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## Abstract

This essay surveys the long-term negotiation of religious reform in European villages. Following an account of institutional developments and popular religion in late medieval parishes, it traces the – selective – reception of the Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist messages, especially in the Holy Roman Empire, Scandinavia, the British Isles, Eastern Europe and the Swiss Confederation, including the latter's bi-confessional areas. Alongside personal piety, princely interests and clerical leadership, the argument stresses the importance of political, socio-economic and cultural factors in determining whether peasants experienced substantial religious change. In the rare cases where rural communities could take their own decisions, some opted for Catholicism (Swiss Forest Cantons) and others for Protestantism (German imperial villages). The most thoroughly “reformed” regime emerged in early modern Scotland.

## Keywords:

bi-confessional areas, Catholicism, Holy Roman Empire, imperial villages, parishes, peasants, popular religion, Scandinavia, Scotland, Swiss Confederation

## Note on Contributor

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## Rural Society

### *Beat Kümin*

Now, dear brother and good friend, since, though not called by us, you have come here at the command of our lord [the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach] ..., you should take heed of our desires and wishes about how you should comport yourself in the future.

1. We hold you to be no lord but a servant and employee of the community, and you have not to command us, but we to command you. And we therefore command you to proclaim faithfully the Gospel and the Word of God loud and clear according to the truth and uncorrupted by human teachings.

2. ... If, however, you behave to the contrary and play the lord and live as you please, you should know that we will not only regard you as a false servant, but we will drive you like a ravening wolf into the net and tolerate you among us no more.

Item, in the past we often had trouble and enmity from the priests, who burdened us with collections, mass stipends, fees for the sacraments, and other inventions, which cost us a lot of money. Now, however, since we have been taught by the Gospel that these things are given to us freely by the Lord [Matt. 10:8] ..., it is our opinion and decision that we are not legally obliged to pay you or anyone else such payments.<sup>1</sup>

In one of the most iconic documents of the rural reformation dating from 1524, the parishioners of Wendelstein in Franconia left a new pastor appointed by their lord in little doubt about their beliefs and expectations. Here we are, literally at grass-roots level, but Luther's call for the preaching of the "pure Gospel" echoes loud and clear. Alongside, the mayor and commune highlighted a willingness to serve and modest financial expectations as essential attributes of any good shepherd. The delicate balancing of theological, seigneurial and local priorities will form the principal theme of this short survey.

Well into the nineteenth century, the (vast) majority of Europeans lived in the countryside. They obtained a livelihood through various forms of agriculture, often arable

husbandry centred on nucleated villages, but also pastoral economies with scattered settlements, areas of market gardening (catering for the growing proportion of metropolitan consumers), regions specializing in mining and pockets of proto-industrial (esp. textile) production. The entire Continent depended on the smooth operation of its primary sector, so that several years of bad harvests – as in the 1590s – brought widespread hardship and suffering, in places even famine.<sup>2</sup>

In stark contrast to its significance, rural society long remained on the margins of Reformation scholarship. A religion based on the Word appeared beyond the grasp of a largely illiterate peasantry and attention thus focused on theologians, nobles and the 10-20 per cent of people who lived in towns, i.e. groups with easier access to education, sermons and the new medium of print.<sup>3</sup> Echoing contemporary voices – particularly exasperated clerics complaining about the lack of pious commitment and doctrinal knowledge – historians classed country folk as at best superficially Christianized until the onset of orchestrated confessionalization campaigns from the late sixteenth century. For them, the rural world was one of “popular religion”, where a shallow familiarity with the rituals and prayers of the official Church vied with pagan beliefs, recourse to soothsayers and a great fear of the dark forces of witchcraft.<sup>4</sup>

The picture started to change from the 1970s, when the “early bourgeois revolution” (a Marxist interpretation of the Peasants’ War in the former GDR) and the concepts of “communalism”/ “Communal Reformation” (observing comparable collective engagement in towns and villages) afforded the rural masses real agency in the religious sphere. Electrified by prospective access to the word of God, they – as we learnt from greater engagement with non-elite sources – yearned for evangelical preachers and hoped to eliminate worldly inequities through the application of “divine law”, originally by means of petitions and articles addressed to their superiors, but ultimately also by force.<sup>5</sup> Over the last few decades,

this shift in perspective has spread well beyond the German lands and into the late medieval period. In England, for example, Eamon Duffy has found both vibrant support for the principal doctrines of the pre-Reformation Church and much overlap between the worlds of learned/urban and popular/rural religion. Regular mass attendance, a highly diversified cult of saints and numerous forms of prayers for the dead characterized the spiritual life of “corporate Christians” up and down the country who poured vast resources into their quest for salvation.<sup>6</sup> Given evidence of popular support for both traditional and reformist beliefs, scholars have come to question any communal predisposition for Catholicism or Protestantism, seeing local decisions as dependent on a host of personal, political, socio-economic as well as confessional factors.<sup>7</sup>

In what follows, the focus will rest firmly on the mainstream confessions, with more radical and marginal groups examined elsewhere in this volume.<sup>8</sup> Regionally and contextually, coverage will include the “default” position of strong princely / state control (as in England, Sweden and most German territories) as well as pockets of substantial regional autonomy in the Holy Roman Empire. The argument is structured in four parts: following a sketch of the religious landscape in the late Middle Ages (i), attention turns to the spread of Lutheran beliefs in Central and Northern Europe (ii) and then to areas shaped by the Swiss Reformation and bi-confessional regimes (iii). The conclusion reassesses the factors which shaped and transformed religious knowledge outside the big centres and brought country folk to accept or reject the new doctrines.

