

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

THE ECLECTIC REFORMATION: VERNACULAR
EVANGELICAL PAMPHLET LITERATURE IN THE
DUTCH-SPEAKING LOW COUNTRIES, 1520-1565

By

ANDREW GEORGE JOHNSTON

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.
September, 1986

Department of History
Faculty of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

THE ECLECTIC REFORMATION: VERNACULAR EVANGELICAL PAMPHLET
LITERATURE IN THE DUTCH SPEAKING LOW COUNTRIES, 1520-1565

by Andrew George Johnston

The Reformation in the Netherlands was opposed by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities for nigh on fifty years. As a result it took on a decidedly eclectic nature. The works of Luther, Calvin and Bullinger, together with those of a host of lesser-known reformers (including Urbanus Regius, François Lambert, Johannes Bugenhagen, Hans Sachs, Caspar Huberinus and Matthias Bynwalth) were all translated into Dutch between 1520 and 1565. In addition, numerous indigenous reformers such as Johannes Anastasius Veluanus, Cornelis Cooltuyn, 'Niclaes Peeters' and Willem Gnapheus were active propagandists for the evangelical cause.

The aim of the thesis is to examine the various influences at work within the Dutch Reformation in this period. The 'terminus a quo' is 1520 because it was at this time that Luther's writings first appeared in the Netherlands. The 'terminus ad quem' is 1565 because after this date the Dutch Reformation became politicized by the Revolt. Leaving aside the Anabaptists and the Spiritualists (recipients of numerous separate studies), the thesis concentrates particularly on the writings of the lesser known and indigenous reformers named above. It will be suggested that the Reformation in the Netherlands was a good deal more dependent upon the German and Swiss Reformations than has hitherto been acknowledged. This calls into question a long-standing historiographical tradition which placed much stress on the role of Erasmus and various 'forerunners' and emphasized the unique theological flavour of the Dutch Reformation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page No.,

ABSTRACT

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

PART 1. THE MESSAGE

CHAPTER 1	PRINTING AND THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS	4
CHAPTER 2	THE ORIGINS OF THE DUTCH REFORMATION	41
CHAPTER 3	THE WAR OF WORDS	71
CHAPTER 4	CATECHISMS: TOOLS FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION	100
CHAPTER 5	DEVOTIONAL AND DOCTRINAL HANDBOOKS	119
CHAPTER 6	CONSOLATION FOR THOSE AFFLICTED IN MIND AND BODY	145
CHAPTER 7	THE POSTILS ON NICLAES PEETERS	167
CHAPTER 8	HERESY ON THE STAGE?	201
CHAPTER 9	FROM CONVENTICLE TO COUNTER-CHURCH: THE PROGRESS OF THE DUTCH REFORMATION	225
CONCLUSION		251

PART 2. THE MEDIUM

SECTION A	EVANGELICAL TRACTS	256
SECTION B	ANTI-EVANGELICAL WORKS	315
SECTION C	<u>REDERIJKER</u> PLAYS AND POEMS	321
SECTION D	NO LONGER EXTANT PAMPHLETS	325

ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES

	Page No.
1. Production of Catholic literature in the Netherlands and Strasbourg, 1500-1540	5
2. The output of Catholic and evangelical literature in the Netherlands, 1520-1540	6
3. 'The battle between the true faith and false spirituality'	32
4. Titlepage of Luther's <u>Postillen op die epistelen ende evangelien</u>	169
5. Titlepage of Peeters' <u>Christelike sermonen</u>	185
6. Titlepage of Nikolaus Herman's <u>Eyne mandat Ihesu Christi an alle seyne getrewe Christen</u>	185
7. Allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan	196
8. The doctrinal position of the Ghent <u>rederijkersspelen</u> of 1539	217
9. Editions of Otto Brunfels' <u>Gulden ghebedeboecxken</u>	266-267

ABBREVIATIONS

ARG Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
Benzing J. Benzing, Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod (Baden-Baden, 1966)

BRN Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica, ed. S. Cramer and F. Pijper, 10 vol. (The Hague, 1903-1914)

BT Belgica typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc regni Belgarum partes sunt 2 vol. (Nieuwkoop, 1968, 1980)

Campan Francisco de Enzinas 'Mémoires', ed. Ch. Al. Campan, Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique, XIII (1862)

CD Corpus documentorum inquisitonis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae, ed. P. Fredericq, 5 vol. (Ghent and The Hague, 1889-1903)

GP De gulden passer

HB Het boek

Knuttel Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ed. W.P.C. Knuttel, 8 vol. (The Hague, 1889-1916)

LW Luther's works, ed. J. Pelikan and H.T. Lehmann (Philadelphia, 1957-71)

Machiels Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de centrale bibliotheek van de rijksuniversiteit Gent, ed. J. Machiels, 2 vol. (Ghent, 1979)

ME Mennonite encyclopedia, ed. C. Krahn, 4 vol. (Hillsboro, Kansas, 1955-1959)

MQR Mennonite quarterly review

NAK Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis

NK W. Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540, 3 vol. (The Hague, 1923-1971)

NNBW Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, J.J. Blok, L. Knappert and K.H. Kossmann, 10 vol. (Leiden, 1911-1937)

ROPB Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas, ed. Ch. Laurent,
J. Lameere, H. Simont, 2e série (1506-1700). 6 vol.
(Brussels, 1839-1922)

STC Short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland
and Ireland and of English books printed abroad,
ed. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (London, 1926) and
revised STC ed. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer,
2 vol. (London, 1976-1986)

WA D. Martin Luthers Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar,
1883-)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the British Academy, the French Protestant Church of London and the Richard Newitt Trust for their financial assistance in the completion of this thesis. In addition, I am indebted to the following institutions for their co-operation, particularly in the microfilming of their resources: Amsterdam, Amsterdam Vrije, Leiden, Utrecht, Ghent, Bonn, Edinburgh and Uppsala University Libraries, the Bodleian Library Oxford, the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, the British Library, the Royal Libraries at The Hague and Brussels, Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek, Leeuwarden Provincial Library and the Plantin-Moretus Museum Antwerp. I am also especially grateful for the help of Southampton University's Inter-Library Loan Service for locating a large number of secondary sources on my behalf. I am indebted to Dr. J. Trapman, Dr A. Pettegree, Dr. G. Bernard and Professor K. Swart for their suggestions and advice as well as to my supervisor Mr A.C. Duke. Finally, I wish to thank my wife Janet for her constant encouragement and support.

INTRODUCTION

The relentless opposition of Charles V and his son Philip II to the Protestant cause ensured that the Reformation in the Low Countries developed more or less in secret until the capture of Holland and Zeeland by the Sea Beggars in 1572. Yet in the preceding fifty years or so the works of a large number of Reformation writers circulated clandestinely amongst Dutch sympathisers. It is this literature, or rather a substantial part of it, which forms the subject of this thesis.

An analysis of the entire pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation would require several theses. Certain bounds have to be set. Anabaptist and Spiritualist literature - the writings of Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, David Joris, Sebastian Franck and the like - has been left out of account. So too has the specifically Reformed literature (pamphlets by Calvin and Bullinger, Reformed catechisms and church orders) most of which was published at Emden from the early 1550s onwards. By the same token the confessionally Lutheran pamphlets published in the 1550s and 1560s promoted by one Dr H. van Bert and printed Hans de Braecker at Wesel have also been omitted.¹ These pamphlets were published as part of a late and largely unsuccessful propaganda campaign by the Lutherans to snatch the initiative away from the Reformed and thus like the Anabaptist and Reformed literature were the product of a clearly defined confessional group.

Our attention will be directed towards non-confessionalized dissent. To define the subject more positively is no easy task. Historians have tended to divide the Dutch Reformation into three distinct phases, Lutheran or 'sacramentarian', Anabaptist and Calvinist rather like a rocket with three stages, the first two of which are jettisoned early on in the flight.² Yet this treatment of the Reformation in the Low Countries has considerable shortcomings. In the first place, it grossly over-simplifies the variety of influences at work. It assumes that any pre-Anabaptist dissent was either of a

1 J.W. Pont, Geschiedenis van het lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618 (Haarlem, 1911), pp.55-59.

2 See L. Knappert, De opkomst van het protestantisme (The Hague, 1908) and L. Halkin, La réforme en Belgique sous Charles-Quint (Brussels, 1957), chapters two three and four.

specifically Lutheran or clearly 'sacramentarian' nature and therefore does not allow for other influences. In addition, it suggests that as one set of doctrinal opinions gained the ascendancy, the previous one simply faded away. As we shall see, this was far from the case.

In the early years of the Reformation in the Netherlands Lutheran influences were paramount. Not only were large numbers of Luther's works translated and printed,³ but the Lutheran Bible⁴ and the writings of other German evangelicals were read. However, the formation of Lutheran churches with church orders which would have prescribed the specifically Lutheran teaching on the real presence could not take place partly because the persecution in the Low Countries prevented a state-enforced Reformation and also because Luther himself was opposed to conventicles.⁵ It would be incorrect therefore to describe this thesis as an examination of the Lutheran phase of the Dutch Reformation. Probably the best term which can be used is that of 'evangelical'. Before the Reformation one finds in Christian humanist circles a preference for 'the gospel'⁶ and in the early 1520s 'evangelical' seems to have been a term which could embrace both the followers of Luther and Christian humanists. Gradually, however, 'evangelical' came to be the description for the followers of the new theology in the broadest sense. Willem Gnapheus, for example, rector of the grammar school in The Hague spoke of 'wi Euangelische Iuden'⁷ in his Troost ende spiegel der siecken first published in 1531 but written as early as c 1525. Moreover, this term was not confined to the 1520s. As late as 1554 Johannes Anastasius Veluanus, author of the Leken Wechwyser was still able to speak of those who go 'onder den euangelischen naem'.⁸ This

3 C. Ch. G. Visser, Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546 (Assen, 1969), contains a good deal of bibliographical information on Luther's tracts which needs no repetition in this thesis, although Visser's work has been built upon and to some extent supplemented and revised.

4 Lutheran Bibles receive some comment in the first chapter, although I have not repeated the information contained in W.C. Poortman, Bijbel en prent (The Hague, 1983).

5 J.W. Pont, op.cit. pp.42-43 and 330.

6 A.C. Duke, 'The face of popular religious dissent in the Low Countries, 1520-1530', Journal of ecclesiastical history XXVI (1975), pp.62-63.

7 BRN I, p.163.

8 BRN IV, p.339.

contemporary term has the added advantage of avoiding any confessional affiliation which would have been quite alien to pre-Calvinist non-Anabaptist sympathisers with the new theology in the Low Countries.

This thesis is also restricted to the popular literature of the Dutch Reformation. For this reason works in Latin have been omitted on the grounds that such texts were confined to educated ecclesiastical circles. Pamphlets published in French have also been omitted, not because they cannot be considered popular, but rather because the language barrier resulted in a different rhythm in the Walloon provinces than elsewhere in the Netherlands more in keeping with the French Reformation. However, Dutch works cannot be treated in complete isolation and therefore Latin and French works have not been entirely ignored.

For ease of reference, the thesis has been divided into two parts. Part one comprises the main body of the text. It opens with a discussion of the role of printing and this is followed by an analysis of the beginnings of the Dutch Reformation. The next five chapters deal in turn with the pamphlet literature generically - polemical, catechetical, devotional and doctrinal, consolation and homiletic. This is followed by an examination of the religious plays performed by the local chambers of rhetoric (rederijkerskamers). Although, strictly speaking, these plays are not pamphlets, nevertheless they cannot be omitted from a discussion of evangelical literature since in the eyes of contemporaries at least they were an important literary source for the dissemination of the new theology. The final chapter attempts to place the pamphlet literature within the broader context of confessional developments in the Dutch Reformation and traces the development of fully-fledged counter-churches from loosely formed conventicles. The second part of the thesis lists and describes the pamphlets which have been consulted as well as those which are now no longer extant.

CHAPTER 1

PRINTING AND THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

It has been estimated that about ten thousand different German, Reformation pamphlets appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹ By comparison, the pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation appears insignificant. In all there were probably only about one hundred and seventy evangelical pamphlets published in Dutch between 1520 and 1540.² Yet compared to other countries where the Reformation was opposed by the civil authorities, this figure is surprisingly large. More than forty different works by Luther, for example, were translated into Dutch between 1520 and 1540 whilst only sixteen French and eight English translations appeared in the same period.³

Another means of assessing the impact of the Reformation on the book trade is to examine the publication of Catholic works in the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century (see figure 1). After a peak in 1518, the printing of Catholic vernacular literature (books of hours, lives of Christ and the like) declined sharply in the 1520s, reviving only slightly in the 1530s. Comparing this trend with the production of Catholic literature in a town such as Strasbourg in which the Reformation received official support, the pattern is similar.⁴

In the case of Strasbourg the decline in output was more dramatic and there was no recovery in the 1530s as in the Netherlands, but in both cases the sudden decline in output in the 1520s is evident.

1 S.E.Ozment, 'Pamphlet literature of the german reformation', Reformation Europe: a guide to research, ed. S.E.Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), p.85.

2 This figure includes Anabaptist and no longer extant works, but excludes Bibles and works published in Latin or French.

3 Dutch: M.E. Kronenberg, 'Uitgaven van Luther in de Nederlanden verschenen tot 1541', NAK xL (1954), pp.6-15, XLIX (1968-69), p.102. French: F. Higman, 'Les traductions françaises de Luther, 1524-1550', Palaestra typographica: aspects de la production du livre humaniste religieuse du XVIe siècle, ed. J.-F. Gilmont (Aubel, 1985?), pp.11-13. English: STC 16962, 1697-7, 16988, 16999, 10493, 11394, 13086, 20193.

4 Dutch figures are taken from NK. Only dated works (just over half of the total) are included. Strasbourg figures are taken from M.U. Chrisman, Lay culture, learned culture, books and social change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599 (New Haven and London, 1982), p.288.

1. Production of Catholic literature in the Netherlands and Strasbourg, 1500-1540⁴



It is not possible to show the output of evangelical pamphlets and Bibles year by year in the same way. More than half the evangelical works were published without a date, and estimating dates only produces a freak distribution. Nevertheless, a comparison of total Catholic production with the total of evangelical pamphlets and Bibles printed in the years 1520-1540 reveals the enormous impact of the new theology upon the literate population of the Netherlands.

2. The output of Catholic and evangelical literature in the Netherlands, 1520-1540

5

Catholic vernacular literature, 1520-1540	Evangelical vernacular literature, 1520-1540
202	170

In a Catholic society in which the Reformation was fiercely opposed by the political and religious authorities it is quite remarkable that evangelical literature should comprise nearly half the total output of religious books.

The writings of Luther and his followers were opposed from the first by the Habsburg central government of the Netherlands. The first book burning in response to the papal bull Exsurge Domine (15 June 1520) took place at Leuven as early as 8 October 1520. Later, there were bonfires of heretical literature at Antwerp, Ghent, Utrecht, Bruges, 's-Hertogenbosch and Deventer.⁶ In a letter to the papal vice-chancellor in Rome Aleander, the papal legate in the Netherlands, boasted of having burnt four hundred of Luther's books of which three hundred had been removed from bookshops and one hundred confiscated from private individuals.⁷ The first placard prohibiting Luther's books was promulgated at Liège as early as 17 October 1520, and this was followed

5 Christian humanist literature is included in the Catholic figure. The evangelical total includes Anabaptist works.

6 M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de hervormingstijd (Amsterdam, 1948), p.28.

7 *Ibid.* p.32.

in May 1521 by the famous Edict of Worms by which Luther and his writings were banned throughout the Empire.

These first censorship laws were rather vague as they prohibited all Luther's works but did not name any specific titles. Under an edict published on 23 March 1524, however, it became a criminal offence to possess either the Summa der godliker scripturen (1523), an anonymous pamphlet at one time mistakenly attributed to Hendrik van Bommel,⁸ or the Evangelie van Matthaeus (1522) of Johan Pelt, a former Franciscan converted to the Lutheran cause.⁹ Two years later on 17 July 1526 a more comprehensive edict was published at Mechelen. This edict was a landmark for it prohibited not only the works of Luther himself but also those of a number of his followers, namely Johannes Bugenhagen, Andreas Karlstadt, Philip Melanchthon, Johannes Oecolampadius, François Lambert and Justus Jonas. In addition, all vernacular texts of Scripture furnished with Lutheran commentaries or glosses were forbidden. Anyone found in possession of these books was to be banished from the Low Countries on pain of death and confiscation of goods.¹⁰

The censor's net was cast still wider in 1529 with the publication on 14 October of another edict which forbade the printing, writing, sale, purchase, distribution, reading, possession, preaching, defence or discussion of the books or doctrines of Luther, Wyclif, Hus, Marsilius of Padua, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Lambert, Bugenhagen, Otto Brunfels, Justus Jonas and Johannes Pupper van Goch. In addition, this placard also forbade New Testaments printed by Adriaen van Berghen, Christoffel van Ruremund and Joannes Zel as well as any book published in the previous ten years without author, printer, date or place of publication. Yet the importance of this edict was not simply that it broadened considerably what was deemed heretical but that for the first time it prescribed the death penalty for first offenders. Male offenders were to be executed by the sword, women buried alive and relapsed heretics burnt at the stake.¹¹

8 See p. 308.

9 Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. F.H. Reusch, (Nieuwkoop, 1961), p.23.

10 CD V, pp.142-147.

11 ROPB ii série IV, pp.210-211, 224-229.

These early edicts, however, still only dealt piecemeal with the problem of evangelical literature as did the edicts of 10 July and 22 September 1540.¹² No systematic index of forbidden books appeared until 1546.¹³ Compiled by the faculty of theology at Leuven and issued on 9 May, this index proscribed forty-eight editions of the Bible and the New Testament, seventy-two Latin works, fifty-three Dutch pamphlets, five German and nine French books plus all the items previously forbidden by the edict of 22 September 1540.¹⁴ It did not pretend to be complete. It listed only those works which had come to the notice of the Leuven theologians. Moreover, neither was it confined strictly to heretical literature, for it also included other works deemed unsavoury for the unlearned. Der Joden biechte (1543), an anti-Semitic work by Johann Pfefferkorn, first published in German in 1508,¹⁵ Int paradijs van Venus (c1530), a pornographic illustrated pamphlet¹⁶ and the Tijtcortinghe der pelgrimagien des menschelijcken levens (c1540), an anti-evangelical treatise composed by Jan Glapion, one-time confessor of Charles V¹⁷, for example, were the first three works forbidden under the 'Duutsch boucken' section.¹⁸

Four years later the 1546 index was rearranged alphabetically and expanded. This new index was published at Brussels on 29 April 1550.¹⁹

12 ROPB ii série IV, pp.210-211, 224-229.

13 A very brief index was issued at Liège in 1545. See E. Fairon 'Le premier index de livres prohibés à Liège, 1545', GP III (1925), pp.1-15.

14 ROPB ii série V, pp.255-264.

15 Machiels P290. Pfefferkorn was a former butcher and converted Jew. As a Dominican he worked zealously for the removal of the Jews from banking and the destruction of the Talmud. N. Oudejans 'De jood in de middeelnederlandse literatuur'. Literatuur tijdschrift over nederlandse letterkunde I (1984-85), p.250.

16 NK1678.

17 NK3101.

18 There are about another seven works on the 1546 index which cannot, strictly speaking, be considered heretical.

19 ROPB ii série VI, pp.55-76.

It reversed the order of the 1546 index which had begun by listing forbidden Bibles and New Testaments and then itemized the heretical Latin texts. Besides, whereas the 1546 index had only seventy-two specific titles, thirty-nine authors and three 'omnia opera' condemnations, the alphabetical index of 1550 listed one hundred and eighty-six specific titles and ninety-six authors twenty-two of which had all their works forbidden.²⁰ The listing of Dutch books for 1550, however, is almost identical to that of 1546, the only difference being a slight re-arrangement of the order. On the 1546 index the Spelen van zinne binnen Ghendt vertooght 12-23 Juni 1539²¹ had been listed with those works originally prohibited in September 1540. In the 1550 edict these nineteen rederijker plays were added to the main list of Dutch books.

The 1550 index served as the basis of yet another list of heretical books issued in 1558 by Charles V's successor Philip II.²² This 1558 edict forbade a large number of works not listed on the 1550 index including seventy-seven Latin titles, two Dutch New Testaments, twenty-nine Dutch pamphlets and five French texts. The most comprehensive of all the Dutch indices librorum prohibitorum, however, was that issued by the Duke of Alva in 1570.²³ This index forbade a total of three hundred and thirty-four works not listed on the 1558 index. Not only did this include very recently published heterodox works, but also a number of older evangelical pamphlets which had been inadvertently omitted from earlier edicts.²⁴

This volume of repressive legislation forced printers and publishers of evangelical pamphlets to operate in conditions of extreme secrecy. Hence, it is often difficult to identify from which presses such literature came. Quite often printers issued their works anonymously,

20 L.A. Kenney, 'The censorship edicts of Emperor Charles V in the Low Countries, 1515-1550', (Univ. of Maryland Ph.D., 1960), pp.172-173.

21 NK1926, 1927-1928, 3890.

22 Verboden lectuur, ed. C. Sepp (Leiden, 1889), pp.101-147.

23 Ibid. pp.163-261.

24 Vanden olden en nieuen God, gelooove ende leere, for example, was first published c1524 (NK1013) but not prohibited until 1570.

so the bibliographer has often to rely on typographical evidence to establish their provenance. On other occasions printers deliberately misled their readers by using fictitious addresses so as to avoid prosecution. Kronenberg has identified about forty books published in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1540 with such addresses.²⁵ The majority of these are English and Latin works, but twelve were published in Dutch. Essentially, there are two types of fictitious address. First, there are what one might term fantastic or nonsensical addresses, that is, those which are quite plainly false. First used in Latin tracts from about 1521 onwards,²⁶ these were the earliest fictitious addresses used by Netherlands printers. Two Dutch pamphlets bear such addresses. An anti-papal treatise entitled Die daden werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus (c1525)²⁷ carries the colophon 'Buyten Rome in S. Pieters Hof',²⁸ whilst the address of François Lambert's Gulden opschrift in der Minrebroeders reghe1 (1526)²⁹ reads 'In Eutopia bij Resam Mondorf'. The aim of the printer in both cases is to cock a snook at the authorities whilst avoiding detection, and in the case of Die daden werken ende leerijnghe the address is part and parcel of the anti-papal satire.

A more subtle type of spurious address was one sufficiently plausible to pass as genuine. The past master of such forgeries was the Antwerp printer-publisher Johannes Hoochstraten³⁰: besides printing a large number of English tracts under various pseudonyms, he was also responsible for four pseudonymous Dutch pamphlets. A man of considerable ingenuity,

25 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Forged addresses in Low Country books in the period of the reformation', The library fifth series 11 (1947), p.81.

26 See NK2227, 3998, 4154.

27 NK675. See pp.272-275.

28 This satirical colophon is not unique. Another anti-papal tract probably first published in the early 1560s bore the colophon 'Buyten Roomen'. See Knutte1 549.

29 NK1310. See p.292.

30. For the most part (1526-30, 1535-43) Hoochstraten operated in Antwerp but between 1531 and 1532 he was based at Lübeck, and between 1533 and 1535 at Malmö. A. Rouzet, Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle (Nieuwkoop, 1975), p.93.

Hoochstraten twice used the colophon 'Gedruct te Basel bi mi Adam Anonymus' in Dutch works, first for Johannes Bugenhagen's Souter (1526)³¹ and subsequently for Luther's Postillen (1528).³² In addition, Hoochstraten also used the pseudonyms 'Ghedruct te Marborch bi mi Steffen Rodt¹' for Luther's Vermaninge aen de gheestlike op de rijcsdach te Ausborch vergadert (1530)³³, and 'Ghedruct te Marburg in Hessen bi Hans Luft¹, for the Articulen te Marburg geaccoerdeert (1529)³⁴. These more sophisticated fictitious addresses had two main advantages over the earlier fantastical type. In the first place, they not only shifted the attention of the authorities away from the printer concerned, but they also directed it abroad. In the cases already cited, Stephan Rodt was a rector and secretary at Zwickau who had made a considerable contribution to the spreading of Luther's works, whilst Hans Luft was an evangelical printer at Wittenberg who sometimes worked from a branch at Marburg.³⁵ Secondly, such addresses also increased the attractiveness of the works to evangelical readers. Printers of evangelical pamphlets could have used colophons which suggested that their works were of an orthodox nature such as the name and address of a Catholic printer from Leuven. This, however, might have deterred prospective evangelical purchasers. By using addresses of well-known centres of Protestantism they attested the evangelical nature of their wares. The success of this ploy may be judged from the fact that no Dutch printer was ever prosecuted for having published heretical books under a false address.

In all there were about forty printers of evangelical literature in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1566. This is approximately one fifth of the total number of printers in business in the Netherlands at this time. Most, however, printed only one or two tracts or one Bible or New Testament; only about half a dozen were really prolific. Besides Johannes Hoochstraten these were:

31 NK508. M.E. Kronenberg, 'De geheimzinnige drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel en Hans Luft te Marburg ontmaskerd', HB VIII (1919), pp.241-280. See pp.268-269.

32 NK3464.

33 NK4163.

34 NK2314. See p.258.

35 M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken, pp.78-79.

i) Simon Corver. Simon Corver, a priest from Amsterdam, was among the first to be won over to the theology of the Reformation his home town. In an ordinance of 13 June 1536 Corver was described as 'eerst de secte van luyter binnen amsterdam gesemineert te hebben'.³⁶ Corver was one of the first men to print evangelical pamphlets in the Netherlands. Between 1519 and 1522 he printed a total of fourteen evangelical tracts in the town of Zwolle.³⁷ Corver must have returned to Amsterdam from Zwolle in late 1522 or early 1523 for, according to a priest who testified in June 1523, he was, at that time, in prison in Amsterdam.³⁸ The priest argued that Corver should remain in prison because he was suspected of heresy. Apparently Corver's presses were bought up at this time by his brother Willem Corver who left Amsterdam for Hamburg in 1522. Between 1522 and 1523 Willem Corver printed a further fifteen pamphlets eleven of these by Luther although only one was in Dutch, the other ten were all in Low German.³⁹ The Corver press comes to an abrupt end in 1523, although his presses and founts were bought up by the Antwerp printer Johannes Hoochstraten.⁴⁰

ii) Adriaen van Berghen. From 1522 onwards Adriaen van Berghen was responsible for printing the works of a number of evangelical authors including Luther, Martin Bucer and Otto Brunfels⁴¹ as well as some anonymous tracts which later appeared on the index such as Dye principaele hoofdtarticulen van allen dinghen dye den mensche troostelick zijn (1533)⁴² and the Profitelic ende troostelic boexken van den gheloove ende hoope (1534).⁴³ Van Berghen was one of the boldest printers of evangelical pamphlets and many of his works openly bear his name. As a result of his illicit activities he ran into trouble on more than one occasion. In 1536 he was convicted of selling Lutheran books but escaped with

36 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis (1536)' HB XXX (1949-51), p.315. 'The first to disseminate Luther's sect in Amsterdam'.

37 C.Ch.G. Visser, Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546 (Assen, 1969), p.150.

38 Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der kerkelijke rechtspraak in Utrecht, ed. J.G.C. Joosting and S. Muller (The Hague, 1906-24) III, p.404.

39 C.Ch.G. Visser, op.cit. p.150.

40 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis (1536)', p.314.

41 Luther: NK3458-3459, 3462. Bucer: NK2587. Brunfels: NK502.

42 NK3185. See pp.288-289.

43 NK440. See pp.262-263.

banishment and a penitential pilgrimage to Nicosia, Cyprus.⁴⁴ On 2 October 1542, however, he was sentenced to death by the Court of Holland in The Hague.⁴⁵

iii) Jacob van Liesveld. Best known for his printing of Lutheran Bibles and New Testaments. Jacob van Liesveld, like van Berghen, was prosecuted on more than one occasion for his involvement in the evangelical book trade. In 1542 he was tried for printing, contrary to the edicts Caspar Huberinus' Troostinghe wt der godliker script⁴⁶. On this occasion he was acquitted. The next time he was not so fortunate. On 27 November 1545 he was put to death for his 1542 edition of the Bible.⁴⁷

iv) Mattheus Crom. Between 1537 and 1543 about half a dozen Dutch New Testaments and eight evangelical tracts were published bearing the name of the Antwerp printer-publisher Mattheus Crom. Crom particularly specialized in short catechetical works such as the Kinder leere, Dat christen gheloove (1542)⁴⁸, the Christelijcke onderwijsinghe tot den rijcke Gods (c1542)⁴⁹, Der Christen reghe1 (1543)⁵⁰ and Ghelooue, hope ende liefde (1543).⁵¹ He was a notorious heretic: members of an evangelical conventicle at Leuven made the journey to Antwerp especially to buy books from him.⁵² Moreover, his Kinder leere was burnt at Ghent in the same year that it was published,⁵³ whilst the French version of this catechism was prohibited by an imperial mandate on 13 January 1543.⁵⁴

v) Steven Miermans. Miermans was the son-in-law and business partner of Mattheus Crom and in the early stages of his career he acted as printer for his father-in-law's publishing firm. From 1544 onwards Miermans worked independently. Quitting Antwerp about 1546 Miermans spent the next seven years in London where he printed a large number of English

⁴⁴ Antwerpsch achievevenblad VII (1870), p.379.

⁴⁵ M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken, pp.91-92.

⁴⁶ Antwerpsch archievenblad VII (1870), p.405.

⁴⁷ C.Ch.G. Visser, op.cit. pp.114-115.

⁴⁸ NK3317. Machiels K275. See pp.291-292.

⁴⁹ NK1622. See p.295.

⁵⁰ Machiels R85. See p.300.

⁵¹ Machiels G147. BT1246. See p.279.

⁵² Campan, p.362.

⁵³ F. Vanderhaegen, Bibliotheca Belgica (Ghent - The Hague, 1880-1913), K1.

⁵⁴ ROPB ii série IV, p.423.

and a handful of Dutch pamphlets. With Mary's accession Mierdmans was forced to move again. This time he settled in Emden, where he printed both under his own name and under the pseudonym Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout. He often worked with Johan Gailliart in competition with the rival firm of Gilles vander Erven and Niclaes van den Berghe.⁵⁵

vi) Niclaes van Oldenborch. No post-incunabula printer causes greater perplexity than the mysterious figure of Niclaes van Oldenborch. In the opinion of Kronenberg van Oldenborch was the most important of all evangelical printers. By her count he published no fewer than thirty Protestant books between 1522 and 1540.⁵⁶ Though only ten pamphlets between these dates bear his name, the others were ascribed to his press on typographical evidence. The earliest pamphlet bearing the name of van Oldenborch is the Troost ende spiegel der siecken of Willem Gnapheus dated 1531 and the latest an anonymous compilation of Scripture texts entitled Der Waerheyt onderwijs dated 1555. Not much reliance, however, can be placed on the dates given in the pamphlets printed by van Oldenborch. At least two of his pamphlets are evidently antedated. Luther's Uutlegginghe des 16en capitells van s. Ians evangelie, for example, bears a colophon which reads 'gheprint van Niclaes van Oldenborch An. 1534', but this commentary could not have been printed before 1539, for it was only in that year that Luther's exposition was published.⁵⁷ Likewise, Luther's Den 130en psalm uitgheleyt carries the colophon 'ghedruct bi Niclaes van Oldenborch Int iaer ons Heeren MD XXXVI,' but the original from which this translation came did not appear until September 1540.⁵⁸

Apart from these colophons, there is almost no evidence that Niclaes van Oldenborch ever existed. Indeed, the only other contemporary reference to this mystery-man occurs in a lawsuit of 1570 in which one

55 H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden', in Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey ed. S. van der Woude (Amsterdam, 1968), pp.463-72.

