total ou partiel, des structures cléricales ou de la hiérarchie religieuse en place.'
- 77 J. Sánchez, *Anticlericalism: a Brief History* (Notre Dame, IN, and London, 1972), pp. 7–11. His imposition of this schema on the pre-Reformation period (*ibid.*, pp. 13–46) is not convincing. Better is the terminology of power-relations which 'provoked an anticlerical response' in Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, pp. 244–50, although some of the heads are merely variants of categories of power-relations which provoked conflict between other social groups as well.
- 78 Scase, *Piers Plowman*, esp. pp. ix–x. I am not challenging the general claim that attitudes towards the clergy changed at this point, just the specific historiographical label of 'anticlericalism'.
- 79 For a brief survey, Scase, *Piers Plowman*, pp. 7–13.
- 80 For example, V. Edden, 'The debate between Richard Maidstone and the Lollard Ashwardby', *Carmelus*, 34 (1987), 114–34; S. Forde, 'Nicholas Hereford's Ascension Day Sermon', *Mediaeval Studies*, 51 (1989), 205–41.
- 81 Sánchez, *Anticlericalism*, p. 10, considers the two as distinct phenomena. The debate about the nature and meaning of anticlericalism, especially in the context of the English Reformation, is ongoing. A major reassessment is provided in P. Marshall, 'Anticlericalism Revested? Expressions of Discontent in early Tudor England', a paper presented at the Harlaxton Symposium in July 2002, and to appear in the resulting volume. I am grateful to Dr Marshall for providing a copy of the paper.
- 82 Scase, *Piers Plowman*, *passim*.
- 83 Swanson, 'Problems', p. 868.
- 84 H.A. Oberman, 'Anticlericalism as an Agent of Change', in Dykema and Oberman, *Anticlericalism*, p. ix.
- 85 Sánchez, *Anticlericalism*, p. 55.
- 86 S. Seidel Menchi, 'Characteristics of Italian Anticlericalism', in Dykema and Oberman, *Anticlericalism*, p. 274.
- 87 See note 35 above.
- 88 Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 351–8; E.L. Dolnikowski, 'The Encouragement of Lay Preaching as an Ecclesiastical Critique in Wyclif's Latin Sermons', in Kienzle et al., *Models of Holiness*, pp. 193–209. Despite the ministerial role allowed to the laity, and its development as the Wycliffite movement evolved in the fifteenth century, the clergy retained a dominant preaching voice in the first generations: see A. Hudson, "'Springing cockel in our clene corn": Lollard Preaching in England around 1400', in S.L. Waugh and P.D. Diehl (eds), *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 139–40. See also the views on priesthood in the 'Lollard Sermon Cycle': P. Gradon and A. Hudson (eds), *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1983–96), 4, pp. 79–84, 111–20, 165–72.
- 89 G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c. 1170–c. 1570* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 50–5, 115–28; cf. E. Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: the Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 77–9.

- 90 F. Smahel, 'The Hussite Critique of the Clergy's Civil Dominion', in Dykema and Oberman, *Anticlericalism*, p. 85.
- 91 M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 346, 356, 358.
- 92 H. Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), pp. 387–8 (and n.12), with the Taborite religious development discussed at ch. 10.
- 93 Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 354.
- 94 Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 35–6; for Germany, Moeller, 'Religious Life', p. 29.
- 95 A.L. Barstow, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: the Eleventh-Century Debates* (New York and Toronto, 1982), pp. 175–7 (see also 190–1).
- 96 P.R. Szittyta, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 348–51.
- 97 W. Carew Hazlitt (ed.), *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, I (4th edn, London, 1874), pp. 199–238. For Fish, see note 69 above.
- 98 Cf. P.H. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414–1418)* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1994), p. 139.
- 99 Usefully summarized in D. Lepine, "'A long way from university": Cathedral Canons and Learning at Hereford in the Fifteenth Century', in Barron and Stratford, *Church and Learning*, pp. 180–2, see also 190, 195.
- 100 Stump, *Reforms*, ch. 6.
- 101 Peterson, 'State-building', pp. 141–3.
- 102 Bellitto, *Nicolas de Clamanges*, esp. pp. 115–16, 118–26.
- 103 J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, D.D.* (London, 1887), pp. 293–303 (the text is a translation printed c.1530; the sermon was originally published – and probably delivered – in Latin); for date and some comment, J.P. Gleason, *John Colet* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1989), pp. 181–4. The validity of the criticisms assessed in C. Harper-Bill, 'Dean Colet's Convocation Sermon and the pre-Reformation Church in England', *History*, 73 (1988), 191–210. It is important that criticism of clerics ran alongside criticism of laity, notably in 'three estates' sermons, for example, A.J. Fletcher, "'The Unity of the State Exists in the Agreement of its Minds": a Fifteenth Century Sermon on the Three Estates', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 22 (1991), 117–22; Swanson, *Catholic England*, pp. 67–77.
- 104 Lupset, *Life of Colet*, p. 302.
- 105 Rublack, 'Anticlericalism', p. 481.
- 106 Gleason, *Colet*, pp. 304–5.
- 107 G. Bray (ed.), *The Anglican Canons, 1529–1947* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998), pp. 3–67.
- 108 On the Acts, C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism in the English Reformation', *History*, 68 (1983), pp. 394–6. The narrative in S.E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation Parliament, 1529–36* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 81–94, 99–101, maintains the traditional reading of 'anticlericalism' and a complacent Convocation which, I would argue, now needs considerable revision and nuancing in response to Bray's edition cited in the preceding note.

- 109 G. Bray, *Tudor Church Reform: the Henrician Canons of 1535 and the Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*, Church of England Record Society, 8 (2000), pp. 16–21, 32–5, 56–9, 72–93, 106–119, 124–7, 134–7.
- 110 See note 59 above.
- 111 Sagan, ‘Clement Armstrong’, pp. 64–5. The doctrine’s implications had already appeared among earlier ‘Lollards’, developing similar Wycliffite ideas: N.P. Tanner (ed.), *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428–31*, Camden society, 4th series, 20 (1977), pp. 42, 52, 57, 61, 67, 86, 142, 147, 153, 166, 179, 205. A similar formulaic accusation appears in Kentish heresy trials in 1511–12: N.P. Tanner (ed.), *Kent Heresy Proceedings, 1511–12*, Kent Records, 26 (1997), pp. 2, 9, 17, 44, 51 (see also abjurations at 27–8, 30, 34, 37, 41, 117).
- 112 B. Hamm, ‘Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 3 (1999), 307–54, definition at p. 311. This has resonances with my own suggestion on the role of ‘discourse communities’ in R.N. Swanson, ‘Unity and Diversity, Rhetoric and Reality: Modelling “the Church”’, *Journal of Religious History*, 20 (1996), 156–74. Although formulating the concepts differently, both articles deal with the balancing act between what are essentially centrifugal and centripetal forces within religion.
- 113 Hamm, ‘Normative Centering’, p. 311.
- 114 For the examples, *ibid.*, p. 311. He cites them just as examples, not to advocate an evolutionary transformation. Indeed, much of the article seeks to demonstrate that both aspects existed concurrently within the late medieval church, which I would not dispute. Hamm aims to demonstrate a general principle or theory, without focussing on clerical functions, although changing balances in interpretations of ministerial responsibilities can be read into and alongside much of his discussion.
- 115 Parish, *Clerical Marriage*, esp. chs. 6–7; see also Swanson, ‘Angels Incarnate’, p. 176.
- 116 *Statutes*, 3, pp. 739–40.
- 117 *Statutes*, 3, pp. 894–6; B. Scribner, ‘Heterodoxy, Literacy and Print in the Early German Reformation’, in P. Biller and A. Hudson (eds), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 275–8; Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, p. 254 (with the development of Protestant ‘neo-clericalism’ and the lay response at pp. 255–6).
- 118 Crystallized in the battle between lay ‘freewillers’ and clericalist predestinarians in Edwardine England: T. Freeman, ‘Dissenters from the Dissenting Church: the Challenge of the Freewillers, 1550–1558’, in Marshall and Ryrice, *Beginnings*, esp. pp. 147–9, 156.

## Chapter 2

### Abbreviations

- Institutio = John Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis* (Geneva, 1559)
- LW = Martin Luther, *Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan, 55 vols. (St. Louis, 1958–86).
- WA = Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 82 vols. (Weimar, 1883–)

- 1 For an overview, see J. von Allmen, *Le saint ministère selon la conviction et volonté des Réformés des XVIIe siècle* (Neuchatel and Paris, 1968).
- 2 W. Brunotte, *Das geistliche Amt bei Luther* (Berlin, 1959); H. Lieberg, *Amt und Ordination bei Luther und Melanchthon* (Berlin, 1956); W. Stein, *Das kirchliche Amt bei Luther* (Wiesbaden, 1974).
- 3 G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (London, 1953); O.H. Pesch, *Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei Martin Luther und Thomas von Aquin* (Mainz, 1967).
- 4 H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, 2nd expanded edn (Hildesheim, 1961). M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford, 1992).
- 5 R.E. McLaughlin, 'The Word Eclipsed? Preaching in the Early Middle Ages', *Traditio*, 48 (1991), 77–122. For the later Middle Ages, F. Falk (ed.), *Die pfarramtlichen Aufzeichnungen (Liber consuetudinum) des Forentinus Diel zu St. Christoph in Mainz (1491–1518)* (Freiburg, 1904); A. Schilling (ed.), 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Einführung der Reformation in Biberach. 1) Zeitgenössische Aufzeichnungen des Weltpriesters Heinrich von Plummern', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 9 (1875), 141–238; idem, 'Die religiösen und kirchlichen Zustände der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Biberach unmittelbar vor Einführung der Reformation', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 19 (1887), 1–191.
- 6 See McLaughlin, 'The Word Eclipsed?'; idem, 'Universities, Scholasticism, and the Origins of the German Reformation', *History of Universities*, 9 (1990), 1–43; F.R. Albert, *Die Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland bis Luther* (Gütersloh, 1892–96); J. Longere, *La predication médiévale* (Paris, 1983).
- 7 LW 36, 113; WA 6, 564.
- 8 G. Ebeling, "'Sola Scriptura" und das Problem der Tradition', in his *Wort Gottes und Tradition* (Göttingen, 1964), pp. 91–143; H. Liebing, 'Sola Scriptura – die reformatorische Antwort auf das Problem der Tradition', in C. Ratschow (ed.), *Sola Scriptura* (Marburg, 1977), pp. 81–95; W. Mostert, 'Scriptura sacra sui interpres', *Luther Jahrbuch*, 46 (1979), 60–96.
- 9 McLaughlin, 'Universities, Scholasticism, and the Origins of the German Reformation', *passim*.
- 10 See H. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967), pp. 361–412.
- 11 R. Friedenthal, 'Das Evangelische Pfarrhaus im deutschen Kulturleben', *Luther*, 42 (1971), 1–15.
- 12 P. Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Form in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Göttingen, 1921); A.C. Piepkorn, *Die liturgischen Gewänder in der lutherischen Kirche seit 1555* (Marburg, 1965).
- 13 W. Schwab, *Entwicklung und Gestalt der Sakramentstheologie bei Martin Luther* (Frankfurt and Bern, 1977).
- 14 F. Gillmann, *Zur Lehre der Scholastik vom Spender der Firmung und des Weihesakraments* (Paderborn, 1924).
- 15 K. Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing. A Study in Christian Marriage Rites* (New York, 1983); F. Falk, *Die Ehe am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1908); L. Godefroy, G. Le Bras and M. Jugie, 'Mariage', *Dictionnaire du Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1927) vol. 9, part 2, cols. 2044–2355.
- 16 B. Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick* (New York, 1951); P. Browe, 'Die letzte Oelung in der abendländischen Kirche des Mittelalters',

- Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 55 (1931), 515–61; idem, 'Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 60 (1936), 1–54, 211–49; B. Fischer, 'Die Reihenfolge der Sakramente beim Verzehgang', *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*, 60 (1951), 54–6.
- 17 J. Hödl, 'Die kirchlichen Ämter, Dienste und Gewalten im Verständnis der scholastischen Theologie', *Franziskanische Studien*, 43 (1961), 1–21; J. Lécuyer, *Le Sacrement de l'Ordination* (Paris, 1983); H. Lennerz, *De sacramento ordinis*, 2nd edn (Rome, 1953); L. Ott, *Das Weihesakrament* (Freiburg, 1969).
  - 18 J.E. Downs, *The Concept of Clerical Immunity* (Washington DC, 1941); J. Hashagen, 'Zur Charakteristik der geistlichen Gerichtsbarkeit vornehmlich im späteren Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonische Abteilung*, 6 (1916), 205–90; R. Genestal, *Le Privilégium Fori en France du décret de Gratien a la fin du xive siècle* 2 vols (Paris, 1921–24).
  - 19 E. Mack, *Die kirchliche Steuerfreiheit in Deutschland seit der Dekretalengesetzgebung* (Stuttgart, 1916).
  - 20 On the priesthood and ordination, see 'De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae', WA 6, pp. 560–7; 'De instituendis ministris ecclesiae', WA 12, pp. 160–95; 'Das eyn Christliche versamlung odder gemeyne recht und macht habe, alle lere tzu urteylen und lerer zu beruffen, eyn und abzusetzen, Grund und ursach aus der schriff', WA 11, pp. 408–16. R. Bäumer, 'Luthers Ansichten über das Priestertum', in *Luther und die Folgen für die Geistesgeschichte* (Weilheim-Bierbronn, 1992), pp. 9–30; H. Behm, *Der Begriff des allgemeinen Priestertums* (Schwerin, 1912); J. Freiwald, 'Das Verhältnis von allgemeinem Priestertum und besonderem Amt bei Luther' (Diss. Theol. Heidelberg 1993); G. Rietschel, *Luther und die Ordination* 2nd edn (Wittenberg, 1889).
  - 21 LW 44, 129; WA 6, p. 408.
  - 22 B. Moeller, *Pfarrer als Bürger* (Göttingen, 1972).
  - 23 LW 44, 129–130; WA 6, pp. 408–9.
  - 24 M. Dortel-Claudot, 'Le prêtre et la mariage. Évolution de la législation canonique des origines au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle', *L'année canonique*, 17 (1973), 314–44.; R. Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique du premier au septième siècle* (Gembloux 1970); G. Rossetti, 'Il matrimonio del clero nella società altomedievale', *Il matrimonio nella società altomedievale* (Spoleto, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 473–567.
  - 25 G. Fornasari, *Celibato sacerdotale e 'autocoscienza' ecclesiale. Per la storia della 'Nicolaica haeresis' nel occidente medievale* (Trieste, 1981).
  - 26 H. Hashagen, 'Zur Sittengeschichte des westfälischen Klerus im späteren Mittelalter, Westdeutsche', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 23 (1904), 102–4; O. Vasella, 'Über das Konkubinat des Klerus im Spätmittelalter', *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature offerts à monsieur Charles Gilliard* (Lausanne, 1944), pp. 269–83.
  - 27 B. Schimmelpfennig, 'Zölibat und Lage der Priestersöhne vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 227 (1978), 1–44.
  - 28 L. Schmutge, *Kirche, Kinder, Karrieren. Päpstliche Dispense von der unehelichen Geburt im Spätmittelalter* (Zurich, 1995).
  - 29 H. Lea, *The History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* (New York, 1957) pp. 343–7, on Pius II, p. 345.

- 30 O. Lähtenmäki, *Sexus und Ehe bei Luther* (Turku, 1955); K. Suppan, *Die Ehelehre Martin Luthers* (Salzburg, 1971). R. Seeberg, 'Luthers Anschauung von dem Geschlechtsleben und der Ehe und ihre geschichtliche Stellung', *Luther Jahrbuch*, 7 (1925), 77–122.
- 31 H. Böhmer, 'Luthers Ehe', *Luther Jahrbuch*, 7 (1925), 40–76; W. von Loewenich, 'Luthers Heirat', *Luther*, 47 (1976) 47–60.
- 32 LW 44, 175; WA 6, p. 440.
- 33 However, on theosis in Luther, see S. Peura, *Mehr als ein Mensch. Die Vergöttlichung als Thema der Theologie Martin Luthers von 1513 bis 1519* (Mainz, 1994); R. Saarinen, *Gottes Wirken auf uns. Die transzendente Deutung des Gegenwart-Christi-Motivs in der Lutherforschung* (Stuttgart, 1989).
- 34 LW 31, 345; WA 7, p. 23.
- 35 'Von der Widdertauffe', WA 26, 144–74. K. Brinkel, *Die Lehre Luthers von der fides infantium bei der Kindertaufe* (Berlin, 1958); L. Grönvik, *Die Taufe in der Theologie Martin Luthers* (Zurich, 1968).
- 36 Luther remarks upon this in 'Von der Widdertauffe,' WA 26, p. 146.
- 37 *Institutio* 4.15.21–22. L.G.M. Alting von Geusau, *Die Lehre von der Kindertaufe bei Calvin* (Bilthoven and Mainz, 1963).
- 38 See 'De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae,' WA 6, pp. 502–26; 'Vom abendmal Christi Bekenntnis' (1528), WA 26, pp. 262–509. E. Bizer, *Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahlstreits im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1940); W. Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther. Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1924, 1953); A.C.F. Wiløf, *Abendmahl und Messe. Die Kritik Luthers am Meßopfer* (Berlin, 1969).
- 39 A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1902); G. Macy, *The Theology of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford, 1984); R. Schulte, *Die Messe als Opfer der Kirche* (Münster, 1959).
- 40 See 'De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae,' WA 6, pp. 502–26.
- 41 B. Lohse, 'Die Privatbeichte bei Luther', *Kerygma und Dogma*, 14 (1968), 207–28; J. Vercauysse, 'Schlüsselgewalt und Beichte bei Luther', in H. Junghans (ed.), *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546* (Berlin/Göttingen, 1983), I, pp. 153–69, II, pp. 775–81. E. Roth, *Die Privatbeichte und Schlüsselgewalt in der Theologie der Reformatoren* (Gütersloh, 1952). B. Poschmann, *Penance and the Anointing of the Sick* (New York, 1951); T.N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977). D. Myers, 'Poor Sinning Folk.' *Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany* (Ithaca, New York, 1996).
- 42 LW 40, 21; WA 12, p. 180.
- 43 For example, Geneva had hundreds of clergy before the Reformation and only nine after it, R.M. Kingdon, 'Was the Protestant Reformation a Revolution?' *Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues of European Renaissance and Reformation History* (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1974) p. 70. In Biberach, there were 36 beneficed clergy, an unknown number of unbeneficed secular clerics, and also regular clergy before the Reformation. Afterward there were only twelve Protestant preachers, Schilling, 'Einführung der Reformation', pp. 189, 232. The comparison is not quite accurate since the number of Protestant preachers includes the immediate surrounding countryside.
- 44 F. Wieland, *Die genetische Entwicklung der sogenannten ordines minores* (Rome, 1897).

- 45 F. Gillmann, *Zur Lehre der Scholastik vom Spender der Firmung und des Weihesakraments* (Paderborn, 1920).
- 46 M. Brecht (ed.), *Luther und das Bischofsamt* (Stuttgart, 1990).
- 47 U. Bubenheimer, 'Luthers Stellung zum Aufruhr in Wittenberg 1520–1522 und die frühreformatorischen Wurzeln des landesherrlichen Kirchenregiments', *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonische Abteilung*, 71 (1985), 147–214; K. Holl, 'Luther und das landeskirchliche Kirchenregiment', in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* 6th edn (Tübingen, 1932) vol. I, pp. 326–80.
- 48 H.W. Krumwiede, *Zur Entstehung des landesherrlichen Kirchenregiments in Kursachsen und Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Göttingen, 1967).
- 49 K.A.H. Burkhardt, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kirchen- und Schulvisitationen von 1524–1545* (Leipzig, 1879).
- 50 Otto Mejer, 'Anfänge des Wittenberger Konsistoriums', *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, 13 (1876), pp. 28–123; K. Müller, 'Die Anfänge der Konsistorialverfassung im lutherischen Deutschland', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 102 (1909), 1–30.
- 51 See W. Jannasch, 'Pfarrfrau', *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 3rd edn (Tübingen, 1961) vol. 5, pp. 301–3; L. Schorn-Schütte, "'Gefährtin" und "Mitregentin." Zur Sozialgeschichte der evangelischen Pfarrfrau in der Frühen Neuzeit', in H. Wunder and C. Vanja (eds), *Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehungen zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991) pp. 109–53; E. Winkler, 'Das evangelische Pfarrhaus im Spiegel der Pastoraltheologie', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 37 (1988) 105–13.
- 52 See M. Treu (ed.), *Katharina von Bora, die Lutherin. Aufsätze anlässlich ihres 500. Geburtstages* (Wittenberg, 1999).
- 53 E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1992).
- 54 J.L. Ainslie, *The Doctrines of Ministerial Order in the Reformed church of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1940). A. Bauer, 'Zwinglis Lehre vom geistlichen Amte', *Arbeiten zur praktischen Theologie*, 10 (1888), pp. 193–220; J. Weerda, 'Ordnung zur Lehre. Zur Theologie der Kirchenordnung bei Calvin', in J. Moltmann (ed.), *Calvin-Studien* (Neukirchen 1960), pp. 144–71.
- 55 J. Beckmann, *Vom Sakrament bei Calvin* (Tübingen, 1926); K. McDonnell, *John Calvin, the Church and the Eucharist* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1967); W. Niesel, *Calvins Lehre vom Abendmahl* (Munich, 1935); R.S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Word and Sacrament* (Edinburgh and London, 1953).
- 56 H.-D. Altendorf and P. Jezler (eds), *Bilderstreit. Kulturwandel in Zwinglis Reformation* (Zürich, 1984); R. Bornert, *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle (1523–1598)* (Leiden, 1981); C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, 1979); C.M.N. Eire, *War against the Idols. The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986).
- 57 J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (ed.) J.T. McNeil, (trans.) F.L. Battles (Philadelphia 1960) vol. 2, 1420–1; *Institutio*, 4, 17, p. 43.
- 58 J.F. Bergier and R.M. Kingdon, *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Geneve au temps de Calvin*, 2 vols. (n. p., 1962–4), *Registres I*, pp. 1–13. A. Ganoczy, *Calvin théologien de l'église et du ministère* (Paris, 1964); L.