#### (i) Rural religion in the late Middle Ages

In an influential study first published nearly a century ago, Johan Huizinga drew a sharp distinction between the vibrant intellectual and ecclesiastical life in the High Middle Ages

and a period of decline on the eve of the Reformation.<sup>9</sup> This notion has since been thoroughly reassessed: nobody disputes the – sometimes grave – issues of clerical non-residence, moral failures and resource appropriations which obstructed an effective cure of souls, but there were great regional variations and also contrasting tendencies.<sup>10</sup> For a start, ecclesiastical authorities had laid good foundations for the spread of (at least elementary) religious knowledge throughout the Christian lands. Arguably the single most influential moment was Lateran IV, a council which required all men and women to receive the key sacraments in their local church. According to canon 21:

All the faithful of both sexes shall after they have reached the age of discretion faithfully confess all their sins at least once a year to their own [parish] priest and perform to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist.<sup>11</sup>

Confession allowed priests to come face-to-face with their flock, testing awareness of the fundamentals of faith and hearing whether these were adhered to in everyday life. To support them in this difficult and delicate task, scribes produced a raft of officially-sanctioned advisory literature during the thirteenth century. Not every clerk acquired such books, of course (some in fact could not even read), but the possibility of “trickling down” from well-educated priests or sharing “best practice” among colleagues should not be underestimated and the sheer number of surviving texts testifies to a substantial pastoral offensive.<sup>12</sup> Then, from about the same time, there was the canon law expectation of regular visitations, i.e. the personal supervision of conditions on the ground by bishops or archdeacons. Many prelates neglected this duty due to secular or political distractions, but others went round their territories to interrogate parish representatives about the church fabric / finances, furnishings, worship, clerical diligence and lay behaviour. Once completed, the analysis of written returns

by diocesan officials could lead to follow-up proceedings, court cases and new synodal legislation, all with a view to improve religious provision (as well as protect church assets).<sup>13</sup>

But the inculcation of Christian values was not just a top-down process. Prosperous individuals, religious guilds and whole communities embarked on a remarkable campaign to “increase divine service”. On closer inspection, English chantries – once believed to be signs of individualization and separation – augmented the spiritual capital of the parish through the provision of clerks, resources and musical literature; in parts of Southern France, literally everyone joined the local *Saint Esprit* fraternity and in Lombardy the *consortia plebis* had a similarly inclusive appeal.<sup>14</sup> In the south-western parts of the Holy Roman Empire (as indeed elsewhere), we can trace a wave of collective and communal foundations; villagers clubbing together to endow a mass, a stipendiary priest or – if they lived at some distance from the nearest church – a chapel of ease, sometimes even an entirely new parish. English women contributed through fundraising initiatives, church decorations and the foundation of maidens’ guilds. Throughout Europe, again from around the thirteenth century, the emergence of distinct lay officials (churchwardens, *Heiligenpfleger*, *trésoriers*, *operai*) with independent funds allowed targeted enhancement of religious services. At Gries (South Tyrol) in 1422, for example, Jacob Gendlein und Hans Schütz, “who had both been elected and asked by the whole commune to serve as wardens of Our Lady parish” used income from various rents and collections to provide the church with candles, incense and a fasting cloth.<sup>15</sup> In the politically autonomous valleys around Lake Lucerne, the nucleus of the Swiss Confederation, numerous communes even acquired the elusive “crown jewel” of collective influence: the right to appoint their own priest. The “mayor and common parishioners” of the tiny peasant republic of Gersau, for example, bought the advowson of their St Marcellus church from a neighbouring patrician in 1483.<sup>16</sup>

Not everything emerging from this engagement was strictly “orthodox” and to the taste of the leading university theologians at Basle, Prague and the Sorbonne. Rural people drew no firm boundaries between religious and secular sociability, having no qualms about exuberant festivities on their church dedication days; selling home-brewed ale for the benefit of their fabric funds; or asking clergymen to sprinkle holy water over fields and meadows during the “beating of the bounds” – as we have seen, a good harvest was the lifeblood of pre-modern society and justified the tapping of all available powers.<sup>17</sup>

A minority, furthermore, developed fundamental doubts about the prevailing doctrines and rituals which they perceived to fall increasingly out of line with early Christian practice. Late medieval movements like the Hussites in Bohemia and the Lollards in England resented the steady accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth and the preoccupation with images, pilgrimages and good works, desiring to re-connect more closely again with Scripture and the early Church. While the Czech reformers survived the execution of founder Jan Hus at the Council of Constance in 1415 to establish fully-fledged alternative churches (partly due to congenial political and national circumstances), the English followers of Wyclif tended to gather in “known houses” (not least in secluded rural areas such as the Chilterns and Cotswolds), keeping their heads down and continuing to attend parish services. Even so, some elements of their spirituality – especially the focus on the Word, the critique of clerical prerogatives, new emphases in pious giving – provide intriguing precursors to the Reformation.<sup>18</sup>

#### (ii) The Rural Reformation in the Lutheran heartlands

Luther’s message, therefore, did not hit upon a dumb and disinterested peasantry, but a network of informed, spiritually attuned, if extremely heterogeneous communities.<sup>19</sup> This



goes some way towards explaining the passions roused among early supporters as well as opponents. But how could complex theological ideas penetrate beyond the intellectual and urban centres in the first place? There has been extensive debate on this issue, with some scholars privileging the impact of the first mass medium of print, others – because of prevailing illiteracy – visual communication using woodcuts (some of which advanced evangelical positions through *Karsthans*, a country labourer carrying a hoe; Figure 1 [insert *Kümin-Fig 1 here*]). For a peasant context the key must surely lie in oral dissemination. The early Reformation saw unprecedented mouth-to-mouth propaganda in streets, markets, taverns and private houses, alimeted and sustained by a massive revival of preaching (extending well beyond the church pulpit into public space).<sup>20</sup> And yet, communication media should not be seen in isolation, least of all in the early German Reformation: sermons obviously drew on the published outputs of the leading Humanists and reformers; broadsheets fused written and visual elements into a powerful hybrid (with messages accessible at different levels, be it the sometimes crude depiction of hate figures like the pope as Antichrist or a more detailed reasoning accessible through the commentary); while even a quintessentially oral genre like singing owed its ability to forge confessional identities to the surging output of hymn books produced by printers up and down the land.<sup>21</sup>

[FIGURE 1]

Figure 1: The *Karsthans* dialogue of contested authorship, first published at Strasbourg in 1521 and reprinted several times, posits a “good” peasant with evangelical leanings as arbiter between Luther (far left) and the Franciscan Thomas Murner (with the cat’s head), i.e. learned advocates of the new and old faith. Reformation broadsheets and pamphlets skilfully combined the use of written and visual media. © <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id311141420>; Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (from Hist. eccl. E. 376, 26; accessed 15/4/2015).