56 NK111: part 3, pp.201-203.

57 NK1431.

58 NK1434. H.F. Wijnman 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer', p.449.

Herman Janssens was prosecuted for possession of two forbidden books, Heinrich Bullinger's Huysboeck (1563)⁵⁹ and Urbanus Regius' Medicijne der sielen (1536)⁶⁰. According to the transcription of Génard the trial record reads:

'xiii Aprilis 1570. Den Schoutteth...tegens Herman Janssens, actor, overmits tot syn verweerders huyse bevonden syn twee verboden boecken, te wetene, den eenen, geintituleert: Huysboeck vyff decades, by Heinrick Bullingerum, dienaar vande gemeynte van Surick, gedruckt anno 63, ende noch een boeck geintituleert: Een medicyne der sielen, by Claes van Oldenborch anno 36, denwelcken Claes alhier geexcuteerd is, ende gemerckt denselven een drucker is ende wel geweten dat de voers. Boecken waren schandaleus ende verboden, namelyck int jaer 1550, al contrarie de placaten Ons Genadichs Heere den Coninx ende ordonnentien deser stadt, concludit capitaliter. Protesterende more solito, reus begerende dach van berade om tantwoordene, judicatum dat daenleggers zal overgeven syne feyten ad triduum ende reus zal comen antwoorden de hodie ad tres septimanas'. 61

Kronenberg seized upon this reference to the execution as conclusive proof that van Oldenborch was a real person.⁶² H.F. Wijnman, however,

59 Heinrich Bullinger Werke, ed. F. Büsser (Zurich, 1972), 198.

60 NK1790. See p.

61 Antwerpsch archievenblad XII (1876), p.452. My italics. '13 April, 1570. The Sheriff, plaintiff,...against Herman Janssens, for that, in his, the defendant's house were found two forbidden books, to wit one entitled Huysboeck vyff decades by Heinrich Bullinger, a servant of the church at Zurich, printed in the year 63, and one more entitled Een medicyne der sielen by Claes van Oldenborch, of the year 36, which Claes was here executed. And forasmuch as the defendant is a printer and well aware that the said books are scandalous and forbidden and in particular contravene an edict of our lord the king of the year 1550 and ordinances of this city, demands the penalty of death. And protesting his innocence as is customary the defendant asks a day in which to consider his answer. Adjudged that his guarantors shall hand in their pledges within three days and the defendant shall come to answer three weeks from today'. Translation based on H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer', p.454 n1.

62 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Executie te Antwerpen van Niclaes van Oldenborch, drukker', HB X (1921), pp.71-72.

has argued that Janssens' trial record refers not to van Oldenborch's execution but to his exile, reading geeexcuse(e)rt for geexcuteert. Believing van Oldenborch to be a pseudonym for Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans, Wijnman asserted that geexculeert refers to Mierdmans quitting Antwerp c1546.⁶³

Neither the arguments of Kronenberg nor of Wijnman, however, are entirely convincing. Kronenberg does not take sufficient account of the dubious nature of van Oldenborch's colophons. If his dating is a deliberate attempt to deceive, might not the same be true of his name? Moreover, she overlooks the fact that some of the type faces used by Crom are identical to those she ascribes to van Oldenborch. Indeed, one tract attributed by her to van Oldenborch is now known to have been printed by Crom. Working only from a fragment of the last eight pages of the Kinderleere. Dat Christen gheloove, Kronenberg attributed this tract to van Oldenborch and dated it c1540.⁶⁴ A complete copy of the same edition of the Kinderleere, however, has since been discovered at Ghent University Library, and on the title page it bears the name of Mattheus Crom and the date 1542.⁶⁵ Finally, Kronenberg's argument is seriously flawed by the latest pamphlet bearing van Oldenborch's name, the 1555 edition of the Waerheyt onderwijs. By this time overtly evangelical printing had all but vanished from Antwerp, the place where Kronenberg argued that van Oldenborch printed his tracts and was finally executed. Emden is a far more likely place for an evangelical pamphlet of this date to be printed and given that two other editions of the Waerheyt onderwijs were printed at Emden by Willem Gailliart the first in 1556 and the second in 1566, it seems likely that Mierdmans was responsible for the 1555 edition, ostensibly printed by van Oldenborch. Moreover, the type of the 1555 edition of the Waerheyt onderwijs which is the same as that of Gnapheus's Troost ende spiegel der siecken and Regius's Medicijne der sielen, is also used in the Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout pamphlets which Kronenberg has linked with

63 H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer', p.455.

64 NK3317.

65 Machiels K275.

Mierdmans at Emden.⁶⁶

Yet there are also difficulties in accepting Wijnman's hypothesis that all van Oldenborch's works can be attributed to Crom or Mierdmans. For example, his suggestion that van Oldenborch was banished (geexcuse(e)rt) rather than executed (geexcuteert) is extremely debatable. The reading excuse(e)rt in this otherwise straightforward trial record appears strange, for in the sixteenth century the conventional legal term for the sentence of banishment was gebannen. Indeed, exculeren is not recorded by the editors of the Middelnederlandsch woordenboek (1885), the Woordenboek der nederlandsch taal (1882) or the Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek supplement (1983). It is of course true that geexcuteert need not mean executed; it can also have the more general sense of sentenced, but such an interpretation seems less plausible in this context.

The other major difficulty in Wijnman's hypothesis arises from the Troost ende spiegel der siecken of Gnapheus. In the foreword of the 1557 edition of the Troost, published under the new title Tobias ende Lazarus, Gnapheus explains how he came to write this work when confined to a monastery in 1525 as a result of being convicted of heresy:

'...als ich nu in dit klooster wesende overleyde,
wat een bedroefte tijdt dat daer voor handen
was, overmits de groote vervolghinghe in
Nederlandt, ende de gruweliche bloetstortinghe
der oproerische bouren in Overlandt, waer door
veel bedroeft weduwen ende weesen ghemaect waren
in vele landen, zo hebbe ick dit boecxken alder
eerst wt der heyligher Schrift te hoope ghebracht,
om my zelven oock te troosten, ende des duvels
rijck (die my om een troostelick briefken, also
zeer dede vervolghen) een afbrekinge te doen.
Dat dit boecxken daer na ter stondt in druck
ghecomen is, dat is buyten mijn weten ende wille
gheschiet, want het was also niet ghemaect alst
zijn zoude om te drucken. Nochtans heeft het veel
vruchten ghedaen, ende veel goede lieden tot
kennisse der waerheyt ghebracht, t'welcke ick
daerwt wel afnemen kan, dat dit boecxken
menighael is verdruckt gheweest, ende een van de

66 H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer', p.459.

boeckdruckers daerom onthoofdt is'.⁶⁷

From this account Wijnman infers that the two editions of the Troost dated 1531 and 1532 are antedated, and that Gnapheus wrongly believed that Adriaen van Berghen was executed for printing the Troost.⁶⁸ But this interpretation rests on no firm evidence.⁶⁹ The dates 1531 and 1532 need only be considered false if one accepts Wijnman's thesis in full, for such dates are far too early to come from the press of either Crom or Mierdmans. Moreover, Wijnman offers no proof to support his other contention that Gnapheus mistakenly believed that van Berghen was beheaded for printing the Troost.

However, a combination of both Kronenberg's and Wijnman's theories may yet lead to a plausible solution of the van Oldenborch mystery. Let us suppose that van Oldenborch was a real person but was put to death, not in the 1550s after the publication of the Waerheyt onderwijs, but in the 1530s as a result of his printing of the Troost. Let us also suppose that Crom bought up the type of van Oldenborch and, in order to avoid prosecution, he and his son-in-law Mierdmans continued to print under van Oldenborch's name. This would explain both Gnapheus's story that a printer was put to death for printing the Troost and the identical

67 W. Gnapheus, Tobias ende Lazarus, Avir-v. 'Now while I was in that monastery I considered in my mind what a dreadful time that was: the dire persecutions in the Low Countries, the horrible bloodshed wrought by . . . the rebellious peasants in Upper Germany, whereby many poor people in divers places were made widows and orphans; and therefore I put together this little book out of Holy Scripture chiefly to comfort myself and destroy the kingdom of the devil (who had caused me to be so sorely persecuted on account of an epistle of consolation). That this little book immediately afterwards came to be printed happened without my knowledge or intent, for it was not written for publication. Yet it has borne much fruit and brought many good people to a knowledge of the truth, as I can tell because this book has been printed many times, and one of the printers was beheaded because of it'. Translation based on H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer', p.460 n1.

68 H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer', pp.460-461. The trial documents of van Berghen indicate clearly that he was executed for the possession and not the printing of forbidden books.

69 M.E. Kronenberg, 'De drukker-martelaar Adriaen van Berghen (+ 1542)' HB XVI (1927), pp.6-8. Of course, Gnapheus could be referring to Jacob van Liesveld, but Liesveld was apparently executed for his 1542 edition of the Bible. C.Ch.G. Visser, op.cit. pp.114-115.

nature of the type of a number of Crom and Mierdmans' works to those of van Oldenborch. Moreover, such a hypothesis accords well with the chronology of the van Oldenborch press. All the pamphlets bearing his name, with the exception of the Troost, were certainly printed from 1536 onwards, in which year Crom also probably began his career as a printer.

Johannes Hoochstraten, Simon Corver, Adriaen van Berghen, Jacob van Liesvelt, Mattheus Crom, Steven Mierdmans and Niclaes van Oldenborch account for more than half of Dutch pamphlets and Bibles printed between 1520 and 1565. Of these seven printers one was imprisoned on at least two occasions (Simon Corver), another (Steven Mierdmans) was twice forced into exile, whilst two and possibly three (Adriaen van Berghen, Jacob van Liesvelt and perhaps Niclaes van Oldenborch) were executed for their heterodox activities. This being the case one must ask why printers were prepared to run the risk of printing evangelical literature.

In the case of the thirty or so printers responsible for the remaining half of evangelical pamphlets, opportunism and financial gain may have been more important motives. After all, printers were in business to make money and the evangelical book trade was certainly a growth market. Some printers had no qualms about producing both orthodox Catholic and evangelical works. Willem Vorsterman, for example, printed a large number of anti-Lutheran tracts including a Dutch translation of Luther's condemnation by the Sorbonne (1521),⁷⁰ the government sponsored Anathematizatio et revocatio of Jacob Praepositus (1522),⁷¹ prior of the Augustinian monastery of Antwerp, and an anonymous refutation of some Antwerp Lutherans, the Redelijck bewijs der dolingen van ses prochianen der luterschen secten (1527-28).⁷² On the other hand, he is also believed to have printed half a dozen Danish translations of Luther.⁷³ The opportunism and ambiguity of the Vorsterman press is perhaps best illustrated, however, by the Vorsterman

70 NK706. See pp.316-317.

71 NK1751.

72 NK321. See p.315.

73 NK1436-1441. M.E. Kronenberg, 'De drukker van de deensche boeken te Antwerpen (1529-1531)', HB VIII (1919), pp.1-8.

Bible, first printed in 1528.⁷⁴ Ostensibly an orthodox Catholic translation of the Vulgate, it has recently been established that for certain passages the Vorsterman Bible is dependent upon Luther.⁷⁵ Perhaps contemporary Catholic theologians suspected as much, for the Vorsterman Bible was proscribed by the index of 1546.⁷⁶

Whatever the motives of printers such as Vorsterman, however, it is difficult to believe that men like van Berghen and Liesvelt printed evangelical pamphlets for financial rewards alone. The major Reformation printers appear to have been highly committed to the cause of the Gospel. This did not mean that from time to time they might not print orthodox Catholic works. Liesvelt even published an anti-heresy decree, probably hoping that such a publication would ward off the suspicion of the authorities. Yet the volume of evangelical literature that such men printed, together with their persistence in such activities after prosecution suggests that they had more than financial interests at stake.

Without doubt, the most important printing centre in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century was Antwerp. Antwerp was not the first Netherlands town to have a printing press. Presses were established at Aalst and Utrecht as early as 1473,⁷⁷ whereas the new art of printing did not arrive in Antwerp until 1481. Yet by the beginning of the sixteenth century Antwerp dominated the Netherlands' printing trade. Between 1500 and 1540 there were one hundred and twenty printers in the Netherlands, fifty-six of whom were based in Antwerp and, out of a total of four thousand six hundred editions printed in this period, nearly two thousand five hundred came from Antwerp presses.⁷⁸ Between 1520 and the mid 1540s Antwerp also dominated the evangelical book trade. Some printing of evangelical works took place at Zwolle (Simon Corver), Amsterdam (Doen Pietersz), Delft (Cornelis Henricz, Lettersnijder),

74 NK392.

75 C. Augustijn, 'De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528', NAK LVI (1975), pp.78-94.

76 ROPB ii serie V, p.258.

77 P.R.J. Oobbema and A. Derolez, 'De produktie en verspreiding van het boek 1300-1500'. Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden (Haarlem, 1980), IV, p.351.

78 M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken, p.65.

Leiden (Jan Seversz and Peter Jansz), Ghent (Joos Lambrecht Lettersnijder) and elsewhere. Nevertheless, of the two dozen or so printers of evangelical literature at this time, more than half were based in Antwerp.

Yet by the mid 1540s Antwerp had ceased to be the centre of the evangelical book trade in the Netherlands. The major cause of Antwerp's demise was government repression. With the executions of van Berghen (1542) and Liesveld (1545) and the probably enforced departure of Mierdmans (c1546), the government had three notable successes against the heterodox printers of the great metropolis. Jacob van Liesveld's widow together with his son Hans continued to print Lutheran Bibles, whilst men like Ameet Tavernier and, of course, Christopher Plantin published a limited number of heterodox tracts, but Antwerp was never again to dominate the evangelical book trade in the Netherlands as it had in the preceding quarter of a century.

The demise of evangelical printing in Antwerp had repercussions throughout the Low Countries. True, Peter Warnersz printed a clutch of pamphlets at Kampen in the 1550s and '60s,⁷⁹ whilst from 1563 onwards a number of tracts were published at Vianen, the sovereign lordship of the house of Brederode.⁸⁰ Elsewhere in the Netherlands, however, evangelical printing was all but extinct by 1550. In the two decades immediately preceding the Revolt the bulk of Protestant literature was printed abroad. Reformed tracts were printed in London from the mid 1540s until 1553 and in large numbers from 1554 onwards at Emden. Hans de Braecker also printed a number of Lutheran works from the 1550s onwards at Wesel. Printing abroad had obvious advantages over clandestine printing in the Netherlands insofar as it allowed the heterodox printer much greater freedom and opportunity. However, this was an added bonus rather than the major cause of the shift in the printing of Dutch pamphlets away from the Netherlands which was the increasing success of

79 See G.H.A. Krans, 'Peter Warnersen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen', HB XXIV (1936-37), pp.147-186.

80 See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', HB XXX (1949-51), pp.3-41.

the government in combatting the heretical book trade.⁸¹

Turning from the printers to their forbidden wares, one finds that the vast majority of evangelical tracts conform to a clear pattern. Most Dutch pamphlets were printed in gothic script, in octavo size, on low quality paper. Essentially, there were two sorts of type in the sixteenth century, gothic⁸² and roman. In the main, the roman script, made fashionable by Petrarch and his disciples, was used for Latin texts, and particularly for works of a humanist inclination, whilst gothic remained the traditional script for vernacular and theological writings. In the Netherlands (as in Germany, Scandinavia and the Slavonic countries) gothic script predominated. It would appear that Netherlanders found Dutch written in the Roman letter difficult to read. In the foreward to the Refereynen int vroede, int sotte, int amoureuze (1539)⁸³, printed in Roman letters, its Ghent publisher Joos Lambrecht wrote

'Ick schaems my der plompeyt, dat men in onzen landen zo menyghen mensche vindt, die ons nederlantsch, duutsch of vlaemsche sprake, in Romeynscher letteren gheprentt, niet gheleezen en can, zegghende dat hy de letteren niet en kendt, maer het dynckt hem latijn of griecx te wezen.'⁸⁴

In particular, gothic seems to have been more accessible to the literate yet non Latin reading public in the Netherlands. Although the Antwerp publisher Pieter Coecke published Sebastiano Serlio's book of

81 The gradual decline of Emden as a printing centre after 1572 and the corresponding growth of Reformed printing in the towns of Holland and Zeeland would suggest that if at all possible, Dutch printers preferred to work within the Netherlands.

82 There are three varieties of gothic script - black letter, missal letter and bastard. L. Febvre and H.-J. Martin, The coming of the book (London, 1976), p.78.

83 NK1785.

84 H. de la Fontaine Verwey, Uit de wereld van het boek. I. Humanisten, dwevers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw (Amsterdam, 1975), p.135.
'I am ashamed of the boorishness of so many people that one finds in our country who cannot read our Dutch, Low German or Flemish language printed in roman type, and who say that they do not know the letters, but think they are Latin or Greek'.

architecture in roman script for the French and German versions, he reverted to gothic for the Dutch text

'opdat het boeck den ghemeenen man 1eselijcker sijn sonde...' ⁸⁵

Occasionally, printers of evangelical works used type faces other than gothic. A Protestant Bible published by Lenaert der Kinderen at Emden in 1563 was printed entirely in cursive⁸⁶, but this project had little success⁸⁷. The only other notable departure from gothic in Dutch evangelical literature was the use of civilité by a few printers in the 1560s. Civilité print, known in Dutch as 'geschreven letter' and in English as 'script type' was an adaptation of gothic cursive handwriting first used by the French printer Robert Granjon at Lyons for Innocenzo Ringhieri's Dialogue de la vie et de la mort (1557).⁸⁸ As a result of its use in a number of evangelical catechisms and schoolbooks published in French, civilité print became particularly associated with works of a heterodox inclination.⁸⁹ Yet such catechisms were not avowedly Reformed or Calvinist, but rather of an evangelically-minded and christian humanist tenor. It may be, therefore, that civilité was particularly adopted by christian humanists when they wrote in the vernacular since they would find the gothic script distasteful or barbaric. The only Dutch evangelical works to be printed in civilité were the Gheestelijcken ABC ghetogen wt den psalmen van David of the Antwerp rhetorician Cornelis Cruel (Willem Silvius, Antwerp, 1564),⁹⁰ together with two anonymous tracts both printed by Ameet Tavernier of Antwerp, the Fonteyne des levens (1564 and 1567)⁹¹ and Een corte

85 Ibid. pp.64 and 135. 'So that the common man could read the book more easily'.

86 Cursive is linked to roman script and is the origin of italic. L. Febvre and H.-J. Martin, op.cit. p.79.

87 H. de la Fontaine Verwey, Uit de werelt van het boek, p.20.

88 H. Carter and H.D.L. Vervliet, Civilité types (Oxford, 1966), p.11.

89 H. de la Fontaine Verwey, Uit de werelt van het boek, pp.139-141.

90 H. Carter and H.D.L. Vervliet, op.cit. p.95, no.81.

91 Ibid. pp.95-96, nos.82 and 107.

onderwijsinghe wter heyliger schriftueren (1562 and 1567).⁹² Such exceptions to the use of gothic, however, were few and far between, and the gothic script of the overwhelming majority of Dutch pamphlets is an indication that they were destined for the unlearned.

Just as most pamphlets appeared in gothic script, so also the vast majority were printed in octavo size. Of course, as with type faces, there are one or two exceptions. The anti-papal satire Die daden werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus appeared in quarto, as did the Dutch translation of Bugenhagen's commentary on the psalms, Die souter. Verclaringhe des gheheelen psalters.⁹³

Those pamphlets printed in larger sizes were usually longer works. Bugenhagen's Souter, for example, consists of some three hundred and sixteen folios, whilst Luther's Postillen op die epistelen ende evangelien (1528) which was published in folio is an impressive six hundred folios long. Given the relatively small number of words it is possible to fit on an octavo page, it was more practical to print very long works in a larger size as this resulted in fewer pages, easier binding and a handier format. For the most part, however, evangelical pamphlets were printed in octavo. This partly reflected a general trend in sixteenth century printing; almost half the books published by Christopher Plantin, for example, were printed in octavo.⁹⁴ But there were also practical reasons for the printing of heterodox pamphlets in such a handy size for it meant that, should the need arise, they could be easily concealed. One Bruges evangelical, a carpenter by the name of Dierik van Eeno would hide his copy of the Fonteyne des levens up his sleeve⁹⁵. Likewise Jan Schats of Leuven when passing on Urbanus Regius's Dialogus van de prekinghe die Christus den twee discipelen dede tot Emaus (1538) to a fellow evangelical named Jan van Ousberghen carried it up his sleeve.⁹⁶

92 Ibid. pp.95-96, nos.58 and 91.

93 NK508. See pp.268-269.

94 L. Voet, The golden compasses (Amsterdam, 1969), II, p.167.

95 J. Decavele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, p.259.

96 NK1789. See p.301. Campan, p.362.

Usually, evangelical pamphlets were printed on low quality paper. This reflected a desire to cut costs on the part of both the printer and publisher as paper was one of the most expensive items involved in the process of book production. Voet has calculated that in the Plantin firm paper accounted for around sixty to seventy per cent of the cost of publishing a book, and this could rise as high as seventy-five per cent for some large print runs.⁹⁷ Plantin specialized in the publication of service books and breviaries. In this case a fairly good quality paper would be needed whilst the price would matter less. Hence Plantin's paper costs were probably slightly higher than average. Reformation pamphlets, on the other hand, aimed at the widest possible readership, and costs therefore had to be kept as low as possible in order to keep down the price of the book.⁹⁸

The clandestine nature of the evangelical book trade in the Netherlands means that relatively little information can be gleaned about the size of print runs. Isolated examples can be quoted. At the top end of the range, some two thousand five hundred copies of Jan Uttenhove's Dutch translation of the New Testament were printed by Gilles van der Erven in 1556.⁹⁹ Other sizeable editions include a Dutch translation of a Calvinist remonstrance to Philip II (2,000 copies)¹⁰⁰ and some Beggar songs printed at Kampen in 1567 (1,000 copies).¹⁰¹ At the lower end of the range, some five hundred copies of an anti-Luther tract commissioned by the cathedral chapter of Utrecht were printed in 1522-23,¹⁰² whilst five hundred copies of a tract commemorating the death of Luther, Vander doot ende overlijdene van Maertin Luther were

97 L. Voet, *op.cit.* p.19.

98 In the sixteenth century printed books were usually sold unbound. Again, this helped to keep costs and therefore prices down.

99 J.H. Hessels, Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae archivum epistolae et tractus (Cambridge, 1889-97), II, p.63.

100 G. Moreau, Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la révolution des Pays-Bas (Paris, 1962), p.165 n.4.

101 S. Elte, 'De rechtzaak tegen Peter Warners, boekdrukker te Kampen (1566-1567)', Kamper almanak (1951-52), p.162.

102 Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van het dom te Utrecht, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatien, ed. W.J. Alberts (The Hague, 1976), CLV, p.582.

printed by Erasmus Querceus at Bruges in 1547.¹⁰³ The smallest known print run for an evangelical pamphlet was one of one hundred copies for the Half blat pampiers met epistele up de name van sinte Pauwels ghezonden an die van Lardiceen, also printed by Querceus at Bruges in 1547.¹⁰⁴

Whilst it would not be valid to take an average from such a small sample, such figures are useful in setting the upper and lower limits for print runs of Protestant pamphlets. Few editions would have exceeded two thousand five hundred copies. Admittedly, four thousand copies of Luther's famous An den christlichen adel deutscher nation were printed for the first edition of 1520,¹⁰⁵ and Luther's German Bible was first printed in a run of three thousand copies,¹⁰⁶ but these are exceptional cases. Conversely, few editions would be printed in a run of less than five hundred, as this would tend to make a pamphlet uneconomic. Jan Moretus, son-in-law of Christopher Plantin was at pains to point out that an edition of twelve copies of De Kerle's music made no sense financially.¹⁰⁷ In all probability the print runs of one thousand five hundred and a thousand are nearer the norm, bearing in mind that Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin have calculated an average edition of between a thousand and one thousand five hundred for the early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁸

What of the prices of evangelical pamphlets? There is little doubt that the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw a drop in the price of books. This was partly the result of a lowering of production costs due to better organization and improvement in business practices.

103 A. Dewitte, 'Chronologie van de reformatie te Brugge en in het Brugse vrije (1485-1593)', Brugge in de geuzentijd. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse vrije tijdens de 16 de eeuw (Bruges, 1982), p.36.

104 Ibid.

105 L. Febvre and H.J. Martin, op.cit. p.291.

106 C.C. De Bruin, De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers (Leiden, 1937), p.118.

107 L. Voet, op.cit. p.169. The Basel printer Johannes Bebel even considered a print run of three hundred to be uneconomical, C.A. Pater, Karlstadt as the father of the baptist movements: the emergence of lay protestantism (Toronto, 1984), p.291.

108 L. Febvre and H.J. Martin, op.cit. p.218.

In 1466 a printed german Bible cost twelve guilders. In 1470 the price had dropped to nine guilders and by 1483 it was as low as six guilders.¹⁰⁹ With the coming of the Reformation prices dropped even lower. An unbound copy of Luther's first complete German Bible cost as little as two gulden eight groschen, though by 1541 the price had risen slightly to three guilders.¹¹⁰ Bibles were now printed on poorer quality paper and in larger print runs - hence lower prices.

Nevertheless, measured against the average daily wage even Luther's Bible was still not cheap. The average wage of a Saxon mason or carpenter was half a guilder for three days work and thus, even at the lowest prices, a Bible was the equivalent of three weeks work.¹¹¹ In the Netherlands too, a complete Bible could only be obtained at considerable expense. A Leiden bookseller's inventory reveals that a Bible retailed at one guilder two stuivers, and about 1540 a Leuven burgher bought a Bible from a student for thirty stuivers and two tankards of beer.¹¹² The highest daily wage for the skilled occupation of master stonemason in the Flemish town of Aalst between 1540 and 1549 was twelve groats.¹¹³ With one stuiver being equal to two groats,¹¹⁴ a Bible cost at the very least one week's wages and, for most artisans, probably a good deal more.

Short pamphlets, of course, cost a good deal less than Bibles. On his journey through the Low Countries in 1520-21 Albrecht Dürer bought the Condemnatio doctrinalis librorum Martini Lutheri (1520) for only one

109 C.C. De Bruin, op.cit. p.89.

110 R. Gawthrop and G. Strauss, 'Protestantism and literacy in early modern Germany,' Past and present CIV (1984), p.40, n41.

111 Ibid. p.40.

112 C.C. De Bruin, op.cit. p.186. Any comparison between German and Dutch prices is difficult. One German guilder was not, as one might suppose, equal to one Dutch guilder.

113 C. Verlinden, Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzenen lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (Bruges, 1959), III, p.199.

114 Numerous moneys of account were in circulation in the Netherlands at this time. For an explanation of the relative value of each of these see P. Spufford, Monetary problems and policies in the burgundian Netherlands 1433-1496 (Leiden, 1970), pp.166-69.

stuiver.¹¹⁵ In all probability he purchased a copy of the twelve page edition which had been published by Claes de Grave of Antwerp in June 1520.¹¹⁶ De val der roomscher kercken (1553), a virulent polemic against the doctrine of transubstantiation of some forty-eight pages cost two stuivers when an Anabaptist named Jan de Monick purchased a copy in 1555.¹¹⁷

Larger pamphlets, however, were not so cheap. The Sermonen of Niclaes Peeters (c1540, vol. I 288 pages, vol. II 392 pages)¹¹⁸ fetched twelve stuivers at Leuven in 1543,¹¹⁹ whilst Urbanus Regius's Dialogus van de prekinghe die Christus den twee discipelen dede tot Emaus (352 pages) cost eight stuivers.¹²⁰ Moreover, within the evangelical circle in which these works were sold the demand for evangelical books was so great that members were evidently prepared to make money by their knowledge of where they could be obtained. One Jan Beyaerts told his inquisitors that when asked by Jan van Ousberghen if he knew of anyone who possessed the Dialogus of Regius he had replied Yes, but had not named the person because he had thought he could gain two or three stuivers.¹²¹ In other words, Beyaerts was hoping to use his knowledge of the whereabouts of this book to blackmail van Ousberghen.

115 A. Durer, Diary of his journey to the Netherlands, 1520-1521, ed. J.A. Goris and G. Marlier (London, 1971), pp. 69 and 71.

116 NK2231.

117 A.F. Mellink, Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica II, Amsterdam (1536-1578) (Leiden, 1980), p.232. Another pamphlet which probably retailed at a low price or may have even been given away was the anti-Lutheran tract printed at the request of the cathedral chapter of Utrecht in 1522-23. Although the selling price is not known, the cost of printing five hundred copies of this pamphlet was only three florins. W.J. Alberts, op.cit. p.582.

118 NK1691-1692. See pp.167-200. The trial documents simply refer to 'Apostille', but that Peeters' sermons are meant by this generic term is confirmed by Jan Beyaerts who testified that Joes van Ousberghen had said that the author was a Franciscan. Campan pp.406-408.

119 Campan, pp.460-462.

120 Campan, pp.346, 538.

121 Campan, p.440.

Given that Bibles and longer pamphlets were relatively expensive, one might suppose that they were not purchased by the mass of the population. Indeed, such is the argument of Gawthrop and Strauss who have attacked the traditional notion that Bible-reading was a popular pastime of a large percentage of Lutheran Germany. Most printed Bibles, they assert, went to parish churches and pastors' libraries, purchased either by governments or bought up with the aid of public funds as directed by ecclesiastical ordinances. Prices of Bibles were so high, the argument runs, that the estimated 200,000 German Bibles published in the sixteenth century could not have been absorbed by the buying public.¹²²

Whatever the validity of these arguments in the case of Lutheran Germany, they cannot be applied to the Netherlands. Between 1520 and 1566 there were no less than one hundred and thirty-seven evangelical editions of the Bible and the New Testament printed in Dutch. In addition, there were some fifty-six Catholic editions of the Bible and the New Testament published in the same period.¹²³ Assuming a print run of 1,000,¹²⁴ this means that perhaps as many as 200,000 Dutch Bibles and New Testaments were published between 1520 and 1566. With a Dutch speaking population of approximately two million,¹²⁵ then over the period 1520-1566 there would have been something like five million Dutch speakers alive at some point during this time. This means that there was approximately one Bible per twenty-five people in the Dutch speaking area of the Netherlands.¹²⁶ Admittedly, authorized Catholic versions may have been bought up by priests or parish churches, but Catholic

122 R. Gawthrop and G. Strauss, 'Protestantism and literacy in early modern Germany', p.40.

123 Figures taken from W.C. Poortman, Bijbel en prent (The Hague, 1983), 1, pp.201-10.

124 De Bruin suggests larger print runs of between 1,500 and 3,000 for early evangelical Bibles printed in the Netherlands. C.C. De Bruin, *op.cit.*, p.186.

125 Parker estimates the total population of the Netherlands at three million. G. Parker, The dutch revolt (London, 1977). Approximately two million of these were Dutch speaking.

126 Not all Dutch evangelical Bibles would have circulated within the Netherlands. Some would have been destroyed, whilst others would have been used in exiled communities abroad.

texts account for less than one third of total production. The vast majority of Dutch Bibles were evangelical in tone, and many were forbidden by the various indices librorum prohibitorum. This meant that official markets such as the Church were closed to them and they were therefore sold to the general population.

And what of literacy rates? What percentage of the population were able to read the Bible or an evangelical tract? English will evidence from 1373 and 1466 suggests literacy levels of between a third and two fifths of the population.¹²⁷ However, in this case literacy is defined as the ability to sign one's name. Clearly this is a different type of literacy from the more advanced skill of being able to read a book. For Germany it has been calculated that the ability to read may have been restricted to between one in ten and one in three persons in the towns, but nationally was probably no higher than one in twenty.¹²⁸ As a result one scholar has argued that

'Access to the printed word was probably restricted to a small...educational elite.'¹²⁹

Partly as a result of this hypothesis this same historian has placed considerable stress upon the role of visual propaganda in the German Reformation, particularly emphasizing the role of woodcuts as a polemical tool.

In the Netherlands, however, there is a striking absence of woodcuts in the early years of the Reformation.¹³⁰ True, there are occasional references to heretical illustrations in trial proceedings. In 1527 a goldsmith involved in the evangelical circle of Nicolaas van der Elst at Brussels was found in possession of a lampoon against the clergy,¹³¹

127 R. Crofts, 'Books, reform and the reformation', ARG LXXI (1980), p.25.

128 R.W. Scribner, For the sake of simple folk, (Cambridge, 1981), p.2.

129 *Ibid.*

130 A similar absence of woodcuts in the literature of the French Reformation has been noted in F. Higman 'Le levain de l'Évangile'. Histoire de l'édition française. VI. Le livre conquérant, ed. H.-J. Martin, R. Chartier, J.-P. Vivet (Paris, 1982), p.313.