- Gomaz, *Timothée, ou le ministère évangélique d'après Calvin et ses commentaries sur le Nouveau Testament* (Lausanne, 1948).
- 59 C. Borgeaud, *L'Académie de Calvin, 1559–1789* (Geneva, 1900).
- 60 R. Ley, *Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli* (Zurich, 1948); P. Münch, *Zucht und Ordnung. Reformatorische Kirchenverfassungen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Nassau-Dillenburg, Kurpfalz, Hessen-Kassel)* (Stuttgart, 1978).
- 61 See J.F. Bergier and R.M. Kingdon, *Registres de la Compagnie des pasteurs de Geneve au temps de Calvin*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1962–4).
- 62 See, however, Judith Pollmann, 'Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33 (2002), 423–38.
- 63 E.A. McKee, *John Calvin on the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving* (Geneva, 1984).
- 64 W.E. Keeney, *The Development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice from 1539–1564* (Nieuwkoop, 1968); R. Friedmann, *The Theology of AnaBaptism* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania 1973). H.-J. Goertz, *Die Täufer. Geschichte und Deutung* (München, 1988). L. Gross, *The Golden Years of the Hutterities. The Witness and Thought of the Communal Moravian Anabaptists during the Walpot Era, 1565–1578* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1980); C. Krahn, *Dutch AnaBaptism. Origin, Spread, Life and Thought* ('s-Gravenhage, 1968); J. Stayer, *The German Peasant's War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal, 1991); idem, *Anabaptists and the Sword* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1976).
- 65 G.H. Williams, *Radical Reformation* 3rd edn (Kirksville Missouri, 1992) provides a detailed narrative. On one early apostle, W.O. Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings. Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1995).
- 66 C. Krahn, 'The Office of the Elder in Anabaptist Mennonite History', *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 30 (1956), 120–35; H.S. Bender, 'The Historical Background of Our Present Ministerial Offices', *Gospel Herald*, XLII (25 October 1949), 1051, 1061; N. Van der Zipp, 'Ministry (Netherlands)', *Mennonite Encyclopedia* vol. 3, pp. 699–701; C. Krahn, 'Ministry (German, *Diener am Wort, Lehrer, Dutch, dienaar, leraar*) of Mennonites of Prusso-Russian Background,' *Mennonite Encyclopedia* 3, pp. 701–3; H.S. Bender, 'Ministry in Switzerland, South Germany, France, and North American Groups of this General Background,' *Mennonite Encyclopedia* 3, pp. 703–4.
- 67 Williams, *Radical Reformation*; R.E. McLaughlin, 'Reformation Spiritualism: Typology, Sources and Significance,' *Collected Papers the Joint Colloquium of the Gesellschaft für Reformationsgeschichte and the Society for Reformation Research on Sixteenth-Century Dissent*, Wittenberg 19–23 August 1999, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, Beiheft 27, pp. 127–40; idem, *Caspar Schwenckfeld, Reluctant Radical* (New Haven Connecticut, 1986); idem, 'Sebastian Franck and Caspar Schwenckfeld: Two Spiritualist *Viae*', in Jan-Dirk Müller (ed.), *Sebastian Franck (1499–1542)* (Wiesbaden, 1993) pp. 71–86.

### Chapter 3

- 1 The pertinent literature is too vast to cite. None the less, I would particularly mention the opus of my late esteemed colleague Heiko A. Oberman,

which, although regarding Luther as a distinct individual and innovator, none the less brought to the world's attention the strands of existing theology that the Reformer drew upon in weaving his own. An assumption of continuity underlies Steven Ozment's *The Age of Reform 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980).

- 2 Ludwig Schmutge has demonstrated this in *Kirche, Kinder, Karrieren: Päpstliche Dispense von der unehelichen Geburt im Spätmittelalter* (Zurich, 1995), esp. ch. 6, 'Kirche und Illegitime im Deutschen Reich', pp. 247–318. Late medieval efforts to reduce this abuse were unsuccessful. Bruce Gordon provides an example of this in *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Synod in Zürich, 1532–1580* (Bern, Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1992), pp. 28–9, 33. Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer is finishing a book manuscript on the subject of clerical concubinage and the transition to marriage in Germany, which at this writing I have not read. See also E. Labouvie, 'Geistliche Konkubinate auf dem Land. Zum Wandel von Ökonomie, Spiritualität und religiöser Vermittlung', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift für historische Sozialwissenschaft*, 26, 1 (2000), 105–27.
- 3 The not yet superintendent but trusted Lutheran partisan Friedrich Myconius carried out this preliminary exploration. His detailed findings can be found in the Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha under Oberkonsistorium Generalia, Loc. 19, No. 1: 'Acta der ersten Visitation der Prediger im Amte Tenneberg, durch den Superintendenten Friedrich Myconius 1526.' The sixteenth-century title, in Myconius's own hand, is 'Acta Von der Examination Vnd Verhörung der Pfarner In der Tennebergischen Pflege Von Yren leben verstand lehr vnd gelegenheyt, etc.' This document is unpaginated. It was published by P. Drews, 'Der Bericht des Mykonius über die Visitation des Amtes Tenneberg im März 1526', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 3 (1905/1906), 1–17.
- 4 I made this point in 'The Transmission of Luther's Teachings on Women and Matrimony: The Case of Zwickau', *Archive for Reformation History*, 77 (1986), 45.
- 5 W.S. Stafford, *Domesticating the Clergy: The Inception of the Reformation in Strasbourg 1522–1524* (Missoula, Montana, 1976). I am, however, extending Stafford's meaning of the term, which he uses to designate the incorporation of the Catholic clergy into the urban collectivity – making them fully citizens. I mean domestication as bringing them into a personal, committed, ongoing living relationship with a woman and their housekeeping and possibly childrearing as complementary partners. Far more research has been carried out on clerical marriage in England than in Germany. See E. Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994); and H.L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent, Policy and Practice* (Aldershot, 2000), including their notes, for an introduction to this topic. For a range of approaches to the larger question of anticlerical attitudes, see the essays in P.A. Dykema and H.A. Oberman (eds), *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 1993); and E.A. Eltis, 'Tensions between Clergy and Laity in Some Western German Cities in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43, 2 (1992), 231–48. Still indispensable is R.W. Scribner, 'Anticlericalism and the Reformation in

- Germany', in idem, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London and Ronceverte, 1987), pp. 243–56.
- 6 See S.E. Ozment's treatment of the abuse of the confessional in *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, 1975), pp. 49–56, 59. Cf. S. Haliczzer's much-discussed book, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned* (Oxford, 1996), apropos of early modern Spain.
  - 7 Scribner, 'Anticlericalism and the Reformation', p. 253.
  - 8 Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A63 Bü 10, 'Religions- u. Kirchensachen', p. 82.
  - 9 More work needs to be done on this genre before the Reformation. C. Braun, *Die katholische Predigt während der Jahre 1450 bis 1650 über Ehe und Familie, Erziehung, Unterricht und Berufswahl* (Würzburg, 1904), contains a bibliography of such brevity that I am certain that far more exists on this subject. The sizable homiletic corpus on the Virgin Mary doubtless contains much on the subject of hers and Joseph's domestic life even if they were alleged to have been sexually inactive.
  - 10 This was also true of Puritan teaching on marriage. See K.M. Davies, 'Continuity and Change in Literary Advice on Marriage', in R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (New York, 1982), pp. 58–80. Apart from specially prepared wedding homilies, Lutheran pastors continued, evidently for generations, to observe the custom of preaching on marriage every January to the congregation as a whole. See, for example, Landeskirchenarchiv Braunschweig, V 470, 'Predigten verschiedener Pastoren von Januar und Februar 1573, z. T. nur in Konzepten', fol. 18r–v.
  - 11 *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1883–), hereafter WA for *Weimarer Ausgabe*, by convention: 'Eyn Sermon von dem Elichen Standt', WA II, pp. 166–71; 'Vom ehelichen Leben. 1522', WA X/2, pp. 275–304; 'Eine predigt vom Ehestand', 15 January 1525, WA XVII/1, pp. 12–29; 'Vorlesungen über 1. Mose von 1535–45', WA XLII; and many other places. For an English translation of key portions, see S.C. Karant-Nunn and M.E. Wiesner-Hanks (trans. and eds.), *Luther on Women, a Sourcebook* (Cambridge, 2003).
  - 12 'Ein Sermon von dem ehelichen Standt', WA II, pp. 168–9.
  - 13 G.R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 79–80.
  - 14 One Catholic writer whom this marriage especially inspired was Johannes Cochlaeus. See M. Spahn, *Johannes Cochlaeus: Ein Lebensbild aus der Zeit der Kirchenspaltung* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 133–6, reissued (Nieuwkoop, 1964); and more recently G. Wiedermann, 'Cochlaeus as a Polemicist', in P.N. Brooks (ed.), *Seven-Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary 1483–1983* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 195–205, here at pp. 197–8.
  - 15 My own treatment of the Luthers' marriage is forthcoming as "'Mihi reliquerit animum paene muliebrem": Martin Luthers Männlichkeit', in H. Medick and P. Schmidt (eds), *Luther zwischen den Kulturen* (Göttingen, 2003).
  - 16 The list of questions that the visitors were to ask the pastors in the Ernestine *Ortsland* Franconia in 1528 included, 'Whether they lead a chaste life [within matrimony] or keep house with a [female] scamp [*Bubin*].' Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Coburg, LA B 2438.