There can be no doubt about the popular appetite for the Gospel. This is how the commune of Blaufelden north of Schwäbisch-Hall pleaded with the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach in 1525:

We have a parish priest ... who [is] of no use to the community, but ... harmful, scandalous and ruinous to the salvation of souls ... [He] is so infected with bad breath ... that he is repulsive ... Moreover, he cannot preach the holy and divine word to us ... everything is concentrated on confession fees, ... making offerings, founding anniversary masses, ... To sum up, he stinks of greed. ... [However,] We have here a preacher, the Rev. Hans Schilling, ... who preaches at our request. We can hear his sermons and he has instructed us diligently from holy Scripture ... and that we should be subject and obedient to our authorities ... we beg your grace to dismiss the above-mentioned parish priest and confer the parish on the Rev. Hans Schilling, so that we might be spiritually nourished by the divine Word.<sup>22</sup>

Small wonder that such intense engagement with religious issues produced a wide spectrum of opinions. What Luther denounced as ignorance and misunderstanding, most famously in *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants* of 1525, should be seen as the result of diverging interpretations of principles like *sola scriptura* and diametrically opposed priorities regarding the balance of spiritual and worldly concerns. What counted for rural flocks in particular, according to an analysis of contemporary articles and pamphlets, were not so much the subtleties of Luther's doctrine of justification, but direct and unmediated access to the Gospels, alongside the rights to choose their own pastors and to align the local Church with existing communal organisation. While town burghers concurred on these points, the rural Reformation insisted more strongly on the this-worldly applicability of divine law, i.e. the will of God as revealed in the Bible, which threatened established political authority as well as the feudal order.<sup>23</sup>

Calls for free access to natural resources and the abolition of serfdom illustrate the movement's revolutionary potential. In the spring of 1524, the peasants of Stühlingen and Lupfen argued that "[w]ild game should be totally free ... God and common law say that wild game was created to meet the needs of the common man" and that "[b]y right every man is born free. Neither we nor our forebears have committed any crime for which we should be made serfs".<sup>24</sup> Most famously of all, the Upper Swabian bands assembled around Memmingen in February 1525 resented that

it has been the custom for us to be regarded as a lord's personal property, which is deplorable since Christ redeemed us all with the shedding of his precious blood – the shepherd as well as the most highly placed, without exception. Thus, Scripture establishes that we are and will be free. (Isaiah 53, I Peter I, I Corinthians 7.) Not that we want to be completely free, with no authority over us. God does not teach us this. (Romans 13, Wisdom 6, 1 Peter 2.)

Even during a military campaign, the interweaving of heated discussion and written exposition is tangible, as is the combination of practical secular concerns with biblical expertise, the latter personified by the co-authors of the Twelve Articles: the journeyman furrier Sebastian Lotzer and the Memmingen preacher Christoph Schappeler.<sup>25</sup>

The Peasants' War of 1524-26, easily the biggest pre-modern rising on German soil, had complex origins, including economic and political discontent, but many indicators point to the catalytic role of reformed ideas in general and anticlerical feelings in particular.<sup>26</sup> Take the selective targeting of wealthy monastic institutions (which straddled all the contentious spheres) and the sheer passion with which peasants attacked symbols of the old religion. At times, the violence took the form of rituals of inversion. Blesy Krieg was executed for the following deeds:

in the peasants' rebellion he, along with others, entered the convent at Oberried [near Freiburg im Breisgau], therein smashed the pyx containing the Host with a black-smith's hammer; carried the Host to the altar in a monstrance, which he then also smashed; thereafter took the Host from the monstrance and laid it on the altar; ... Thereupon he donned priest's robes, sang Mass, elevated the Host which he had removed from the monstrance in mockery and contempt, displayed it to the others, who had to ring the Sanctus bells, and set it down again. Then he consumed the Host in the manner of a priest.<sup>27</sup>

After the defeat of the peasants, princes (acting as “emergency bishops”) and state-approved church authorities took charge of the institutionalization of reform. Ernestine Saxony led the way with a combination of visitations, ecclesiastical ordinances and the new office of superintendent to oversee the implementation of all policy decisions. Alongside, Luther produced a series of practical aids assisting the internalization of the new faith: hymns for use in services as well as domestic religious observances; printed sermons on a wide range of practical and doctrinal issues (e.g. *On the Estate of Marriage*, 1522) and, above all, question-and-answer booklets containing brief expositions of scriptural texts and all the main tenets of reformed belief. In the preface to his famous *Short Catechism* of 1529, he explained:

In setting forth ... Christian doctrine in such a simple, concise, and easy form, I have been compelled and driven by the wretched and lamentable state of affairs which I discovered lately when I acted as inspector. Merciful God, what misery I have seen, the common people knowing nothing at all of Christian doctrine, especially in the villages! and unfortunately many pastors are wellnigh unskilled and incapable of teaching; and though all are called Christians and partake of the Holy Sacrament, they know neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments, but live like the poor cattle and senseless swine, though, now that the Gospel is come they have learnt well enough how they may abuse their liberty.<sup>28</sup>

At this early stage, progress was hampered by a lack of suitably enthusiastic and qualified personnel. Surveying adherence to recent Reformation articles in its territory, the city council of Ulm found in 1531 that Hans Zimmermann, chaplain at Geislingen, “believed what the ... approved [General] Councils, believed. He also held that the Mass was right”, while Jeorius Bretzel, parson at Radelstetten, “is greatly confused on the Mass and the Sacrament”.<sup>29</sup> It was undoubtedly difficult to get the message across, certainly in the short- to medium-term and especially in the countryside. The formation of a confession proved a mammoth task stretching over several generations, requiring the eradication of practices like prayers for the dead or invocation of saints and sustained efforts to forge new religious identities. Visitation records continue to paint a rather dismal picture of Catholic survival and limited familiarity with reformed principles until at least the late sixteenth century, even though their inbuilt negative bias needs to be borne in mind.<sup>30</sup> In Upper Hessa, it took local exposure to rival Calvinist communities – and thus an alternative model of Protestantism – for a genuinely *Lutheran* consciousness to develop after the Thirty Years War.<sup>31</sup>