131 J. Duverger, 'Lutherse predicatie te Brussel en het proces tegen een aantal kunstenaars (april-juni 1527)', Wetenschappelijke tijdingen XXXVI (1977), col.225.

whilst at Amsterdam in 1534 a painter named Peter Rippensz was sentenced to a pilgrimage to Rome on account of a painting in which he had depicted monks as devils fishing for money, cheeses and other goods.¹³² Some pamphlets, most notably Luther's Postillen op die epistelen ende evangelien and Cornelis vander Heyden's Corte instruccye (1543)¹³³ carry woodcuts depicting biblical narratives. Many Dutch translations of Luther's Bible also contain evangelical anti-Roman woodcuts, usually based upon German originals. In addition to these pamphlet and Bible illustrations a few broadsheets of an evangelical inclination have survived.¹³⁴ By far the most overtly evangelical of these is an undated woodcut by an unknown artist depicting the battle between the true faith and false spirituality which bears the inscription

'Hier mach men t veruolch der Christen aensien
 Van die godlose Jagers met groten hopen
 Naect moghen si tot die fonteyne vlién
 So sullen si alle quade wel ontlopen.'¹³⁵

Nevertheless, generally speaking woodcuts did not play a particularly important part in the Dutch Reformation. There are three possible reasons for this. Literacy rates were, as we shall shortly discover, higher in the Netherlands than in Germany. If woodcuts are primarily seen as a means of communicating the Reformation to the illiterate masses, it might be argued that since more people in the Netherlands could read there was less cause to print such illustrations. However, such reasoning fails to explain the abundance of satirical prints and woodcuts published in the 1560s and '70s after the outbreak of the Revolt.¹³⁶ A more plausible explanation for the absence of

132 I.H. van Eeghen, 'Een kettersche schilderij in 1534', Oud-Holland LVII (1940), p.108.

133 See pp.286-288.

134 See W. Nijhoff, Nederlandsche houtsneden, 1500-1550 (The Hague, 1931-39), plates 187-192, 291-292, 293-294.

135 Ibid. plates 253-254. 'Here you can see the persecution of the Christians by the godless hunters in large crowds. They may run naked to the fountain and so escape all evil (men).'

136 For examples of such prints see S. Groenveldt, H.L.Ph. Leeuwenberg et al. De kogel door de kerk (Zutphen, 1979). J. Decaene, Eenheid en scheiding in de Nederlanden 1555-1585 (Ghent, 1976) and Opstand en onafhankelijheid (Dordrecht, 1972).

3. 'The battle between the true faith and false spirituality'



woodcuts in the early years of the Dutch Reformation is to be found in the character of evangelical religion in the Netherlands. German Reformation woodcuts were almost invariably polemical in tone. In the Netherlands, however, the delayed confessionalization between evangelical and Catholic meant that polemic figured far less prominently in Reformation pamphlets.¹³⁷ Thus a less polemical Reformation resulted in fewer satirical woodcuts. Notably, when a clearly confessionalized Reformation was established by the Calvinists in the 1560s and '70s, polemical prints figured strongly. Finally, the clandestine nature of the evangelical book trade in the Netherlands may have resulted in the omitting of woodcuts from some pamphlets to keep costs down. Die daden werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus, for example, translated from the highly polemical Passional Christi und Antichristi (1521) contains no illustrations at all, whereas the German original contains twenty-six woodcuts contrasting Christ and the papacy.¹³⁸ It is difficult to see why this should be the case, particularly as the original illustrations are so germane to the text, except for economic reasons.

To return to the question of the ability to read evangelical pamphlets, it would be foolish to suggest that literacy in the sixteenth century Netherlands approached modern levels. Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that levels of literacy may well have been higher in the Netherlands than elsewhere in sixteenth century Europe. In the first place, the Netherlands with over two hundred towns was one of the most urbanized societies in early modern Europe,¹³⁹ and it is generally agreed that levels of literacy were higher in towns than in rural areas at this time.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, the Italian immigrant Ludovico Guicciardini writing in 1567 particularly noted the relatively high level of literacy amongst the rural population of the Netherlands:

'Hier hebben eertijds gheweest ende zijn nu
noch veel gheleerde mannen in alle wetenschap
ende konste wel gheschicht. De ghemeyne

¹³⁷ See p.71.

¹³⁸ See pp.272-275.

¹³⁹ G. Parker, op.cit. p.23.

¹⁴⁰ R.W. Scribner, op.cit. pp.1-2.

lieden hebben mestendeels wat beginseis in Grammatica; ende kunnen schier al t'samen, jaē oock de boeren ende landtlieden ten aller minsten lesen ende schryven.' ¹⁴¹ 141

Certainly, reading skills were not the exclusive preserve of a social elite in the Netherlands. Lieven de Zomere, a baker by trade, boasted in 1522 that he owned as many as nineteen books by Luther.¹⁴² This may have been something of an exaggeration, but he was in possession of at least three Lutheran works - the Condemnatio doctrinalis librorum Martini Lutheri per quosdam magistros Lovanienses et Colonienses facta cum responsione Lutheriana ad eandem condemnationem, the Captivitate babilonica ecclesiae (1520) and an exposition of the Ten Commandments.¹⁴³ In 1535 Rem Peterssen an Anabaptist furrier was discovered to be in possession of three evangelical books, 'een tboeck...gemaict bij Johannes Pomeranus', 'tboeck van den propheten' and 'de Duytssche misse gemaict bij Johannes Oecolampadius'.¹⁴⁴ Finally, Jan van Genk, the son of a shoemaker from Maastricht and a glassmaker by trade, owned a copy of the Gulden onderwijsinge om te antwoorden op alle puncten de vyanden der waerheyt bybrenghen moghen (1525).¹⁴⁵

141 L. Guicciardini, Beschryvinghe van alle de Nederlanden; andersins ghenoemt Neder-Duytlandt (Amsterdam, 1612), p.27. There have been and still are here (in the Netherlands) many men learned in all branches of scholarship and knowledge. The common people mostly understand the rudiments of grammar, and can almost all, yes, even the farmers and country people, at least read and write'.

142 CD IV, p.110.

143 CD IV, p.113.

144 G. Grosheide, 'Verhooren en vonnissen der wederdoopers, betrokken bij de aanslagen op Amsterdam', Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap XLI (1920), p.163. The book by 'Pomeranus' was probably Bugenhagen's Souter (NK508). 'Tboeck van den propheten' was probably a translation of Ludwig Haetzer and Hans Denk's Alle propheten, nach der hebraischen sprache verdeutscht. The Dutch translation may have been the work of Gerardus Geldenhauer. See C. Augustijn, 'De Vorstermangijbel van 1528', NAK LVI (1975), pp.84-85, n.34. Oecolampadius' 'Duytssche misse' was printed within the Summa der godliker scripturen, but may also have been published separately.

145 NK1623 and 3631. M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken, p.44. W. Bax, Het protestantisme in het bisdom Luik en vooral te Maastricht 1505-1557 (The Hague, 1937), I, pp.84-85.

Even when someone was illiterate, this did not mean that evangelical literature was completely inaccessible to them. As well as being read privately, the Bible and printed sermons were sometimes read aloud to groups of evangelicals meeting in conventicles. The members of one such group, meeting at Leuven in the early 1540s, had in their possession a total of about forty books. Although some of these works had no specifically religious content whilst others were of an orthodox Catholic nature, they also included a considerable number of popular evangelical pamphlets. Besides a number of vernacular Bibles and New Testaments, they owned some Dutch translations of German Lutheran tracts including Luther's Christeliche oprechte wtlegghinghe des vijfsten boecks Mosi (c1530),¹⁴⁶ the Troostinghe wt der godliker script (1542) of Caspar Huberinus,¹⁴⁷ Otto Brunfels' Gulden ghebedeboecxken (1531)¹⁴⁸ and the Dialogus van de prekinghe die Christus den twee discipelen dede, tot Emaus.¹⁴⁹ In addition, they also owned a number of indigenous tracts including the Fonteyne des levens (1533),¹⁵⁰ the Sermonen of Niclaes Peeters,¹⁵¹ the Troost ende spiegel der siecken of Willem Gnapheus,¹⁵² the Kinderleere. Dat christen gheloove,¹⁵³ Dat begrijp der gheheelder Bibelen int corte (c1535)¹⁵⁴ and accounts of the two Antwerp Augustinians (died 1523)¹⁵⁵ and Wendelmoet Claesdochter (died 1527)¹⁵⁶. As part of the devotional life of this conventicle the Bible and the sermons of

146 Campan, pp.392, 410, 460, 462. The Christeliche oprechte wtlegghinghe des vijfsten boecks Mosi has only recently been identified as a translation of Luther's Deuteronomion Mosi cum annotationibus (1525), Benzing 1850-1857. See U. Kopp, 'Ein unbekannter und andere niederländische Lutherdruck von ca. 1528 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel', Wolfenbütteler Notizen IV (1979), pp.46-53.

147 Un procès de religion à Louvain. Paul de Rovere, 1542-1546, ed. R. van Santbergen (Brussels, 1953), p.69.

148 Campan, pp.314, 344, 566, 584, 586, 594, 632.

149 Campan, pp.312, 314, 342-344, 346, 352, 356, 440, 458, 506, 552, 588, 594, 632.

150 Campan, pp.310, 506, 552, 560, 600.

151 Campan, pp.314, 318, 326, 348, 350, 352, 364, 392, 408-410, 446, 458, 462, 510, 514, 516, 534, 584, 600, 614.

152 Campan, p.460.

153 Campan, pp.310, 328, 342, 364, 374, 478-480, 506, 560, 632.

154 Campan, p.576.

155 Campan, p.602.

156 Campan, p.602.

Peeters were read aloud¹⁵⁷ and thus a bridge was thrown across the divide between literate and illiterate members of the group.

Another conventicle in which a large number of printed books circulated met at Brussels in the 1520s. As well as possessing the Summa der godliker scripturen a work of Dutch origin, Jan de Kinderen, a leading member of the group, also owned pamphlets by leading German and Swiss reformers. These included six works of Luther, Melanchthon's commentary on Romans, Oecolampadius's exposition of the prophet Isaiah and Bugenhagen's commentary on the Psalms.¹⁵⁸ It is not known whether any of these works were read aloud as at Leuven. Nevertheless, it is likely that the conventicle served as a forum for discussion of the ideas expressed in these pamphlets. In this way it would have been possible for an illiterate member of the group to gain some 'book-knowledge' via a literate member.

However, Reformation pamphlets did not circulate only amongst relatively lowly members of society or within evangelical conventicles. They also found a readership within educated and well-to-do circles. Cornelis Grapheus, for example, town secretary of Antwerp, owned a number of Lutheran books which he was required to burn when he recanted

157 See p.35 n.151.

158 Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels, Papiers d'Etat et de l'audience 1177⁶ fol.6r, 16r. Luther: i) 'Resolutionis et conclusionis indulgitys cum propositione' = Resolutionis disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute (1518). Benzing 205-208. ii) 'Die seuen psalmen' = Die seuen penitencie psalmen (1520). NK1426. iii) 'Een schoen bedeboeck etc.' = Een deuoet ende zeer schoon bedeboxken wt die heylige schrifftuer (c1525). NK1419 and 3457. iv) 'Pater noster van Martin Luther' = Van dat heylige pater noster een verclaringhe (c1525). NK0856. v) 'Expositie op sint Peters epistelen' = Die ierste epistel S. Peters met een schoone wtlegginghe (c1524). NK4258, and Dat ander epistel S. Peters met een schoone wtlegginghe (1524). NK0852. vi) 'Een christelike wtlegginghe op die propheet Iona' = Een christelike wtlegginghe op die propheet Iona ende op Habacuc (before 1527). NK01335. Copy in Wolfenbuttel HAB. Melanchthon: 'Philippien melancton opde epistelen ad romanos etc.' = Annotationes in epistolas Pauli ad Rhomanos et Corinthios (1523). NK4448. 'Oecolampadius', 'Ecolampodium op de propheet Ezaiam' = In Tesaiam prophetam hypomnematon (1525). BL1107. f.14. Bugenhagen: 'Pomeranum opden souter' = Die souter. Verclaringhe des gheheelen psalters.

his heresy on 6 May 1522.¹⁵⁹ In 1529 a schoolmaster from Doesburg by the name of Arnoldus Kuyck was found to be in possession of a large number of evangelical books. As well as Latin works by authors such as Johannes Bugenhagen, Otto Brunfels, François Lambert, Philip Melanchthon and Ulrich von Hutten, Kuyck also owned some vernacular texts by Luther. These included Den ouden Adam. Een excellente devote godlycke theologie (1521), Een excellent boecxken int welcke een kerstemensche leeren mach hoe hi goede ende duegeliche wercken doen sal (c1527), and Dutch translations of Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen (1520) and Eine kurze Form des Paternoster zu verstehen und zu beten für die jungen Kinder (1519). In addition, Kuyck also owned a copy of Hans Sachs' Schoone disputatione van eenen evangelisschen schoenmaecker ende van eenen papistighen coorheere (c1525).¹⁶⁰

The dissemination of evangelical books in ecclesiastical circles within the Netherlands is difficult to determine. For obvious reasons Catholic priests did not publicize their possession or reading of forbidden heterodox literature. However, some scraps of evidence are available. One Nicolaus Christi, pastor of Begijnhof in Bergen-op-Zoom in the 1520s, owned a copy of Luther's Captivitate babylonica ecclesiae (1520).¹⁶¹ The canon of Hasker convent in Friesland who openly preached against invocation of the saints had books by Calvin, Brenz, Luther and Menno Simons in his library.¹⁶² Judging from his Leken wechwyser (1554) Johannes Anastasius Veluanus must have read copies of Calvin's Institutio (1536) and Melanchthon's Loci communes (1521) since he praises them and recommends them as useful catechisms.¹⁶³ In all probability Anastasius had also read works by Luther, Brenz, Bugenhagen and Regius.¹⁶⁴ Evangelical books circulating amongst the

159 CD IV p.121.

160 A. Gruys, 'Het inventarium van Doesburg (1529). Een boek-archeologisch onderzoek', Forty-three studies in bibliography presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellinga (Amsterdam, 1980), pp.244, 246-247.

161 M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken, p.40.

162 J.J. Woltjer, Friesland in hervormingstijd (Leiden, 1962), p.103.

163 BRN IV, pp.190, 258.

164 BRN IV, pp.198, 202, 224.

clergy, however, were usually Latin rather than vernacular texts. The episcopal visitations of 1559-1560 in the duchy of Jülich, for example, which listed all the books in the possession of the clergy of each parish, demonstrate the considerable popularity of Protestant authors in an as yet unconfessionalized region. Books by Calvin, Bucer, Bullinger, Pellicanus, Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Brenz, Corvinus, Jonas, Huberinus, Musculus, Spangenberg and Sacerius were all found in the libraries of various chaplains and parish priests.¹⁶⁵ Almost without exception however, these were Latin texts.

Having considered evangelical printers, the pamphlets themselves and their circulation within various social groups, we must finally turn to the distribution of heterodox literature. There were a number of ways evangelical tracts were disseminated in the Netherlands. In the first place, Reformation pamphlets could be purchased direct from the publisher or printer. If a particular individual gained a reputation for the printing of heterodox literature then interested parties might go to him direct. Such literature would be sold, as it were, 'under the counter'. Adriaen van Berghen, for example, used to keep a sack of Lutheran books in his house for sale, presumably to those who specifically requested them,¹⁶⁶ whilst members of the Leuven conventicle made trips to Antwerp to buy books from Mattheus Crom.¹⁶⁷ Of course, this method of distribution relied solely on the reader knowing which printers produced evangelical works. A second source of heterodox literature, professional colporteurs and booksellers, actually took evangelical books out into the highways and byways and distributed them amongst the population at large, having bought their stock direct from the publisher. Often they took pamphlets into areas away from the main printing centres where there would otherwise have been no access to such literature. Almost certainly this was how the writings of Luther and other reformers found their way into the hands of Menno Simons in the remote Frisian village of Pingjum in 1526. Occasionally colporteurs were discovered distributing their forbidden wares. One

165 See Julich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik, ed. O.R. Redlich (Bonn, 1911).

166 Antwerpsch archievenblad VII (1870), p.301.

167 Campan, p.362.

Jan Buidelmaker was banished for selling books by Cornelis Cooltuyn in Enkhuizen.¹⁶⁸ Another colporteur by the name of Aert Aertssen van Schoonhoven was discovered distributing Hans Sachs' Schoone disputatie van eenen evangelisschen schoemaker ende van eenen papistighen coerheere at Gouda¹⁶⁹ whilst two Anabaptists named Adriaen Carbout and Adriaen Pierson were found hawking Bibles and copies of the Fonteyne des levens on the island of South Beveland, Zeeland.¹⁷⁰

In addition to these professional colporteurs, there were convinced evangelicals who distributed Reformation pamphlets as part of their evangelizing activities. In 1528, for example, one Gysbrecht Aelbrechtsz of Delft, a tailor by trade, was prosecuted for the distribution of heretical literature.¹⁷¹ In some cases evangelicals distributed their own writings. David Joris, for instance, the notorious Anabaptist leader whose original occupation was that of a glassmaker, was convicted in July 1528 of writing and circulating heretical books.¹⁷² Another case of such private initiative was that of Cornelis Woutersz alias Coperpotgen of Dordrecht. Not only did this enterprising shoemaker distribute his own writings, but he was also responsible for getting them printed in the first place.¹⁷³ On the Catholic side, one 'Meester Luyt', sexton of the Oude Kerk of Amsterdam was personally responsible for the publication and sale of John Eck's Declaracie...teghen zommighe articulen der Lutheranen (1527).¹⁷⁴

Historians have frequently noted that the Reformation was the first movement which made use of printing as a propaganda tool and some have speculated as to the possible impact of pre-Reformation heretical groups if they had had the printing press at their disposal.¹⁷⁵ The wealth of

168 BRN IX, p.209.

169 Oud recht Archief, Gouda, 176, 30 April, 1547, pp.208-9.

170 K.R. Pekelharing. Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der hervorming in Zeeland 1524-1572 (Middelburg, 1866), p.38.

171 CD V, pp.352-353.

172 CD V, pp.348-352.

173 CD V, pp.198-203, 209-210. NK0849 and 01257. See p.335

174 J. Eck, Declaracie ...teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen, Air. NK752. See p.318.

175 L. Febvre and H.-J. Martin, op.cit., p.288. E.L. Eisenstein, The printing press as an agent of change (Cambridge, 1979), I, p.303.

censorship by civil and ecclesiastical authorities clearly demonstrates the impact that orthodox Catholics feared heterodox literature could exert. On the evangelical side, the volume of pamphlets published, their sale and distribution in the Netherlands despite the risks involved, and the dedication of some printers even to the point of martyrdom, all testify to an awareness of the power of the printed word. Perhaps Luther was not exaggerating when he described printing as

'God's highest and extremist act of grace whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward.' 176

176 Ibid. p.304.

CHAPTER 2

THE ORIGINS OF THE DUTCH REFORMATION

In his essay 'The origins of the french reformation: a badly-put question?' Lucien Febvre remarked that the first historians of the French Reformation were not historians at all but churchmen whose purpose was not a sympathetic study, but to provide themselves with religious propaganda.¹ Febvre's remarks are equally applicable to the early histories of the Reformation in the Netherlands. Gerard Brandt's Historie der reformatie en andere kerkelijke geschiedenissen in en omtrent de Nederlanden (1671-1674) is a case in point. Brandt (1628-1685) was a Remonstrant preacher and as such had a theological axe to grind. His aim in writing his Historie der reformatie was to establish that the Netherlands had their own indigenous Reformation tradition stretching back from the 'forerunners' of the Reformation such as Wessel Gansfort, through to the Dutch reformer, namely Erasmus, and to other indigenous reformers such as Angelus Merula, Cornelis Cooltuyn, Anastasius Veluanus, Hubert Duifhuis and the Remonstrants of the Synod of Dort. The Counter-Remonstrants, on the other hand, he saw as part of an alien and foreign importation. So evident was this aim that Brandt encountered strong opposition which forced him to abandon the project and the remaining two volumes were completed by his son.

This notion that the Reformation in the Low Countries was essentially a home grown affair has been a constant theme in the historiography of the Dutch Reformation.² It reached its heights in the work of F. Pijper (1859-1926) who coined the phrase 'national reformed' to describe what he perceived as the indigenous Reformation tradition

1 L. Febvre, 'The origins of the french reformation: a badly-put question', A new kind of history, ed. P. Burke (London, 1973), p.47.

2 Decavele has noted that Belgian historians have placed greater emphasis on the role of Luther than Dutch scholars who have tended to stress the role of Erasmus and certain 'forerunners' to emphasize the independence of the Dutch Reformation. See J. Decavele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), 1, p.589.

in the Netherlands, and was continued by his pupil J. Lindeboom (1882-1958) most notably in De confessionele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden (1946). Part and parcel of this historiographical tradition was an emphasis on the distinctive origins of the Dutch Reformation. Again there is a parallel with the historiography of the French Reformation, Lefèvre d'Étaples being held by one scholar to have taught Lutheranism before Luther, and even to have taught it to Luther himself.³ Nineteenth century historians of the Dutch Reformation likewise 'discovered' Netherlands reformers antedating Luther. Tileman Spengenberg, a Franciscan from Groningen, for example, abandoned his confessional in the early sixteenth century over the issue of indulgences, arguing for the all sufficiency of Christ's death. Another pre-Reformation critic of indulgences was the father confessor of the convent at Mariengaard who wrote a book on the subject in 1516. A mysterious Dominican named Wouter was said to have attacked abuses in the Church as early as 1510, and Gellius Faber, pastor of Jelsum, Friesland, is alleged to have preached to his congregation in an evangelical spirit from 1514 onwards.⁴

The evidence for these so called reformers, however, remains unsatisfactory. Often we are entirely dependent on seventeenth and eighteenth century histories of the Reformation, and as already suggested such traditions are not completely reliable. Moreover, some supposedly indigenous pre-Luther reformers are now totally discredited. The oft-quoted Sermonen of the mysterious Franciscan Nicolaes Peeters, for example, originally believed to have been printed in 1520⁵ are now known to have been published at least eight and probably twenty years later. What is more, far from being in the tradition of indigenous Dutch evangelicalism, they are substantially dependent on Luther.⁶

3 L. Febvre, 'The origins of the French Reformation', p.45.

4 J. Lindeboom, De confessionele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1946), pp.36-37.

5 See J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531 (Amsterdam, 1873), pp.117-118, J. Lindeboom, op.cit. pp.37-38 and ME IV, p.399. J. Decaeste, op.cit. I, p.592.

6 See pp. 173-185.

Having argued that the Dutch Reformation antedated Lutheranism in Germany the 'national reformed' historiographical tradition then stresses the unique quality of the first years of the Reformation proper in the Netherlands. Christian humanism, it is argued, was the all pervading influence,⁷ and such a view appears to find corroboration in that the champion of this cause, Desiderius Erasmus, was of Netherlandish origin. Theologically, too, so the argument goes, the Dutch Reformation was distinctive. The Mennonite scholar, J.G. De Hoop Scheffer (1819-1894), for example, stressed opposition to Luther's view of the Lord's Supper in the Netherlands from the very beginning. For him sacramentarianism, that is, a denial of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine, was synonymous with evangelical belief in the Netherlands in the first decade of the Reformation.⁸

The 'national reformed' interpretation of the early years of the Dutch Reformation has not, however, been entirely unopposed. As early as 1921 the Lutheran historian J. Loosjes argued that De Hoop Scheffer's description of early Dutch evangelicals as sacramentarians was unjust since sacramentarian opinions did not occur before 1526.⁹ According to Loosjes, between 1520 and 1525 the Dutch Reformation was under the influence of Luther. More recently, J. Trapman took a similar line of argument¹⁰ whilst avoiding the all too apparent confessional bias of Loosjes.

Without doubt, it was Luther who was the leading light in the first years of the Dutch Reformation. Beginning in 1520 as many as twenty editions of Luther appeared in Dutch in the next five years.¹¹ Although forbidden as early as October 1520, initially Luther's works circulated relatively freely and evangelical opinions were often openly espoused. Between 1520 and 1521 twenty one Latin and thirteen Dutch editions of

7 See, for example, F. Pijper, Erasmus en de nederlandsche reformatie (Leiden, 1907).

8 J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, op.cit. pp.109-110.

9 J.G. Loosjes, Geschiedenis der luthersche kerk in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1921), p.18.

10 J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', NAK LXIII (1983), pp.1-24.

11 See NK1419-21, 1423-28, 3457, 3459, 3461-63, 3467, 4258-61, 4365.

Luther's writings were published in the Netherlands which openly acknowledged Luther's authorship.¹² This practice came to an end in 1522-23 following the commencement of the repression of the evangelical book trade. Yet in 1520 an outsider and a foreigner, albeit a famous one such as Dürer, had no trouble in obtaining Luther's works whilst visiting Antwerp.¹³ About the same time, also in Antwerp, Jacob Praepositus, prior of the Augustinian monastery of the said town and a former student at Wittenberg, was openly preaching the German reformer's message.¹⁴

However, Luther was by no means the only evangelical author known in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1525. The Mechelen edict of 17 July 1526 forbade the publication, reading or possession of the works of six other evangelical authors namely, Bugenhagen, Karlstadt, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, François Lambert and Justus Jonas. Moreover, this list suggests the authorities were well aware of the range of evangelical authors available for, with the exception of Jonas, works by all of these reformers are known to have been circulating in the Netherlands by 1526.

An examination of these works, together with indigenous pamphlets, supplemented by trial evidence for the period will enable us to assess more clearly the claims of previous historians that the Reformation in the Netherlands was a 'home-grown' affair. What in the eyes of contemporaries, it must be asked, were the key issues of the Dutch Reformation? Since it is in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper that Dutch evangelicals are held to be most original, we shall begin with an examination of eucharistic theology in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1525 before moving on to consider other doctrinal points at issue, namely, justification by faith alone, indulgences and purgatory, the source of authority in the Church, Christian freedom, confession and the sacrament of penance, the mediatorial role of the Virgin Mary, saints and images,

12 C.Ch.G. Visser, Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546 (Assen, 1969), pp.29-69, nos.1-14, 18-34, 37-38 and 41.

13 A. Dürer, Diary of his journey to the Netherlands, 1520-1521, ed. J.-A. Goris and G. Marlier (London, 1971), pp.69 and 71.

14 Opvs epistolarum Des Erasmi Roterodami, ed. P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-58), III, pp.606-607.

and the priesthood of all believers.

The attack of the reformers on the Catholic doctrine of the mass was on two different planes and took place in two stages. First came the repudiation of the Catholic teaching that the mass was a sacrifice and a good work and the consequent 'abuses' such as masses for the dead, and this was followed by a denial of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine. These two different emphases are reflected, as Althaus has observed, in the writing of Luther. There are two distinct phases in the writings of the German reformer on the Mass, the dividing point being the controversy surrounding the real presence c1524. In the first stage, Luther attacked the Catholic doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice and a good work, and in the second he attacked Karlstadt and Zwingli for their denial of the real presence.¹⁵

In the Captivitate babylonica ecclesiae (1520) Luther argued that the central abuse of the Roman doctrine of the eucharist was the belief that the mass was a sacrifice and a good work:

'Tertia captivitas eiusdem sacramenti Est longe
impiissimus ille abusus, quo factum est, ut fere
nihil sit hodie in Ecclesia receptius ac magis
persuasum, quam Missam esse opus bonum et
sacrificium. Qui abusus deinde inundavit
infinitos alios abusus, donec fide sacramenti
penitus extincta meras nundinas, cauponationes
et quaestuarios quosdam contractus e divino
sacramento fecerint.' ¹⁶

The words of Christ at the Last Supper, he argued, contain nothing about

15 P. Althaus, The theology of Martin Luther (Philadelphia, 1966), p.375.

16 W A 6 p.512. 'The third captivity of this sacrament is by far the most wicked abuse of all, in consequence of which there is no opinion more generally held or more firmly believed in the church today than this, that the mass is a good work and a sacrifice. And this abuse has brought an endless host of other abuses in its train, so that the faith of this sacrament has become utterly extinct and the holy sacrament has been turned into mere merchandise, a market, and a profit-making business.' LW XXXVI, p.35.

a work or a sacrifice: rather they refer to a testament, that is, to the promise of forgiveness of sins through Christ's death.¹⁷

This denial of the Mass as a sacrifice and a good work was adopted by two of the earliest supporters of Luther in the Netherlands, Henricus Voes and Johannes van den Esschen, the Augustinians from Antwerp who became the protomartyrs of the Reformation when they were burnt to death at Brussels on 1 July 1523. It is perhaps most clearly expressed in the forty-third of their sixty-one propositions:

'Das sacrament des altars halt keynn opperung,
aber das opfer ist eynsten am creutz geschehen.'¹⁸

Such views are also reflected in the theology of Dutch pamphlet literature. In his Schlussreden (1524), translated into Dutch c1524-25,¹⁹ Balthasar Hubmaier, one time Catholic priest and future Anabaptist but at this stage a Zwinglian, asserted that the mass was not a sacrifice but a remembrance (herdachtinghe) of the death of Christ. Neither, he argued, was it an offering, either for the living or for the dead:

'Misse en is gheen offer, maer een herdachtinghe
des doots Christi mits den welcken si noch,
voor dooden noch voor leuende en mach gheoffert
werden.'²⁰

The fullest denunciation of the Catholic doctrine of the Mass in the early years of the Dutch Reformation is found in the translation of an evangelical statement of faith which first appeared in Nuremberg, Een gouden onderwijsinge om te antiwoorden op alle puncten die de vyanden der waerheyt bybrenghen moghen (1525).²¹ Citing Hebrews 7:27,

17 WA6 pp.512-14, LW XXXVI, pp.36-38.

18 CD IV, p.198. 'The sacrament of the altar has no element of sacrifice, but the sacrifice happened once and for all upon the cross.'

19 NK1145.

20 BRN I, p.121. 'The mass is not a sacrifice but a remembrance of the death of Christ. Therefore, it is not an offering for the dead nor for the living.' From W.R. Estep Anabaptist beginnings (1523-1533): a source book (Nieuwkoop, 1976), p.25.

21 NK1623. See pp.297-298.

Psalm 110:4, 1 Peter 3:18 and Hebrews 10:18 as proof texts that Christ was sacrificed once for all time and therefore cannot be re-sacrificed, the author defines the true evangelical mass as the testament (as opposed to the offering) of Christ. The influence of Luther's Captivitate babylonica ecclesiae is clearly discernible here. Since 1 Peter 2:9 teaches that we are all priests, he argues, this means that we all offer sacrifices, but these are not external and physical, that is, they are not a re-enactment of Calvary or of the Old Testament sacrifices, but the offering of a life of a broken spirit.²²

All this is not to say that rejection of the sacrificial nature of the mass was a pre-requisite of evangelical belief. Vanden olden en nieuwen God, gelooove ende leere (c1524)²³, for example, which first appeared in German at Basle in 1521 and has been attributed to Joachim Vadianus, the reformer at St. Gall, is a work of strong evangelical tendencies. It attacks the evolution of the power of the papacy in an attempt to show that the evangelical faith is based on the life and practice of the early church and thus meets the charge that the evangelical faith is novel. When dealing with the mass, however, the author is surprisingly conservative. He does not attack the mass itself, but only the abuses surrounding it, in particular, ceremonies which are not understood by the common people and therefore cause errors in the faith. A simple layman, for example, would see how much attention a priest paid to some relics and, as a result, focus on them rather than the sacrament:

"Als die slechte leecke die daer misse hoort,
 alsulcken heerlicheyt siet, ende daer dat
 Sacrement gehandelt wert nauwelic een cleyn
 kersten barnt, so loop hy wter misse ende
 valt voor dat heylichdom op zijn knyen, ic
 gelooue datter menich is, die dat heylichdom
 warachtich aenbidt, wt aldusdanighen machmen
 mercken, dat meer aendacht ende reuerentie

22 Een gulden onderwijsinge, Oir-Oiiiir.

23 NK1013. See pp.284-285.

totten heylighdom heeft (dat by auentueren
van een schalck is) dan totten sacrament.²⁴

Likewise, the anonymous author of the Summa der godlyker scripturen (1523)²⁵ originally seems to have had no quarrel with the Mass advising parents to send their children to Mass and to hear the sermon. Later, however, he replaced misse with the evangelical-sounding phrase 'dat avontmael des Heeren'.²⁶

Attacks on the doctrine of the real presence before the Reformation are not unknown. Antipathy to this particular tenet of the Catholic faith was an important feature of English Lollardy.²⁷ In the Netherlands, too, pre-Reformation heretics sometimes rejected the real presence in favour of a spiritualistic interpretation of the Lord's Supper. In 1472, for instance, a prisoner at Tournai testified that Christ was not physically present in the mass but

'spiritualiter et per gratiam quasi ibi nisi
representatio predicti veri corporis.'²⁸

On the very eve of the Reformation there are less explicit cases of heterodox views of the Lord's Supper. In 1517 at Oudenaarde Torreken vander Perre was flogged, in 1518 at Brussels Laudken van Moeseke was beheaded and in 1519 at Antwerp Kathelijne Janssesn was sentenced to a pilgrimage to Rome, all for the same crime of blasphemy against the holy sacrament.²⁹

24 BRN 1, p.93. 'As the simple layman hears mass and sees such pomp, whereas when the Sacrament is handled scarcely a small candle is burnt, so he comes away from mass and falls before the relics on his knees. I believe that there are many who truly worship relics, for by such things many men perceive more attention and reverence towards the relics (that incidentally are a fraud) than towards the sacrament.'