- 17 G. Buchwald, 'Die Protokolle der Kirchenvisitationen in den Aemtern: Zwickau, Crimmitschau und Werdau vom 12. bis zum 31. Januar 1529', *Allerlei aus Drei Jahrhunderten*, 1 (1888), p. 4.
- 18 E. Fabian, 'Die Protokolle der zweiten Kirchenvisitation zu Zwickau 1533 und der ersten Kirchenvisitation zu Schneeberg 1534', *Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereins für Zwickau und Umgegend*, 7 (1902), pp. 33–147. The emphasis of this document is the clergymen's doctrinal suitability and their material (in)sufficiency – but moral failings would have been noted here had they existed. Certain behavioural shortcomings are suggested, as in Reimsdorf, where the scribe laconically remarks, 'Die eingepfarrten sollen auch jre priester in eren halten.' The change between 1529 and 1533 is especially clear in J. Müller, 'Die Protokolle der Kirchenvisitationen in den Ämtern Vogtsberg und Plauen vom 15. Febr.–6. März 1529 und vom 23. März–13. April 1533, bezhtl. in Elsterberg vom 19.–20. Sept. 1533', *Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereins zu Plauen im Vogtland*, 6 (1886–87), pp. I–LXXXIV.
- 19 For another regional example, see documents pertaining to the introduction of the Reformation into the County of Nassau-Dillenberg, Senior Line, in 1538: Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Abt. 171 Nr. S. 303, pp. 28–35. At this time, priests with concubines were removed from their posts rather than being forced to marry. Some complained of this treatment and hinted that they would be willing to take wives.
- 20 F. Spanuth, 'Quellen zur Durchführung der Reformation im Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Lande 1551 bis 1568', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte*, 42 (1937), 241–64.
- 21 Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Coburg, LA B 2468, 'Visitatio Superintendentur [sic] Coburg. Et Adiunctur, 1577', fol. 54r.
- 22 Landeskirchenarchiv Braunschweig, V 1924, 'Die kirchlichen und sittlichen Verhältnisse vornehmlich in den Fürstentümern Calenberg und Göttingen (1543) 1625–1630', fol. 132r.
- 23 E.g., Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Oberkonsistorium Generalia, Loc. 19, No. 3, dated 1542 for the whole of *Amt* Gotha. This category of document constitutes a huge subgenre in the overall visitation literature, one that has received little attention.
- 24 S.C. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors: The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia, 1979), especially 'The Pastors' Daily Lives', pp. 31–8, and 'The Economic Position of the Ministers', pp. 38–52.
- 25 *Vie religieuse en Pays Rhenan dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle (1556–1619)* (Lille, 1974), pp. 191–261. See also his chapter 4, 'Une famille nombreuse dans un presbytère souvent inconfortable', pp. 263–314, including a section, 'La famille pastorale', 287–314.
- 26 'The Abbot and the Concubine: Piety and Politics in Sixteenth-Century Naumburg', *Archive for Reformation History*, 92 (2001), 138–64.
- 27 'Pfarrfrauen in der hansestädtischen Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit', in B. Vogel and U. Weckels (eds), *Frauen in der Ständegesellschaft: Leben und Arbeiten in der Stadt vom späten Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit* (Hamburg, 1991), pp. 201–25, here at p. 211.
- 28 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Reg. II 75, fol. 62, 1556.
- 29 Landeskirchenarchiv Braunschweig, V 1924, 'Die kirchlichen und sittlichen Verhältnisse vornehmlich in den Fürstentümern Calenberg und Göttingen (1543) 1625–1630', fol. 5r.

- 30 Bruce Gordon has noticed the same phenomenon in the countryside around Zurich: *Clerical Discipline*, p. 118.
- 31 S.C. Karant-Nunn, 'Neoclericalism and Anticlericalism in Saxony, 1555–1675', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 24, 4 (1994), 615–37; R. Pochia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London, 1989), p. 19; which draws on the evidence of M. Brecht, 'Herkunft und Ausbildung der protestantischen Geistlichen des Herzogtum Württembergs im 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 80 (1969), 163–75.
- 32 WA 26, pp. 175–240.
- 33 *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 159–226.
- 34 K. Pallas (comp. and ed.), *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvisitationen im ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise*, 7 vols. (Halle, 1906–1918), the visitations of the early seventeenth century.
- 35 Landeshauptarchiv Magdeburg, Rep. A12, Gener. 2440, 'Kirchenvisitation 1583/84, Jerichow'scher Kreis', *passim*. The visitors desired an ability to use Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but were especially disappointed when even Latin was missing, as it often was. A sufficient level of Latin could have been acquired in grammar school.
- 36 U. Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 92–3; Potter, *Zwingli*, pp. 221–4.
- 37 'Basel's Rural Pastors as Mediators of Confessional and Social Discipline', *Central European History*, 33, 1 (2000), 67–85, here at p. 73.
- 38 B. Tolley, *Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg during the Late Reformation, 1581–1621* (Stanford, 1995), ch. 2.
- 39 'An die RATHERREN aller Städte deutschen Lands, daß sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen, 1524', WA 15, 6–37. S.C. Karant-Nunn, 'The Reality of Early Lutheran Education: The Electoral District of Saxony – a Case Study', *Lutherjahrbuch*, 57 (1990), pp. 128–46.
- 40 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, B. 2892, 'Kirchen- vnd Schul-Visitations-Acta 1650', fol. 15r.
- 41 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Reg. li 2667, '1557. Schriften betr. die von dem Pfarrer, Schosser und Rath zu Altenburg erstattete allgemeine Anzeige der verschiedenen Mangel und Gebrechen', fol. 19r.
- 42 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Reg. li 23–26, 'Registration der visitation welche Anno 1554 gehaldenn', fol. 11v.
- 43 Karant-Nunn, 'Neoclericalism and Anticlericalism', pp. 631–4.
- 44 Pallas, *Die Registraturen*, 3: p. 95. For similar efforts to separate Catholic priests from peasant conviviality, see U. Pfister, 'Pastors and Priests in the Early Modern Grisons: Organized Profession or Side Activity', *Central European History*, 33, 1 (2000), 41–65, here at p. 51.
- 45 Evangelisches Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv Stuttgart, A1 Nr 1 1583, no title, vol. 1, pp. 93–4.
- 46 As far as I know, Bernd Moeller has played the major part in publicizing the concept of the Reformation as a revival of monastic ideals: 'Die frühe Reformation in Deutschland als neues Mönchtum', in idem (ed.), *Die frühe Reformation in Deutschland als Umbruch* (Gütersloh, 1997), pp. 76–91. I think that it is appropriate to extend the usefulness of this idea beyond merely the early phase of the Reformation. Heide Wunder discusses the ideal of 'middle class' women's withdrawal into the home without reference to

- monasticism: *'Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond': Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich, 1992), pp. 116–17.
- 47 J.C. Smith, 'Katharina von Bora through Five Centuries: A Historiography', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999), 745–74, esp. p. 755. Her formal widow's letters of petition to potential patrons were penned by scribes. See photographs of two of these in M. Treu, *'Lieber Herr Käthe-Katharina von Bora, die Lutherin'* (Wittenberg, 1999), pp. 86–7.
- 48 The modern literature concerning expectations of women in general has become vast. I shall mention here only a convenient summary, U. Hörauf-Erfle, *Wesen und Rolle der Frau in der moralisch-didaktischen Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich deutscher Nation* (Frankfurt/Main, Bern, New York, 1991).
- 49 The council to Elector Johann, 3 April 1531, reprinted in E. Fabian, 'Der Streit Luthers mit dem Zwickauer Rate im Jahre 1531', *Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereins für Zwickau und Umgegend*, 8 (1905), 75–176, here at pp. 149–52.
- 50 Evangelisches Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv Stuttgart, A1 Nr 1 1582, p. 153.
- 51 Gordon observes, apropos of Zurich and its imposition of discipline upon the pastors of its hinterland, 'Criticism of a minister's preaching was often accompanied by accusations of drinking, swearing or of violence in the home.' *Clerical Discipline*, p. 110.
- 52 'Predigten des Jahres 1525, Nr. 8 [15. Januar]', WA XVII/1: 27.
- 53 Creide, *Nuptialia Continuata Oder Christlicher Hochzeit Sermonen, Ander Theyl, sive Debitum Coniugale, Das ist, Schuldige Pflicht der Eheleut* (Frankfurt/Main, 1670), sermon 28, p. 294.
- 54 Pfister, 'Pastors and Priests in the Early Modern Grisons', discusses Reformed efforts in the late sixteenth century to compel pastors to bring their private lives into near-conformity with the ideal, pp. 48–9.
- 55 Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart, A1 Nr. 1 1581, p. 20.
- 56 Sächsisches Landeskirchenarchiv [Dresden], Matrikel Freiberg 1617 [sic], fol. 665r.
- 57 Evangelisches Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv Stuttgart, A1 Nr. 1 1581, pp. 158–9.
- 58 'Pfarrfrauen', p. 222.
- 59 Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Coburg, LA B 2468, 'Visitatio Superintendentur [sic] Coburg. Et Adiunctur, 1577', fol. 68r.
- 60 Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 1986, 'Registratur der Visitation, so uff empfangenen Churfürstlichen Sächsischen beuehlich ... in der Superintendentz Pegau gehalten ... anno 1574', e.g., village of Behlen, fol. 125r; Storkewitz, fol. 188r.
- 61 Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 1992, 'Visitation der Superintendentur Borna 1574', fol. 85v.
- 62 This issue comes up in Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Reg. II 2487, '1555. Bericht der Visitatoren über die in der abgehaltenen Visitation gemachten Wahrnehmungen', fol. 4r–v [lands of the three sons of Elector Johann Friedrich]: how to provide for those who retire as many are about to do; widows and orphans. Widows could stay on for a period – usually half a year – with all entitlements. It is also mentioned as one of the pervasive shortcomings in the mid-seventeenth century, admittedly after the tremendous disturbances of the Thirty Years' War: Landeshauptarchiv Magdeburg,