Important for the consolidation of the new Church were thus the gradual emergence of a university-educated clerical profession, adequately supported by state-funded stipends / pensions, and the transformation of parish parsonages into “model” godly households, where ministers’ wives assisted their husbands in a range of tasks; where educational and charitable events found a congenial home; and where family members provided parishioners with first-hand impressions of what a Christian life might look like. Not all lived up to lofty ideals, but it is evident that many parsonages became spiritual and cultural centres in their local communities.<sup>32</sup> The most detailed investigation into a princely Reformation in the countryside, carried out for Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, confirms the importance of an orchestrated campaign involving central guidance through ordinances, the establishment of state-controlled ecclesiastical government (based on superintendents, a territorial consistory

and effective visitations – a system evolving well into the 1560s), pressure for a reformation of manners (regarding moral behaviour, sexual relations and conviviality) alongside improved clerical education and maintenance. Even so, village culture and popular spirituality continued to be characterized more by continuities than changes, with strong resistance against the reformers' disciplinarian and disenchantment agendas in particular. Peasants were not "passive participants" in these processes – "parish politics", not least the village elites' desire to restrict the growing power of pastors, kept the overall impact of religious change limited until the early seventeenth century.<sup>33</sup>

The overall impression of very gradual confessional change institutionalized "from above" applies equally to Scandinavia, the only other European region where Lutheranism acquired the status of a state religion. As in the Empire, there were evangelical stirrings in cities like Malmö from the mid-1520s and scattered calls for the preaching of the pure Gospel, but the northernmost countries as a whole did not become solidly Protestant until the seventeenth century. Even in Denmark, where "popular support for the Reformation was undoubtedly strongest", it proved enormously difficult to eradicate time-honoured customs. Here, the evangelical message was spread not just by theologians and church officials, but also unorthodox figures like lay prophets.<sup>34</sup> Early reformist legislation sought to leverage anticlerical sentiment caused by financial extractions, arbitrary excommunications and strict insistence on feast day observance: article 10 of the Ordinances of Westerås (1527), for example, spoke very directly to the peasantry by stating that for "desecration of holy days, no penalty is to be imposed on those who have been tilling the ground, or fishing, or catching birds; but persons discovered hunting or quarrelling shall be fined." Gradually, parishioners got used to the new vernacular services, hymns, communion in both kinds and Lutheran rectories, but there was limited spiritual engagement with the new religion in the first decades. Bishop Palladius of Lund lamented in 1557 that country folk remained "rooted in

profound darkness ..., worshipped the old images ..., invoked the Virgin Mary ... [and] continued to go on pilgrimages".<sup>35</sup> Eventually, from the 1620s, body of elders had to be appointed in every parish, with a view to bringing religious life more in line with the Gospel. In quarterly meetings with the minister, they would discuss all local problems and review the spiritual engagement and moral behaviour of their neighbours. By that point, evidence for proto-pietist leanings towards deeper religious experience can also be found.<sup>36</sup>

Outside of Denmark, Protestantism had an even more difficult start. The character of religious change in the region was that of a "princely Reformation", albeit one limited by occasional rural rebellions – like the "church bell revolt" of 1531-3 against confiscations imposed by King Gustavus I of Sweden to repay some of his debts – and a tradition of self-government at parish level, giving each Swedish and Finnish church a distinct local profile and some "*de facto* independence".<sup>37</sup> Important formal steps were the Lutheran changes in worship agreed upon by the Swedish Parliament of 1544, the church refurbishment campaign from the 1570s and above all the broad support for the Augsburg Confession at the Synod of Uppsala 1593, the latter also intended as a signal to the incoming Catholic monarch Sigismund of Poland. Difficulties remained in outlying areas like the eastern Finnish borderlands, where Russian orthodoxy commanded much loyalty, and Lapland, where evangelical missionaries faced the additional complications of an indigenous population with very different cultural traditions.<sup>38</sup>

Areas with disproportionate extents of political autonomy allow us rare "bottom-up" perspectives. A case in point is Dithmarschen on the North Sea coast, effectively a self-governing federation of parish republics until the military conquest by Denmark and Holstein in 1559.<sup>39</sup> Late medieval spirituality was "typical" in its mixture of Catholic fervour (for masses, prayers for the dead, pilgrimages) and folkloric elements. The richly ornamented church of the only "urban" community, Meldorf, testifies to sustained collective investment

and intense communal pride. In 1524, its parson Nicolaus Boje – a graduate from a local family – invited the evangelical preacher Heinrich von Zütphen into the country. This proved a brave and premature move, as Dithmarschen had a reputation for resenting interference in its affairs. Only the year before, the federal regents (a body known as the 48) had unilaterally stripped the Dean of Hamburg of all his ecclesiastical and jurisdictional rights. Zütphen’s previous hosts, the city magistrates of Bremen, hesitated to release him, because – as we know from no lesser authority than Luther himself – “they knew well enough what kind of people those from Dithmarschen were”.<sup>40</sup> Having decided to bring the Gospel to the peasants, his sermons did gain support, but the stalwarts of the old faith reacted immediately, especially regents like Peter Swyn who feared that the Reformation would bring disorder and foreign policy complications. Following a summary trial, Zütphen was executed on 10 December 1524. The eventual adoption of the Reformation in 1533 again owed less to grass-roots pressure than political considerations, especially the Protestant ascendancy in neighbouring Hanseatic cities. The new order took the form of a territorial Church adapted to a republican framework. Four superintendents exercised spiritual authority under the overall direction of the regents, gradually fostering allegiance to Lutheran principles even before the forced takeover by Protestant neighbours.<sup>41</sup>