25 Earliest edition NK01134. Other editions NK1968-69, 3910-11. See pp.308-309.

26 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek 1523. Oeconomica christiana. Summa der godlyker scripturen, ed. J.J. van Toorenbergen (Leiden, 1882), p.172.

27 See J.A.F. Thomson, The later lollards, 1414-1520 (Oxford, 1965), p.246 and N.P. Tanner, Heresy trials in the diocese of Norwich, 1428-31, Camden fourth series, XX (London, 1977), p.12.

28 J. Decavele, op.cit. 1, p.591. 'Spiritually and through grace because it (the bread) is only there as a representation of the aforesaid true body.'

29 CD IV, pp.6, 8 and 11.

From 1525 onwards denials of the real presence by Dutch evangelicals proliferate. In May of that year ten so-called Lutherans were condemned at Mons for rejecting the real presence.³⁰ Four months later, a witness at the trial of one Willem die Cuper of Utrecht testified that the defendant had insisted that the sacrament of the altar was no more than bread,³¹ and at Leiden in the following year Jan Cornelisz, a slater by trade, also denied that Christ was materially present in the bread and wine, quoting Scripture texts (Matthew 24: 24-27 and Acts 17:22-24) in support of his view.³² Such opinions were popular amongst laity and clergy alike. The less well-educated stated their convictions crudely and simply.

'Ic houde v Sacrament voor broot ende meel,
ende waer ghy lieden dat voor eenen Godt
hout, so segge ic, dattet uwen duyuel is!'

Wendelmoet Claesdochter the widow of Monnikendam martyred at The Hague on 20 November 1527 declared when asked her opinion on the sacrament.³³ Nicolaas Van der Elst, priest of St. Jacobskerk at Antwerp and leader of an evangelical conventicle discovered at Brussels in 1527, on the other hand, offered a more positive interpretation of what took place at the Lord's Supper, perceiving Christ as spiritually but not physically present.³⁴

Between 1520 and 1524, however, no evangelical tried for heresy was convicted of clear sacramentarian opinions. G.H. Williams argued that the remark of Jan de Bakker at his trial in 1525 recorded and published after his execution by Willem Gnapheus as the Disputacie ... tusschen die kettermeesters en Jan van Woerden (c1525-29)

'Wanneer die woorden Gods worden verhaelt ende
voorgeleyt onder den gheloouighen christenen,
daer is dat warachtighe ghebruyck des sacraments'

30 A. de Lusy, Le journal d'un bourgeois de Mons, 1505-1536, ed. A. Louart (Brussels, 1969), pp.357-58.

31 CD IV, p.372.

32 CD V, pp.139-40.

33 CD V, p.280. 'I hold your sacrament to be bread and flour, and if you hold it as God, I say that it is your devil.'

34 A.R.A. Brussels: Papiers d'Etat et de l'audience 1177⁶, f99v^o.

was 'surely not Lutheran',³⁵ but Luther himself taught that the signs of the sacrament are less important than the words:

'Nu als vil mehr ligt an dem testament den an dem sacrament, also ligt vil mehr an den worten den an den zeychen, dan die zeychen muegen wol nit sein, das dennoch der mensch die worde, und also on sacrament, doch nit an testament selig werde.'³⁶

Indeed, Jan de Bakker was particularly reluctant to comment on the question of the real presence, arguing that this would be to cast pearls before swine.³⁷ The same can be said of the Augustinian martyrs from Antwerp who said that they did not know whether the bread remained in the sacrament after the consecration. Yet they also said that they were not able to understand whether a layman without ordination could transform the body of Christ if he were to say to it 'be transformed', which might imply that they believed in the real presence since they did not dispute that it is possible to transform the bread, but were simply unsure as to whether a layman had this power.³⁸

Evangelical tracts published in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1525 also make no mention of sacramentarianism. Take, for example, the first two evangelical books to be forbidden by name in the Netherlands by the edict of 23 March 1524, the Mattheus evangelie (1522) of Johan Peilt,³⁹ and the Summa der godliker scripturen. The Mattheusevangelie contains a conservative gloss on the eucharist which had been rejected

35 G.H. Williams, The radical reformation (Philadelphia, 1962), p.344. See CD IV, p.482. 'Whenever the word of God is rehearsed and brought before believing christians, there is the true celebration of the sacrament'.

36 Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe (1520). WA6 p.363. LW XXXV p.91. 'Now as the testament is much more important than the sacrament, so the words are much more important than the signs. For the signs might well be lacking, if only one has the words; and thus without sacrament, yet not without testament, one might be saved.'

37 CD IV, p.471.

38 CD IV, pp.196-197.

39 NK369.

by Luther in his Captivitate babylonica ecclesiae.⁴⁰ The Summa, on the other hand, scarcely mentions the Lord's Supper, and when it does in chapter seven, the author does not, as J. Alton Templin has suggested,⁴¹ deny the real presence:

'Dat is sijn testament geweest dat hi ons gemaect heeft, ende daer is hy op gestorven. Ende op dat wi dat seker souden geloven, so heeft hi hier ons gelaten tot een seker teyken sijn heyligh lichaem tot een spijs, ende sijn heyligh bloet tot een dranck. Als sinte Lucas scrijft in sijn .xxii. cap i: Doe onse heere sat in den laetsten avontmael met sijn discipulen; so gaf hi haer tbroot, seggende. Neemt ende eet dit is mijn lichaem, dat voor u sal gelevert worden. Ende den kelck. Drynct daer wt alle te same, dit is die kelck des nieuwen testaments in mijn bloet, dat voer u ende voer veel menschen sal gestort worden tot verghiffenis der sonden. Ende dat lichaem is een pant sijnder liefden tot ons, ende daer boven heeft hi hier gelaten sinen gheest in ons herte, die ons hier op der werelt vertroest in onse tribulacien.'⁴²

Merely to speak of the bread and wine as signs (teyken) is not indicative of sacramentarianism. Luther does this in his early tracts on the Lord's Supper, most notably in his Sermon von dem Hochwirdigen Sacrament des heiligen waren Leychnams Christi (1519) and the Sermon von dem newen Testament das ist von der heyligen Messe (1520). That the author of

40 J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires"', p.10.

41 J. Alton Templin, 'Oeconomica christiana. Biblical humanism in the Netherlands, 1523', MQR LVI (1982), pp.246-247.

42 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek, p.139. 'This is his testament that he has made for us and for which he died. And so that we would firmly believe, he has provided us with a sure sign of his holy body for food and his holy blood for drink. As St. Luke wrote in his twenty-second chapter, 'When the Lord sat in the Last Supper with his disciples, he gave them the bread saying, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be given for you." And the cup, "Drink of it all together, this is the cup of the testament in my blood, that will be shed for the forgiveness of sins for you and for many men." And that body is a pledge of his love towards us, and beyond this he has left his Spirit in our heart, that we in this world may be comforted in our tribulations.'

the Summa does not deny the real presence by calling the bread and wine 'signs' is confirmed by his reference to the bread as dat lichaem.

It is well known that one Dutch evangelical namely Cornelis Hoen, a lawyer from The Hague, did hold a spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper at this time. As a result of the discovery of some of the writings of Wessel Gansfort Hoen wrote his Epistola christiana admodum (c1520-21) in which he argued that Christ's words 'hoc est corpus meum' should be understood as this signifies my body. For Hoen Christ's institution of the eucharist could be compared to a bridegroom giving his bride a ring as a pledge of his giving of himself. Hoen was anxious to hear the judgement of leading reformers on his views, but was too old to travel. The Epistola along with some writings of Wessel Ganfort was therefore taken to Wittenberg by a fellow-evangelical named Hinne Rode who was rector of the house of the Brethren of the Common Life at Utrecht. Luther was delighted with the works of Wessel Gansfort, but rejected the Epistola out of hand. Rode therefore journeyed south visiting Basle, Zurich and Strasbourg where Hoen's letter found a much more favourable reception. The Epistola was edited and published by Zwingli at Zurich probably in September 1525 and within a year a Latin reprint and two German translations had appeared.⁴³

The publication of Hoen's letter by Zwingli gave the Netherlander's views a European stage from 1525 onwards. Between 1520 and 1524, however, Hoen's spiritualistic interpretation of the Lord's Supper made no impact whatsoever in the Netherlands. True Hinne Rode must have accepted Hoen's view, but he does not appear to have held to it with unswerving allegiance. If we accept Professor de Bruin's attribution of the translation of the Zurich Bible into Dutch to Rode,⁴⁴ then this

43 W.A. Kooloos, 'Cornelis Hoen en zijn avondmaalsbrief', (Tilburg doctoraalscriptie, 1981), pp.23-37. Hoen's letter, as published by Zwingli, is translated and reprinted in Forerunners of the reformation, ed. H.A. Oberman (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), pp.268-278.

44 C.C. De Bruin, 'Hinne Rode', Het sticht van binnen en buitenen, bundel opstellen over de geschiedenis van de provincie Utrecht aangeboden aan dr M.P. van Buyten bij diens zeventigste verjaardag (Oud-Utrecht, 1981), pp.200-201.

convert to Hoen's views was prepared to suppress these beliefs in favour of Luther's conservative glosses on passages relating to the Lord's Supper in the translation. Surely this suggests that even for Hinne Rode the real presence was simply not a point at issue in the early years of the Reformation; one should be prepared to set aside personal beliefs for the greater cause of the Gospel. Moreover, since Hoen's letter was not published in the Netherlands until 1650⁴⁵ it is difficult to see how his views could have been known there outside his small circle of evangelically minded friends which included Rode, Willem Gnapheus, Jan de Bakker, Frederik Hondebeke and Willem Sonderdanck.

If Hoen's views were not particularly influential in the Netherlands how then did sacramentarianism come to the fore in the years after 1525? One possible source is the writings of Andreas Karlstadt.⁴⁶ Karlstadt's works were forbidden by the Mechelen edict of July 1526⁴⁷ and at least one of his tracts was in circulation in the Netherlands about this time.⁴⁸ Certainly Karlstadt's idiosyncratic interpretation of the words 'hoc est corpus meum', that is, that hoc referred to Christ's physical body and not to the bread was known at Veere by 1529.⁴⁹ Moreover, at least one of Karlstadt's works on the Lord's Supper was known in East Friesland by 1526. In that year Georgius Aportanus, preacher at Emden, compiled a list of forty-eight articles dealing with the Lord's Supper which emphasized a spiritualistic interpretation of the Sacrament. The twenty-sixth of these articles was borrowed from Karlstadt's Gesprechbuchlein (1524).

45 W.A. Kooloos, op.cit. p.38.

46 It was suggested as early as 1917 that Karlstadt's influence upon sacramentarianism in the Netherlands may have been underestimated. See K. Vos, 'Karlstadt of Zwingli?' Doopsgezinde bijdragen LVI (1917), pp.90-97.

47 ROPB ii série II, p.402.

48 NK01297.

49 J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, op.cit. pp.512-514.

Aportanus

"De frame Koninck Juda Edzechias yn 4. boeck der Koninge am achtende, sloech yn stucken de metalen Slangen, als he sach, dat se de joeden mysbrueckeden und sede tho ene, dat ys man Kopper."

Karlstadt

"Die auffgerichte schlangen nam Ezechias weg unnd zerprach **zy** des missbrauchs halben das auch ungeacht dass sy Gott sebs hett auffgericht."⁵⁰ 50

A second likely source of sacramentarian views in the Netherlands is the Souter of the Lutheran theologian Johannes Bugenhagen published by Johannes Hoochstraten in 1526.⁵¹ First appearing as In librum psalmorum interpretatio in 1524⁵² Bugenhagen's commentary on the Psalms was translated into German by Martin Bucer and published in January 1526.⁵³ Bugenhagen himself held orthodox Lutheran views on the real presence, but as well as translating the Pomeranian reformer's text Bucer also edited Psalm 111:4f⁵⁴ in favour of a spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper. Since the Dutch edition was based on the German text Bucer's arguments against the real presence were reproduced in the Souter.

Following the arguments of Wyclif and others before him Bucer asserted that since Christ is in heaven he cannot be adored in the bread as in the ceremony of the mass:

'O god ontfermt u mijnd dat hi ons heeft heeten eten. Ist dat wi seggen dattet ons goet dunct ende datet tot sijnder eeran is sal dat ghenoech sijn? So sullen wi der papisten ceremonien ende insettinghen weder veel op onsen hals halen. Wi sien wel wie dat alsulcke goede meyninge in gebracht hebben. Daer om bidtmen Christum aen

50 M. Smid, Ostfriesische Kirchengeschichte (Rautenberg, 1974), p.127. Aportanus also borrowed from Luther's Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe, M. Smid, op.cit. p.126.

51 NK508. See pp.268-269.

52 Index aureliensis 126.824.

53 Index aureliensis 126.899.

54 In the text itself the psalm in question is the hundred and tenth. This is because the enumeration in the commentary followed the Vulgate which united the ninth and tenth psalms into a single psalm.

totter rechter hant sijns vaders inden gheest
 wantmen gheloofte ende belijt dat hi onse eenighe
 salicheyt is.' 55

Both Bugenhagen and Luther were furious at the liberties Bucer had taken with the original text, and were particularly concerned that such heresies were to be reproduced in the Dutch edition of the commentary. As a result, an appendix was printed in some copies of the Souter correcting Bucer's 'errors'.⁵⁶ This recently discovered appendix contains a Lutheran refutation of Bucer's teaching on the sacrament, a previously unknown letter of Luther to Dutch evangelicals, a letter of Bugenhagen, and a new Dutch translation of the commentary on Psalm 111 based on Bugenhagen's original Latin text.⁵⁷ This appendix is important because it indicates the existence of a eucharistic controversy in the Netherlands in 1526. Though Luther's views on the Lord's Supper were now under threat, the Lutherans by their response show that they did not consider their cause to be completely lost. Evidently there were some evangelicals in the Netherlands who still held to a belief in the real presence.⁵⁸ Secondly, the appendix indicates the types of sacramentarian belief circulating in the Netherlands at this time; that is, the view of Hoen, almost certainly transmitted via Zwingli, that 'is' equals 'signifies' and Karlstadt's identification of 'this' with Christ's physical body:

55 J. Bugenhagen, Souter ed. M. Bucer, MMiiir. 'O God have pity on me because he has bidden us to eat. Is it enough to say that it pleases us and it is done to his honour? In this way we shall once again bring upon ourselves papist ceremonies and institutions. We well know what such a good opinion has brought about. Therefore we should pray in the Spirit to Christ who is at the right hand of the Father for we believe and confess that he is our eternal salvation.'

56 Reprinted and discussed by G. Hammer, 'Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen. Ein "rätselvoller Textfund und ein unbekannter Lutherbrief," Lutheriana. Zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Ausgabe (Cologne-Vienna, 1984), pp.393-454. There are five extant copies of the Souter. The appendix appears in only one, that located in Stuttgart Landesbibliothek.

57 G. Hammer, 'Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen', pp.395-96.

58 Ibid. p.434.

'Want nu ghi van Christo verlicht sijt, so siet
 ghi, hoe groot die stoutheyt deser gheesten is,
 welcke den opentlicken ende alderclaeersten
 woorden Christi, ende ooc met die aldersekersten
 omstaenden ende navolgenden woorden bevesticht
 (der warachtich te sijn dat lichaem ende bloet
 Christi), dorven so onbeschaemt haer versierde
 droomen ende glosen voortbrengen. Ende die
 eene dat woordeken "is" voer "het bedict", die
 andere dat woordeken "dat" voer den opentlicken
 sittende lichaem Christi. Die andere nemen dat
 lichaem voort beduytsel des lichaems Christi,
 die andere droomen anders.' 59

The Unio dissidentium (1527) of Hermanus Bodius and its partial Dutch translation the Scutum fidei (1527-29)⁶⁰ provide a third possible source of spiritualistic views of the Lord's Supper in the Netherlands. The Unio was a collection of over five hundred quotations from the Church Fathers and the Bible on issues which divided evangelicals and orthodox Catholics in the 1520s. Its purported aim was to heal the growing division between the two camps, but by only quoting those passages from the Fathers which supported the evangelical cause it cannot be considered a neutral work. Its eighteenth chapter 'De Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi' gave a spiritualistic emphasis to the Lord's Supper. The Scutum fidei was comprised of three sections the third of which was a translation of this eighteenth chapter of the Unio. For the unidentified author of the Scutum the Lord's Supper was primarily a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ and the Last Supper:

'En waer alsulcke vergeuinge is daer en is gheen
 offerhande meer voor die sonden. Onse avontmael
 is een ghehoochnis van die offerhande ende

59 Ibid. pp.452-53. 'For now you are enlightened by Christ, so you see how great is the wickedness of these spirits, who the plain and most explicit words of Christ, which are also confirmed by the quite incontrovertible contingent and subsequent words (that the body and blood of Christ are truly present there), dare unashamedly to adduce their false dreams and glosses. One takes the word "is" for "it signifies", the other the word "that" for the publicly seated body of Christ. Some take the body for a symbol of the body of Christ, others dream differently.'

60 See pp.304-307.

avontmael Christi Jesu ende gheen werck.'⁶¹

With Luther's battle from 1524 onwards, first against Karlstadt and then against Zwingli, the issue of the real presence moved onto the European stage, and it is surely more than chance that this coincides with the resurgence of references to sacramentarianism in the Netherlands. This is not to say that sacramentarianism was completely absent from the Netherlands between 1520 and 1524. Early in 1521 Aleander, the papal legate to the Netherlands, wrote to the vice-chancellor at Rome concerning the discovery of many heretics in Artois and Flanders who denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist and argued that it was only a sign as Wyclif and Berengar of Tours had taught.⁶² This may indicate, as Decavale has suggested, a parallel to the mingling of old and new heresy which A.G. Dickens discerned in south-east England.⁶³ The overwhelming weight of evidence, however, bearing in mind that there is not a single denial of the real presence either in the trial evidence or the pamphlet literature of the years 1520 to 1524, is that sacramentarianism was not at issue at this early stage of the Reformation in the Netherlands.

The two phased evangelical attack on the Catholic doctrine of the mass in the Netherlands in the first years of the Reformation reflects events elsewhere in Europe. Between 1520 and 1524 the chief target was the notion that the mass was a sacrifice and a good work. From 1525 onwards there was a resurgence of denials of the real presence which coincided with, and was directly linked to, the controversies amongst the German and Swiss theologians. This would suggest that the pre-Reformation sacramentarian tradition was not particularly important in the first years of the Reformation in the Netherlands and casts doubt upon the so-called 'national reformed' tradition. In the early

61 Scutum fidei, eii v. 'Where there is such forgiveness there is no longer sacrifice for sin. Our Lord's Supper is a remembrance of the sacrifice and Last Supper of Christ Jesus and not a (good) work.'

62 CD IV, p.394.

63 J. Decavale, op.cit., I, p.596. A.G. Dickens, 'Heresy and the origins of English protestantism,' Britain and the Netherlands II (Groningen, 1964), pp.47-66.

years of the Dutch Reformation old issues became swamped by newer and, at that time, more vital points at issue.

For Luther, the most crucial point at issue in the Reformation concerned, of course, the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Yet justification by faith alone is notably absent from the list of doctrines condemned by the papal bull Exsurge Domine (15th June 1520) or by the Paris theologians in their Determinatio (20th April 1521), probably because the Catholic Church's own position on this issue had not yet been clarified. In all likelihood it was for this reason that justification by faith alone received little attention in the trials of early Dutch evangelicals. Interrogation followed the lines of enquiry developed by inquisitors before Luther. For this reason it was not always an accurate reflection of the whole scope of a heretic's views.

It is unlikely that theological concepts such as forensic justification were properly understood on a popular level. Nevertheless, the early pamphlet literature abounds with the emphasis that a man is saved solely by faith in God and not by works. Pelt's Mattheus evangelie and the Summa der godliker scripturen are both underpinned by the central tenet of justification by faith alone. In his postscript Pelt, quoting from Titus 3:4-7 maintained that Christ makes us righteous through his grace alone; our good works are 'Ydel, cranc, besmet, onsuver, sondich'.⁶⁴ Chapters four to six of the Summa dealt with the subject of faith and works. Faith, it is argued, is more than mere intellectual assent to the existence of God; rather it is a belief that we are God's children and He is our Father, a conviction that His word will be accomplished, and a trust that God desires nothing but our salvation. Because no one has earned eternal life through good works since the fall of Adam, we must put all our trust in the grace of God. Each man must humble himself for it is only by God's grace that he may be saved:

'Aldus sal een christen mensche hem selven
veroetmoedigen, ende cleyne van hem selven,
ende sijn goede wercken gevoelen. Want als
Esaias seyt int 1xiiii cap.: Alle onse
rechtvaerdicheden sijn ghelyk als een

⁶⁴ S.W. Bijl, Erasmus in het Nederlands tot 1617 (Nieuwkoop, 1978), p.14. 'Empty, weak, stained, dirty and sinful.'

bevlecht cleet. Ende God en heeft niemart om
sijne werken salich ghemaect, maer allene doer
sijne godlicke ghenade.' 65

Other authors also stress that man is saved solely on the basis of faith.

The first two articles of Balthasar Hubmaier assert that

- 'i) Alleenelijck tghelooove maect ons rechtueerdich
voor God.
- ii) Die ghelooove en anders niet dan die bekennisse
der barmherticheyt Gods.' 66

The shoemaker from Hans Sachs' Disputacion zwischen ainem Choerherrenn vnd Schüchmacher (1524, translated into Dutch c1525)⁶⁷ maintained that one of the ways Luther has profited the Christian faith is that he has shown that righteousness comes through faith alone.⁶⁸ Finally, the anonymous author of the Refutacie vant Salve regina (c.1524)⁶⁹ attacked excessive devotion to Our Lady on the grounds that Mary was saved like anyone else, that is, by faith alone.⁷⁰

To orthodox Catholics Luther's attack on indulgences was one of the most objectionable features of the new faith. Six of the forty one articles of the papal bull Exsurge Domine (articles seventeen to twenty two) were concerned with Luther's criticism of indulgences. There was good cause for concern, if only for financial reasons. At Utrecht, for example, the sale of indulgences had paid for the upkeep of the cathedral, but in 1522 the bottom dropped out of the market and sales plummeted and never again returned to their former level.⁷¹

65 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek, pp.128-37. 'Thus shall a christian man humble himself and think little of himself and his good works. For as Isaiah says in his sixty-fourth chapter (Is.64:6), "All our righteousness is as a filthy garment." And God has saved no one through his works, but only through His divine grace.'

66 BRN I, p.121. 'Faith alone makes us righteous before God. Faith is nothing but the confession of the mercy of God.'

67 NK3827. See pp.303-304.

68 H. Sachs, Disputacion zwischen ainem Choerherrenn vnd Schüchmacker, in Hans Sachs, Werke, ed. A.V. Keller and E. Goetze (Stuttgart, 1870), XXII, p.24.

69 NK1787. See p.299.

70 BRN I, pp.24-25.

71 W.H. Vroom, De financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen in het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht (Maarsen, 1981), pp.300, 316, 318-320.

Amongst the evangelicals themselves we find some criticism of indulgences, though possibly not as much as one might expect as a result of the attention given to the subject by Catholics. Herman Gerrits, a priest from Utrecht was forced to abjure nine heretical doctrines in 1522 the third of which attacked indulgences as a blasphemy against God.⁷² Jacob Praepositus in his recantation of the same year rejected thirty false opinions, six of which were connected with indulgences and the merits of Christ and the saints.⁷³ But indulgences were not the central issue to evangelicals that they were to orthodox Catholics. Apart from the condemnation of the sale of indulgences, as a 'babiloenscher geuanckenissen' in the Refutacie vant Salve regina⁷⁴ there is scarcely a mention of the subject in early Dutch pamphlet literature.⁷⁵ What is more, the recantations of Herman Gerrits and Jacob Praepositus would have been derived from examination by inquisitors and therefore reflected what the Catholic interrogators believed to be the key issues rather than what was important in the minds of the heretics themselves. It may be that orthodox Catholics were particularly sensitive about indulgences because this had been the subject of Luther's first attack on the Church. Of course, the new faith did not centre on criticism of indulgences, rather this criticism came from the conviction that Christ had gained all the merits the penitent sinner required to be justified before God. But in these early years, criticism of indulgences may have been a litmus test that orthodox Catholics used to detect traces of the new heresy.

Our assessment of the importance of justification by faith alone and the controversy surrounding indulgences suggests that orthodox Catholics and evangelicals were not always in agreement as to what were the key points at issue. Justification by faith alone receives little

72 CD IV, p.87.

73 CD IV, p.90.

74 BRN I, p.18.

75 Post argued that indulgences played a less important part in the Dutch than in the German Reformation. See R.R. Post, Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland voor de reformatie van ± 1500 tot ± 1580 (Utrecht, 1954), p.474.

evidence in trial evidence, as it was not a major issue in the minds of orthodox Catholics at this time, whilst it is mentioned frequently in the pamphlet literature because it was so central to the beliefs of the evangelicals. Conversely the pamphlet literature contains little criticism of indulgences since this was only a by-product and not a central tenet of evangelical doctrine, whilst it receives far more attention in trial evidence for it was a point on which orthodox Catholics were particularly sensitive.

Though denials of the existence of purgatory were commonplace after 1525 when heretics tended to view it as a clerical deception for the purpose of financial exploitation,⁷⁶ there are relatively few references to purgatory in the early literature of the Dutch Reformation. Luther's teaching that Scripture does not speak of purgatory, condemned by the Sorbonne and the papacy, was echoed by one of the Antwerp Augustinians:

'Er weys nit ob eyn fegfewr sey oder keyns
sey,'⁷⁷

However, one has to wait until c1525 for an outright denial of its existence. Then Balthasar Hubmaier claimed that purgatory was thought up years ago by men whose God is their belly.⁷⁸ Perhaps this delay was a reflection of Luther's own initial hesitation to deny the existence of purgatory outright.⁷⁹

In the early years of the Dutch Reformation, the debate about authority revolved around two fundamental issues; first came the

76 A.C. Duke, 'The face of popular religious dissent in the Low Countries', Journal of ecclesiastical history XXVI (1975), p.52.

77 CD IV, p.198. 'He does not know if there be a purgatory or none.'

78 BRN I, p.123.

79 'The existence of purgatory I have never denied. I still hold that it exists, as I have written and admitted many times, though I have found no way of proving it incontrovertibly from Scripture or reason.' Grund und Ursach aller Artikel D. Martin Luthers so durch römische Bulle unrechtl. verdammt sind (1521). WA7 pp.450-451.
LW XXXII, p.95.

rejection of the authority of the Church over Scripture and second, the assertion of the doctrine of sola scriptura. In the refutation of the authority of the Church papal primacy, in particular, came under strong attack, and here Luther's influence is clearly discernible. The attack on papal authority by the Antwerp Augustinians, for instance, was identical to the twenty fifth of the forty one articles of Luther condemned in the papal bull Exsurge Domine:

61 articuli of the Augustinians.	<u>Exsurge Domine.</u>
35. 'Romanus pontifex, Petri successor, non Christi vicarius super omnes totius mundi Ecclesias ab ipso Christo in beato Petro institutus...' 80	25. 'Romanus pontifex. Petri successor, non est Christi vicarius super omnes totius mundi ecclesias ab ipso Christo in beato Petro institutus.' 81

Jan de Bakker was also condemned for a similar heretical statement

'dat die paus niet en was vicarius Christi,
ende dat hy niet meerder en was dan die
ander apostelen', 82

which again suggests Lutheran influence. Yet not all Dutch evangelicals were anti-papal in sentiment. The author of the Summa der godliker scrifturen, for example, argued in favour of submission to papal authority in obedience to the fourth commandment:

'Die vierde gebot is, dat wi sullen eerden vader
ende moeder, dat is, wi sullen eerwaerdicheyt
bewisen al onsen oversten, Paus (my italics),
Bisschop Pastoer, Keiser ende Coninc, Hertoge,
Grave, Borgemeester, Vader ende Moeder, dese
sijn wi altemael schuldich te eerden, niet na
haer personen mer haer officie die si bedienen,

80 CD IV, p.212.

81 CD IV, p.26. 'The Roman bishop, the successor of Peter, has not been instituted as the vicar of Christ over all the churches of the world by Christ himself through Peter.'

82 CD IV, p.494. 'That the pope was not the vicar of Christ, and that he was not greater than the other apostles.'

wnat onder haer bescherminge leven wi in
meerder ruste.' 83

The evangelical attack on papal pretensions and the authority of the Church stemmed from the conviction that Scripture was the sole authority in matters of religion. Jan de Bakker summarized this position when he insisted that his understanding of the Scriptures came not from the glosses of theologians or decisions of Church councils, but from the clear text of God's word:

'Die menighe der heyliger Scripturen is niet
verborghen onder der doctoren glosen ofte
in die determinatien der Concilien; maer die
conclusie wort ons ghegheuen doer claere ende
warachtige woorden Gods.' 84

The demand for Scripture in the vernacular which evolved from the supreme authority that it was now seen to possess (though it was also part of the Christian humanist programme of reform) was another feature of the early years of the Dutch Reformation. The first complete New Testament in Dutch was not published until 1522, yet by 1530 another twenty five editions had been printed. Linked to the new authority vested in the Scriptures was the demand for biblically based preaching, pre-Reformation preaching often having employed non-Scriptural material. On this theme the author of Vanden olden en nieuwen God, gelooove ende leere made a striking contrast between the true and false preacher. The true preacher leads a Christian life and feeds his flock with pure white bread, without chaff (that is, he preaches Scripture and nothing else). The false preacher, on the other hand, may receive the praise of man, but in reality he gives only dirty stinking water that results

83 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek, p.236 'The fourth commandment is that we shall honour father and mother, that is, that we should show veneration to all our rulers, pope, bishop, pastor, emperor and king, duke, count, burgomaster, father and mother; these we are always obliged to honour, not because of the person, but because of the office they hold, for under their protection we live in greater peace.'

84 CD IV, p.473. 'The meaning of Holy Scripture is not hidden under the glosses of doctors or in the decisions of councils, but the sense is given us through the clear and true word of God.'

85
in death.

The concept of Christian freedom was possibly one of the most attractive of evangelical teachings in the early years of the Reformation. On this point the views of evangelicals and Christian humanists seemed to coincide and thus the concept of Christian freedom gained the support of a wide circle of people.⁸⁶ Attacks on monasticism on the grounds of Christian freedom were particularly prevalent in the early years of the Dutch Reformation. This could range from a denunciation of monasticism tout court to an attack on selected abuses. The degree of severity of a person's attack on monasticism may be an indicator of the source of his views. Outright rejection may indicate specifically Lutheran influence. Since the Antwerp Augustinians had been to Wittenberg and knew Luther personally we may assume that when one of them said that

'So er erlernt hat dye Christlichen freyhet,
acht er seyn gewissen vngebunden von
glubniszen.'⁸⁷

this view derived from Luther himself, or from the German reformer's writings.

The source of the views of the author of the Summa der godlicher scripturen, on the other hand, is far less certain. From the beginning he emphasizes his moderate stance. In his preface he makes it perfectly clear that he does not advocate the abandoning of the cloister, but only that those who have taken monastic vows lead godly lives:

'Ende ick en leer niet dat men heren niet
onderdanich sal wesen, oft dat monicken wt
haer cloester sullen lopen. Mer ick leer
hem dat si mogen weten hoe dat een monicks
leven sal wesen, ende alst also niet en is,

85 BRN I, pp.101-104.

86 It was this climate of opinion that persuaded Cornelis Grapheus, town secretary of Antwerp, to publish the anti-monastic treatise of the late-medieval theologian Johannes Pupper van Goch, De libertate christiana (1521). NK3111.