- Rep. A12 Gen. 2445, 'Kirchenvisitation 1650/51, Jerichow'scher Kreis', item 7, fol. 38v.
- 63 Landeshauptarchiv Magdeburg, Reg. A12 Gen. 2445, 'Kirchenvisitation 1650/51, Jerichow'scher Kreis', item 21, fol. 139v: no certain support for old, *verlebte* clergymen.
- 64 Evangelisches Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv Stuttgart, A1 Nr. 1 1581, pp. 81–2.
- 65 Luise Schorn-Schütte notes the sociological shift between the origins of the Catholic priesthood and those of the mature Lutheran pastorate: *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit: Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft, dargestellt am Beispiel des Fürstentums Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kassel und der Stadt Braunschweig* (Gütersloh, 1996), p. 32.
- 66 Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Coburg, LA B 2468, 'Visitatio Superintendentur Coburg. Et Adiunctur, 1577', fol. 154v.
- 67 Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Coburg, LA B 2540, 'Acta Visitationis de ao. 1613', Streisenhausen, fol. 89r.
- 68 S.C. Karant-Nunn, "'Fragrant Wedding Roses": Lutheran Wedding Sermons and Gender Definition in Early Modern Germany', *German History*, 17, 1 (1999), 25–40.
- 69 Hartmann Creide, *Nuptialia Oder Fünfftzig Christliche Hochzeit-Sermonen, Vber unterschiedliche Biblische Sprüch gehalten in der Evangelischen Pfarrkirchen bey St. Anna in Augspurg* (Frankfurt/Main, 1661), Predigt 2, p. Biiii.
- 70 I have provided a fuller description of Mathesius's salient collections in my 'Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Social Ideology in the Sermons of Johannes Mathesius', in A.C. Fix and S.C. Karant-Nunn (eds.), *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville, Missouri, 1992), pp. 121–40.
- 71 Johannes Mathesius, *Ausgewählte Werke*, 4 vols., ed. G. Loesche (Prague and Vienna: F. Tempsky; Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1896), 1: *Leichenreden*, pp. 66–9.
- 72 *Ausgewählte Werke*, 1: pp. 73–243.
- 73 *Ausgewählte Werke*, 1: pp. 79–80.
- 74 *Ausgewählte Werke* 1: pp. 91–2.
- 75 K.F. Ledderhose, *Das Leben des M. Johann Mathesius* (Heidelberg, 1849), p. 160.
- 76 *Ausgewählte Werke* 1: pp. 96–7.
- 77 *Ausgewählte Werke*, 1: p. 102.
- 78 Karant-Nunn, 'Kinder, Küche, Kirche', *passim*.
- 79 Rebhun, *Hausfried* (Wittenberg, 1546); Rebhun supported wife-beating (Qvii–Rii). Freder alias Ireneus, *Lob und unschuld der Ehefrawen. Und widerlegung der Sprüch, damit die Weibsbilder, durch die Philosophos oder Weltweise Heyden, und etliche vermeynte Christen geschmehet werden. Gott und dem heyligen Ehestande zu ehren geschrieben* (Frankfurt am Main, 1569), written to counter Sebastian Franck's *Sprichwörter*. On Freder, see S.H. Hendrix, 'Christianizing Domestic Relations: Women and Marriage in Johann Freder's *Dialogus dem Ehestand zu Ehren*', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23, 2 (1992), 251–66.
- 80 *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville, 1950), p. 233.

## Chapter 4

- 1 I thank Ann Tlusty and Amy McCready for reading drafts of this essay and offering useful criticisms.
- 2 For source material I used K. Pallas (ed.), *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvisitation im ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise* (hereafter RKVSK), 6 vols. (Halle, 1906–18). In some instances I have been able to supplement the material which comprises Pallas's collection with additional visitation protocols he did not include. The events and direct quotes pertaining to Pastor Juchenhöfer's ministry in Schmerkendorf are found in RKVSK 5: 111–17; and Landesarchiv Magdeburg, Landeshauptarchiv Außenstelle Wernigerode (hereafter LHAWgd), Rep. A 29b II No. 11, 183–183a; Rep A 29b II No. 5, 538a-542a and 554<sup>a</sup>.
- 3 In contrast, Luther wanted Melancthon to preach in Wittenberg after supper on holidays to keep people in church, away from drinking and gambling. Martin Luther, 'Letter to Spalatin' (9 September 1521) in *Luther's Works* (hereafter LW) vols. 48 and 49 (G. Krodel, trans. and ed.), (Philadelphia, 1963, 1972), here at vol. 48, p. 308.
- 4 The fine provides an example of what Heinz Schilling has labelled the 'criminalization of sin' caused by the 'structural interlocking' of church discipline and state discipline in early modern Europe. ' "History of Crime" or "History of Sin"? – Some Reflections on the Social History of Early Modern Church Discipline', in E.I. Kouri and T. Scott (eds), *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe* (New York, 1987), pp. 289–310.
- 5 Alex gave his villagers permission to work their fields on Sundays. Georg's villagers worked on Sunday, too, but, as it was obligatory labour on Georg's fields, they complained to the visitors, expressing a sudden desire not to be kept from church.
- 6 I assume he was transferred; the records for this parish do not indicate what happened to him.
- 7 She had proprietorship over Schmerkendorf, and was aided by her brother, Georg von Radestock. Georg von Hohendorf is still listed as the feudal lord over Falkenberg. The events and direct quotes pertaining to Pastor Faber's ministry in Schmerkendorf are found in RKVSK 5: 117–19.
- 8 For the importance of wedding feasts to the community and membership within it, see L. Roper, "'Going to Church and Street": Weddings in Reformation Augsburg', *Past and Present*, 106 (1985), 62–101, and S.C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual. An Interpretation of Early Modern German Culture* (New York, 1997), pp. 6–42. For communal drinking, see B.A. Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: the Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, 2001).
- 9 For the notion of 'failed Reformation', see G. Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978). For the rejoinder, J. Kittelson, 'Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: The Report from Strasbourg', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 73 (1982), 153–74.
- 10 I have argued along somewhat related lines in 'Pfarrer als Außenseiter. Landpfarrer und religiöses Leben in Sachsen zur Reformationszeit',

- Historische Anthropologie: Kultur, Gesellschaft, Alltag*, 7 (1999), 191–211. That essay explores how compromise with lay members could help non-native pastors overcome problems they inadvertently caused as a result of their unfamiliarity with local customs.
- 11 The literature is vast. For Germany: H.-C. Rublack, “Der Wohlgeplagte Priester”. Vom Selbstverständnis lutherischer Geistlichkeit im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie’, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 16 (1989), 1–30; L. Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit. Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Fürstentums Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, der Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kassel und der Stadt Braunschweig* (Gütersloh, 1996); idem, ‘The Christian Clergy in the Early Modern Holy Roman Empire: A Comparative Social Study’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), 717–31; S.C. Karant-Nunn, *Luther’s Pastors. The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia, 1979); C.S. Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society. The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996); D.W. Sabean, *Power in the Blood. Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 113–73; J. Whaley, ‘Obedient Servants? Lutheran Attitudes to Authority and Society in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century’, *Historical Journal*, 35 (1992), 27–42. For England: N. Enssle, ‘Patterns of Godly Life: The Ideal Parish Minister in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Thought’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997), 3–28; E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath. Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, 2001); E.J. Carlson, “Practical Divinity”: Richard Greenham’s Ministry in Elizabethan England’, in E.J. Carlson (ed.), *Religion and the English People 1500–1640* (Kirksville, 1998), pp. 147–200; L.J. Abray, *The People’s Reformation. Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg 1500–1598* (Oxford, 1985).
  - 12 For the concept of ‘popular culture’ and a study of the rupture which separated elites from ‘the people’, see P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978).
  - 13 Similar crises occurred in other parts of Germany as well. See T. Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1989).
  - 14 R.W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987); and P. Matheson, *The Imaginative World of the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 2000).
  - 15 Here my thinking has been informed by Thomas Robisheaux, particularly his ‘Peasants and Pastors: Rural Youth Control and the Reformation in Hohenlohe, 1540–1680’, *Social History*, 6 (1981), 281–300.
  - 16 For a case where official dogma became intertwined with subjective theological perspectives, see C. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms. The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (trans. J. and A. Tedeschi) (Baltimore, 1980).
  - 17 J. Theibault, ‘Community and Herrschaft in the Seventeenth-Century German Village’, *Journal of Modern History*, 64 (1992), 1–21.
  - 18 M. O’Neil, ‘Sacerdote ovvero strione: Ecclesiastical and Superstitious Remedies in 16th Century Italy’, in S.L. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 53–83; Goodale, ‘Pfarrer als Außenseiter.’

- 19 Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, pp. 8–13; M. Brecht, 'Herkunft und Ausbildung der protestantischen Geistlichen des Herzogtums Württemberg im 16. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 80 (1969), 163–75.
- 20 RKVSK 5: 365–73; Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden (hereafter HSADres) Loc. 10598, 120; and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 20, 106a-109; No. 11, 181a-182; No. 5, 554<sup>a</sup>.
- 21 In 1578 visitors reminded the clerics at Jessen: 'Culpantes alios tribunal iudicis audit/Culpantes sese pastoris sella receptat.' RKVSK 3: 278.
- 22 RKVSK 5: 35 and 174.
- 23 RKVSK 3: 287.
- 24 RKVSK 3: 171–3. The squabble (1583) involved assessing the damage his cows and geese made when left unattended.
- 25 Martin Luther, 'Table Talk' (hereafter TT), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 54 (T. Tappert, trans. and ed.) (Philadelphia, 1967), nos. 3754 and 3799, pp. 268 and 276–7; and 'Ob man vor dem sterben fliehen möge' (1527) in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* 23 (Weimar, 1883–), pp. 338–79. Friedrich Mecum [Myconius], *wie man die einfeltigen und sonderlich die kranken im Christenthumb unterrichten sol* (Wittenberg, 1539).
- 26 For example: 'Gemeine verordnung und artikel der visitation in Meissen und der Voigtland ...' (1533); 'General-Artikel und gemeiner Bericht ...' (1557); and 'herrn Augusten, herzogen zu Sachsen, Ordnung' (1580) in E. Sehling (ed.), *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Erste Abtheilung. Sachsen und Thüringen, nebst angrenzenden Gebieten (hereafter KO), (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 192, 323–4 and 370.
- 27 Carlson, 'Practical Divinity', p. 175.
- 28 See H.C.E. Midelfort, *Witch-hunting in Southwestern Gemany, 1562–1684. The Social and Intellectual Foundations* (Stanford, 1972), and R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors. The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (New York, 1996), pp. 97–134 and 169–218.
- 29 RKVSK 3: 592 and 673, and 5: 207; and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 532a-536, and no. 31, 371–73. The sick in Kleinrössen would receive at home on Sunday, but never on a weekday.
- 30 Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, p. 45.
- 31 Enssle, 'Patterns of Godly Life', 7.
- 32 Philip Melancthon, 'Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony' (1528), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 40 (C. Bergendoff, trans. and ed.) (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 265–320, here at p. 313.
- 33 Enssle, 'Patterns of Godly Life', 5–9.
- 34 RKVSK 5: 472–7.
- 35 G. Strauss, 'The Reformation and Its Public in an Age of Orthodoxy', in R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *The German People and the Reformation* (Ithaca, 1988), pp. 194–214, here at p. 199.
- 36 See 'Instruction und befelch dorauf die visitatores abgefertiget sein' (1527, for Electoral Saxony) and 'Instruction Johans Friderichen des mittlern ...' (1554, for Ernestine Saxony) in KO, pp. 144 and 223.
- 37 Abray, *People's Reformation*, p. 35.
- 38 The pastor in Plossig complained (1582) that a leading secular official owned a tavern and encouraged, rather than punished, drinking parties. RKVSK 3: 289.