Clearer examples of evangelical zeal derive from “imperial villages”, communities directly subjected to the Emperor. Over one hundred are known to have existed in the Middle Ages and, like other immediate estates, *Reichsdörfer* obtained the right to choose their confession.<sup>42</sup> The handful which preserved this special status until the end of the Empire all turned Lutheran. Looking a little more closely at Gochsheim and Sennfeld near Schweinfurt, local government was exercised by the Emperor’s representative (*Reichsvogt*) and a court of peasant jurors, who also appointed the churchwardens. Late medieval piety seems to have flourished, as suggested by morning mass endowments in the church of Gochsheim and the



dependent chapel at Sennfeld. Yet, for unrecorded reasons, both villages adopted the Reformation in 1540, with Sennfeld upgrading to full parish status at the same time and the rights of advowson passing to the communes soon after.<sup>43</sup> Protestantism attracted widespread support and major church investment (Figure 2 [insert Kümin-Fig 2 here]), although this may have also served to keep the Catholic *Reichsvogt* – from 1575 the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg – at bay. When one of the latter’s officials, Christoph Heinrich von Erthal, desired burial at Gochsheim in 1592, the village mayor (*Reichsschultheiss*) insisted that the service should be conducted by their Lutheran pastor rather than a priest. This triggered a series of conflicts, culminating in absorption into Würzburg territory during the Thirty Years War. Formally, the takeover could be reversed with Swedish help in 1649, but the relationship with Würzburg remained difficult until the end of the Empire.<sup>44</sup>



Figure 2: The post-Reformation refurbishment of the parish church of St Michael in the imperial village of Gochsheim near Schweinfurt (present-day Bavaria) included a new font in 1545, a whole-scale renovation in 1583 and this octagonal stone pulpit. Installed in 1589, it was gradually embellished with relief sculptures and inscriptions. The middle panel features an Old Testament text (“Suchet den Herrn,

weil er zu finden ist; rufet ihn an, weil er nahe ist”: Jesaia 55:6), those to the left and right a crucifix and the Apostle St Peter above the names of local pastors and churchwardens. Picture by the Author.

### (iii) Rural religion in the orbit of the Swiss Reformation

The origins, institutionalization and spread of the reform movements led by Huldrych Zwingli, Jean Calvin and their successors in Swiss city states have been well-studied. As in Lutheran areas, urban elites found it initially difficult to convince rural subjects of the need for fundamental religious and cultural change. Bern faced major resistance in its remote, semi-autonomous Oberland valleys and the French-speaking Pays de Vaud, but even in the immediate surroundings of the capital, implanting the new faith required sustained negotiation with local communities. Preaching the Gospel, enhanced pastoral care and local influence on ecclesiastical jurisdiction were generally welcome, the disciplinarian agenda rather less so – mirroring the pattern in Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach.<sup>45</sup>

Comparatively less attention has been paid to the situation in rural cantons and associated territories of the Confederation. Taking Glarus – where Zwingli had held his first ecclesiastical post – as an example, reformed ideas initially attracted followers among the lower social groups represented in the decision-making assembly (*Landsgemeinde*), whereas the leading families stayed loyal to the old religion (just like in Dithmarschen). The principal clerical supporter was Fridolin Brunner, parish priest at Mollis, while his colleague in Glarus itself, Valentin Tschudi, steered a more moderate course. In a first step, the *Landsgemeinde* abolished the annual pilgrimage to the Marian shrine at Einsiedeln in 1525, with iconoclastic riots in several parishes fuelling religious tensions by 1528. Following two religious civil wars which nearly split the Confederation, a 1532 treaty committed Glarus to the principle of confessional parity. Adherents of Rome soon found themselves in a minority, despite sustained re-catholization attempts by the five Forest Cantons in the 1560s. Politically, Glarus

divided into two more or less autonomous parts, albeit without a formal separation into half-cantons (as happened in nearby Appenzell in 1597). Catholics now looked towards Schwyz and the Capuchin order for spiritual and practical support, evangelicals to the Reformed Church in Zurich.<sup>46</sup>

Switzerland underlines the point that rural communities with the power to make their own decisions did not necessarily adopt the Reformation. Around Lake Lucerne, the founding cantons had acquired such extensive ecclesiastical control over the course of the Late Middle Ages that they managed to mould Catholicism to their liking: the influence of spiritual courts was all but gone, the power of bishops limited and many parishes appointed their own priests (on conditions specified in temporary employment contracts known as *Bestallungsbrieife*). Prayers for the dead and a vibrant cult of saints have characterized “popular” religion in the area right into the modern period.<sup>47</sup> Rural Obwalden forcefully declined an invitation from the council of Zurich to attend a theological disputation on 25 October 1523:

We are always glad to be at your service, but we have no specially well-learned people, only pious and reverend priests who expound to us the holy Gospel and other holy Scriptures, such as were expounded to our forefathers and as the holy Popes and the Council have commanded us. This will we follow and believe to our lives' end, and sooner suffer death therefor, until Pope and Council command us the contrary. ... Moreover, we are not disposed to believe that our Lord God has bestowed so much grace on Zwingli, more than on the dear Saints and Doctors, all of whom suffered death and martyrdom for the Faith's sake: and we have not been specially informed that he leads a spiritual life above all others, but rather that he is more given to disturbance than to peace and quiet. ... [I]f we had hold of him and could contrive to make our own reckoning with him, we should so reward him that he would never do any more.<sup>48</sup>

Like its neighbours and military protectors, the rural republic of Gersau reveals little trace of evangelical sympathies, on the contrary: a small militia supported the Catholic side in the

defeat of Zurich and Bern at the second battle of Kappel in 1531, where Zwingli lost his life, and in 1570 the inhabitants erected a votive chapel dedicated to Mary as a helper saint which became the focal point of a local pilgrimage.<sup>49</sup>