87 CD IV, p.197. 'When he had learned of Christian freedom, he considered his conscience not to be bound by vows.'

dat si dan haer ghebreken bekenne, ende
arbeyden also te leven.' 88

True, he is against vows taken against a person's will, as well as the ceremonies, wealth and privileges of contemporary religious houses, and he spends a whole chapter (chapter seventeen) refuting the notion that the monastic life is, in principle, holier than that of the burgher.⁸⁹ The sisters of the Common Life, however, he holds in high esteem, chiefly because of their manual labour:

'Daer sijn oock veel susterencloesters, welcker
leven meer schijnt na dat Evangelium te wesen,
want mitten handen te aerbeyden ende malcander
uut liefte te dienen, dat is een christelick
leven... Ende in dese maniere is der susteren
leven beter, dan der nonnen leven, want si sijn
altijt becomert met arbeyt, met weven, spinnen,
wasschen ende dierghelijcken.' 90

This would seem more in keeping with Christian humanist views on monasticism, that is, a criticism, but never a total condemnation and a willingness to acknowledge that some monks and nuns led good lives. Christian humanist influence might also explain the relatively moderate approach of the author of Vanden olden en nieuwen God, gelooove end leere. Rather than condemn all mendicants outright, he admits there are a few good men in these orders who have a right understanding of Scripture and the difference between the flesh and the spirit, and expresses his hope

88 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek, p.117. 'And I do not teach that men should not be subject to their lords, or that monks should leave their monasteries. But I teach them that they may know how a monk should live, and if they fall short that they confess their faults and labour to live as they should.'

89 Ibid. pp.160-163.

90 Ibid. p.168. 'There are also many houses of sisters (of the Common Life) which appear to be more in keeping with the Gospel, for they work with their hands and serve each other from love, that is a Christian life... And in this respect the way of life of the sisters is better than that of the nuns, for they are always concerned with labour, with weaving, spinning, washing, and such things.' This same esteem for the brethren/sisters of the Common Life is also reflected by Johannes Pupper van Goch in the Libertate christiana and by the author of the Lamentationes Petri (1521), a pseudonymous attack upon monasticism.

'Dat die olde tempel knechten van dat gheset
der Pausen sullen comen tot die vrijheyt
Christi.'⁹¹

In the face of evangelical attacks the mendicants, in particular, felt threatened and thus tended to lash out wildly at all and sundry. They castigated proposals for poor relief in Ieper and Bruges as godless, for example, because of an attempt to distinguish between the able-bodied and the infirm poor. In no way could these reforms be said to have been inspired by sympathy for the new faith,⁹² and in any case an exception was made in the case of the mendicants, but the friars felt ill at ease in a society whose traditional values were changing and, already under fire from the evangelicals, they tended to hit out against anything that was contrary to their interests as heresy.⁹³

Along with criticism of indulgences, Luther's teaching on confession and the sacrament of penance was, for orthodox Catholics, one of the most objectionable features of the new faith. The Determinatio of the Sorbonne condemned Luther's views on each of the three parts of the sacrament of penance (confession, absolution and satisfaction) and no less than ten of the forty one articles of Exsurge Domine deal with this subject. It was Luther's argument that a full confession was neither necessary nor possible that was, according to T.N. Tentler, his most damaging criticism of the sacrament of penance.⁹⁴ In the late medieval church a good confession, by definition, had to be complete. The penitent had to search his conscience to find out what sins he had committed and then categorize them 'methodically, deliberately and extensively'.⁹⁵ Luther, however, taught that a general confession of

91 BRN I, p.84. 'That the old temple servants will come from the law of the pope into the liberty of Christ.'

92 J. Decavele, op.cit. I, pp.122-23.

93 A.C. Duke, 'Building heaven in hell's despite: the early history of the reformation in the towns of the Low Countries', Britain and the Netherlands (The Hague, 1981), p.59.

94 T.N. Tentler, Sin and confession on the eve of the reformation (Princeton, 1977), p.353.

95 Ibid. pp.109-110.

sin together with the belief that one was forgiven was sufficient.

Tentler's view is born out in the trial of Jan de Bakker. When de Bakker made his confession to God (and it was clearly directed to God and not to the confessor-priest who accompanied him), it was of an overtly general nature. He confessed his unbelief as a result of which he stood in condemnation, but at the same time declared God's mercy in Christ's blood and affirmed that this washes his sins away. Furthermore, he pronounced his trust in the divine promise that he is a child of God, an heir of God and a joint heir with Christ. When asked by his inquisitor about the general nature of his confession he refused to list all his sins on the grounds that this was not possible, or to name his mortal sins.⁹⁶ For his inquisitors Jan's refusal to make a full confession was particularly galling.

"Hy en woude niet te deghen biechten; hy sprac
zijn biecht int ghemeen, gelijc die ketters
ghemeenlick doen"

- Rieuwert Tappert, grand inquisitor of the Netherlands and chancellor of the University of Leuven, declared as the reason for his refusal to absolve the heretic.⁹⁷

Cases of blasphemy against the Virgin Mary or the saints were not unknown in the late middle ages,⁹⁸ and some of this late medieval tradition was probably carried over into the 1520s. A bizarre case of blasphemy occurred in 1528-29 when one Gielis Vienssen from Hoorn compared the Virgin Mary to a 'pisspot' and a chimney, said that the devil was the author of the Creed, and that the third century martyr St. Lawrence had been justly executed for embezzling the local congregation's treasury.⁹⁹ Just as his extraordinary rejection of the Creed could scarcely have been derived from Luther or any of the other reformers, the same is true of his views on the Virgin Mary. It seems that Gielis Vienssen stood in the tradition of what might be seen as a lay counter-piety which deliberately inverted the central themes of

96 CD IV, pp.489-491.

97 CD IV, p.491. 'He would not make a complete confession; he gave only a general confession as the heretics commonly do.'

98 See CD I, pp.424, 458 and 500-501. J. Decavele, *op.cit.* I, p.594.

99 Oud-Archief Hoorn 6, 9.

traditional Catholic devotion. Having preceded the Reformation, this counter piety later became engulfed by it.

In the early 1520s, however, criticism of the intermediary role of the Virgin Mary and the saints received a fresh theological impetus which is reflected in the pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation. Balthasar Hubmaier, for example, declared that,

'Ghelyc Cristus alleene voor onse sonden
ghestorven is in wiens naeme wy oock alleen
ghedoopt zijn also sal hy alleene van ons
voor eenen eenighen voorbiddere ende
middelaer aenroepen worden. Hier vallen
alle pelegrimagen ende aenroepinghe der
heyleghen.' ¹⁰⁰

Similarly, the authors of Vanden propheet Baruch (c1525)¹⁰¹ and the Refutacie vant Salve regina argued on the basis of 1 Timothy 2:5 that Christ is man's only advocate and therefore he needs no other mediators¹⁰². Finally, the Summa der godliker scrifturen and Een gulden onderwijsinge om te antwoorden op alle puncten die de vyanden der waerheyt bybrenghen moghen both reject worship of the saints as a transgression of the first commandment.¹⁰³

Like the doctrine of justification by faith alone, Luther's teaching of the priesthood of all believers was both misunderstood and maligned by orthodox Catholics. For instance, when Jan de Bakker asserted this doctrine one of his inquisitors asked whether this meant that all men may perform mass, baptize and administer the sacraments. Another interrogator pointed to the Levitical priesthood who were specifically

100 BRN I, p.122. 'Since Christ alone died for our sins, and in his name alone we were baptized so should he alone be for us the only intercessor and mediator. Hence fall all pilgrimages and the invocation of the saints.' From W.R. Estep, *op.cit.* p.25.

101 NK246. See p.

102 BRN I, pp.265 and 23.

103 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek, p.226. Een gulden onderwijsinge, Uviiir.

called to their office. Jan de Bakker then explained that in the old covenant Israel was a kingdom of priests (Exodus 19:6) and this principle was translated into the new covenant (1 Peter 2:9). This does not mean that all preach and serve the congregation but,

'Wi altesamen ghenieten des priesterscap Christi'.¹⁰⁴

Similar statements were made by Jacob Praepositus,

'Omnes layci sunt sacerdotes',¹⁰⁵

and the Antwerp Augustinians,

'Alle menschen seyn priester vor Got.'.¹⁰⁶

Historians of the Dutch reformation have been quick to apply such labels as 'Lutheran', 'sacramentarian' and 'Erasmian' to distinguish what they perceived as a foreign implantation from that which they believed to be indigenous to the Netherlands. But such labels distort the reality of the situation in the early 1520s. Contemporaries who were attracted to the new religious ideas often referred to themselves simply as 'evangelicals'.¹⁰⁷ But evangelical was an 'umbrella' term which embraced a whole variety of shades of opinion. To attempt to distinguish between the influence of Luther and that of Erasmus is to impose an anachronistic theological framework unrecognized by contemporaries. For many the two men seemed to be saying much the same thing. Dürer, for example, on hearing a false report of Luther's death expressed his hope that Erasmus might take up the German reformer's cause. 'Oh God', he wrote in 1521, 'if Luther be dead, who will henceforth expound to us the holy Gospel with such clearness? ... Oh Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wilt thou stop? Behold how the wicked tyranny of worldly power, the might of darkness, prevails. Hear thou knight of Christ! Ride on by the side of the Lord Jesus Guard the truth.'

104 CD IV, p.458. 'Collectively we enjoy the priesthood of Christ.'

105 CD IV, p.92. 'All laymen are priests.'

106 CD IV, p.198. 'All men are priests before God.'

107 See p.2.

Attain the martyr's crown.¹⁰⁸

In the same way Dutch evangelical authors happily drew on Erasmus and Luther without perceiving any discrepancy between the two. The author of the Summa der godliker scripturen, for instance, exhibits the same concern as Erasmus for the supreme importance of the baptismal vow, and on the issues of marriage, government, war and payment of taxes is clearly under the influence of the great humanist scholar.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, his work also shows an acquaintance with Luther's Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen (1520), and chapter twenty six of the Summa is a condensed version of Von Weltlicher Oberkeit (1523).¹¹⁰ Yet this dual dependence on Luther and Erasmus is not, as Pijper has suggested,¹¹¹ peculiarly Dutch. Vanden olden en nieuwen God, geloove ende leer, a pamphlet which displays a similar indebtedness both to early evangelicalism and to Christian humanism,¹¹² originated not in the Netherlands, but in Basle. This dual dependence both upon Luther and Erasmus was a European and not merely a Dutch phenomenon.

Sacramentarianism, that feature of evangelical religion in the Netherlands which has been seen as peculiarly Dutch, played little or no part in the Dutch Reformation between 1520 and 1524. In these years old forms of dissent were swept aside by newer and more vital points at issue - justification by faith alone, indulgences, the sacrament of penance and the like - which evidently had their origin at Wittenberg. Only when the real presence became a bone of contention amongst the German and Swiss theologians did sacramentarianism re-emerge in the Netherlands. The Reformation in the Low Countries no more deserves to be labelled 'sacramentarian' than it can be called simply 'Lutheran' or 'Erasmian'.

108 A. Dürer, Diary of his journey to the Netherlands, 1520-1521, p.92.

109 J. Trapman, De summa der godliker scripturen (1523) (Leiden, 1978), pp.58 and 62.

110 Ibid. pp.67 and 72.

111 See F. Pijper, Erasmus en de nederlandsche reformatie (Leiden, 1907).

112 See H. Scheible, 'Reform, Reformation, Revolution. Grundsätze der Beurteilung der Flugschriften', ARG LXV (1974), pp.108-134.

CHAPTER 3

THE WAR OF WORDS

In the early years of the Reformation a large part of Protestant publication in the German lands took the form of anti-Catholic polemic. In Strasbourg, for example, more than a third of Protestant pamphlets published before 1548 were of a polemical nature, and three-quarters of these appeared before 1528.¹ The volume of Dutch polemical literature never reached these spectacular heights: the figure for the Netherlands was perhaps only fifteen per cent. What is more, of the sixteen or so anti-Catholic polemical tracts published in Dutch approximately half were translations of foreign authors. In the main, these were the works of German reformers - the Articulen of Balthasar Hubmaier (c1525),² the Schoon disputatie van eenen evangelisschen schoemaker ende van eenen papistighen coerheere of Hans Sachs (c1525),³ the Rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe of Urbanus Regius (1527),⁴ the Daden werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus edited by Philip Melanchthon (c1525)⁵, Vanden olden en nieuwen God, gelooove ende leere (c1524) attributed to Joachim Vadianus⁶ and the anonymous Warachtige nieuwe tijdinghe van een boer die met cranckeyt bevaen hem heeft ghebiecht (1564).⁷ Polemical works by English reformers such as John Bale's Standt ende de bilde der beyder ghemeynter (1555)⁸ and the anonymous Val der roomscher kerken (1553)⁹ were also translated into Dutch, along with the anti-monastic treatise of the former Franciscan from Avignon François Lambert, Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders

1 M. Chrisman, Lay culture, learned culture (New Haven and London, 1982), p.156.

2 NK1145. See p.291.

3 NK3827. See pp.303-304.

4 NK1791. See p.302.

5 NK675. See pp.272-275.

6 NK1013. See pp.284-285.

7 BL11555.9.11. See p.309.

8 Machiels B70. See p.259.

9 STC 21307.3. See p.310

reghe1 (1526).¹⁰

It will be noted that the majority of these translated polemics were printed in the 1520s. With the indigenous Dutch polemic, however, a rather different pattern emerges. Whilst there were one or two pamphlets such as the Refutacie vant Salve regina (c1524)¹¹ and Van den propheet Baruch (c1525)¹² published in the 1520s, the majority appeared in the 1560s. These include Petrus Bloccius's Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen, ende nieuwe leeringen, welck wt de misse zyn ghecomen (1567)¹³ and Een slechtelick ende schriftelijck onderrichtinghe van dat doepsel ende auontmael Christi Jesu (1566)¹⁴ as well as anonymous tracts such as the Schoon suyverlyck boecxken inhoudende het oordelende vonnisse dat gewesen is vanden Paus Paulo tertio over eenen Broeder der christenen ghenaemt Pasquillus (1565),¹⁵ the Schoon vraeghe van eenen bwr, hoe dat hy eenen pape geuraecht heefft (1565)¹⁶ and Een colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien, waeraf die eene Pasquillus, ende de andere Marphorius genaemt is (c1565).¹⁷ Thus a different pattern emerges in the Netherlands from that established in Germany: in the Netherlands the 1520s and the 1560s (as opposed to just the 1520s) were the periods of the greatest production of anti-Catholic polemical literature. Essentially, this reflects the activities of two different groups of polemicists, the Lutherans being responsible in the main for the 1520s production and the Reformed for those pamphlets published in the 1560s.

Generally speaking, evangelical polemic, whether Lutheran or Reformed, had three major objectives: first, to attack the structure of the Roman church; second, to attack the doctrine of Rome; and third

10 NK1310. See p.292.

11 NK1787. See p.299.

12 NK246. See p.259.

13 Index auriensis 119 860. See p.261.

14 Wolfenbuttel HAB1164.17 Theol (11). See p.261.

15 The Hague KB 1703 E42(1). See pp.263-264.

16 Knuttel 134. See p.312.

17 Knuttel 135. See pp.269-270.

to refute particular charges made by Catholic polemicists. Each of these themes will be dealt with in turn. Why did evangelical polemicists attack the Roman church? What features did they attack? What doctrines did they denounce, and how did they, in turn, defend themselves against Catholic charges?

The evangelical attack upon the Roman church, however, was only one side of the war of words. Therefore, the second half of this chapter will be concerned with the orthodox Catholic response - the ten or so anti-Protestant polemics published in Dutch between 1520 and 1566. What, it might be asked, did Catholic polemicists attack in Protestantism? How did they defend their own position? When and why were Catholic polemics published? How and why did Catholic attitudes towards vernacular polemic change?

i) Evangelical anti-Catholic polemic.

Luther's attacks on the authority of the papacy struck a familiar chord in sixteenth century Germany. Anti-curiel sentiments had been rife in the German speaking lands on the eve of the Reformation. In 1518, for example, when the Diet of Augsburg was confronted with the request of Leo X for a special tax to promote a crusade it replied that the real enemy was not the Turk, but the 'hell-hound' in Rome.¹⁸ This bitter anti-Roman feeling combined with sympathies for Luther's cause to produce a torrent of anti-curiel polemic best exemplified in the writings of the German nationalist Ulrich von Hutten (1483-1523). In his Triades Romanas (1520), which was also published in the Netherlands by Simon Corver at Zwolle in 1521,¹⁹ for instance, von Hutten compiled a damning list of fifty sins of Rome arranged in triplicate. 'Tres sunt Romanorum merces', he blasted, 'Christus, sacerdotia, mulieres. Tria Romae gravissime auditu, generale concilium, emendatio status ecclesiastici et quod Germani oculos recipiunt.'²⁰

18 A.G. Dickens, Reformation and society in sixteenth century Europe (London, 1966), p.23. See also Manifestations of discontent in Germany on the eve of the reformation, ed. G. Strauss (Bloomington-London, 1971), pp.35-63.

19 NK2985.

20 O. Clemen, 'Die lamentationes Petri', Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIX (1898-1899), p.446. 'Three things are sold in Rome: Christ, the priesthood and women. Three things are hateful to Rome: a general council, the reformation of the Church and the opening of German eyes.' R. Bainton, Here I stand (New York, 1950), pp.131-132.

In its most extreme form this anti-curiel polemic came to identify the papacy with the apocalyptic figure of Antichrist. This identification was not, of course, a discovery of the Reformation. In the Colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien waer of die eene Pasquillus ende de andere Marphorius genaempt is Marphorius tells his companion Pasquillus that fifty years ago, before Luther had been heard of, he saw a book in which the beast was identified with the papal mitre.²¹ Needless to say, he saw this as prophetic. Such identifications of the papacy as Antichrist had been a familiar theme amongst medieval heretical groups, most notably amongst the Spiritual Franciscans, the Lollards and the Hussites. The Spiritualist tradition probably dates back to the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore (c1132-1202) who pronounced in 1190-91 that the Antichrist had already been born at Rome.²² Yet whereas Wyclif and Luther after him considered the papacy to be the seat of Antichrist, the Spirituals identified a particular pontiff pope John XXII as the Antichrist because he had denounced their doctrines as heretical.²³

Luther first came to view the papacy as Antichrist during his research into papal decretals in preparation for the Leipzig debate with Eck. In March 1519 he confided to Spalatin

'I do not know whether the pope is Antichrist or his apostle, so does he in his decretals corrupt and crucify Christ, that is, the truth.'²⁴

By 10 October 1520 he was certain. 'I feel much freer', he wrote to Spalatin, 'now that I am certain that the pope is Antichrist.'²⁵

Luther's public condemnation of the papacy as Antichrist, Adversus execrabilem Antichristi bullam, first published in 1520, was reprinted in the Netherlands probably by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten later that same year.²⁶ The earliest vernacular anti-papal pamphlet printed

21 Een colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien, Cvir.

22 M. Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the prophetic future, (London, 1976), pp.22 and 136.

23 G. Leff, Heresy in the later middle ages (Manchester, 1967), I, p.210.

24 R. Bainton, op.cit. p.109.

25 Ibid. p.160.

26 NK3449.

in the Netherlands, however, was probably Die daden werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus (c1525), an adaptation of Philip Melanchthon and Lucas Cranach's Passional Christi und Antichristi (1521).²⁷ Though the title of the Dutch text is notably less radical than that of the German version and also lacks the visual dimension of the original, the identification of the pope as Antichrist remains. Indeed, there are two passages in the Dutch version in which the translator, quite independent of Melanchthon's original text, demonstrated that the papacy was to be equated with Antichrist. In the first, a contrast between Christ's adornment of a crown of thorns and the pope's gold, pearls and precious stones, he identified the latter with the Beast and the Whore of Babylon of Revelation 17.²⁸ In the second, a comparison between the true and false shepherds, the Dutch translator left even less to the imagination:

'Den Dief en compt niet anders dan om stelen om dooden ende om verderuen. Alsulcks is den Paus ieghenwoordich de welcke naer syn eyghen rechten den rechten Antechrist is ende verderuer der Christenheyt.'²⁹

Of course, there were some, presumably Catholics, who objected to the identification of the papacy as Antichrist. François Lambert, an

27 See pp.273-274. According to Willem Gnapheus' Disputacie tusschen die kettermeesters ende Jan van Woorden (c1525-29) Jan de Bakker came close to identifying the pope as Antichrist referring to the Roman Church as 'dats Ecclesia malignantium, ende die Paus sit hier in die opperste stoel, ende is ghenaemt Cathedra pestilentie.' CD IV, p.477. This same phrase cathedra pestilentiae was used both by Wessel Gansfort and by the anonymous author of the Epistolae obscurorum virorum. It appears to be based on Psalm 26:5 'I have hated the congregation of evil doers and will not sit with the wicked', and, in the hands of late medieval reformers, was used to legitimize resistance to corrupt priests and prelates. M.H. Ogilvie, 'Wessel Gansfort's theology of church government', NAK LV (1975), p.133. Epistolae obscurorum virorum, ed. G. Stokes (London, 1925), pp.60 and 332.

28 Die daden werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus, A4r.

29 Ibid. C1r. 'The thief comes only to steal, kill and destroy. And such is the present pope who, according to his own laws, is the true Antichrist and the destroyer of Christendom.'

early convert to the Reformation from the ranks of the Observant Franciscans indicated this in his Gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghel:

'Ende ick weet dattet die sommige quaelicken nemen sullen dat ic den Paeus Antichristus heet ende den mensch des sonds ende den zoen des verderffenisse die nu ten lesten die hem aenhangen een Antichristische ende Apostatische rijk noeme.'³⁰ 30

However, Lambert himself, a virulent anti-papist was in no doubt. For him the Scriptures quite clearly indicated that the papacy was Anti-christ.³¹ Indeed, he considered this view to be so vital as to be an essential part of the evangelical faith:

'Alle menschen die oprechtelic in cristum gelouen si cond dat die Paeus is die Antichrist die so menighe tijden vol nae allen volck en verleyt heeft ende van twoort gods heeft seer verureemt.'³²

Another Lutheran writer to clearly identify the papacy as Antichrist was Franciscus Alardus, the first preacher of the Lutheran church in Antwerp in 1566. In his Corte veruat van alle menschelijcke insettinghen der roomscher kercke (1556)³³ Alardus selected five articles from the XXXII articulos Lovaniensium theologistarum (1544) as proof that the papacy was Antichrist: that it is necessary to believe all the traditions of the papacy must be observed; that a Christian can earn his salvation through his good works and make satisfaction for himself and for those in purgatory; that a Christian must do more than God has commanded in the Ten Commandments; that the mass is an atonement for the living and the dead, that the sacrament must be worshipped and that

30 F. Lambert, Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghel, *iiiiir.
'And I know that some will take it amiss that I call the Pope Antichrist and the man of sin and the son of perdition and those who follow him to the end members of the kingdom of the Antichrist and the Apostate.'

31 Ibid. iiiiv.

32 Ibid. Evv. 'All men that truly believe in Christ know that the pope is Antichrist who has led almost all the people astray so many times and alienated them very much from the word of God.'

33 See p.256.

it is heresy to receive it in both kinds; finally that Christ is not our only advocate and mediator.³⁴ In addition, Alardus rejected the belief that Peter was the bishop of Rome or that he was the chief of the apostles, and refused to acknowledge that Christ's words 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church' referred to Peter.³⁵

This connection of the Antichrist with the papacy was not, however, the monopoly of the Lutherans. Reformed theologians, too, made the same identification. Some devoted entire pamphlets to this one theme. Five sermons of the Zurich theologian Rudolph Gualtherus, for example, were published in Low German by Pieter Anastasius de Zuttere at Emden in the early 1560s under the title Der antichrist, Eyn korte, klare, ende eynvoldige bewijsung in vijf predicken begrepen dz der paus van Room der recht, waerachtig, groot, unde eygentlich antichrist sij.³⁶ However, a host of other Reformed pamphlets published in Dutch about this time also identified the papacy as Antichrist. These included Bale's Der standt ende de bilde der beyder ghemeynten, Bloccius's Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen welck wt de misse zyn ghecomen, as well as the anonymous Val der roomscher kercken, Het oordeel vanden Paus Paulo tertio ouer Pasquillus, Een schoon vraeghe van eenen bwr hoe dat eenen pape geuraecht heeft and the Colloquie van twee personagien, Pasquillus ende Marphorius.

After the rejection of papal authority the denunciation of the monastic ideal was perhaps the most damning of evangelical attacks on the structure and life of the Roman church. Within the late medieval church monasticism was regarded as the highest expression of devotion to God. Thomas Aquinas, for example, had taught that the taking of monastic vows was a second baptism which restored the sinner to the state of innocence which he enjoyed when first baptized.³⁷ Erasmus had called such views into question by arguing that no vow was more sacred than that of

³⁴ F. Alardus, Corte veruat van alle menschelijcke insettinghen der roomscher kercke, Fviv-Fviiv.

³⁵ Ibid. Aviir-Biir.

³⁶ Utrecht UB F.oct.123(1) Rariora.

³⁷ R. Bainton, op.cit. p.33.

baptism.³⁸ Such arguments were also used by evangelical authors in their attack upon the monastic ideal. In the Oordeel vanden Paus Paulo tertio ouer Pasquillus, for example, Pasquillus when asked his opinion on monastic vows stressed the obligation of the Christian to fulfil his baptismal promises:

'Inden eersten so ist van noode dat wy eerst volbrenghen sullen die beloften die wy int Doopsel ghedaen hebben daer wy toe verbonden zijn ende als wy die volbracht hebben willen wy dan daer noch wat goedts toe doen dat goddelick is dat moghen wy wel doen.'³⁹

Similarly, François Lambert argued that there is but one fellowship of believers, entered through faith. Those who hope to gain salvation by entrance into a monastery he condemned as wreckers of the unity of the faith established through baptism.⁴⁰

Evangelicals, however, went to far greater extremes in their denunciations of monasticism than did Christian humanists. François Lambert, for example, himself a former Franciscan monk castigated monasticism in general and his order in particular with all the passion of a renegade. In the first place he exposed the supposedly chaste lives of the Franciscans by lurid descriptions of their immoral and perverse sexual behaviour:

'Want onder hoer worden gheuonden die niet alleen een ofte twee mer veel hoeren voeden Men vintse oec die alle iaer een nieuwe hebben ofte alle twe iaren oft vier iaren. Van bogherie ende andere manieren van oncuysheden geeft openbaer genoech

38 See, for example, 'The girl with no interest in marriage' in The colloquies of Erasmus, ed. C.R. Thompson (Chicago and London, 1965), pp.103-111.

39 Oordeel vanden Paus Paulo tertio ouer Pasquillus, Dvr-v. 'In the first place it is necessary that we first fulfil the promises that we bound ourselves to in baptism and, when we have fulfilled these, if we desire to do some further good that is godly, then we may do so.'

40 F. Lambert, Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghel, Biiiir.

ghetuych die Antichristighe stadt van Romen
mit veel anderen.' 41

Secondly, Lambert not only attacked immorality, but he also questioned the very foundation of the mendicant life. The basic presupposition behind mendicancy was that poverty itself was a righteous state. However, Lambert asserted that the Scriptures teach otherwise. Quoting Proverbs 30:8, 'Give me neither poverty nor riches', Psalm 37:25, 'I have not seen the righteous forsaken or his children begging bread', and Acts 4:34, 'There was not a needy person among them', he argued that since mendicancy was not founded on God's word it was the work of the Devil.⁴² The Christian life, Lambert maintained does not consist of entrance into a monastery, but of death and resurrection with Christ; it is faith alone that makes us righteous and disciples of Christ:

'Daerom christus na te volgen en is niet te
cloester gaen of mit desen of mit dien cleet
ghecleet worden mer geloven. Ende oec en
versaecken si hoer seluen niet noch crucen
die sodanige grinen aen nemen mer die mit
christo steruen ende mit hem verrisen daer
wt volcht dat si daerom zijn discipulen niet
en sijn als si beroemen. Alleen het gheloef
alst rechtuaerdich maect maket christ
discipulen.' 43

Moreover, alongside the Christian humanist critique and this torrent of evangelical polemic, hostility to fiscal privileges and envy of their supposed wealth loomed large against the monastic orders and,

41 Ibid. Diiir. 'For among them one finds those who not only keep one or two whores, but many whores. You will discover also those who have a new one every year or every two or four years. Rome, the city of Antichrist, along with many other towns, furnishes public testimony to the (practice) of buggery and other sorts of impurity.'

42 Ibid. Biiv-Biiir.

43 Ibid. Civ-Ciir. 'Therefore, to follow after Christ is not to enter a monastery or to clothe oneself with this or that cowl, but to have faith. Nor do they also forsake themselves nor take up the cross by practising such lamentations: they forsake themselves by dying with Christ and rising with Him. It therefore follows they are not His disciples, despite their boasting. Faith alone makes us righteous and makes us disciples of Christ.'

in particular, against the Friars. First, there were occasional popular outbursts against individual monasteries. The religious house at 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, was ransacked in 1525.⁴⁴ Perhaps more importantly, however, the way of life of the friars was beginning to be challenged by new social attitudes towards poverty. In particular, ordinances introduced in some Flemish towns in the 1520s legislated against indiscriminate almsgiving. An exception was made for the friars, but in their eyes the damage against the traditional notion that poverty could be equated with holiness was already done.⁴⁵

Whereas the monastic orders figure prominently in Dutch polemical literature relatively little attention is focused on the secular clergy, and this marks a notable departure from the pamphlet literature of the German Reformation.⁴⁶ It is difficult to account for this disparity. Perhaps it is partly due to the greater virulence and importance of pre-Reformation anti-clericalism in Germany than in the Netherlands. Hans Sachs' Schoon disputation van eenen evangelischen schoemaker ende van eenen papistighen coerheere and the anonymous Warachtige nieuwe tijdinghe van eenen boer die met cranckeyt beuaen hem heeft ghebeicht tegen zynen prochiaen (1564) contain elements of anticlericalism, but both are translations of German works. The only indigenous tract in which there is any notable criticism of the secular clergy is the Troost ende spiegel der siecken (1531) of Willem Gnapheus.⁴⁷ In this work of comfort for the sick and dying the contemporary clergy are held to be lax in their shepherding care insofar as they have allowed hirelings to come amongst God's flock,⁴⁸ avaricious in that they are only willing to fulfil their pastoral duties for financial gain,⁴⁹ and careless in the

⁴⁴ A.C. Duke, 'Building heaven in hell's despite: the early history of the reformation in the towns of the Low Countries,' Britain and the Netherlands (The Hague, 1981), VII, p.59.

⁴⁵ J. Decaene, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, pp.107-136. A.C. Duke, 'Building heaven in hell's despite,' p.59.

⁴⁶ See S.E. Ozment, 'Pamphlet literature of the german reformation,' Reformation Europe: a guide to research, ed. S.E. Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), pp.91-93.

⁴⁷ NK1010. See pp.281-284.

⁴⁸ BRN I, p.153.

performance of their duties because they value masses and vigils more than men who are the living temples of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁰ Gnapheus also accuses the clergy of a greater interest in the payment of tithes than in the maintenance of God's laws.⁵¹ Again this makes the Troost ende spiegel der siecken somewhat of an exception. Whereas tithes were frequently complained of in German pamphlets,⁵² this is the only known complaint against tithing in a Dutch evangelical pamphlet. This would suggest that tithes were a greater source of grievance in Germany than in the Netherlands. Perhaps this is a reflection of the more urban character of Dutch society. Alternatively, it may be an indication of the 'lower profile' of the Church as a temporal ruler in the Low Countries.

The most important focus of attack on the doctrine of the Roman church by evangelical polemicists concerned the mass.⁵³ As we have already seen in chapter two this denunciation of the crux of late-medieval devotion came in two phases; first the mass was rejected as a sacrifice and a good work, and second, the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharistic elements was denied. The rejection of the sacrificial nature of the mass evidently formed an important part of evangelical belief in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1525, but it continued to feature in the years after 1525. In his Paradoxa (c1528),⁵⁴ for example, François Lambert discarded the notion that the mass is a re-enactment of Christ's unique sacrifice at Calvary in favour of the view that it is a remembrance:

'Voort so ist merckelic dat in dese Eucharistie
niet op een nyeu geoffert wort noch ten mishaecht
mi niet want ic also ghevoele dat die Eucharistie
es een gedenkenisse van die offerhande doer die
welcke Christus hem seluen voor ons sinen vad(?)

50 BRN I, p.156.

51 BRN I, p.159.

52 Complaints over tithes featured especially prominently in the pamphlet literature of the Peasants War.

53 Other aspects of evangelical polemic - against images, the intermediary role of the Virgin Mary and the like - have been dealt with in chapter two.