- 39 RKVSK 2: 344–7, 3: 199, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 19, 395–399a.
- 40 TT (no. 4143), p. 323.
- 41 LW 49, ‘Letter to Löscher’ (26 August 1529), p. 233. Cf. Martin Luther, ‘To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools’, in *Luther’s Works*, vol. 45 (W. Brandt, trans. and ed.) (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 339–78.
- 42 To use Strauss’s phrase.
- 43 The events and direct quotes pertaining to Pastor Steinbrecher’s ministry in Hohenbucko, 1575–80 are found in RKVSK 6: 74–78, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 559–562a.
- 44 ‘Auch sei es schade, daß sein gutes Ingenium allda auf dem Dorfe also verderbe.’ RKVSK 6: 78.
- 45 He was presumably transferred to a city. Cities alone had populations that warranted deacons. Also, the visitors stated he would be guaranteed ‘a specific income’, suggesting he would not be farming. RKVSK 6: 78.
- 46 For example, see ‘General-Artikel und gemeiner Bericht ...’ (1557) in KO, p. 322. Deacon Schade of Schmeideberg upset his laity when, at the age of 60, and presumably unable to farm very well, he began to brew and sell beer, aided by his wife and daughter, to supplement his meager income. RKVSK 1: 309–10, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 19, 75–75a, 82, 88–89.
- 47 RKVSK 3: 284.
- 48 RKVSK 3: 138.
- 49 RKVSK 5: 166–9.
- 50 For the controversies, see H. Scheible, *Melanchthon* (Munich, 1997), pp. 192–205; T. Klein, *Der Kampf um die zweite Reformation in Kursachsen* (Cologne, 1962); H. Schilling (ed.), *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland – Das Problem der ‘Zweiten Reformation’* (Gütersloh, 1986).
- 51 RKVSK 5: 23, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 20, 76–83a.
- 52 RKVSK 5: 71–8 The debate surrounded disputes resolved with the publication of the Book of Concord in 1580.
- 53 For notions of ‘common good’, see R.W. Scribner, ‘Police and Territorial State in Sixteenth-century Württemberg’, in Kouri and Scott (eds), *Politics and Society*, pp. 103–20. For notions of ‘superior status’, see S.C. Karant-Nunn, ‘Neoclericalism and Anticlericalism in Saxony, 1575–1675’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 24 (1994), 615–37.
- 54 RKVSK 2: 173, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 11, 79a–80.
- 55 Enssle argues that pastors whose behaviour was too exemplary could be seen as non-human, and thus irrelevant. ‘Patterns of Godly Life’, pp. 9–10.
- 56 (In 1579) RKVSK 5: 175.
- 57 (In 1578) RKVSK 3: 273, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 596–599a.
- 58 (In 1579) RKVSK 3: 95.
- 59 J. Goodale, ‘Pastors, Privation, and the Process of Reformation in Saxony’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33 (2002), 76–82.
- 60 D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion. Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603–30* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 63–8.
- 61 TT (no. 453), pp. 73–4.
- 62 The events and direct quotes pertaining to Pastor Jedocus’s ministry in Lebusa are found in RKVSK 6: 97–102 and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 562a–564 and 566–568. In 1577 the number of communicants was

- recorded: Lebusa- 120, Körba – 66, Striesa – 60. The Junkers Georg and Wolf Löser of Lebusa possessed feudal rights over Lebusa and Körba. Eustachius von Drahnisdorf possessed feudal rights over Striesa until his death in 1577, at which time his heirs, who lived in Belgern, put the village under the trusteeship of two extra-parish nobles. The University of Wittenberg possessed the right to appoint pastors to the parish. A filial village had its own church but no resident pastor. The pastor gave regular sermons in the filial churches, but the parishioners would have to come to the main church for communion.
- 63 'Instruktion welchergestalt ...' (June 1577), KO, pp. 346–7. The Augsburg Confession, though written by Melanchthon, continued to be highly regarded, even as Philippists came under attack.
- 64 The visitors of 1577 noted that pastor Jedocus had already instituted a catechism exam in the parish. The lessons were usually based on the week's gospel and epistle readings, particularly during Advent and Holy Week.
- 65 The parishioners did not buy a new cow for him until the one assigned him died in 1577.
- 66 E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 76–136. Their reluctance to buy him a new cow in 1572 was vindicated: his 'old' cow continued to provide him with milk until its death in 1577.
- 67 The visitors of 1579 ordered him to stop writing to the local lords.
- 68 On the perceived dangers of indolence, see R. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1994).
- 69 It is noteworthy that many pastors were criticized for not having crucial theology books at hand, and were repeatedly ordered to purchase them with parish funds, suggesting that they might have been reluctant to do so.
- 70 I believe the sexton was not fully literate, a supposition which would explain why Jedocus realized this position. During the 1578 visitation, Sexton Bostorff claimed to have worked as a sexton since 1565, but the visitors could not determine where. The peasants of Körba and Striesa used the 1577 visitation as an opportunity to request officially that Jedocus teach their children the catechism; the visitors were themselves unhappy with the sexton, whose job it was. Throughout his tenure the sexton was repeatedly cited for failing to teach catechism and day school, and he was dismissed in 1583.
- 71 His forced resignation as clerk might have freed Jedocus from whatever deference he had given his former employers.
- 72 Jedocus had to pay 5 *groschen* annually as rent for the use of the churchyard and yet he was denied the tree!
- 73 Jedocus preached in Striesa every other Sunday morning, and on the second and third days of the three major holidays. (Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost each had three days of religious service.) Between Advent and the start of Lent he went one day each week, either Wednesday or Friday, to lecture on the catechism. For Lutheran baptismal practice, Karant-Nunn, *Reformation*, pp. 43–71.
- 74 They dismissed him for holding Catholic rites and for theological ignorance. G. Berbig (ed.), 'Die erste Kursächsische Visitation im Ortsland Franken', in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 3 (1905/6), 375.

- 75 (Parish Liebenwerda) RKVSK 5: 38.
- 76 RKVSK 5: 234.
- 77 (In 1577) RKVSK 3: 591, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 508/58a–60 and 508/95a.
- 78 (In 1577) RKVSK 5: 144; and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 524a–530 and 554<sup>a</sup>.
- 79 (In 1578) RKVSK 5: 371.
- 80 RKVSK 5: 91–2, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 544a–547 and 554<sup>a</sup>.
- 81 (In 1577) RKVSK 5: 144; and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 524a–530 and 554<sup>a</sup>.
- 82 See H. Medick, 'Village Spinning Bees: Sexual Culture and Free Time among Rural Youth in Early Modern Germany', in H. Medick and D. Sabean (eds), *Interest and Emotion: Essays in the Study of Family and Kinship* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 317–39.
- 83 RKVSK 3:305, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 149–152.
- 84 RKVSK 5: 209.
- 85 (In 1598) RKVSK 5: 211–12.
- 86 (In 1602) RKVSK 3: 367.
- 87 Jedocus wanted 1 *groschen* each time they took clay. There were 42 *groschen* in a *Reichstaler*.
- 88 Even secular authorities could hold this view. The Schösser in Stolzenhain (1555) built storage bins in the pastor's unused yard. RKVSK 3: 360.
- 89 Examples of similar healers in other parishes are legion. In Uebigau, the pastor's own maid hired a cunning woman who recited spells over blown-out candles to cure a 'swollen mouth'. RKVSK 5: 144. The cures of healing women were often better than those proposed by university trained physicians. See H.C.E. Midelfort, *Mad Princes of Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville, 1994).
- 90 RKVSK 5: 210, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 11, 183a–184a.
- 91 RKVSK 5: 292.
- 92 RKVSK 3: 319, and HSADres Loc. 10598, 2–6. He also agreed to meet them anywhere they wanted, except in a tavern.
- 93 RKVSK 3: 226–31 and 1: 573, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 114–125a. Roth was a district superintendent. He initiated the compromise in February 1578, when Jessen was without a pastor, as pastor Greiffenhagen had died from plague while attending its victims.
- 94 I have examined 132 Electoral Saxon parishes between 1528 and 1602, and Jedocus is the only pastor to have fled his parish, other than to escape plague. He was replaced by Martin Jesawitz, aged 29, who had been schoolmaster in Schweinitz. RKVSK 3: 333, and LHAWgd Rep A 29b II No. 5, 127a.
- 95 M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (trans. H. Iswolsky) (Bloomington, 1984).
- 96 Sabean, *Power*, pp. 94–112; and L. Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil. Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early-Modern Europe* (New York, 1994), pp. 199–225.
- 97 J.C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985) and idem, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven, 1990).
- 98 TT (no. 234), p. 31.
- 99 Melanchthon, 'Instructions for the Visitors' (1528), in LW 40, p. 311.

## Chapter 5

- 1 For the relationship between the Reformation and the university, see T. Kaufmann, *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung. Die Rostocker Theologieprofessoren und ihr Beitrag zur theologischen Bildung und kirchlichen Gestaltung im Herzogtum Mecklenburg zwischen 1500 und 1675* (Gütersloh, 1997); N. Hammerstein, 'Universitäten und Reformation', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 258 (1994), 339-58; idem. (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* Vol. 1: 15.–17. Jahrhundert (Munich, 1996); for the later period, A. Schindling, *Bildung und Wissenschaft in der frühen Neuzeit 1650–1800* (München, 1994); for Wittenberg, see S. Oehmig, *700 Jahre Wittenberg. Stadt Universität Reformation* (Weimar et. al., 1995); H. Lück (ed.), *Martin und seine Universität* (Cologne et. al., 1998); H.-J. Rupieper (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 1502–2002* (Halle, 2002); G. Berg (ed.), *Emporium: 500 Jahre Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt, Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Halle, 2002); for the significance of the University of Wittenberg in the initial phase of the Reformation, see the recent works by J.-M. Kruse, *Universitätstheologie und Kirchenreform. Die Anfänge der Reformation in Wittenberg 1516–1522* (Mainz, 2002); I. Dingel and G. Wartenberg (eds.) *Die Theologische Fakultät Wittenberg 1502–1602* (Leipzig, 2002)  
 Since many of the theses and results in this contribution have been incorporated from my *Universität und lutherische Konfessionalisierung*, I have kept the references to a minimum. The interested reader is referred to this text for an extensive list of related literature and source materials. For all questions touching on the early modern clergy, see the pioneering study by L. Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit in der Frühneuzeit. Deren Anteil an der Entfaltung frühmoderner Staatlichkeit und Gesellschaft* (Gütersloh, 1996) and my analytical remarks and considerations in 'Frühneuzeitliche Religion und Evangelische Geistlichkeit', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 26 (1999), 381–91.
- 2 Cf. G. Lewis, 'The Geneva Academy', in A. Pettegree, A. Duke and G. Lewis (eds), *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 35–63.
- 3 See T. Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation. Magdeburgs 'Herrgotts Kanzlei' 1548–1551/2* (Tübingen, 2003).
- 4 Fundamental and still unsurpassed in all statistical matters relating to the early modern university in Germany: F. Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1904).
- 5 References to source materials in T. Kaufmann, 'Theologische Auseinandersetzungen an der Universität Königsberg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in K. Garber, M. Komorowski and A.E. Walter (eds), *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 2001), pp. 243–318, here pp. 247ff.; on the founding of the University of Königsberg, now, see B. Moeller, 'Die Universität Königsberg als Gründung der Reformation', in idem (edited by J. Schilling) *Luther-Rezeption. Kirchenhistorische Aufsätze zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 2001), pp. 182–91; cf. my article on Königsberg, in *RGG4*, Vol. 4, 2001, Col. 1584–86.
- 6 Characteristic, for instance, is the following phrase from the Rostock theologian Simon Pauli: 'Sunt Academiae, puram Evangelii doctrinam, ho-