From the late 1520s, therefore, the Confederation became a micro-laboratory for bi-confessional relations. In the valleys of the Grisons, a heartland of communal self-government with close links to the Swiss, some court districts opted for the Reformation, others stayed with the old faith, but all co-operated in the political marginalization of their secular lord, the Bishop of Chur, and the consolidation of collective lay control over church affairs. Recent research has traced the process in which traditional communal allegiances were very gradually superseded by confessional identities, often under external theological, diplomatic and military pressures in the war-torn early decades of the seventeenth century. Following acrimonious conflicts, separate religious communities could establish themselves within the same political unit. The result was not state-/Church-imposed “confessionalization”, but the demarcation of religious boundaries from below. Similarly complex situations appear in the Swiss condominiums, i.e. areas jointly governed by cantons of different religious orientation. In a startling move, the First Peace of Kappel in 1529 had given each local community there the right to determine its confession by a majority vote (!), while the second treaty two years later marked Europe’s earliest official recognition of religious co-existence, albeit with a bias towards re-Catholicization. The framework for worship thus became highly idiosyncratic, with followers of the old/new faiths sharing the same churches (*Simultankirchen* like that of St Albin at Ermatingen/Thurgovia) and clashing over anything ranging from the timing of the respective services via processional routes to the allocation of ecclesiastical resources. At St Mary, Zurzach (in the subject territory of Baden) for example, the Reformed congregation lobbied for a baptismal site of their own, while the Catholic majority – whose needs took precedence there – resisted any modification of sacred

space. Encouraged by their confessional patron Zurich, the Zwinglians simply went ahead and inaugurated the new font in 1605, prompting traditionalists to pelt those attending the ceremony with stones. The issue came before the Swiss governor and ultimately the confederate Diet, where the Forest Cantons shied away from a major confrontation. Over time, such disputes resulted in a *modus vivendi* and ultimately a grudging toleration of members of the other faith, both at local level and in the political system at large.<sup>50</sup>

Widening the geographical horizon to regions where Calvinism took a firm hold, French Huguenots appear to have recruited primarily among nobles and townspeople. In the highly urbanized Netherlands, the peasantry became more involved in both market exchange and religious tensions from the later sixteenth century. In August 1566, at the time of the Iconoclastic Fury, the Catholic Governor of Lille reported to Regent Margaret of Parma:

Some of the followers of the new sect came over from the Pays de l'Alleu along the Leie River claiming they were on the way to one of their sermons. Instead they burst into [the surrounding localities of] Mesen, Quesnoy, Warneton and Comines and ... raided and rioted in the churches, hospitals and monasteries smashing the statues and grave monuments.<sup>51</sup>

Vast sways of countryside turned Protestant in the British Isles. Whatever the peculiarities in church government and chronology (England's Queen Mary temporarily reversed her father's break with Rome in the 1550s, while the more radical Scottish Reformation did not gain official backing until 1560), our key theme of multi-lateral long-term negotiation re-emerges again. Rather than a triumphant rise of the new religion, recent studies chart a protracted balancing of interests between central authorities, social elites and local communities. Only during the long reign of Elizabeth did the new faith take firm roots in England, hand-in-hand with growing Anti-Catholicism (boosted not least by fears of a Spanish invasion). At grass-roots levels, medieval parish institutions such as vestries

continued to function, albeit with increasing local government duties and more sustained interaction with regional and ecclesiastical bodies. Endowments for guilds, chantries and mass priests accrued to the crown; altars, statutes and wall paintings disappeared from all churches. In wills, pious bequests and appeals to the “holy company of heaven” gave way to expressions of *sola gratia* and a belief in the soul’s election. For many of the “hotter sort” of Protestants, however, the retention of an episcopal structure and the wearing of surplices smacked of a country only half-reformed and the official Church of England soon found itself challenged by both Catholic and Puritan dissenters.<sup>52</sup>

In Scotland, which followed a distinctly Calvinist model, the break with the past cut much deeper. Here, the creation of a comprehensive network of local consistory courts has been interpreted as the “single greatest factor in establishing a culture of protestantism”. Religious and moral behaviour was permanently monitored by local kirk sessions, with ministers and elders subjecting church absentees, drunkards and adulterers to highly symbolic shaming penalties in front of their peers, while assisting the poor and afflicted with much-needed practical and pastoral support. In the longer term, local communities appear to have internalized the underlying reformed values and appreciated the related social services, although traditional “popular” pastimes proved resilient even here.<sup>53</sup>

Completing our survey with a glance at eastern Europe, the almost total lack of parish records for Hungary and Transylvania makes any “reconstruction of Reformed religion ... in the countryside ... extremely difficult”. Like elsewhere, sermons and print provided the principal dissemination tools, while ministers monitored the godly behaviour of their flocks in conjunction with village councils (e.g. in Zemplén county) or congregational presbyteries and – in selected areas – visitations by superintendents. Local officials were often reluctant to abandon local customs in favour of the more rigorous demands of Calvinist clergy. At Kápolna in 1639, for example, the pastor informed his superiors that elders thought a fine of

wine sufficient for most offences and refused to punish swearing or fornication altogether. In contrast to the Scottish rulers, furthermore, Transylvanian princes saw strong presbyteries as potentially destabilizing forces and hesitated to push ecclesiological reform too far.<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusions

By the early sixteenth century, the Christian Church held a strong position in the European countryside. Source survival is generally thinner and more indirect than for the towns, but in the course of the late Middle Ages, knowledge of key doctrines had accumulated through various means, most directly in personal discussions during annual confession, more indirectly via the ever-increasing volume of pastoral literature and also by local initiatives to improve access to priestly services. In addition, many communities – like those in the Forest Cantons – had managed to gain influence over local religious affairs and there was no universal feeling of discontent. However, Luther's call for *sola scriptura* – disseminated in an unprecedented multimedia campaign involving sermons, pamphlets, woodcuts and songs – chimed with the German peasantry's craving for salvation as well as their discontent with church abuses and fed into their great rising of 1524-26. Elements like the deliberate targeting of monastic houses and the use of rituals of inversion underline the rebels' awareness of spiritual issues. After their crushing defeat, the succeeding princely and magisterial Reformations took several generations to take root, with the professionalization of the clergy, a wide spectrum of printed religious literature and regular visitations as key factors. The evangelical parsonage, in particular, became a local hub for the spread of confessional knowledge and a model of Christian life. Only occasionally, as in Dithmarschen and some imperial villages, can post-Peasant War evidence of bottom-up pressure for reform be detected, usually on clerical initiative and with initially reluctant local councils. Compared

to the Holy Roman Empire, the spread of Lutheranism to Scandinavia appears even more strongly directed from above.