54 NK3359. See p.293.

eens geoggert heeft voort soe moeter een bedancken zijn voor die offerhande.' 55

Reformed theologians were no less hostile to this 'blasphemous' doctrine. It figured as the first, and therefore possibly the greatest, of the two hundred and one heresies listed by Petrus Bloccius,⁵⁶ whilst John Bale considered this fresh crucifixion of the Lord to be a sign of Antichrist.⁵⁷ On this point, at least, Lutherans and Reformed were agreed. It is notable, however, that attacks on the sacrificial nature of the mass, a vital feature of pre-1525 polemic, do not figure quite so prominently in the later pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation. Later authors concentrated their attention instead on the second point of attack, the denial of the real presence. The anonymous tract Den val der roomscher kercken (1553), for example, is entirely devoted to this theme. According to the author, the words hoc est corpus meum are analogous to Christ's metaphorical sayings. When Christ said 'I am the door' he did not mean that he was a physical door. Similarly, the words hoc est corpus meum do not actually create the same body that Mary bore.⁵⁸ The author also rejects the real presence as being inconsistent with the doctrine of the Trinity. Duns Scotus had reconciled these two doctrines by arguing that just as a man lights many candles with one candle, and the original candle is not lessened by this, so many hosts can be consecrated, yet there remains but one God. For the author of Den val der roomscher kercken, however, such a view is nonsense. Since every candle is a candle in its own right, so every host also must be a god in its own right.⁵⁹

Perhaps the crudest repudiations of the real presence in Den val der roomscher kercken, however, are the author's parodies of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Since in his view the doctrine of the real presence contradicts the tenet of faith "On the third day he rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven," a new formula is devised:

55 F. Lambert, Paradoxa, 24v. 'Furthermore, it is to be noted that the sacrifice is not repeated in this eucharist; nevertheless, it does not displease me, for as I believe that the Eucharist is a memorial of the sacrifice by which Christ once sacrificed himself for our sins, there must be a thanksgiving for that sacrifice.'

56 P. Bloccius, Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen, p.3.

57 J. Bale, Den standt ende de bilde der beyder ghemeynten, Eeiir-v.

58 BRN I, p.405.

59 BRN I, pp.409-10.

'...ende is verresen ten derden dage. Daer na die pausen ende zijn dienaers sloegen de handen aen hem, ende hebben hem op ghehanghen op den altaer, ende daer heeft hy gehanghen, al dien tijt lanck.' ⁶⁰

Likewise, 'Our Father which art in heaven' is recast,

'Onse vader die daer sit op den altaer.'⁶¹

A similar argument was employed by Petrus Bloccius in his Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen, ende nieuwe leeringen, welch wt de misse zyn ghecomen. The one hundred and twenty eighth heresy reiterates the satire on the Lord's Prayer,

'Onse Uader die in dat huysken oft inden Heme1 is.'⁶²

Where did such views originate? Clearly, the writings of the mainstream reformers were not responsible for such arguments. The use of the opening phrase of the Lord's Prayer 'Our Father which art in heaven' as proof that Christ is in heaven and cannot therefore be in the eucharistic elements, ignores the fact that the prayer invokes God the Father - and therefore the wrong person of the Trinity. No theologian of any standing would employ such a muddled argument. Rather, such views probably arise from a commonsense homespun theology with its roots in an oral tradition of dissent which may have antedated the Reformation. The same use of the Lord's Prayer to refute the doctrine of the real presence, for instance, was made by Pieter Aemsz, an Anabaptist from Amsterdam in 1533.⁶³ Other crude and simple refutations of the real

60 BRN I, p.415. 'After the Pope and his mynisters gate handes on him and hanged him upon the Altare and there he hath hanged ever sincye.' Translation from The faull of the romyshe churche (STC 21305), Civ-Ciir. Such parodies were not uncommon in the sixteenth century. The Ghent Vader onze (1572), for example, was a parody against the Duke of Alva.

61 BRN I, p.415.

62 P. Bloccius, Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen, p.19. 'Our Father which art in the sacramental house or in heaven.'

63 C.A. Cornelius, Geschichte des Munsterischen Aufruhrs (Leipzig, 1855-60), II, p.379.

presence abounded in the Netherlands at this time. In 1528, for example, Wolfert Vranckensz, a locksmith from Amsterdam had his tongue pierced for declaring that it was a foolish God who would put himself in the hands of priests, whilst Jacob Keymuelen was banished from Ghent for insisting that the host was no more miraculous than the bread in his larder.⁶⁴ Moreover, these homespun arguments were not confined to the Netherlands. South German Anabaptists are known to have asserted that it was a violation of the Ten Commandments to make a god of bread, and that Christ had said "'I am the bread of life which has descended from heaven'" (John 6:51), not which has been baked in the oven.⁶⁵ Similar proverbial sayings also circulated in England. In 1511 one Thomas Higons of Woolaston and Micheldean, for instance, confessed to having said that a carpenter could make a house, but that the house could not make a carpenter and, as a result, was suspected of disbelief in the sacrament.⁶⁶ Thirty years later John Mayler, a grocer from London called the eucharist 'the baken god' and said that the mass was called 'the mysse' because 'all is amisse in it'.⁶⁷

Placed in this context, the arguments of Petrus Bloccius and the author of Den val der roomscher kercken against the real presence are seen to be fairly familiar. Moreover, it cannot be argued that these proverbial sayings originated from such tracts. Early Dutch polemical literature is entirely devoid of such arguments: moreover these sayings were circulating long before the 1550s and '60s when Den val der roomscher kercken and Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen were published. It has often

⁶⁴ A.C. Duke, 'The face of popular religious dissent in the Low Countries, 1520-1530', Journal of ecclesiastical history XXVI (1975), p.55. CD V, pp.364, 344-45.

⁶⁵ C.-P. Clasen, Anabaptism. A social history, 1525-1618 (Ithaca-London, 1972), p.112.

⁶⁶ J.A.F. Thomson, The later lollards, 1414-1520 (Oxford, 1965), p.48.

⁶⁷ J.F. Davis, 'Lollardy and the reformation in England', ARG LXXIII (1982), p.231. This play on the word mass or misse was also known in the Netherlands. 'Dat daerom wel misse genaempt is, wat al gemist is.' ('Therefore the mass is well named: for all is amiss'), J. Duverger, 'Lutherse predicatie te Brussel en het proces tegen een aantal kunstenaars (april-juni 1527)', Wetenschappelijke tijdingen XXXVI (1977), col.227.

been argued that Reformation pamphlets helped to create and shape popular belief in early modern Europe. In this case, however, the reverse may have been true. A popular oral tradition of heresy existed apart from the printed pamphlets of the reformers; yet by the 1550s and '60s pamphleteers had incorporated some of the proverbial arguments from this tradition into their own polemic against the doctrine of the real presence.

As well as attacking the structure and doctrine of the Roman church, evangelicals also sought to defend themselves against the accusations of Catholic polemicists. Perhaps the most frequent of such charges was that the evangelical faith was novel. One popular line of defence against this accusation was to compare the so-called old and new doctrines side by side so as to demonstrate authenticity of the evangelical faith. This was the aim of Vanden olden en nieuen God, gelooove ende leere which attempted to blunt the charge of innovation by arguing that the so-called 'old religion' (orthodox Catholicism) was a fabricated new religion, whilst the alleged 'new religion' was in fact the old faith of the New Testament and the early church.

A similar approach was adopted by Urbanus Regius in his Rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe (1527).⁶⁸ In this pamphlet Regius cleverly aligned the accusations of novelty against the evangelicals with charges made against Christ and the early church. When Christ cast out an unclean spirit at the start of his earthly ministry (Mark 1:23-27), Regius noted, the Jews were astonished and asked what new teaching this was, ignorant that the Gospel was not new, but had been promised long before by the Old Testament prophets. Likewise, Paul was also accused of a new teaching by the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers when preaching the Gospel in Athens. In much the same way, Regius argued, opponents of the evangelical faith attack its adherents as innovators simply for their obedience to the Scriptures.⁶⁹ To demonstrate the difference between the old faith and the new, Regius

68 NK1791 See p.302.

69 U. Regius, Een rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe, Aair-Aiir.

then laid the teaching of the two on particular subjects side by side, the new learning (orthodox Catholic opinion) first, followed by the old (evangelical doctrine) supported by Scripture texts. The new learning regarding the sacraments, for instance, is that they convey grace in themselves; according to the old learning, however, we are not saved by a holy sign but through faith, and thus faith is necessary to receive the sacraments.⁷⁰ Likewise, the new learning teaches that everyone who has come to the age of discretion must confess all their sins once a year to a priest, whereas by the old learning confession of sins is made to God alone.⁷¹

A second line of defence against the charge of innovation was that used in the Unio dissidentium (1527) of Hermanus Bodius and its partial Dutch translation, the Scutum fidei (c1527-29).⁷² By listing hundreds of quotations from the Church Fathers in support of evangelical doctrines Bodius hoped to show that it was the Romanists and not the evangelicals who were innovative because it was they who had departed from the doctrine of the early church. The author of the Oordeel vanden Paus Paulo tertio ouer Pasquillus had much the same aim. Staging a satirical debate between Paul III and an evangelical named Pasquillus (Pasquill means lampoon), he sought to demonstrate that the evangelical position received full support from the patristic authors. When asked whether or not he believed in purgatory, for instance, Pasquillus replied in the negative quoting De bene mortis of Ambrose as his authority:

'Voorwaer van desen tijt (death) en is geen vergiffenis meer van sonden te gecrigen.'⁷³

Using the same line of argument Pasquillus also rejected the celibacy of the clergy, salvation through good works, the veneration of images, the observance of holy days, fasting, pilgrimages, monastic vows, confession,

70 Ibid. Aviv-Aviir.

71 Ibid. Aviiv-Biiv.

72 See pp.304-307.

73 Oordeel vanden Paus Paulo tertio ouer Pasquillus, Avv. 'Truly, after this time no more forgiveness of sins can be obtained.'

transubstantiation and free will. Such reference back to the Fathers demonstrated that, far from being innovative, the evangelicals upheld doctrines stretching back over a millennium.

ii) Catholic anti-evangelical polemic.

Writing 1527-28 the anonymous author of the Catholic polemic Een redelijck bewijs der doldinghen van ses prochianen des luterschen secten⁷⁴ expressed his horror at the proliferation of vernacular evangelical pamphlets. Such publications, he maintained, brought great evil into the world because of the ignorance of the general populace:

'Aenghemerct dat Luther ende sijn Lutherianen veel meer quaets ende fenijns in de werelt ghestroyt hebben door duytsche boecxkens die si onder dat ghemeyn volc gesayt hebben: dan doer die latijnsche boecken die si gemaect hebben aenghesien dat die ongeleerd gemeynte vander scripturen niet en weet waerom si meynen al dat si lesen dat dat evangelien sij ende want luters leere al vleeschelic is ende metter naturen ende crancheit der menschen: so sijn si haest tot die te ghelouen ghetrocken.'⁷⁵

In expressing such views, the Catholic author of the Redelijck bewijs was voicing the opinions of all orthodox Catholics. In choosing to write against the Lutherans in the vernacular, however, he did not have such general support.

Many Catholics felt that Luther's heresies were fit only for discussion amongst university theologians and should not be allowed to

74 NK321. See p.315.

75 Redelijck bewijs, Aiv. 'Considering that Luther and his Lutherans have disseminated more evil and venom in the world through Dutch books which they have distributed to the common people than through the Latin books they have written, because the unlearned do not know the Scriptures, therefore they take all that they read as gospel truth, and since Luther's teaching is carnal and appeals to the weakness and nature of man in this way they are attracted so quickly to believe this.'

pollute the lower orders of society. Jan Roeyaerts, a vehemently anti-Lutheran Franciscan, was well aware of such feelings when he translated the condemnation of Luther by the Sorbonne into Dutch in 1521,⁷⁶ but he countered them by arguing that all good Christian men should know about errors of the faith:

'En want eenige menschen segghen dattet simpel volc hier aen soude moghen leeren erreuren ende ketterie die di niet en wisten ende hem also daer aen besmetten so segge ic ende antwoorde dair teghen: dat de goede kersten menschen de erreuren kennende die te bat sullen ontvlien ende scumen: wel wetende dat de selue erreuren u wesen ende verdoemt zy.' ⁷⁷

Generally speaking, in the first years of the Dutch Reformation Roeyaerts' view predominated and orthodox Catholics sought to meet the evangelical challenge head on. In 1520-21 the pulpits of the Netherlands rang with condemnations of Luther. By the mid-1520s, however, Catholic polemicists were being forced to think again. Did not vernacular refutations of Luther actually do more to spread heresy than to eradicate the problem? The general opinion was that this may well be the case. In 1525 the Friars were forbidden to mention Luther in their public sermons, and in a placard against Lutheranism of the same year the spread of heresy was partly blamed on preachers who dwelt on the subject in their sermons and put otherwise unknown ideas into people's heads.⁷⁸ Indeed, the opposition to vernacular refutations of Luther ran so high that a Dutch translation of John Eck's Enchiridion locorum communium (1525) was ordered to be destroyed. In a letter of 25 May 1527 to the council of Holland, Mary of Hungary ordered that the Declaracie teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen (1527)⁷⁹ be burnt because its setting

76 Determinacie ende vonnisse der doctoren in theologien van Parijs over de leeringhen van M. Luther. NK706. See pp.316-317.

77 Determinacie, Dvv. 'To those who say that simple folk might learn about errors and heresies of which they were ignorant and therefore be infected, I would reply that good christians being more aware of the errors may more easily flee and avoid them, knowing that by the same errors they will be damned.'

78 A.C. Duke, 'The face of popular religious dissent,' p.44.

79 NK752. See pp.317-318.

forth of the views of Luther, regardless of the subsequent refutations, was a transgression of the edicts against heretical books.⁸⁰ As a result of this changing attitude virtually all the Catholic polemic we shall consider in this chapter was written and published in the 1520s.

Just as Protestant martyrologists of the second half of the sixteenth century drew on medieval dissenting traditions to demonstrate the existence of the 'true' Church before the Reformation, so too Catholic theologians used the same argument to damn evangelicals as heretics. Virtually all Catholic polemicists placed Luther and his adherents in a long line of heretics dating back to the early Church. The translator of Eck's Enchiridion, for example, in a preface unique to the Dutch edition, argued that just as Christ sent his disciples to preach the truth, so the Devil also sends his false prophets to preach falsehood; these include Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Helvidius, Jovinian, Donatus, Pelagius, Vigilantius, Montanus, Hus, Jerome of Prague, Wyclif, and 'in onsen tijden' Luther and his followers.⁸¹ Similarly, in her Refereinen (1528)⁸² the anti-evangelical poet Anna Bijns saw Luther as the chief of all heresiarchs, and the culmination of medieval dissent:

'Hij is thooft van allen apostaten,
Een volmaect doctoor in de ketterije,
Capitein van allen dronckaerts en fraten,
Als Donatus hoveerdich ketter verwaten.
Valdo, Wiclef, Johannes Hus, dees drie,
En Hieronimus van Pragen, dits een compaengie,
Van Lucifer als valsce leeraers ghesonden,
Maer ic late mij duncken na mijn fantasie;
Noyt argher dan Luther en was ghevonden.'⁸³

80 F.J. Dubiez, Op de grens van humanisme en hervorming (Nieuwkoop, 1962), p.106.

81 Declaracie teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen, Aiiir.

82 NK423. See pp.315-316.

83 A. Bijns, Refereinen, ed. W.L. van Helten (Rotterdam, 1875), p.74.

'He is the head of all apostates,
A complete doctor in heresy,
Captain of all drunkards and gluttons,
Like Donatus, proud accursed heretic.
Waldo, Wyclif and John Hus, these three,
And Jerome of Prague, this is a company,
Sent by Lucifer as false teachers,
But methinks that to my fancy;
None worse than Luther has ever been found.'

Admittedly, this linking of old and new heresy was partly one of necessity. Luther could be condemned in 1520 as a heretic only if his views had already been adjudged heretical. Thus, the theologians of the Sorbonne went to great pains to demonstrate how each of Luther's views had been held by heresiarchs of old; on free will he followed the Manichaens, on confession he was dependent on the Hussites, whilst on the observance of the Mosaic law he adopted the old heresy of the Ebionites. Such an argument, however, could also be used to great polemical effect. The author of the Redelijck bewijs der dolingen van ses prochianen der luterschen secten, for example, pointed out the tendency of heretical groups to be named after their leader, the Arians after Arius, the Pelagians after Pelagius, and the Lutherans after Luther.⁸⁴ Similarly, when arguing that the Scriptures are authentic because they are made so by the Church, he compared Luther's doubts over the books of James, Maccabees and Revelation with Marcion's rejection of the gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.⁸⁵

A second area highlighted by Catholic polemicists was the divisions within the ranks of the evangelicals. Schism with the Mother Church, they suggested, had merely resulted in petty internal squabbling. Eck made great play on this theme in the first chapter of the Enchiridion dealing with the Church and her authority. Quoting the Pauline admonition of 1 Corinthians 1:10

'I appeal to you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and that there be no dissensions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same judgement.',

he contrasts this plea for unity with the divisions of the evangelicals:

'Die Lutheranen maken nieuwe twisten ende si zijn also wel malcanderen contrarie als si ander menschen contrarie zijn want Carolstadius

84 Redelijck bewijs, Aiiiiv.

85 Ibid. Dviiir.

ende Egranus ende Luther ende Swinglius die
geuoelen tegen malcander.' 86

The author of the Redelijck bewijs developed this theme further, highlighting particular areas of disagreement among his opponents. Evangelical theologians, he shrewdly perceived, were divided on baptism, images and the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharistic elements:

'Die eene seet dat tdoepsel niet en is dander
wilt vernieuwen. De sommige scriuen tegen die
beelden Luther bescerme. Die eene ghelouet
tsacrament int broot dander int accident de
sommige int teeken die sommige niet met allen
dit is die gheduerige kercke van wittenberge
noch en heb ic niet twintichste deel geseyt van
hueren twiste.' 87

This disagreement over the real presence, in particular, was also remarked upon by the anonymous author of Een cleyn verclaringhe des
gheestelijcken staets (c1530);⁸⁸ one evangelical says that Christ is not in the sacrament, he observed, another that he is, and another that the elements are merely a sign.⁸⁹

Justification by faith alone, the central tenet of Lutheran theology, was seized upon by Catholic polemicists as the achilles heel of the evangelical faith. Laurens Laurensen, for example, prior of the Dominican convent at Groningen and author of Een antwoort op de

86 J. Eck, Declaracie teghen zommighe articulen der Lutheranen, Bir. 'The Lutherans make new quarrels and they also contradict each other as they are contradicted by others, for Karlstadt, Egranus Luther and Zwingli argue against each other.' In addition, in 1528 a Franciscan by the name of Franciscus Nicolai published a Latin attack on the sects of 'Carlostadians, Oecolampadians, Zwinglians, Melanchthonians, Balthazarians and Lambertists.' B. de Troeyer, Bio-bibliographica franciscana neerlandica saeculi XVI (Nieuwkoop, 1969), 1, pp.84-86, 11, no.308.

87 Redelijck bewijs, Bir. 'One says that baptism is nothing, another will renew it. Some write against images, Luther protects them. One believes in the bread of the sacrament, the other in the accident, some take it for a sign and some not at all. This is the enduring church of Wittenberg, and yet I have not mentioned a twentieth part of their quarrel.'

88 NK4017. See p.320.

89 Een cleyn verclaringhe, Eviiv.

disputacie ghedruct in de name iuncker Ulricx van Doernum (1527),⁹⁰ though prepared to concede that faith was of tremendous importance, refused to acknowledge that works played no part whatsoever in justification. Citing James 2:24, 2 Peter 1:5-8, Romans 2:6 and Galatians 5:6 as proof texts, he argued that a man is justified by works and not by faith alone.⁹¹ For the author of Een cleyn verclaringhe des gheestelijcken staets, Luther's downfall was his failure to understand that there are two sorts of righteousness. First, there is the righteousness whereby the sinner becomes holy. This does not come through works, but only by the grace of God. Secondly, there is the righteousness whereby a justified man becomes more righteous (that is, sanctification). It is this form of righteousness which can be gained through works.⁹² The first form of righteousness (justification) is ours at baptism. From this point on we may perfect our righteousness (be sanctified) through good works.

Steven Ozment has observed that much of the Catholic polemic against justification by faith alone resulted from a misunderstanding of Luther's terminology. Theologians in the scholastic tradition identified Luther's sola fide with 'unformed faith' (fides informis). As a result they perceived Luther's teaching as blasphemous since, by their understanding, a higher faith than fides informis 'faith formed by love' (fides charitate formata) was necessary for justification. Mere faith could not cleanse a man's soul of infidelity; justification came with the purification of the heart through love. A man who has faith but not love remains unrighteous before God.⁹³

Applying these principles to Luther's De libertate christiana (1520), Jacob Hoogstraten the Dominican grand-inquisitor of Cologne concluded in his Disputationes contra lutheranos (1526) that Luther

90 NK1330. See p.

91 L. Laurensen, Een antwoort op de disputacie ghedruct in de naem iuncker Ulricx van Doernum, Bir-Biir.

92 Een cleyn verclaringhe, Diiiv-Dvr.

93 S. Ozment, 'Homo viator: Luther and late medieval theology', The reformation in medieval perspective, ed. S. Ozment (Chicago, 1971), pp.149, 151.

permitted an adulterous bride to enter spiritual matrimony with Christ. He,

'Nullas conditiones in quibus fundetur spirituale matrimonium cum Christo addit iste audaculus assertor... Quid igitur aliud faciunt, istiusmodi indignissimi spectacula iactores, quam quod in spirituali matrimonio animae ad Christum, animam similem faciunt et conferunt prostitute et adulterae, quae marito suo scienti et conniuenti illudit, quotidieque fornicationes et adulteria alia super alis committens ex castissimo iuro lenonem, atque suae turpitudinis ignauum patronum facit.' 94

Probably the anonymous author of the Redelijck bewijs borrowed his argument that the Lutherans permitted spiritual adultery between Christ and the soul from Hoogstraten's Disputationes. Published only a year or two after the Disputationes, the arguments of the Redelijck bewijs have a familiar ring about them:

'Mer dit stellen si (the Lutherans) ons als of metten juwelijcke datter is tusschen Christus ende die siele so en hebben christus ende die siele gheen verscayden goet. Alisser ouerspel ghesciet wat can dat maken: want dat ouerspel geeft die siele Christo ende Christ geeft der sielen sijn goetheit ende al ware dit alle uren te doen als men die sonden so aflegghen mach: so en isser toch geen belanc ane oft wi goet oft quaet sijn. O groote dolinghe int begin ende als die wet maker noch leeft wat wil dit int eynde noch worden als Luter ende die hoofden

94 BRN III, pp.609-610. '...Lists no preconditions for the spiritual marriage of the soul with Christ except only that we believe Christ... Now what else do those who boast of such a spectacle do than make of the soul, which is wedded to Christ in spiritual marriage, a prostitute and adulteress, who knowingly and wittingly connives to deceive her husband and, daily committing fornication upon fornication, and adultery upon adultery, makes the most chaste of men a pimp and a cowardly patron of her disgrace.' S. Ozment, 'Homo Viator: Luther and late Medieval Theology,' p.150.

der lutherianen huer discipulen in geen beter maniere van leuene en conen ghehouden.' ⁹⁵ 95

In recent years Reformation historians have placed great stress on the role of apocalypticism within Protestant groups.⁹⁶ The identification of the papacy as discussed above was one important part of this conviction that the last days were approaching. Christ, after all, could only return when the man of lawlessness and the son of perdition had been revealed. It may be, however, that the specifically Protestant nature of apocalypticism in the first half of the sixteenth century has been exaggerated. The papacy had already been identified as Antichrist in the later middle ages. In the early years of the Reformation Catholic polemicists also drew on an apocalyptic tradition. Writing on 26 February 1527, Anna Bijns, for example, saw Luther as Antichrist's apostle:

'Een vertwijfelt ketter, argher dan een Jode,
Verloochent munck, recht Antecristes bode,
En alle tvolcxken van sijnder partijen
Verleyden de menscen in spijte van Gode.' ⁹⁷ 97

The Benedictine monk responsible for Van der verveerlichen aenstaende ⁹⁸ tyt endechristes (1524)⁹⁸ held a similar stance, contrasting the Lutherans

95 Redelijck bewijs, Jijir-v. 'But what they (the Lutherans state) abolishes for us all the matrimony that exists between Christ and the soul, if Christ and the soul do not have separate conditions. Even if adultery is committed what does that matter? For that adultery gives the soul to Christ and Christ endows the soul with His goodness, and even though this were done at any time if one could set aside the sins, nevertheless there is no significance whether we are good or wicked. O great original error! Since the lawmaker still lives, what will be the final outcome if Luther and the leaders of the Lutherans cannot keep their disciples in a better way of life.'

96 See, for example, R. Bauckham, Tudor apocalypse (Sutton Courtenay, 1978) and B.W. Ball, A great expectation. Eschatological thought in english protestantism (Leiden, 1975).

97 A. Bijns, op.cit. p.63.

'An demented heretic, worse than a Jew,
An apostate monk, a true apostle of Antichrist,
And all people of his party
Seduce men against the will of God.'

98 NK3954. See pp.319-320.

as forerunners of Antichrist with John the Baptist as the forerunner of Christ:

'...in dessen boke salmen openbaer vinden de dwalinghe der nyen ketters als martineaens broeders wellekoer warachtige voerlopers endecristes sint als S. Ioannes baptista christi was.'⁹⁹

The anonymous author of Een cleyn verclaringhe des gheestelijcken staets tegen tfenijn door Martijn Luyter, however, went yet further and, instead of seeing Luther as a forerunner of Antichrist, recognized in the German reformer the Beast of the Apocalypse that speaks great blasphemies against God, His tabernacle, and all that dwell therein. Has not Luther, he declared, set his mouth towards heaven and spoken against God and against men who serve and honour God on earth?¹⁰⁰

This interpretation of biblical prophecy to identify the papacy or Luther as Antichrist or his apostle, is not the only point of resemblance between the apocalyptic writings of evangelical and Catholic polemicists. Just as the pope and Luther were perceived as Antichrist, so also were they both compared to the prophet Mahomet. On the Protestant side John Bale saw two similarities between the papacy and Mahomet; in the first place the pope saw himself as God's vicar and Mahomet as the prophet of the Lord and, secondly, both subdued the Gospel and set up their own laws, the pope in his decretals and Mahomet in the Koran.¹⁰¹ Anna Bijns, on the other hand, used contemporary iconography to identify Luther with Mahomet. Probably the most familiar illustration of Luther in the first decade of the Reformation was a woodcut of 1521 by Hans Baldung Grien portraying Luther as a saint with a dove above his head, the dove being a frequently used symbol to denote the Holy Spirit and therefore inspired theological knowledge. Twisting the intended meaning, Anna Bijns used the image to suggest that Luther was inspired by a spirit of deception, that is, by Mahomet's dove:¹⁰²

99 Van der verveerlichen aenstaende tyt endechristes, Aair. 'In this book men shall clearly find the errors of the new heretics, the Martinist brethren who are the true forerunners of Antichrist, just as John the Baptist was a forerunner of Christ.'

100 Een cleyn verclaringhe, Avir.

101 J. Bale, Den standt ende de bilde der beyder ghemeynnten, Viir.

102 Reprinted in L. Roose, Anna Bijns (Ghent, 1963), and R.W. Scribner, For the sake of simple folk (Cambridge, 1981), p.19.

'Duer valsce propheten het volc bedrogen es;
Machomets duve weer uit gevlogen es.' 103

Just as the similarity between evangelical and Catholic polemic is apparent in the images both parties employed to attack one another, the same is true of the arguments they used to defend their positions. Luther and his supporters claimed that the basis for their reform lay in the Scriptures. As a result, they constantly chided the Roman church for her adherence to 'unscriptural' practices. In addition, orthodox theologians were heavily criticized for their interpretative glosses and commentaries. Scripture was its own interpreter and did not need such elaborate explanations. In the early years of the Reformation, however, Catholic polemicists used the same arguments to attack evangelical interpretations of Scripture. The author of the Redelijck bewijs, for example, accused the evangelicals of twisting the meaning of Christ's apostolic' commission 'You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church and the powers of hell shall not prevail against it' (Matt.16:18).¹⁰⁴ This verse was crucial to Catholic claims for papal primacy and papal authority. Evangelicals took the view that 'this rock' referred not to Peter but to Christ himself. The author of the Redelijck bewijs, however, insisted that the text should be taken at literally, and therefore that Peter was the rock to which Christ referred. Scripture should be understood according to its grammar without interpretative glosses:

'Hi begeert scripture hi wil die na die
grammarie verstaen hebben also si seet
sonder glose. Waeromme dan en neemt hi
alle die scripture niet also so wel die
tegen is als die met schijnt te sijne.' 105

103 A. Bijns, op.cit. p.10.

'Through false prophets the people are deceived;
Mahomet's dove has flown out again.'

104 Redelijck bewijs, Biiiv-Bvr.

105 Ibid. Biiiv. 'He wants Scripture to be understood grammatically as he says, without glosses. Why, therefore, does he not take all the Scripture in this way, both those against him and those which appear to support (his interpretation).'

John Eck used much the same argument to defend the intermediary role of the saints. Citing Jeremiah 15:1 'Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my heart would not turn towards this people,' as scriptural proof for the invocation of the saints, he attacked Zwingli for interpreting the text to mean when Moses and Samuel were alive. The clear text of Scripture must be allowed to speak for itself:

'Mer tegen dat woert argueert die ketter Swinglius
ende seyt dattet aldus te verstaen is. Al waert
dat Moses ende Samuel noch leefden ende baden
voer dit volc so soude die onwaerdicheyt den
gracie verwinnen. Mer antwoert der christenen
hier op.'

'Dat is die manier der ketteren dat si den scriptuer
tot hoer trekken ende want is altijt willen horen
den claren text ende en willen geen glosen toelaten.'¹⁰⁶

Needless to say, not all the arguments of evangelical authors were paralleled by Catholic polemicists. Catholic writers defended their position on the Scriptures in two ways. In the first place, as shown above, they attempted to prove that the Scriptures supported their position rather than the arguments of the evangelicals. Secondly, they maintained that the authority of the Church was greater than that of the Scriptures. In other words, even if the evangelical interpretation of the Scriptures was correct, they were not defeated since they had recourse to a higher source of authority. Such an argument was never employed by evangelical polemicists. Evangelicals were quite prepared to quote from the Church Fathers to defend their cause, but only as a support for Scriptural evidence. When Hermanus Bodius compiled his Unio dissidentium, which was made up almost entirely of patristic texts,

106 J. Eck, Declaracie teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen, Bir.

'But the heretic Zwingli argues against that word and says that it is to be understood thus. While Moses and Samuel were still alive they prayed for the people that despite their unworthiness they would win grace. But the Christians answer like this:

That is characteristic of heretics who twist the Scriptures to suit themselves, for they will always hear the clear text and will not permit glosses.'

he deliberately selected only those writers who were in closest harmony with Scripture.¹⁰⁷

The orthodox Catholic stance on this issue was probably best summarized by the bête noire of the evangelicals John Eck. Eck vigorously refuted the evangelical doctrine that the authority of the Scriptures was greater than that of the Church, and that the Church must be governed by the Scriptures by arguing that the very reverse was true. Christ, he observed, did not write a book, nor did he command his disciples to write one but to build the Church. The Church is older than the Scriptures, hence the apostles chose Matthias to replace Judas, ordained seven deacons and Peter brought judgement upon Ananias and Sapphira all without the New Testament. Moreover, Scripture is not authenticated without the Church's authority. It was the Church that decided the canon, and the Church, therefore, has the power to judge the Scriptures.¹⁰⁸ The arguments of Eck were also employed by other Catholic polemicists. Like the Ingolstadt theologian, the author of the Redelijck bewijs pointed out that Christ wrote no book, and used the same illustration of Peter's judgement of Ananias and Sapphira before the New Testament was written to argue for the supremacy of the Church over the Scriptures.¹⁰⁹

In the 1520s Catholic polemicists were often prepared to meet evangelicals on their own ground. First, they were willing to refute heresy in the vernacular, and second, they frequently argued their case from Scripture. As already seen, this willingness to write against heresy in the vernacular suffered a marked decline from the late 1520s onwards. In much the same way, Catholic polemic primarily based upon Scriptural arguments had all but faded away by the 1540s. By the middle of the century there was a greater emphasis on the strengthening of the faith of Catholics by a reaffirmation of traditional beliefs. The XXXII articulos Lovaniensium theologistarum (1544), for example, concentrated attention on the re-assertion of the traditional

¹⁰⁷ W.F. Dankbaar, 'De Unio dissidentium van Hermanus Bodius', Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis LXXIV (1961), p.371.