- nestas leges, artem medicam, Philosophiam & linguam propagantes, quasi Paradisus DEI, unde coelestes plantae, semen verbi divini, virtutis, honestatis, & publici commodi spargantes & disseminantes, in diversa & quidem multa loca, transferuntur.' Simon Pauli, *Dispositio in partes orationis rhetoricae, et brevis textus enarratio evangeliorum, ... Nunc denuo ... recognita et locupleta* (Magdeburg, 1575); VD 16 P 992; Ex. UB Rostock Fl 3358, S. 7 v–8r.
- 7 R.A. Müller, *Universität und Adel. Eine soziostrukturelle Studie zur Geschichte der bayrischen Landesuniversität Ingolstadt 1472–1648* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 38ff.
  - 8 Eulenburg, *Frequenz*, p. 191.
  - 9 L. Grane, 'Studia humanitatis und Theologie an den Universitäten Wittenberg und Kopenhagen im 16. Jahrhundert: Komparative Überlegungen', in G. Keil, B. Moeller and W. Trusen (eds), *Der Humanismus und die oberen Fakultäten* (Weinheim, 1987), pp. 65–114, esp. 85; also instructive is Grane's 'Teaching the People – the Education of the Clergy and the Instruction of the People in the Danish Reformation Church', in L. Grane and K. Hørby (eds), *Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund* (Göttingen, 1990), pp. 164–89; in adopting the relationship between the various medieval faculties to one another, some recent accounts have arrived at consequences that are problematical with regard to evangelical pastors. See my critical comments in *Universität*, pp. 88f, no. 230; H. Kathe, *Die Wittenberger Philosophische Facultät 1502–1817* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2002), pp. 47–161.
  - 10 Ed. in: W. Friedensburg (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg Vol. 1: (1502–1611)* (Magdeburg, 1926), pp. 261–5; vgl. CR 10, Sp. 1001–8; the details in the main text refer to this source.
  - 11 Cf. H.-P. Hasse (ed.), *Philipp Melanchthon. Enarratio secundae tertiaeque partis Symboli Nicaeni (1550)* (Gütersloh, 1996).
  - 12 On the role of the *loci* as reflected in the order of lessons and teaching schedules in Lutheran faculties, see the compilation in T. Kaufmann, 'Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586). Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der theologischen Loci', in H. Scheible (ed.), *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 183–254, esp. pp. 185–90 (no. 4).
  - 13 Cf. H. Staemmler, 'Der Kampf der kursächsischen Theologen gegen den Helmstedter Synkretismus', Diss. Theol., Halle Wittenberg 1963; O. Ritschl, *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus Vol. IV* (Göttingen, 1927); C. Böttigheimer, *Zwischen Polemik und Irenik. Die Theologie der einen Kirche bei Georg Calixt* (Münster, 1996), pp. 53–68; with reference to Königsberg: T. Kaufmann, 'Königsberger Theologieprofessoren im 17. Jahrhundert', in D. Rauschnig and D. von Nerée (eds), *Die Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg und ihre Professoren* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 49–86.
  - 14 Cf. T. Moldaenke, *Christian Dreier und der synkretistische Streit im Herzogtum Preußen* (Königsberg, 1909), p. 65; on the teaching in orthodox Lutheran faculties, see the account by August Tholuck, which, despite its occasional lapses into caricature, still has an unsurpassed wealth of material: A Tholuck, *Das akademische Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus, First Part), 1. Abt. (Halle, 1853), pp. 85ff; on the extent to which contemporary theologico-political debates influenced Tholuck's historiographical concept, cf. T. Kaufmann, 'Tholucks Sicht auf den

- Rationalismus und seine "Vorgeschichte", *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 99 (2002), 45–75.
- 15 On the nature of scholarships and the composition of the student body in Rostock, see M. Asche, *Von der reichen hansischen Bürgeruniversität zur armen mecklenburgischen Landeshochschule: das regionale und soziale Besucherprofil der Universitäten Rostock und Bützow in der frühen Neuzeit (1500–1800)* (Stuttgart, 2000); On the Scandinavian students in Rostock: O. Czaika, *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich* (Helsinki, 2002); on Wittenberg in the second half of the sixteenth century: A. Gößner, 'Die Studentenschaft an der Universität Wittenberg. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des studentischen Alltags und zum Stipendienwesen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jhs', Diss. phil. Leipzig 2002 (forthcoming: Leipzig, 2003).
  - 16 For a short account: Art. Chytraeus, David, in: RGGe, Bd. 2, 1999, Sp. 37f. (Lit.).
  - 17 Cf. P. Melancthon, *Brevis discendae theologiae ratio* (1529/30), CR 2, Sp. 456–61; MBW 854; H. Scheible, 'Melancthons Bildungsprogramm,' in idem, (edited by G. May and R. Decot), *Melancthon und die Reformation. Forschungsbeiträge* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 98–114, esp. 110ff; recently: O. Bayer, 'Melancthons Theologiebegriff', in G. Frank (ed.), *Der Theologe Melancthon* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 25–48.
  - 18 WA 50, S. 654–61; cf. O. Bayer, 'Theologie', *Handbuch für Systematische Theologie* Vol. 1, (Gütersloh, 1994), pp. 35ff; for the historical context: M. Brecht, *Martin Luther Vol.3: Die Erhaltung der Kirche 1532–1546* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 144–8.
  - 19 David Chytraeus, *Oratio de studio theologiae recte inchoando* (1560), first printing, used in the following: *Ad Regulas studiorum Davidis Chytraei Appendix* (Jena, 1595); Ex. SUB Göttingen 8 Didact 192/29, here: 9–41, esp. 18r ff; for an interpretation of the speech, see T. Kaufmann, 'Die Wittenberger Theologie in Rostock in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 24 (1998), pp. 65–94, esp. 71ff; on the genre of guidance literature cf. Kaufmann, *Universität*, pp. 253ff; on *tentatio* in particular: M. Nieden, 'Anfechtung als Thema lutherischer Anweisungsschriften zum Theologiestudium', in M. Nieden and H.-J. Nieden (eds), *Praxis Pietatis. Beiträge zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit, Festschrift Wolfgang Sommer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 83–102.
  - 20 Philipp Jakob Spener (edited by K. Aland), *Pia desideria*, 3rd edn (Berlin, 1964), p. 21, esp. pp. 5–10.
  - 21 As in the Mecklenburg Church Order of 1522, for instance. Cited in E. Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1913), (Reproduction Aalen, 1970), p. 248.
  - 22 Sehling, *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen*, p. 192. This regulation also appeared in the revised Church Order of 1622. Cf. Kaufmann, *Universität*, p. 328 with no. 365.
  - 23 *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1486 bis 1550* (Tübingen, 1877), p. 271.
  - 24 Edict of Duke Gustav Adolf to the Superintendent of the Rostock-Güstrowschen and the Stargardischen Kreise, Güstrow (24 November 1659),

- citation in O.K. Krabbe, *Heinrich Müller und seine Zeit* (Rostock, 1866), p. 146; on the context of the reform efforts after the Thirty Years' War, see J. Strom, *Orthodoxy and Reform: The Clergy in Seventeenth Century Rostock* (Tübingen, 1999).
- 25 S. Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors. The Reformation in the Ernestine Countryside* (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 15.
- 26 M.-A. Cramer, *Die ersten evangelischen Pfarrer in Badisch und Württembergisch Franken* (Karlsruhe, 1990), pp. 25ff.
- 27 The representativeness of the sample of individuals utilized by Scribner (a sample which led him to claim that three-quarters of the preachers active during the early Reformation had attended a university) might be seen as problematical when considered in view of average relations, and especially with reference to the rural pastor. See R.W. Scribner, 'Preachers and People in the German Towns', in idem, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), pp. 123–43, esp. p. 129.
- 28 Cf. E. Wolgast, *Die Reformation in Mecklenburg* (Rostock, 1995).
- 29 In the Palatinate, Bernard Vogler was able to identify the following percentages of pastors with a university education: 85 per cent in 1590, 90 per cent in 1605, and 94 per cent in 1619. See B. Vogler, *Le clergé protestant rhénan au siècle de la réforme 1555–1619* (Paris, 1976), p. 57. In Zweibrücken in the years between 1555 and 1580 the proportion of educated pastors climbed from 30 per cent to 70 per cent, in Sponheim from 22 per cent to 80 per cent, op. cit., S. 78. In Kitzingen the share of academically educated pastors during the entire sixteenth century did not climb beyond 75 per cent, cf. E. Weyrauch, 'Informationen zum Sozialprofil der evangelischen Geistlichen Kitzingens im 16. Jahrhundert,' in I. Batori and E. Weyrauch (eds), *Die bürgerliche Elite der Stadt Kitzingen* (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 291–312, here 296; the percentage then climbs around 1600, when it can be demonstrated that 97 per cent of the clergy were university graduates, op. cit., p. 300. In England as well, substantial changes in the educational makeup of the clergy did not really make an impact until 1600. See R. O'Day, *The English Clergy. The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558–1642* (London, 1979), pp. 2ff.
- 30 Cf. T. Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede. Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 102ff; important biographical materials, including the numerous works of evangelical clergymen, in B. von Krusenstjern, *Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1997); also compare the edition by B. Autenrieth, *Samuel Gerlach, Feldprediger, Hofprediger, Prälat (1609–1683). Ein schwäbischer Pfarrer zwischen Mecklenburg, Holstein, Danzig und Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 2000).
- 31 M. Hasselhorn, *Der altwürttembergische Pfarrstand im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 43; M. Brecht, 'Herkunft und Ausbildung der protestantischen Geistlichen des Herzogtums Württemberg im 16. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 80 (1969), pp. 163–75, here p. 169.
- 32 On the Palatinate, cf: Vogler, *Le clergé protestant*, pp. 55ff; on Electoral Saxony, Karant-Nunn, *Luther's Pastors*, p. 16; on Brandenburg, B. Fröhner, 'Der evangelische Pfarrstand in der Mark Brandenburg 1540–1600', *Wichmann-Jahrbuch*, 19/20 (1965/66), 5–46, here p. 12.