Moving to areas influenced by the Swiss reformers, the Confederation itself nearly broke up as a result of the Reformation. Two civil wars between Zwinglian and Catholic members resulted in a pioneering acknowledgement of religious co-existence as early as 1531, with particularly original solutions devised for bi-confessional regions like the Grisons and the condominiums ruled by several cantons. As for international Calvinism (promoted by frustrations about half-finished Reformations, exile communities and highly-trained ministers), it certainly spread into the north-western, central and eastern parts of the Continent, but the most “successful” implementation probably occurred in Scotland, where a comprehensive network of kirk sessions fostered a gradual internalization of godly principles. Yet even here the disciplinarian campaign met with resistance. Virtually no rural society welcomed wholesale attacks on traditional “popular culture” and a comparative analysis reveals selective regional targets: swearing in the Palatinate of the Holy Roman Empire, drunkenness at Emden in the Netherlands and fornication / adultery at St Andrews in Scotland.<sup>55</sup>

If there is a universal feature of rural Reformations across Europe, it is their negotiated character and long-term evolution. Far from a unilateral imposition of theological doctrines and central commands, religious change – or indeed continuity – was shaped and customized by local agents, who had gained religious expertise over many centuries and formed a discerning audience for the new Protestant messages. Access to the sacraments, a hard-working clergy, financial affordability and a degree of lay control appealed right across the confessions, including Catholicism. The ultimate affiliation – normally crystallizing in the course of the seventeenth century and often (as in Upper Hesse) through confrontation with a rival confessional group – was the result of specific socio-political circumstances, political



constellations and local preferences rather than any inherent rural “propensity” towards one faith or another.

## Suggested reading

### (a) Sources

Johnston, Pamela, and R. W. Scribner eds. *The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland: Documents and Commentary*. Cambridge: University Press, 1993.

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Schmidt, Heinrich R. "Morals courts in rural Berne during the early modern period." in: *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, edited by Karin Maag (ed.), pp. 155-181. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.

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<sup>1</sup> “Wendelstein Ordinance of 19 October 1524,” in *German History in Documents and Images* <[http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=4322](http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=4322)> (accessed 8/4/2015).

<sup>2</sup> Steve Hindle, “Rural Society,” in: *The European World 1500-1800*, ed. Beat Kümin, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2014), 48-57.

<sup>3</sup> Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: University Press, 2012), chap. 14-15; Arthur G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*. 2nd ed. (London: Batsford, 1989), 182 (Reformation as an ‘urban event’).

<sup>4</sup> Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire* (London: Burns & Oates, 1977); Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* (Cambridge: University Press, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> Max Steinmetz ed., *Die frühbürgerliche Revolution in Deutschland* (Berlin: Akademie, 1985); Peter Blickle, *The Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1992).

<sup>6</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), esp. Part I.

<sup>7</sup> Immacolata Saulle Hippenmeyer, “Gemeindereformation – Gemeindekonfessionalisierung in Graubünden,” in *Gemeinde, Reformation und Widerstand*, ed. H. R. Schmidt et al. (Tübingen: bibliotheca academica, 1998), 261-280, esp. 279.

<sup>8</sup> See esp. chap. 29/34 below.

<sup>9</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

<sup>10</sup> Beat Kümin, “The English parish in a European perspective,” in *The Parish in English Life 1400-1600*, ed. K. L. French et al. (Manchester: University Press, 1997), 15-32, esp. 18.

<sup>11</sup> “The Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), no. 21,” in *Internet History Sourcebook* <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/lateran4.asp>> (accessed 9/4/2015); for parish-related research resources see <<http://my-parish.org>> (9/4/2015).

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Goering, “Pastoralia: The Popular Literature of the Care of Souls,” in: *Medieval Latin*, ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington: Catholic Academy, 1996), 670-676; Ronald K. Rittgers, *The Reformation of Suffering: Pastoral Theology and Lay Piety in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: University Press, 2012), esp. chap. 1-3.

<sup>13</sup> A survey of the sources in Noël Coulet, *Les visites pastorales* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977); detailed insights into the process in Katherine Wood-Legh ed., *Kentish Visitations of Archbishop Warham and his Deputies 1511–1512* (Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society, 1984).

<sup>14</sup> Clive Burgess, “‘For the increase of divine service’: Chantries in the parish in late medieval Bristol,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 46-65; André Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Age* (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 115-116.

<sup>15</sup> Rosi Fuhrmann, *Kirche und Dorf: Religiöse Bedürfnisse und kirchliche Stiftung auf dem Lande vor der Reformation* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1995), surveys collective endowments; Katherine French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion after the Black Death* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Hannes Obermair and Volker Stamm eds, *Zur Ökonomie einer ländlichen Pfarrgemeinde im*

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*Spätmittelalter: Das Rechnungsbuch der Marienpfarrkirche Gries (Bozen) von 1422 bis 1440* (Bozen: Athesia, 2011), income / expenditure for the year 1422.

<sup>16</sup> Kümin, “European perspective,” 15-32 (lay powers); Gersau District Archive, Charters no. 12 (1483).

<sup>17</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: University Press, 1994), esp. chap. 2; R. W. Scribner, “Cosmic order and daily life: Sacred and secular in pre-industrial German society,” in his *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987), 1-16.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas A. Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England: Reconstructing Piety* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> Peter Blickle, “Communal Reformation and peasant piety: the peasant Reformation and its late medieval origins,” *Central European History* 20 (1987): 216-228.

<sup>20</sup> The classic formulation of this case is R. W. Scribner, “Oral culture and the diffusion of Reformation ideas,” in his *Popular Culture*, 49-69.

<sup>21</sup> A “Seven-Headed Papal Beast” broadsheet appears in Pamela Johnston and R. W. Scribner eds, *The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), 46-47. For discussions of selected media see chap. 16-18 below.

<sup>22</sup> Johnston and Scribner eds, *Documents*, 42.