¹⁰⁸ J. Eck, Declaracie teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen, Biir-Biiir.

¹⁰⁹ Redelijck bewijs, Dviiir.

interpretation of the (seven) sacraments, papal authority, the intermediary role of the saints, purgatory and monastic vows. The other major emphasis within the Catholic church at this time was the need for reform as can be seen by Charles V's Formule reformationis (1548) which aimed to deal with such abuses as pluralism and concubinage within the ranks of the clergy.

In the 1520s, however, there was open ground for debate. Evangelicals and Catholics alike fought to substantiate their positions deploying arguments based both upon the Scriptures and upon Church tradition. The evangelicals' insistence upon sola scriptura meant that for them Scriptural arguments predominated. Conversely, as observed above, because the Catholics believed the authority of the Church to be greater than that of the Scriptures, for them arguments of tradition came to weigh more heavily. But at this early date neither side was prepared to admit complete defeat on the other front. The arguments of evangelical and Catholic polemicists of the Dutch Reformation may have been at loggerheads. Nevertheless, insofar as both chose to write in the vernacular, both used similar apocalyptic imagery, and both sought to establish their arguments on the same grounds, the two sides had more in common than might first appear.

CHAPTER 4

CATECHISMS: TOOLS FOR CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Stemming from the Greek *KATηXEW* 'to make hear', the word catechism was originally applied to the oral instruction in basic Christian doctrine given before Baptism in the early church. The invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century made the written catechism an important tool in the Christian education of the laity since it enabled the cheap reproduction of a text. The first printed German catechism intended for the laity was written by Dietrich Coelde about 1470. In its revised form, entitled Ein fruchtbair Spygel der Cristen mynschen, Coelde's catechism proved enormously popular and went through no less than twenty nine editions between 1480 and 1520.¹ The Fruchtbair Spygel, which was dedicated to the townspeople of Leuven, was also translated into Dutch as Den kersten spiegel and was reprinted many times.² The first printed Dutch catechism, however, was Die tafel des kersteliken levens published by Gerard Leeu at Gouda in 1478. It contained the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria and the Creed 'in duutsche'. As was the convention at this time each article of the Creed was placed alongside the name of one of the twelve apostles on the grounds that the apostles were the co-authors of this statement of faith. There then followed a catalogue of sins, vices and virtues. This listed the five external and five internal sins, the four cardinal virtues, the four sins of vengeance, the four extremities, the seven deadly sins, the seven corporeal sins, the seven works of mercy, the seven gifts of the spirit, the seven sacraments, the eight beatitudes, the nine alien sins and concluded with the Ten Commandments.³

The evangelical catechism, however, differed radically from its late medieval counterpart. Whilst the three great formulas of the Christian faith, the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were, generally speaking, common to both medieval and evangelical

1 S.E. Ozment, The reformation in the cities (New Haven-London, 1975), pp.28-29.

2 See NK721-724, 2784-2788.

3 A. Troelstra, De toestand der catechese in Nederland gedurende de vóór-reformatorische eeuw (Groningen, 1901), pp.5-6.

catechisms, the Reformation brought two important changes to this genre of literature. In the first place, evangelical catechisms omitted the traditional catalogue of sins, vices and virtues preferring instead a general catalogue of sin. Secondly, evangelical catechisms showed a far greater concern for the conduct of a Christian life.⁴ Besides doctrinal instruction, they also treated the duties of masters and servants, parents and children, rulers and subjects and the like. Indeed, evangelical catechisms differed so much from the late medieval variety as to be a completely different type of work. Writing in 1528 Luther believed he had revived a long-neglected practice of the early church, rather than merely adapted a late medieval formula:

'Widderumb hab ich auff unser seiten von Gotts
gnaden so viel ausgericht, das Gott lob izz
ein knab odder medlin von funffzehn iaren
mehr weis ynn Christlicher lere, denn zuvor
alle hohe schulen und Doctores gewust haben.
Denn es ist in der rechte Catechismus bey
unserm heufflin widder auff der ban, nemlich
das Vater unser, der Glaube, die Zehen gebot,
Was die busse, tauffe, gebet, Creuz, leben,
sterben und das sacrament des altars sey.
Und über das, was die ehe, die welltlich
oeberkeit, was vater und mutter, weib und
kind, man und son, knecht und magd.'⁵

Luther himself wrote two catechisms, the Kleine Katechismus⁶ and the Grosse Katechismus,⁷ both of which were first published in 1529. He was prompted to write these teaching manuals for the instruction of the faithful after the ecclesiastical visitations of 1528-1529 in Saxony

4 G. Strauss, Luther's house of learning (Baltimore-London, 1978), p.157.

5 W A 26.p.530. 'By the grace of God I have brought about such a change that nowadays a girl or boy of fifteen knows more about Christian doctrine than all the theologians of the great universities used to know in the old days. For among us the catechism has come back into use. I mean the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and all that one should know about penance, baptism, prayer, the cross, how to live and how to die, the sacrament of the altar, also about marriage, civil obedience, the duties of a father and mother, wife and children, father and son, master and servant.' G. Strauss, op.cit. pp.155-156.

6 Benzing 2589.

7 Benzing 2548.

had revealed appalling ignorance of the basic elements of the faith:

'Diesen Catechismon oder Christliche Iere yn solche kleine schlechte einfeltige form zustellen, hat mich gezwungen und gedrungen die kleglich elende not, so ich newlich erfahren habe, da ich auch ein Visitator war. Hilff lieber Gott, wie manchen iamer hab ich gesehen, das der gemeine man doch so gar nichts weis von der Christlichen Iere, sonderlich auff den doerffen, und leider viel Pfarherr fast ungeschickt unnd untuechtig sind zu leren. Und sollen doch alle Christen heissen, getaufft sein und der heiligen Sacrament geniessen, koennen wider Vater unser noch den Glauben odder Zehen gepot, leben dahin wie das liebe vihe und unvernuenfftige sewe. Und nu das Evangelion kommen ist, dennoch fan gelernt haben aller freyheit meisterlich zu missebrauchen.' ⁸

Luther intended that children together with adults who were ignorant in the faith should begin by learning the Kleine Katechismus. He advised that pastors should keep to one version and begin by teaching the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer so that the faithful were able to recite these off by heart. After learning these by rote, the next stage was to teach an understanding of them. When this had been achieved the Grosse Katechismus could be used to provide deeper and fuller explanations.⁹

Just as Luther wrote a short catechism containing the basic elements of the faith together with a more detailed catechism, so early evangelical catechisms printed in the Netherlands may be similarly divided. Apart

⁸ WA30/1. pp.264 and 266. 'In setting forth this catechism (the Kleine Katechismus) or Christian teaching in such a short, simple, and plain form I have been compelled and driven forward by the wretched and lamentable state of affairs which I discovered lately when I acted as an 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 well-nigh 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.' Luther's primary works ed. H. Wace and C.A. Buchheim, (London, 1896), pp.2-3.

⁹ WA30/1. pp.268-274.

from Luther's own works,¹⁰ there were ten evangelical catechisms printed in the early years of the Dutch Reformation. The simplest were those which contained only the bare essentials of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer without comment. The Hooftstucken des christen gheloofs inhoudende het fundament der christelijcker religien (c1540)¹¹ and Ghelooue, hope ende liefde: Hoe een yeghelyck hem daer daghelicx in oeffenensal (1543)¹² are two such works. Other catechisms such as Een boexken hoe datmen die kinderen leeren sal in den rechten ghelooue (c1535)¹³ and the Kinder leere. Dat christen ghelooue (1542)¹⁴ followed the traditional question and answer form whilst Der Christen Reghele (1543),¹⁵ Christelijcke onderwijsinghe tot den rijcke Gods (c1543)¹⁶ and Stefaan Myelbeke's Curt onderwijs huuter heylicher schrifture (1555)¹⁷ listed Scripture proof texts under each Commandment, article of the Creed or section of the Lord's Prayer. Finally, there were those catechisms such as Een costeliche uutlegghinge oft expositie op die x gheboden ende op dat Pater noster (c1540),¹⁸ the Catechismus dat is de groote kinderleere (1538)¹⁹ and Cornelis vander Heyden's Corte instruccye (1543)²⁰ that contained a lengthy exposition for each section.

In Germany, Luther's catechisms were openly taught from the pulpit, in the classroom and at home. In the Netherlands, however, religious and political circumstances dictated a more restricted evangelical education. Catechetical instruction was restricted to the home, at

10 There were Dutch translations of Luther's Kurze Form der 10 Gebote, des Glaubens und des Vaterunser (1520), NK2116, 3458 and 3462, and the Kleine Katechismus, NK1422.

11 NK1115. See pp.289-290.

12 Machiels G147. B.T.1246. See p.279.

13 NK442. See p.261.

14 NK3317. Machiels K275. See pp.291-292.

15 Machiels R85. See p.300.

16 NK1622. Machiels 054. See p.295.

17 Machiels M688. See pp.294-295.

18 NK2092. See p.311.

19 NK529. See p.269.

20 BL843.e.17.(b). Reprinted BRN IV, pp.15-77. See pp.286-288.

least until the establishment of Reformed congregations in exile in exile in the 1540s and '50s. Moreover, since Dutch and German catechisms were used in different circumstances their authors had differing aims and objectives. In Germany the catechism was essentially a propaganda tool to convert the population to the Reformation cause. It was an official agent used to educate the ignorant in the truths of the Gospel. In addition, it was also a means of controlling religious beliefs. Initially Luther and his followers encouraged Bible reading among the laity. Yet by the late 1520s, fears had arisen that such unsupervised study might lead to Spiritualist heresy. The catechism, however, in presenting only the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer set out the approved text with the authorized interpretation.²¹ As a result of this government support and stress on orthodoxy, German Lutheran catechisms reveal a conspicuous uniformity.

In the Netherlands the situation was altogether different. Here, evangelical catechisms were fiercely opposed by the secular authorities. Rather than being a propaganda tool of the secular arm, the evangelical catechism was regarded as a source of social upheaval and religious heterodoxy. Official hostility ensured that Dutch catechisms were far less uniform since no one specific evangelical theology received official sanction. In addition, the catechism was probably less of an evangelistic tool in the Netherlands than in Germany. Mere possession of particular evangelical catechisms in the Netherlands was accounted a criminal offence, punishable by death. Only those already committed to the evangelical cause would therefore possess such literature. Thus in the Netherlands, the catechism was probably more a means of confirming an evangelical in his faith than of making new converts. Two notable exceptions to this rule were Stefaan Myelbeke's Curt onderwijs huuter heylicher schrifture and Cornelis vander Heyden's Corte instruccye, both of which were initially granted a privilege and ecclesiastical licence before it was realized that their authors were of an evangelical persuasion.²² In these exceptional circumstances evangelical catechisms

21 R. Gawthrop and G. Strauss, 'Protestantism and literacy in early modern Germany,' Past and present CIV (1984), pp.37 and 43.

22 See pp.286 and 295.

could circulate freely for a brief period and so provide a means to evangelize the Catholic population at large.

In Strauss's recent study of Lutheran indoctrination of the young in sixteenth century Germany the catechism was examined as an educational technique within the broader context of a Reformation enforced from above.²³ For the reasons explained above the Dutch catechisms studied here form no part of an official Reformation. Nevertheless they do pose several questions of interest to students of the Reformation in the Netherlands. What were the various influences at work within the Dutch Reformation? How uniform were the views of Dutch evangelicals? Finally, did strongly held evangelical views necessitate schism from the Roman church in the Netherlands?

Structurally, evangelical catechisms usually follow two distinct patterns. In Luther's catechisms the Decalogue came first followed by the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments. The German reformer began as he did because of his conviction of the importance of the law in bringing the sinner to a full realization of his plight. The Ten Commandments reveal man's shortcomings since he finds himself incapable of keeping them fully. The resulting realization that he is a sinner is essential, Luther argued, if a man is to discover faith which is his only hope of salvation.²⁴ Calvin, however, adopted a different line of approach. For him, the knowledge of God was the supreme end of man. The purpose of the catechism was the inculcation of such knowledge. The best means of conveying this knowledge was via the Apostles' Creed. Hence Reformed catechisms usually began with an exposition of the Creed. For example, the opening question of Calvin's 1541 catechism read 'What is the chief end of human life?' and the reply 'to know God'. There then followed an expository dialogue which broke the Creed down into three sections dealing with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.²⁵

23 G. Strauss, *op.cit.* pp.151-175.

24 *Ibid.* p.161.

25 J. Calvin, The catechism of the church of Geneva (1541) in The school of faith, ed. T.F. Torrance (London, 1959), p.5.

Of the ten Dutch catechisms listed above four begin with the Creed, five with the Ten Commandments and one, Myelbeke's Curt onderwijs, with the Lord's Prayer. Thus, in terms of structure, early evangelical catechisms printed in the Netherlands appear to be dependent both upon Lutheran and Reformed models.

Just as Luther and Calvin began at different starting points, so too their enumeration of the Ten Commandments differed. Luther followed the traditional Catholic enumeration emanating from Augustine, whilst Calvin followed Origen in regarding Exodus 20:3-6 as containing two commandments and verse 17 only one.²⁶

Augustinian, Catholic and Lutheran enumeration.	Enumeration of Origen and Reformed Protestants
1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.	Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.	Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.	Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.	Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's.

The most important consequence of this shift in enumeration by the Reformed is that the injunction 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image' gained a greater prominence as a commandment in its own right.

26 The catholic encyclopedia ed. C.G. Herbermann et al. (London, 1913-14, 1922), IV, p.664. The Cambridge history of the Bible, III. The west from the reformation to the present day, ed. S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1963), pp.18-19.

This added weight to the Reformed attack on the veneration of images within the Catholic Church. In his 1541 catechism, for instance, Calvin used this commandment to teach that God specifically forbade prayer, kneeling or reverence towards images as if through them God revealed Himself to man.²⁷ By the 1550s Reformed Protestantism was beginning to make a stronger impact on evangelical religion in the Netherlands and most catechisms therefore followed Calvin's enumeration. Certainly this was true of John a Lasco's Catechismus (1551)²⁸ and Martin Microen's Cleynen catechismus (1552)²⁹ both written for use by the Dutch stranger church in London. The same can also be said of the Corte belijdinghe des gheloofs der gheenre die oueral in Nederlant, ende bysonder in dese stadt N (1566)³⁰ which probably originated from the Antwerp Reformed community and the unpublished Kinderlere (1571) of the Amsterdam merchant Laurens Jacobszoon Reael.³¹

Almost all early evangelical catechisms printed in the Netherlands, however, follow the Catholic and Lutheran enumeration of the Ten Commandments. Only two such works follow the Reformed enumeration. The first, Ghelooue hope ende liefde contains only sixteen pages and its brevity prevents detailed assessment of the author's reasoning behind his enumeration. He simply lists the Commandments without comment. Cornelis vander Heyden's Corte instruccye, however, which also followed the Reformed enumeration, was a much fuller work. Vander Heyden was strongly evangelical in his interpretation of some of the commandments. 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy', for instance, was interpreted as an injunction to rest from servile works. Instead, the believer should allow God to work His salvation in him through Christ.³² In a similar vein, those who wrongly interpret God's word were seen as

27 J. Calvin, The catechism of the church of Geneva, op.cit. p.27.

28 BL C.53.a.17.

29 1558 edition BL C.37.b.27.

30 Facsimile edition in Twee geschriften uit de begintijd van de gereformeerde kerk in Nederland, ed. D. Nauta (Amsterdam, 1974).

31 Reprinted in J.C. Breen, 'De Kinderlere van Laurens Jacobszoon Reael,' NAK VI (1896), pp.129-157.

32 BRN IV, p.21.

transgressors of the command 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour'.³³ Given these strongly evangelical interpretations of these Commandments, together with the more radical enumeration, one might expect a strict condemnation of the veneration of images in Vander Heyden's exposition of the second commandment. But this is far from the case. According to vander Heyden, God does not forbid images themselves but only idolatry, superstition and false religion. Citing Gregory the Great's upbraiding of Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles for having burnt images, he asserted that images are permitted not for adoration, but as an instruction, memorial and example:

'God de heere en verbied gheen beilden, noch
ghelykenessen te maken, als men die niet en
mesbruuct, maer hy verbied d'afgoderye,
supersticie ende valsche religye, die de
onverstandighe ende plompe ménshchen daer mede
bedryven, als daer mede achter strate op de
schauderden loopende, roupende ende
crijsschende als wtzinnige menschen, ende
als Turken ende heydenen die God inder waerheyt
niet en kennen. Tot dit mesbruuck en laetse
de heilige kersten kaercke niet toe, maer
ghelijck Gregorius zeght, schryvende totten
bisschop van Massilyen, hem straffende om
dat hy de beilden verbrand hadde. Men za1
zeyde hy ghelykenessen toelaten (niet om te
anbidden ofte eeran) maer tot een onderwijs
memorye, ende exemple den menschen, hoe dat
de heilige zanten ende zantinnen, voor dat
kersten gheloove vulstandighlic haer bloet
ghestortt ende laten verghieten hebben.'³⁴

33 BRN IV, p.25.

34 BRN IV, pp.19-20. 'The Lord God does not forbid images, nor the making of statues, if men do not misuse them, but He forbids idolatry, superstition and false religion that unwise and foolish men commit as they run about the streets carrying them on their shoulders calling and screaming like frenzied men and like the Turks and heathens that do not in truth know God. The holy church does not permit such misuse, but as Gregory (the Great) said when he wrote to the bishop of Marseilles to upbraid him because he had burnt images, "Images should be allowed", he said "(not to worship or to honour) but to provide instruction, and to serve as a memorial and example to men, how the holy saints have steadfastly shed and allowed their blood to be poured out for the Christian faith."

Thus, on the particular issue of images, Vander Heyden follows a Reformed-style enumeration of the Commandments, but a Lutheran-style theology, that is, a suspicion, but never an outright condemnation.

On the other hand, a Reformed orientation of theology may be discerned in Vander Heyden's discussion of the sacraments. In particular, he viewed the Lord's Supper as a testament to and a thanksgiving for the death of Christ intended to strengthen the faith of the believer, rather than a re-enactment of Calvary at which Christ was physically present in the bread and wine:

"Dit heift ons de zone gods eerst in ghesteld
op dat wy dat tsghelijcx naer doen zouden,
tot dat hende der waereld, ende in wtwendigheden
deze houffenijnghe ende ghemeen danczegghijnghe,
ende maeltijd hauden zouden, van zijnder
onsprekelicker liefden ende weldaed tot ons,
in eenen testamente ons ghelaten tot
verstaerkijnghe des gheloofs." 35

The tendency to spiritualize, evident here, is confirmed in Vander Heyden's ensuing prayer in which he asks for spiritual understanding so that Christians might partake of the Lord's Supper by faith and in unity and so by eating and drinking proclaim Christ's death.³⁶

Generally speaking, however, the Corte instruccye of Vander Heyden along with other early Dutch catechisms betrays a Lutheran rather than a Reformed character. In the first place, more catechisms follow the Lutheran as opposed to the Reformed enumeration of the Ten Commandments. Secondly, the listings of behaviour for people of various stations in life - rulers, subjects, parents, children, wives, husbands and the like - found in the Corte instruccye, the Christen reghel and the Christelijcke onderwijsinghe tot den rijcke Gods were beloved of Lutheran authors. Finally, two catechisms, the Hooftstucken des christen gheloofs inhoudende het fundament der christelijcker religien and Vander Heyden's Corte instruccye were textually dependent upon

35 BRN IV, p.45. 'The son of God first instituted this so that we should do the same until the end of the world, and in the externals of this practice and common thanksgiving and keeping of this mealtime, he left us for a testament of his unspeakable love and benefaction towards us for the strengthening of our faith.'

36 BRN IV, p.46.

German Lutheran authors. The Hooftstucken des christen ghehoofs was a condensed version of Luther's Kleine katechismus,³⁷ whilst the Corte instruccye drew on the foreward to Luther's Kurz form der 10 Gebote, des Gleubens und des Vaterunser (1520) and for the section on the Lord's Prayer also borrowed from the Vaterunser (1525) of Matthias Bynwalth, a Lutheran preacher from Danzig.³⁸

Though early Dutch catechisms were predominantly Lutheran, the covert and protracted nature of the Reformation in the Netherlands ensured that the doctrinal positions expressed there were by no means uniform. Take, for example, the role of the saints and images in the devotional life of the Church. Vander Heyden's moderation on this subject has already been observed. A similar position was adopted by the anonymous author of the Boexken hoe datmen die kinderen leeren sal in den rechten ghehooue. No one, he asserted, should worship, seek grace, comfort, help or salvation from the saints, but only from Christ.³⁹ Furthermore,

'Soe en is niemant verbonden haer wat te offeren
noch haer te dienen noch met vasten vieren
aelmoesen geuen om haren wille noch kersen aen
steken noch kercken capellen cluysen altaren
timmeren. Oeck so sal mense niet soecken tot
heylingen steden.'⁴⁰

However, the author did not totally reject the veneration of the saints. Taking Psalm 150:1 'Praise God in His saints'⁴¹ as his proof text, he maintained that it is fitting to esteem the saints in such a way that

37 See pp.289-290.

38 See pp.286-288.

39 Een boexken hoe datmen die kinderen leeren sal in den rechten ghehooue, Aviir. The author of this catechism lists the Ten Commandments according to the more traditional enumeration, but adds an eleventh injunction against images. See Aiiiir.

40 Ibid. Aviir. 'No one is obliged to offer sacrifices to them (the saints) nor to serve them ~~either by fasting, or by giving alms~~ on their account, nor to light candles, build churches, chapels, cells or altars, nor to seek them out in holy places.'

41 This is a literal translation of the Vulgate. Most modern translations read 'Praise God in His sanctuary'.

God is praised and honoured. God is praised in His saints as we thank Him for their lives.⁴² A similarly moderate stance was adopted on the Virgin Mary. The author denied believing in her, preferring to say that he believed well of her. Mary was held to be a chosen, pure, eternal virgin, blessed of God, holy above all women and full of grace. She was pure before, during and after giving birth to Christ, holy and blessed as a result of her humble faith. All this resulted, the author noted, not from her own merits, but from the grace of God.⁴³

Other authors of Dutch catechisms, however, showed greater hostility to the cult of the saints. In his Curt onderwijs Stefaan Myelbeke's listing of scripture texts for the first commandment contained strong Old Testament injunctions against idolatry including Isaiah 42:8 'I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory I will not give to another, neither my praise to graven images.'⁴⁴ Almost certainly, Myelbeke's intention here was to attack contemporary devotion to images of the saints as idolatry. The anonymous author of Een costeliche uitlegginghe oft expositie op die x gheboden ende op dat Pater noster was even more forthright in his opposition. He rejected the notion that the saints act as intermediaries on the basis that Christ alone is our mediator before God (1 Timothy 2:5).⁴⁵ He condemned images because they are contrary to God's command that those who worship Him must do so in spirit and in truth (John 4:24).⁴⁶ Finally, he even hinted that the miraculous powers claimed for images by their supporters might be demonic in origin:

'Ja seyt het volck: de beelden moeten goet
sijn want si doen mirakelen teekenen ende
wonderlijcke dingen alsulcs doen der Heyden
beelden ooc ende meer dan dese beelden doen
want si crijghen antwoort van haerlieder

⁴² Een boexken hoe datmen die kinder leeren sal, Aviv.

⁴³ Ibid. Avir.

⁴⁴ S. Myelbeke, Curt onderwijs huuter heyligher schrifture, Ciiiiiv.

⁴⁵ Een costeliche uitlegginghe oft expositie op die x gheboden ende op dat Pater noster, biiiv.

⁴⁶ Ibid. biiiv.



beelden maer tsijn al sduyuels practijken ende
listen om tvolc vanden rechten wech te trecken.⁴⁷

A similar division of opinion between authors of early Dutch catechisms can be seen concerning another aspect of late medieval religion, that of confession and the sacrament of penance. As on the question of images and the role of the saints, the author of Een costeliche uitlegginghe oft expositie op die x gheboden ende op dat Pater noster is uncompromising. For him, the notion that a man must confess his sins to a priest in order to obtain forgiveness is clean contrary to the Scriptures and, in particular, to Psalm 32:1-2.

'Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven
whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man unto
whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in
whose spirit there is no guile.'⁴⁸

No one, and this includes priests, may forgive sin, but God alone. Not only is confession unnecessary for the author of the Costeliche uitlegginghe, but so too are acts of penance. Christ, he recalls, gave the woman caught in adultery no penance, but told her to go and sin no more. It is from the moment when a sinner is converted, and not from when he performs an act of penance, that God no longer takes account of his sins.⁴⁹

Others, however, were happy to see the sacrament of penance continue as part of the devotional life of the Church. Cornelis vander Heyden, for instance, saw the confession of sins on a Sunday as part of the observance of the fourth commandment:

'...Als zy behooren op zulke daghen meest Gods
woord te gaen hooren prediken, aelmoessen
te bedeelen, aerme, ende cranke te gaen

47 Ibid. bvv-bvir, "'Yes" say the people, "images must be good for they perform miracles, signs and wonderful things.'" However, the images of the heathen do the same and more than these images, because they receive answers from their images. But these are all the devil's practices and deceipts to turn the people away from the right path.'

48 Een costeliche uitlegginghe, aviiv.

49 Ibid. aviiir.

viziteirne God te dankene ende te loven,
ende haer zonden te biechtene ende te beweenene,
die zy de voorgaende weke zouden moghen ghedaen
hebben.' 50

Of itself, this could merely refer to the general confession. However, when dealing with the third section of the Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins...', vander Heyden supported the traditional stance that God had entrusted the keys of the kingdom (Matt 16:18), that is, the power to forgive and retain sin, to the Church.⁵¹ This confirms vander Heyden's conservative position on this subject. A similar approach was adopted by the anonymous author of the Groote Kinderleere who maintained the traditional view of the need for acts of penance as part of the process of atonement for sin:

'Want Christus ende sijn Apostolen en predicken
niet alleen quijtscheldinge der sonden doer
Christum maer si predicken ende vercondighen
ock penitentie dat wij van onse sonden ende
boosen leuen boete doen souden: ende Luce
int laetste cap. (Lk.24:47) stellet Christus
die leeringhe des ghehoofs ende der goeder
wercken bi malcanderen op dat hi ons daer mede
vermanen ende leeren wilde dat alsulcken
penitentie gheene warachtige penitentie en is
maer enckele hipocrisie ende geueynstheyt daer
geen goede vruchten en sijn.' 52

The Reformation gave a new and loaded meaning to the third section

50 BRN IV, p.22. 'As they ought on such days, especially to go to hear the preaching of God's word, give alms to the poor, visit the poor and the sick, thank and praise God, and confess and bewail their sins which they might have committed during the previous week.'

51 BRN IV, p.31.

52 Catechismus dat is de groote kinderleere, rvir. 'For Christ and his apostles not only preached remission of sins through Christ, but also preached and proclaimed penitence, that we should do penance for our sins and wicked lives; and Luke in his last chapter states that Christ set the doctrine of faith and good works alongside one another to warn and to teach us that penitence which does not produce good fruit is not true penitence, but only hypocrisy and cant.' The position of vander Heyden and the author of the Groote kinderleere on confession is similar to that of Luther who, though he criticized the sacrament of penance, refused to abolish it completely. See T.N. Tentler, Sin and confession on the eve of the reformation (Princeton, 1977), p.349.

of the Apostles' Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church.' In particular, the question arose as to what was implied by the phrase 'Holy Catholic Church'? For Luther, the phrase 'sanctam ecclesiam catholicam' was unacceptable. In the first place, he preferred Christliche to Catholicam in order to draw a distinction between the Church universal and the Roman church.⁵³ Secondly, he employed the term Christliche Gemeine or better still Heilige Christenheit in preference to Ecclesia or Kirche on the grounds that this was better German.⁵⁴ Other evangelicals swiftly adopted similar terminology. Thus, the appearance of the phrase 'een heilige ghemeene kersten kercke' or 'heylige christeliche gemeynte' in a Dutch catechism is proof of its evangelical character.

However, the refusal to employ the term 'Catholic' did not involve a total repudiation of the Mother church on the part of Dutch evangelicals. Rather it served to indicate that they believed the true Church was now comprised of some who were outside the Roman church. Lutherans in Germany, for instance, who had formally broken with Rome were still considered to be part of the universal Church. The anonymous author of the Groote kinderleere held the universal Church in especially high esteem. She and she alone had been entrusted with the message of salvation,

'Daerom sullen si (heretics, sectarians, heathens and Jews) oock eewelick verdoemt sijn ten si sake dat si weder tot dese heylige Ghemeynte comen dat is ten si dat si gheueelen ende ghelooven dat die hi Moeder die Kercke gelooft die welke is een vercoren gheliefde bruyt Christi.'⁵⁵

Sectarianism was rejected out of hand. On this point the Anabaptists were singled out for special criticism. Heresy, the author pointed out,

⁵³ J. Haitsma, De leer aangaande de kerk in de reformatorsch catechismi uit het duitse en nederlandse taalgebied van 1530-1600 (Woerden, 1968), p.14.

⁵⁴ J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, 'Geen kerk in het nieuwe testament,' NAK LVI (1975), p.5.

⁵⁵ Groote kinderleere, kiiv. 'Therefore, they shall also be eternally damned unless they come once more to this holy congregation and unless they believe and feel as the holy Mother Church believes, for she is the chosen and beloved bride of Christ.'

literally means choice and therefore sectarianism 'een verkiesinghe ende een secte'. The Anabaptists were heretics, that is, sectarians, because they repudiated infant baptism, a true doctrine of the Church, and had remained obstinate in this teaching:

'Die wederdoopers tot onsen tijden verachten dat kinder doopsel daer nochtans die rechte leeringe der heyligher kercken is. Datmen die ionge kinderen doopen soude dwelck ghenoech met Schriftueren beuesticht is ende daer si nu dicwils vermaent ende verwonnen sijn so blijuen si nochtqns volherdende in dese ende meer ander dwalinghen ende daerom sijn si oock ketters.' 56

The excesses of the sectarian Anabaptists, particularly at Munster and Amsterdam in 1534-35 must have served as a sober warning to all non-Anabaptist Dutch evangelicals. If sectarianism led to such unbridled fanaticism, it was better to remain within the Roman church despite all her imperfections.

Certainly, this seems to have been the attitude of Stefaan Myelbeke, author of the Curt onderwijs huuter heyligher schrifture. A priest-schoolmaster from Ghent, Myelbeke held strong evangelical views. He rejected the Mass, confession, the laws of the Church regarding fasting and feastdays, monastic vows, the veneration of the saints and purgatory. Despite all this, however, he did not reject the Roman church as the Church of Christ.⁵⁷ This position of evangelical Catholicism was also adopted by Cornelis vander Heyden. There was, for vander Heyden, one universal Church on earth, of which Christ is the head and outside of which there can be no salvation. That by this vander Heyden was referring to the Roman church, at least in part, is confirmed by his statement that the sacraments are administered by priests and preachers

56 Ibid. kiiv-kiiir. 'In our time the Anabaptists despise infant baptism which, nevertheless, is the true teaching of the holy church. It is established firmly enough in the Scriptures that young children should be baptized, but despite repeated admonition and attempts to convince them otherwise they (the Anabaptists) have remained obstinate in this and other errors and therefore they are indeed heretics.'

57 J. Decaevele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, pp.96-98.

of the word:

'Van welke vergaderinghe Christus Jesus thooft es, de welke ooc duer den heiligen gheest gheregierd, ende daghelicx vermeerdert werdt, duer d'administracye der heiliger sacramenten ende misteryen, elken bedeelt duer de hand der priesters, administrateurs ende predicanen des woirds Gods.' 58

By the early 1550s when a stranger church had been established in London, Dutch catechisms were beginning to give attention to distinguishing between true and false churches. What, they asked, were the characteristics of the true Church? Calvin himself recognized only two 'marks' of the Church, the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments. Most Reformed catechisms printed in Dutch in the 1550s and '60s, however, followed the example of Bucer and added discipline as a third 'mark'.⁵⁹ By contrast, early Dutch catechisms have conspicuously little to say concerning the 'marks' of the Church. Only one such work, the Groote Kinderleere (1538), dealt with this subject and, even here, it gained barely more than a passing remark. 'Where will one find the holy gathering of true believers?' the questioner asks, to which comes the reply,

'Ouer al waer dat Euangelion puerlijck ende oprechtelijck ghepredict wordt ende waer die Sacramenten Christi recht wtghedeelt worden daer sult ghi die kercke dat is die ghemeynte vinden.' 60

This lack of attention to the 'marks' of the Church in early Dutch catechisms may, in part, be ascribed to the prevailing Lutheran character of the Reformation in the Netherlands at this time. It was

58 BRN IV, p.31. 'Of which gathering Christ Jesus is the head, and which is also ruled and increased daily through the Holy Spirit, through the administration of the holy sacraments and mysteries by the hands of priests, ministers and preachers of the word of God.'