- 33 Cf. H.-C. Rublack, “Der wolgeplagte Priester”. Zum Selbstverständnis lutherischer Geistlichkeit im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie’, *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 16 (1989), 1–30.
- 34 Essential: L. Schorn-Schütte, “Gefährtin”, und “Mitregentin”. Zur Sozialgeschichte der evangelischen Pfarrfrau in der frühen Neuzeit’, H. Wunder and C. Vanja (eds), *Wandel der Geschlechterbeziehung zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/M, 1991), pp. 109–53.
- 35 G. Tietz, ‘Das Erscheinungsbild von Pfarrstand und Pfarrgemeinde des sächsischen Kurkreises im Spiegel der Visitationsberichte des 16. Jahrhunderts’, Diss. phil. Tübingen 1971, p. 73; on the comparable situation in England, cf. O’Day, *The English Clergy*, p. 186.
- 36 ‘Denn wer fleissig studieret / lernet / lehret / regieret / der arbeitet mit dem Kopff / Munde vnd Henden / vnd wird jhm oft viel sewrer / denn einem Handwercksmanne oder Bergmann.’ Citation in P. Münch, *Lebensformen in der Frühen Neuzeit 1500 bis 1800* (Frankfurt am Main and Berlin, 1992), p. 359.
- 37 Cf. Kaufmann, *Universität*, p. 345; for the following reference as well, *ibid.*, 345ff; on parish libraries see Schorn-Schütte, *Evangelische Geistlichkeit*, pp. 216ff.
- 38 Kaufmann, *Universität*, p. 346.
- 39 Sehling, *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen*, Vol. 5, p. 161.
- 40 Op. cit., p. 191.
- 41 Recently, the theme of the doctrine of the three estates has been the subject of intensive consideration by Luise Schorn-Schütte. See ‘Die Drei-Stände-Lehre im reformatorischen Umbruch’, B. Moeller (ed.), *Die frühe Reformation in Deutschland als Umbruch* (Gütersloh, 1998), pp. 435–61.
- 42 Sehling, *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen*, Vol. 5, p. 392.
- 43 On conceptual questions relating to ‘Lutheran Orthodoxy’, along with the ideas associated with this concept, including systematic coherence, dominance of the *theologia polemica*, doctrinal inflexibility, etc., see: T. Kaufmann, ‘Proches étrangers. Aspects de la perception des “Schwärmer” par la première orthodoxie Luthérienne’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 148 (2002), pp. 47–79; an extended version of this contribution will appear in a volume edited by myself and others entitled *Interkonfessionalität – Transkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität* (Gütersloh, forthcoming), scheduled to appear in 2003.
- 44 R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London and New York, 1989), p. 18.

## Chapter 6

- 1 The Hüsli case is to be found in the Staatsarchiv Zürich (StAZ) E.II.102.72
- 2 Bullinger’s *Fürtrag* is found in StAZ E.II.440, 328–41. The text is printed in H.U. Bächtold, *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat. Zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575* (Berne, 1982), pp. 283–94.
- 3 ‘Den tempeln, kylchenhüsern, schuolen, begrepnussen, was in und zuo den tempel hoert alls touff, tisch des herren, geschirr, liechter, buecher und was der glychen ist’, Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 283.

- 4 'Nun aber is offenbar, dae soeliche sin gefaengnus in statt und land, ouch an der froembde, vil mee red und gechreys wider u[wer] w[yßheit] erweckt hat, dann haette er diser siner predigen zwentzig und noch me gethan.' Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 284.
- 5 On the Church under Heinrich Bullinger, see Bächtold, *Bullinger*; P. Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness. Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy 1535–1575* (Berne, 1991); B. Gordon, *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation. The Synod in Zurich, 1532–1580* (Berne, 1992).
- 6 On Zwingli's legacy, B. Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 142–4; W. Baker, 'Church, State and Dissent: The Crisis of the Swiss Reformation 1531–1536', *Church History* LVII (1988), pp. 135–52.
- 7 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 284.
- 8 Ibid. In particular Bullinger cites John 12: 1–8, Acts 4: 32–7 and a variety of texts from the Pauline and Petrine epistles.
- 9 Bullinger is referring to the account of Lawrence found in Prudentius' (348–405?) *Peristaphanon* 2.15.
- 10 F.W. Bautz, 'Felix und Regula', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, II (1990), Spalte 12–13.
- 11 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 285.
- 12 Ibid., p. 286.
- 13 The reform of the Grossmünster was dealt with by Bullinger in his *Reformationsgeschichte* ed. J. Hottinger and H.H. Vögeli (Frauenfeld, 1838, rpt. Zurich, 1984), I, pp. 115–19.
- 14 On the poor mandate in Zurich, Bullinger's views are found in his *Reformationsgeschichte*, I, pp. 235–7.
- 15 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 286.
- 16 Ibid., p. 287.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid., p. 288. On the Knights of St John House in Küsnacht, see 'Küsnacht ZH, Johanniter (1358–1531)', *Helvetia Sacra* IV/7 (forthcoming).
- 19 'Wnn haette man aber ouch denen lydenlosen pfaffen gnuog gaben?'
- 20 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, pp. 194–5.
- 21 See the forthcoming article, K.J. Ruetschi, 'Bullinger and Education', in B. Gordon (ed.) *Heinrich Bullinger* (Grand Rapids, 2004).
- 22 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 289.
- 23 For a discussion of attitudes towards the poor, see L. Wandel, *Always Among Us. Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich* (Cambridge, 1990).
- 24 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 290.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Zentralbibliothek Zürich msc. S410.
- 27 On the medieval background to the Zurich Reformation, see Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, pp. 23–36. On the pre-Reformation clergy in Zurich, see G. Dörner, *Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Würzburg, 1996).
- 28 The articles are printed in E. Egli (ed), *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519–1533* (Zurich, 1879), 1797, pp. 769–70. See also Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness*, pp. 52–3, Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, p. 77.

- 29 H. Meyer, 'Stadt und Landschaft nach dem Zweiten Kappelkrieg', U. Gäbler and F. Herkenrath (eds), *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, (Zurich, 1975), I.
- 30 This was the executive of the Church, consisting of Bullinger, several of the Theological professors and representatives of the Zurich council. It was responsible for examining candidates and making recommendations on who should be appointed to which parish. See Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, pp. 93–4. The records of the *Examinatorkonvent* are found in StAZ E.I.30.
- 31 The principal sources for this information are the records of the Zurich synod (StAZ E.II.I and E.II.Ia), the matriculation record of Lectorium (StAZ E.II.479), and a detailed record of appointments to parishes kept by Wolfgang Haller (StAZ E.II.108). Also of great value is E. Dejung and W. Wuhrmann (eds), *Zürcher Pfarrerbuch* (Zurich, 1953), although it must be used with care as there are numerous errors.
- 32 On the transition from priesthood to Reformed ministry, see B. Gordon, 'Preaching and the Reform of the Clergy in the Swiss Reformation', in A.D.M. Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation of the Parishes* (Manchester, 1993), pp. 63–84.
- 33 K. Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620* (Aldershot, 1995), esp. pp. 129–39.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- 35 Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, pp. 47–53.
- 36 StAZ E.II.108
- 37 StAZ E.II 108.1v.
- 38 StAZ E.I.30.15-16.8 Birmensdorf. 1559.
- 39 StAZ E.I.30.15-16.11 Birmensdorf 1561.
- 40 Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, pp. 209–13 offers a summary of discipline in the Bullinger church. Also, B. Gordon, 'Die Entwicklung der Kirchenzucht in Zürich am Beginn der Reformation', in H. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenzucht und Socialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Berlin, 1994), pp. 65–90.
- 41 C.A. Snyder, 'Word and Power in Reformation Zurich', *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, LXXXI (1990), pp. 263–85; also, I.L. Snavely, 'Huldrych Zwingli and the Preaching Office in Reformation Switzerland', *Fides et Historia* XXV (1993), pp. 33–45.
- 42 See Gordon, 'Preaching and the Reform of the Ministry in the Swiss Reformation'.
- 43 StAZ E.II.1435, 22 October 1555.
- 44 The interviews with the parishioners are found in StAZ E.I.1,3b.
- 45 StAZ A.27.30. 'Es dunke inn nit unrecht, ob schon einer sage, Gott helfe mynen lieben vatter seligen und derglychen.'
- 46 F. Loetz, *Mitt Gott handeln. Von der Zürcher Gotteslästerern der Frühen Neuzeit. Zu einer Kulturgeschichte der Religiösen*. (Göttingen, 2002), p. 143.
- 47 StAZ B.VI.259, fol. 137-138. Discussed in Loetz, p. 106.
- 48 StAZ E. II.I 526 19 October 1565.
- 49 Loetz, *Mitt Gott*, p. 162.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 51 Bächtold, *Bullinger*, p. 291.
- 52 Loetz, *Mitt Gott*, p.147.
- 53 See R. Kaiser, *Trunkenheit und Gewalt im Mittelalter*. (Cologne, 2002).

- 54 'Das er vilmaln, wann er voll wyns ald sonst erzürnet worden, gefluchtet, dass Gott einen sche'nden, Ouch geschworen habe.' StAZ B.VI.259 fol. 54 Loetz, *Mitt Gott*, p. 230.
- 55 StAZ A.27.43.Also, Loetz, *Mitt Gott*, p. 230.
- 56 StAZ E.II.I 373/4.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 453. 22 October 1566.
- 58 On taverns, see B. Kümin, 'Useful to Have, but Difficult to Govern: Inns and Taverns in Early-modern Bern and Vaud', *Journal of Early Modern History*, III (1999), pp. 153–75.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 526, October 1563.
- 60 StAZ E.II.Ia 705/6 October 1579.

## Chapter 7

- 1 I. Green, "'Reformed Pastors" and *Bons Curés*: the Changing Role of the Parish Clergy in Early Modern Europe', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), *Studies in Church History. Vol. 26 The Ministry: Clerical and Lay* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 261–2 and 249–86 *passim*.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 273; I. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996), part 1; I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), chs. 1, 2, 4, 10 and *passim*; C.S. Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg–Ansbach–Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 159.
- 3 *Ibid.*, chs. 3–5; Green, "'Reformed Pastors"', pp. 274–81, 284–5 (in England nonconformist ministers performed a similar or complementary role to that of the established clergy on the didactic side, and on many other functions too); Green, *Christian's ABC*, chs. 2–5; Green, *Print and Protestantism, passim*; C. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding their Peace* (Basingstoke, 1998); and I. Green, *Word, Image, and Ritual: Protestant Instruction in Early Modern England* (forthcoming).
- 4 Green, *Christian's ABC*, p. 329; Green, "'Reformed Pastors"', p. 252; for good introductions and recent bibliographies, see the entries under 'Preaching and Sermons' in H.J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991), iii. 323–30; and L. Taylor (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2001).
- 5 Hillerbrand, *Encyclopaedia of Reformation*, iii. 328.
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