<sup>23</sup> Blickle, *Communal Reformation*, 98-100.

<sup>24</sup> W. G. Naphy ed., *Documents on the Continental Reformation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 22 (articles no. 41 and 59).

<sup>25</sup> Extract from article no. 3 in Michael G. Baylor ed., *The Radical Reformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991), 231-238.

<sup>26</sup> Henry J. Cohn, “Anticlericalism in the German Peasants’ War,” *Past and Present* 83 (1979): 3-31.

<sup>27</sup> Tom Scott and R. W. Scribner eds, *The German Peasant’s War: A History in Documents* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1991), 108-109; see also Johnston and Scribner eds, *Documents*, 87.

<sup>28</sup> B. J. Kidd ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 205-206.

<sup>29</sup> Johnston and Scribner eds, *Documents*, 122.

<sup>30</sup> The bleak conclusions derived from visitation evidence in Gerald Strauss, “Success and failure in the German Reformation,” *Past and Present* 67 (1975): 30-63, have been reassessed in Geoffrey Parker, “Success and failure during the first century of the Reformation,” *ibid.* 136 (1992): 43-82.

<sup>31</sup> David Mayes, *Communal Christianity: The Life and Loss of a Peasant Vision in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> C. Scott Dixon and Louise Schorn-Schütte eds, *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2003); Marjorie E. Plummer, *From Priest’s Whore to Pastor’s Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), esp. chap. 7. Specifically on the cultural role of the evangelical parsonage: Thomas A. Seidel and Christopher Spehr eds, *Das evangelische Pfarrhaus: Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> "... [because] the customs, beliefs, and traditions of rural society were deeply entrenched." C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528–1603* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996), 207 and *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> Ole P. Grell, "Introduction," in: idem ed., *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 4 (quote) and 11; Jürgen Beyer, "Lutheran popular prophets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," *Arv. Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 51 (1995): 63–86.

<sup>35</sup> Kidd ed., *Documents*, no. 101 (Westerås); C. V. Johansen, "Faith, Superstition and Witchcraft in Reformation Scandinavia," in Grell ed., *Scandinavian Reformation*, 182. Until the early seventeenth century, Norwegian parishes had to be placated with concessions like the re-allowance of the mass and worship of local saints, not to speak of unorthodox practices associated with cunning folk: *ibid.*, 184-186.

<sup>36</sup> Thorkild Lyby and O. P. Grell, "The Consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway," in Grell ed., *Scandinavian Reformation*, 136-139.

<sup>37</sup> E. I. Kouri, "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland ca. 1520–1560," in: *ibid.*, 60 and 69 (quote).

<sup>38</sup> Ungun Montgomery, "The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland," in: *ibid.*, 144, 159, 178. On the role of cultural exchange for the dissemination of Protestantism in the Baltic see now Otfried Czaika and Heinrich Holze eds, *Migration und Kulturtransfer im Ostseeraum während der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2012).

<sup>39</sup> William L. Urban, *Dithmarschen: A Medieval Peasant Republic* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1991).

<sup>40</sup> Martin Luther, *Van Broder Henrico in Dytmarschen vorbrent* (Wittenberg: [Hans Weiß], 1525), 326.

<sup>41</sup> Gerhard Köppen, "Die Reformation in Dithmarschen," in: *Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 3: Reformation (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1982), 259–277, esp. 262-268.

<sup>42</sup> Beat Kümin, "Rural Autonomy and Popular Politics in Imperial Villages," *German History* 33 (forthcoming in 2015).

<sup>43</sup> Fritz Zeilein, "Das freie Reichsdorf Gochsheim - Einführung," in *Reichsstädte in Franken*, vol. 1, ed. Rainer A. Müller (Munich: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 1987), 379-387, esp. 383. The Reformation generally resulted in a substantial transfer of patronage rights away from religious houses to secular owners like princes, nobles and – rarely – local communities.

<sup>44</sup> Gochsheim Archive, GG, GO-ZM25001-UI/3-(020): Protection treaty 1575; Friedrich Weber, *Geschichte der fränkischen Reichsdörfer Gochsheim und Sennfeld* (Schweinfurt: Stoer, 1913), 97.

<sup>45</sup> For a survey see Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: University Press, 2002). In 1531, a report on the Vaud stated that the "faces of the preachers are torn to shreds. They look like they've been beaten with cats. Alarm bells are rung whenever they're around." Naphy ed., *Documents*, 43; Heinrich R. Schmidt, "Morals courts in rural Berne during the early modern period," in *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 155-181.

<sup>46</sup> Ernst Tresp, "Glarus, 3.4.3.: Reformation und Konfessionalismus," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* <<http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7374.php>> (accessed 9/4/2015).

<sup>47</sup> Tom Scott, "The Communal Reformation between Town and Country," in his *Town, Country and Regions in Reformation Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 57-75.

<sup>48</sup> Kidd ed., *Documents*, 428-429.

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<sup>49</sup> Gersau District Archive, Stiftsurkundenbuch UKP, 277.

<sup>50</sup> Randolph Head, "Kommunalismus zwischen den Konfessionen in Graubünden 1530-1620," in *Landgemeinde und Kirche im Zeitalter der Konfessionen*, ed. B. Kümmin (Zurich: Chronos, 2004), 21-57; idem, "Fragmented dominion, fragmented Churches: The institutionalization of the *Landfrieden* in the Thurgau 1531-1610," *Archive for Reformation History* 96 (2005): 117-144; Daniela Hacke, "Church, space and conflict: Religious co-existence and political communication in seventeenth-century Switzerland," *German History* 25 (2007): 285-312.

<sup>51</sup> Naphy ed., *Documents*, 84; cf. chap. 30 below.

<sup>52</sup> Strong emphasis on negotiation in Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003). On the local impact e.g. Beat Kümmin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise & Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), esp. chap. 6; and Dee Dyas ed., *The English Parish Church through the Centuries* (DVD, York: Christianity & Culture, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 14 (quote), 178 and passim.

<sup>54</sup> Graeme Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600-60: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 9 (quote), 201-15, 292.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.