59 K.R. Davis, 'No discipline, no church: an anabaptist contribution to the reformed tradition', Sixteenth century journal XIII (Winter 1982), p.55.

60 Groote Kinderleere, iviir. 'Wherever the Gospel is preached purely and uprightly and where the sacraments of Christ are duly distributed there you shall find the (true) congregation.'

Reformed catechisms that gave particular emphasis to this theme. Lutherans seem not to have discussed the 'marks' of the Church to the same extent. It must also be recognized, however, that the subject of the 'marks' of the true Church was largely an irrelevance in the early years of the Dutch Reformation. In this period, outside the despised sectarian Anabaptists, there was no separate evangelical church in the Netherlands.⁶¹ In such circumstances, the theme of the 'marks' of the true Church was somewhat inappropriate for, whilst all evangelicals recognized the failures of the Roman church, there was, at this time, no alternative for sympathisers with Reformation theology living in the Netherlands.

Early evangelical catechisms printed in the Netherlands typify the eclectic nature of the Dutch Reformation. Luther may have been the most strongly felt force, yet this did not result in a loyalty to confessional Lutheranism. This is best exemplified by the Corte instruccye of Cornelis vander Heyden. Vander Heyden was heavily dependent upon the Vaterunser of Matthias Bynwalth and to a lesser extent on the Kurzform of Luther. Lutheran influence can also be seen in the structure of the Corte instruccye insofar as vander Heyden opened with the Ten Commandments and concluded with a list explaining how Christians of various social positions ought to behave. Yet vander Heyden was no hawkish Lutheran. His Reformed enumeration of the Ten Commandments and, more particularly, his spiritualistic interpretation of the Lord's Supper is ample proof of this. This variety of doctrinal influences hindered the development of uniformity among early Dutch catechisms. In Germany church and state worked hand in glove through catechisms to bring about uniformity. Catechetical literature therefore was generally of a fairly uniform nature. In the Netherlands the reverse was true. Government repression resulted in an underground Reformation, a wide variety of influence and a disparity of views within evangelical catechisms. Finally, the authors of early Dutch catechisms appear to have been reluctant to break with the Roman church. Along with many other Dutch evangelicals, they saw themselves

61 See pp.225-250.

as evangelical Catholics rather than as schismatics from the Mother Church.⁶² Gerald Strauss has observed that for Protestants living in fear of persecution, the catechism must have been a mainstay of their faith and the chief means of passing it on to their offspring.⁶³ In the case of the Netherlands, however, it is equally true that this hostile environment helped to mould the catechisms produced within it.

62 See p.232.

63 G. Strauss, *op.cit.* p.171.

CHAPTER 5

DEVOTIONAL AND DOCTRINAL HANDBOOKS

In 1554 Johannes Anastasius Veluanus, a former Catholic priest from Gelderland who had fled to Strasbourg so as to be able to practise openly his evangelical faith, published his Leken wechwyser, the full title of which read Kort bericht in allen principalen puncten des christen geloves, mit klair ghetuichnis der hilligher schriffturen vnd gude kuntschafft der alden doctoren, mit anwysung wanneer vnde durch welche personen die erroren opgestanden vnde vermeert zijnen, bereit vnd simpelen ongelerten christen und is deshalven genant der leken wechwyser.¹ As its title suggests, the Leken wechwyser was a didactic pamphlet which aimed at providing instruction in the basic elements of the evangelical faith for the laity. Whereas polemical tracts account for only about fifteen per cent of the pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation,² devotional and doctrinal pamphlets such as the Leken wechwyser account for as much as twenty five per cent. This rather broad heading of 'devotional and doctrinal handbooks', however, can be sub-divided into four different types of pamphlet.

i) Biblical commentaries.

The first evangelical commentary on the Scriptures to appear in Dutch was Luther's Sieben Buszpsalmen (1517) which was translated in 1520.³ Not surprisingly, the number of Luther's Biblical commentaries translated into Dutch far surpasses those of other reformers. Besides expositions of whole books of the Bible such as Galatians, the first and second epistles of Peter, Jude, Jonah and Habakkuk, a number of Luther's commentaries on individual chapters of the Bible, namely Psalms 37, 68, 119, 127 and 131, Isaiah 53, John 15 and 16 and 1 John 4 also appeared in Dutch.⁴ However, a few commentaries by other writers were published

1 Index aureliensis 105.093. Reprinted in BRN IV, pp.123-376. See pp.256-258.

2 See p.71.

3 NK1426.

4 NK1423,0851-53, 01335-36, 0848, 1423, 3460, 0844, 1434, 1432, 1430-31, 1429.

at this time; these included Johannes Bugenhagen's Souter welverduytscht wt die heylige oft hebreeusche sprake (1526),⁵ the no longer extant seven psalms 'geprent ende gemaect by' Cornelis Woutersz (1525),⁶ and the anonymous Expositie op den hondersten en sessentwintichsten psalm van David (c1540).⁷

ii) Compilation works.

Compilations of Scripture texts such as Otto Brunfels' Gulden ghebedeboecxken (1531, eight editions),⁸ the Fonteyne des levens (1533, ten editions)⁹ and Der waerheyt onderwijs (1536 four editions)¹⁰, were amongst the most popular of all Dutch evangelical pamphlets. Little is known of the uses to which such books were put, but in all probability they served as devotional handbooks for supporters of the evangelical faith.¹¹ The preface of the Fonteyne des levens, for instance, explains that its Scriptures have been compiled so that readers might be edified without the labour of searching through the whole Bible:

'Want dese schriftueren zijn hier int corte
by een vergadert op dat ghy (sonder vee
arbeysts om in den Bybel te soecken) terstont
hier moeche vinden daer ghy niet alleen u
droeffenissee mede moecht oprechten die met
eenich verdriet ofte swaricheyt verslagen is.'¹²

5 NK508. See pp.268-269.

6 NK0849. See p.336.

7 NK915. See p.275.

8 See pp.264-268.

9 See pp.276-278.

10 See pp.313-314.

11 Van Dis has suggested that compilation works such as the Fonteyne des levens and Die principaele hoofdtarticulen van allen dingen die den menschen troostelic (see pp.28-29) served reference books for the writers of evangelical rederijker plays. L.M. van Dis, 'Onderzoek naar de invloed van een zestiende-eeuwse concordantie op enkele rederijkersteksten.' Bundel opstallen van oud-leerlingen, aangeboden aan Prof. dr. C.G.N. de Vooy (Groningen-Batavia, 1940), pp.104-118.

12 Die Fonteyne des levens (I. Ewootzoon, Amsterdam, c1550). Aiv. 'For here be compendiously gathered together the things that peradventure thou mightest seek after in the Bible a great while. And here thou mayst soon find wherewith thou shalt be able . . . to cure thine own wounds.'

Such works bear some resemblance to Catholic books of hours, and may be seen as an evangelical attempt to purge late medieval devotion of its unacceptable characteristics whilst retaining the essential form. One striking example of such an attempt is the anonymous Refutacie vant Salve regina (c1524)¹³ which aimed to reduce excessive devotion to the Virgin Mary by recasting the Salve regina in an evangelical form, directing the words to Christ instead of Mary. Religious compilations were certainly not unknown before the Reformation. Indeed, they were an established and recognized tool in Christian education. The Spyeghel der ionghers (c1500)¹⁴ of Lambertus Goetman, for example, contained numerous quotations culled from the Scriptures, but whereas the Fonteyne des levens was comprised exclusively of Scripture texts complete with margin references, the Spyeghel mingled Scripture texts with quotations from the Church Fathers and pagan philosophers; moreover, in the absence of any margin references, the reader was unable to tell one from another. These differences are vital. The lack of distinction between biblical and non-biblical material in the Spyeghel is typical of medieval piety.¹⁵ Conversely, the Fonteyne's reliance upon Scripture alone is characteristically evangelical, and it was this feature that set apart evangelical compilations from the late medieval genre.

iii) Doctrinal pamphlets

This category includes pamphlets which cover a whole range of doctrinal issues such as Anastasius' Leken wechwyser and the anonymous Vraghe ende antwoorde op alle saken die eenen mensche ter salicheyt

13 NK1787. See p.299.

14 NK1017.

15 The Historienbijbel of Peter Comestor (died 1129) contains biblical and non-biblical material with little distinction between the two. The story of the golden calf (Exodus 32), for example, follows the Biblical narrative in the destruction of this idol, its grinding to powder, the throwing of the powder onto the waters, and the drinking of the water by the Israelites as a corporate act of penance. However, Comestor then adds the not so familiar story that those who had been responsible for the idolatry grew golden beards after drinking the water. C.C. de Bruin, De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers (Leiden, 1937), pp.81-82.

van noode zijn te weten (c1530-1540),¹⁶ along with those which deal only with one particular subject. Patrick Hamilton's Summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts (c1530),¹⁷ for example, concentrates exclusively on the theme of justification by faith alone whilst, as its title suggests, Van dat avontmael ons Heeren (c1540)¹⁸ is concerned only with the Lord's Supper.

iv) Works of edification.

The primary aim of this group of pamphlets was to provide spiritual edification rather than theological instruction. It includes translated works such as Thomas Becon's Christen oft kermis bancket (1543)¹⁹ as well as anonymous indigenous tracts such as Van dat geloove aen Jesum Christum (c1530),²⁰ Een profitelic ende troostelic boecxken van den ghelooove ende hoope (1534),²¹ and Een deuote biecht oft belijdinghe der sonden tot God (c1540)²² and Een corte onderwijsinge wter heylicher schriftuerne, hoe wy onse vianden, die duuel, die werelt, ende ons eyghen vleesch als christelijche crijsluyden ende ridders wederstaen sullen (1562).²³

To these four groups it is possible to add a small fifth category, that of pamphlets which deal with the social implications of evangelical theology. Strictly speaking, only two tracts fall into this category, Johannes Stammel's Vanden borgheren, hoe dat si onder malcanderen leven sullen (1553)²⁴ and Steven Wacker's Warachtige pronosticatie ende almanach (c1540).²⁵ Consisting of three parts, Vanden borgheren began with a eulogistic interpretation of and commentary on the life of the burgher, the second section dealt with how the rich ought to live, and

16 NK2181 and 4076. See p.311.

17 NK3140 and 4239. See pp.285-286.

18 NK2323. See p.258.

19 Machiels B191. Index aureliensis 115.537-538. See pp.259-260.

20 NK966 and 3064. See p.279.

21 NK440 and 441. See pp.262-263.

22 Machiels B682. See pp.260-261.

23 Reprinted in BRN IX, pp.615-639. See p.297.

24 See p.294.

25 NK2191. See pp.312-313. In addition, the Summa der godliker scrifturen (1523) deals with social issues in part, but is not wholly devoted to this theme.

the final part contained an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. As an ex-Franciscan, Stammel set great store by manual labour, quoting the example of the apostle Paul who boasted in his epistles that he had earned his living with his hands, and rebuked widows who were idle and spent their time gossiping in people's houses.²⁶ The burgher, Stammel taught, should work hard believing that by faith his labours will be pleasing to God:

'Ende ghi sult den arbeyt met stantachtelicken
ghelouve en betrouwien doen tot God seker
ghelooende dat uwen arbeyt God aenghenaem is
ende dat door Christum in welcken ghy
ghelooft ende betrouw.' ²⁷

He should not labour with the desire to become rich, for then the work becomes sinful. But should a burgher become rich - due to God's blessing rather than his own desire - he should thank God and use it to His honour.²⁸ According to Stammel, those who are rich must remember that they are only stewards of their money, for such wealth belongs as much to the poor as the rich. Wealth must not be squandered but used wisely. Riches are not evil in themselves, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, and David were all rich yet righteous men, but it is evil to misuse riches. In particular, it is a great sin if the rich do not use their wealth to assist the poor:

'Want alle rijcke menschen sullen weten als si
den armen met haren rijcdom niet en helpen
dat si also groot sonde doen ghelyc oft si
een andermensche beroofden ende zijn goet
benamen.' ²⁹

Steven Wacker's Warachtige pronosticatie is a different work, its major aim being to refute all forms of judicial astrology. For Wacker

26 J. Stammel, Vanden borgheren, Aiir. 1 Cor.4:12, 1 Tim.5:13.

27 Ibid. Avr. 'And you shall perform your work with steadfast faith and trust towards God, firmly believing that your labour is pleasing to God, and that through Christ in whom you believe and trust.'

28 Ibid. Avir-viiv.

29 Ibid. Aviir. 'For all rich men should know that if they do not help the poor with their riches they commit as great a sin as if they robbed another man and took away his goods.'

judicial astrology is to be rejected primarily because God has forbidden it in the Scriptures. According to Old Testament law, those who practise such things, Wacker reminded his readers, should be put to death. Rather than seek to know the future by such means, Christians should put their trust in God alone:

'Want wi weten door Gods ghenade dat God alleen
ende niet den Visch ende Bock noch Stier alle
dinc regeert ende werct na sinen godliken wil
ende dat wi ons seluen in sinen wille setten
sullen hem alleen gheloouen ende betrouwien hi
macht met ons maken so hi wil. He heeft ons
van die elementen der werelt ghelyck S. Paulus
seyt verlost.' ³⁰

The Christian's attitude to such practices should be like that of the Ephesians who, upon their conversion to the Gospel, burnt their books of magic arts (Acts 19:19). Instead of examining such forbidden knowledge, Christians should search the Scriptures because it is there that Christ may be found.³¹

The position of the Warachtige pronosticatie is, in many ways, similar to that adopted by other evangelical pamphlets on this theme at this time. Like Calvin in his Advertissement contre l'astrologie indiciaire (1549),³² Wacker utterly rejects judicial astrology. Yet like the anonymous English tract A spirituall almanacke wherein every christen man and woman may see what they ought dayle to do or leave undone (c1546),³³ much of the evangelical emphasis of the Warachtige pronosticatie is cast in the traditional form of an almanac. Old beliefs are rejected, but traditional forms are retained. In all probability, the aim in this was to expound evangelical teaching on this

30 S. Wacker, Warachtige pronosticatie, Aviir-viiir. 'For we know by God's grace that God alone and not the Fish and Goat nor Bull rules and works all things after his divine will, and we shall place ourselves in His will, only believing and trusting Him; He may make of us as He pleases. As St. Paul says, He has delivered us from the elements of the world.'

31 Ibid. Biir. Acts 19:19.

32 Index aureliensis 129.811. Not all evangelicals completely rejected judicial astrology. See B. Capp, English almanacs, 1500-1800 (New York, 1979), pp.131-179.

33 STC397.

issue clearly and to provide a genuine alternative to judicial astrology - trust in the providence and promises of God - yet to present this in a traditional and readily understandable form to create maximum possible interest.

Apart from Stammel's Vanden borgheren and Wacker's Warachtige pronosticatie, social comment is conspicuously lacking in Dutch pamphlet literature. This is in sharp contrast to the pamphlet literature of the German Reformation. German pamphleteers were addressing themselves to a whole society in the process of Reformation in which evangelical theology was affecting all areas of life. Hence, they gave attention to a wide variety of non-religious socio-economic issues. Topics such as these, however, were hardly relevant to the condition of evangelicals living in a hostile environment such as France or the Netherlands. Indeed, it is perhaps no accident that even the two pamphlets discussed above, Stammel's Vanden borgheren and Wacker's Warachtige pronosticatie, were both derived from German sources.

Proportionately much more attention is given in Dutch pamphlet literature to theological issues. It is with the theology of devotional and doctrinal handbooks that the rest of this chapter will be chiefly concerned, for an analysis of the doctrinal standpoints of Dutch pamphlet literature will enable us to ask some important questions about the nature of the Reformation in the Netherlands. How original was Dutch evangelical theology and how dependent was it on foreign influences? Did there exist, as earlier historiography has suggested, an original and peculiarly Dutch evangelical theology? What were the distinctive features of the Dutch Reformation?

a) Salvation: justification by faith alone, predestination and election.

Justification by faith alone was, perhaps, the most common theme of Dutch pamphleteers. This is hardly surprising for this doctrine was the very cornerstone of the evangelical faith. Some tracts such as the Christelijcke ende corte onderwijsinghe: van vergheuinghe der sonden ende van eewigher salicheyt (c1543)³⁴ were entirely devoted to this

³⁴ Machiels 055. See p.295.

theme. The author of this work began by arguing that salvation comes solely by the grace of God. It is only when a man fears God's wrath because of his sin that he will believe in the Gospel with true faith, and God, through His mercy, will forgive his sins, not through the merit of good works, but because of Christ.³⁵ However, orthodox Catholic teaching on this subject errs on two fundamental points. In the first place, papist doctrine fails to provide certainty of salvation:

'Hier cundt ghi mercken hoe grouweliick dat
God doer de dwalinghe des Paus gheblasphemeeert
word, maer de Christelijcke leeringhe roept
daer teghen, datmen desen twijfel wederstaen
sal, ende seker sluyten ende gheloouen, dat
ons Got om sijns soons Christi wille ghenadich
si, ende ons aen nemen wil.' ³⁶

Secondly, the notion that a man may merit forgiveness of sins and righteousness in reward for the performance of good works is a blasphemy against Christ, God's promises and the doctrine of faith.³⁷ The author of the Christelijcke ende corte onderwijsinghe did not reject the role of good works altogether. He acknowledged that God accepts and rewards them, but only after a man has first been enlightened by faith.³⁸

Another pamphlet wholly concerned with this question of salvation by faith and not by works was Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts of Patrick Hamilton. Originally intended as a collection of theses for academic disputation, this brief tract is wholly Lutheran in its approach to this subject. For Hamilton, the Law reveals our sin, the Gospel provides the remedy for it; the Law shows us our condemnation, the Gospel our redemption, and whereas the Law brings wrath, despair and

35 Christelijcke ende corte onderwijsinghe, Aiv.

36 Ibid. Aviir-v. 'Here you can note how abominably God is blasphemed through the error of the pope, but Christian doctrine cries out in opposition to it, that men should withstand this doubt, and certainly conclude and believe that our God for his son Christ's sake is gracious and will accept us.'

37 Ibid. Aviiv-viiir.

38 Ibid. Biiiv.

unrest, the Gospel brings grace, comfort and peace.³⁹ Strong Lutheran influence can also be seen in Hamilton's indebtedness to the Pauline emphases that Abraham's faith was reckoned to him as righteousness, and that no one is justified by the deeds of the Law, but by faith in Christ.⁴⁰

Given Hamilton's connection with the new evangelical University of Marburg, his strong emphasis on justification by faith alone is hardly surprising. Likewise, there is nothing unusual in the theological inclinations of known translations of German texts such as the Vraghe ende antwoorde op alle saken die eenen mensche ter saligheyt van noode zijn te weten, which discusses the motif of the evil and good trees (Mtt.7:17-19) in a characteristically Lutheran fashion. It is faith that makes a tree good and, being intrinsically good, this tree will then produce good fruit, that is, a good life and good works. An evil tree which, of necessity, cannot produce good fruit, is a man who cannot perform good works because he does not believe that Christ is his righteousness, wisdom, sanctification and redemption.⁴¹ However, the doctrine of justification by faith alone is as central to indigenous Dutch pamphlets as it is to German Lutheran texts. The author of the Profitelic ende troostelic boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope, for instance, like Patrick Hamilton used the illustration of Abraham to prove that a man is justified by faith and not by works.⁴² Similarly, Johannes Anastasius Veluanus asserted that man is saved solely by the merits of Christ's death:

'Wart des Vaders ongemetene barmherticheyt,
vnde des soins edele verdienst, alto kleyn
geacht durch dese leer van twyuelen Want mit
Jesus doot is certeyn betailt, vor al onse
sunden als wy ons bekeren.' ⁴³

39 P. Hamilton, Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts, (c1530, NK3140), Avir-v.

40 Ibid. Aviv:Aviiir.

41 Vraghe ende antwoorde op alle saken die eenen mensche ter salicheyts van noode zijn te weten, (NK4076), Aiiiv.

42 See above.

43 BRN IV, p.166. 'For the Father's immeasurable mercy and the son's noble merits are all too lightly esteemed by this doctrine of doubt. For by Jesus's death all our sins are certainly paid for if we repent.'

Moreover, he taught that no one can make himself believe by his own strength, since faith is something which God works in us:

'Hier is to mercken, dat nymant sich selues mit eighen macht kan ghelouich maken. Mer dat Gott de gheloue in ons maket, mit sijnen woirt vnde hillighen geest. Dit gesciet aldus, wanneer wy sijn woirt horen lesen of prediken, vnde begeren des verstant, dan maket ons Got mit sijnen gheest, mechtich te gheloue to leren.' ⁴⁴

Yet although Anastasius fully accorded with Luther, Calvin and other Protestant reformers on the subject of justification by faith alone, in one particular area of the doctrine of salvation he parted company with Luther. Luther had rejected the notion that man has free will as early as 1525 when he wrote De servo arbitrio in response to De libero arbitrio (1524) of Erasmus. However, it was Calvin's systematization of the doctrine of predestination in the 1550s culminating in the 1559 edition of the Institutes⁴⁵ that established a permanent bond between classical Protestantism and this doctrine. For the Genevan reformer,

'No one who wishes to be thought religious dares simply deny predestination, by which God adopts some to hope of life, and sentences others to eternal death.'⁴⁶

Yet deny the doctrine of double predestination Anastasius most certainly did. He maintained that man has the power to sin and to refrain from sin, to follow as he is called by God's word, to turn from a state of salvation to damnation, and to harden his heart. In insisting that man retains freedom of the will, the cornerstone of his argument against the doctrine of predestination, Veluanus was anxious to distance himself

44 BRN IV, p.168. 'Note here, that no one can make himself believe by his own strength, but God works faith in us, by His word and the Holy Spirit. It happens like this, when we hear His word read or preached and desire to understand, God by His Spirit enables us to learn to believe.'

45 F. Wendel, Calvin. The origins and development of his religious thought (London, 1974), pp.263-268.

46 J. Calvin, Institutes of the christian religion, 3.xxi.5. Library of christian classics XXI, ed. J.T. McNeill (London, 1961), p.926.

from any semi-Pelagian tendencies to exalt the powers of man and thereby reduce the merits of Christ. Moreover, he insisted that man's free will does not come from himself, but from God, who created free will in human nature.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he wholeheartedly rejected the doctrine of double predestination as being logically inconsistent, since it necessitates God's secret will contradicting His revealed will insofar as it implies that God takes pleasure in men perishing:

'Mer die predestinatores spreken, dat oick een beroepen mensch sijne salicheit gar nyt kan baten, noch scaden, mer is hy vytuerkoren, so moet hy folgen, is hy nyt vytverkoren, so moet hy in verdamus bliven. Jtem dat alle sunden vnde duechden gantz vyt noot gescheenen. Dese menung is (mijns achtens) den menschen scadelick, vnde nyt an to nemen. Want wer dit also, dan must Godes heymeliche wil tegen sijn openbare verbijden vnde straffen stain, item an onse sund vnd verdamus lust hebben.' ⁴⁸

How did Anastasius come to oppose the doctrine of predestination? What are the sources of his views on the freedom of the will? Erasmus naturally comes to mind, yet Anastasius' arguments differ from those of the great humanist scholar. Erasmus' rejection of predestination was based first and foremost on his optimistic view of human nature. In De libero arbitrio, for example, Erasmus quoted Ecclesiasticus 15:14-17

'It was He (God) who created man in the beginning, and he left him in the power of his own inclination. If you will, you can keep the commandments, and to act faithfully is a matter of your own choice...'

to support his belief in the freedom of the will.⁴⁹ Yet as seen above,

47 BRN IV, pp.151-156.

48 BRN IV, p.153. 'But the predestinarians say that he who has been elected can neither improve nor harm his salvation, but because he is chosen, so he must follow, and if he is not chosen, so he must remain in damnation. Likewise, that all sins and good deeds are committed necessarily. This opinion is (I think) harmful to men and ought not to be accepted. For if it were so then God's secret will would contradict and oppose His revealed will, forbidding and punishing, and He would desire our sin and damnation.'

49 G. Oorthuys, Anastasius' 'Wechwyser', Bullinger's 'Huysbœck' en Calvyn's 'Institutie' vergeleken in hun leer van God en mensch (Leiden, 1919), p.196.

Anastasius' chief objection to the doctrine of predestination was that it contradicted the revealed will of God - an essentially theocentric argument. Moreover, in accepting the doctrine of original sin, Anastasius took a far more pessimistic view of human nature than Erasmus did.⁵⁰ The seventeenth century Reformation historian Gerard Brandt suggested that Anastasius' views on free will and predestination followed the articles of the Confession of Augsburg (1530).⁵¹ However, this too is not an entirely satisfactory explanation, for the Confession of Augsburg nowhere explicitly denied predestination as the Leken wechwyser did. Rather a discussion of predestination in the Confession of Augsburg was simply avoided on the grounds that man should not be too curious about the mysteries of God.⁵² Other possible sources of Anastasius' views are the writings of radical reformers such as Andreas Karlstadt and Melchior Hoffman both of whom rejected the doctrine of double predestination.⁵³ However, nowhere does Anastasius give any indication of having read their writings as he does with many of the mainstream reformers. In addition, it is doubtful whether a reformer of Anastasius' irenic temperament would draw on the work of such radical spirits.

Anastasius himself hinted that Melanchthon's Loci communes was the source of his views on the subject.⁵⁴ At first sight the Loci communes appear an implausible source for anti-predestinarian views; in the first edition, published in 1521, Melanchthon rejected all freedom of the will:

50 BRN IV, p.147.

51 G. Brandt, Historie der reformatie en andere kerkelyke geschiedenis, in en ontrent de Nederlanden (Amsterdam, 1671), I, p.174.

52 C.L. Manschreck, Melanchthon. The quiet reformer (New York, 1958), p.294.

53 For Karlstadt's views on predestination see C.A. Pater, Karlstadt as the father of the baptist movements (Toronto, 1984), pp.25-46. For Hoffman's views see his Verclaringe van den geuangen ende vrien wil des menschen, BRN V, pp.181-198.

54 'Darom is Philippus Melanchton (mysn achtens) seer te prysen, dat hy vur desen artikel in loci communib. hefft gestreden.' 'Therefore, I think that Philip Melanchthon is to be highly praised, because he has fought for this article in his Loci communes.' BRN IV, p.154.

'Since all things that happen, happen necessarily according to divine predestination, our will has no liberty.' 55

At this stage in his career Melanchthon was involved like Luther in a struggle against Roman dogma and, like him, concerned to reject all vestiges of semi-Pelagianism. By the 1530s, however, Melanchthon's position had altered, and his chief concern now was to refute the antinomian tendencies of his fellow Lutheran Johann Agricola (1494-1566). In later editions of the Loci communes (1534 and 1544), therefore, he shifted his ground and argued against the notion of absolute predestination, affirming that election should be judged not by reason or the Law but by the Gospel, that it is Christ's desire to redeem all mankind, and that the only reason for election is justification. At the same time, Melanchthon strongly emphasized the universal nature of God's promises quoting Scriptures such as 1 Timothy 2:4:

'God desires all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth '

and maintained that the cause of reprobation is not God's decree but man's own disobedience to the Gospel.⁵⁶ Anastasius' openly acknowledged debt to Melanchthon is confirmed by the similarity of their arguments. In the first place, both men were highly suspicious of the 'secret decree' of God in predestination. Second, both gave place to the same three factors in conversion - the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and the human will. Finally, neither Melanchthon nor Anastasius can be considered a Pelagian, for neither attributed anything meritorious to the activity of the will, nor said that the will acts by its own powers.⁵⁷

How then should we interpret Anastasius' anti-predestinarian stance? Some scholars have seen it as indicative of a peculiarly Dutch theology. Pijper, for example, listed Anastasius along with Cornelius Hoen, the author of the Summa der godliker scripturen, Theodoricus, Cornelis vander Heyden and Angelus Merula as the progenitors of the

55 P. Melanchthon, Loci communes in Library of Christian classics, XIX ed. W. Pauck (London, 1969), p.24.

56 G. Oorthuys, op.cit. pp.192-193.

57 BRN IV, pp.151-156, 168. C.L. Manschreck, op.cit. pp.296-297, 301.

so-called 'national reformed' tradition.⁵⁸ Others have seen him as a precursor of the Remonstrants of the Synod of Dort (1618-19).⁵⁹ Indeed, Anastasius found favour in the sight of such leading Remonstrants as Uitenbogaert and Grotius who both acknowledged a debt to the reformer from Gelderland.⁶⁰

However, Anastasius' theology must be seen for what it was, and not as others perceived it fifty or sixty years later from a different standpoint. In this context, his anti-predestinarian stance cannot be construed as anti-Calvinist. The Leken wechwyser was first published in 1554, before Calvin had thoroughly endorsed the doctrine of double predestination. Moreover, given that the first edition of the Leken wechwyser was probably printed in Wesel, a centre of the Lutheran printing trade in the lower Rhineland,⁶¹ Anastasius' stance is probably best seen as a response to the antinomian controversies rather than as anti-Calvinist.

Anastasius was an eclectic reformer who drew on the writings of a wide variety of Protestant theologians. In the Leken wechwyser he recognized the value of Calvin's Institutes and Melanchthon's Loci communes, showed great respect for Luther, acknowledged a dependence on Zwingli and Bullinger, and also quoted from the writings of Erasmus, Johannes à Lasco, Johannes Brenz, Johannes Bugenhagen and Urbanus Regius. With this background, one would hardly expect Anastasius to be an orthodox Calvinist. His theology was imbued from the writings of a whole host of Protestant theologians. His anti-predestinarianism was not part of some deliberate anti-Calvinist trend in Dutch theology, but simply a preference for the views of Melanchthon on this point.

b) The Sacraments.

The Protestant rejection of five of the traditional seven sacraments

58 BRN IV, p.110.

59 G. Oorthuys, op.cit. p.195.

60 BRN IV, p.121.

61 See Index aureliensis 105.093.

is well known. The five discarded sacraments - Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony - were not necessarily rejected as religious ceremonies, but simply as sacraments. This was the position of most Dutch evangelicals. Anastasius, for example, explained his thinking by defining sacraments as signs instituted by Christ. According to this definition only Baptism and the Lord's Supper could be considered sacraments, since they were the only two of the seven ordained by Christ.

Though Anastasius regarded only Baptism and the Lord's Supper as true sacraments, he did not entirely reject confession and the sacrament of Penance. Instead, he allowed it to continue in a modified form:

'Item als wy in etlicken saken twyuel, off
sie sunde off gene sunde zijnen dan sullen
wy ymant onse sund bekant maken, troost vnde
raet begeren, de vergiffenus seker to weten,
vnde hyr is nodich enen verstdigen gueden
raetgeuer to suecken. Dese raetgheuer
behoirt een pastoir off een ander kerckendiener
to wesen, de hyr to gheordenyert is, mer in
nootztyden mach men oick de leken in dese saick
ghebruicken, gelijck sie oick in nootztyden
dopen muegen.' 62

What should we make of this? Anastasius' position in allowing confession whilst rejecting the traditional view of the sacrament of penance is, in fact, almost identical to that of Luther who opposed confession as an obligation required by ecclesiastical rule, but refused to deny it as a means of comfort. As Tentler expresses it,

'Luther thought that to go to a minister of
the word, unburden your conscience and hear
him pronounce absolution was a comfort essential
to poor sinful Christians.' 63

62 BRN IV, p.223. 'If in certain matters we are in doubt as to whether or not they are sins, we should confess our sin to someone, desire comfort and counsel in order to have the assurance of the forgiveness of sins. And here it is necessary to seek a wise, good, counsellor. This counsellor should be a pastor or some other servant of the church who has been appointed for this purpose, but in time of need men may also use laymen for this purpose, in the same way as they may also baptize in times of need.'

63 T.N. Tentler, Sin and confession on the eve of the reformation, (Princeton, 1977), p.349.

The Reformed tradition, on the other hand, rejected private confession more or less completely. On this point, therefore, Anastasius stood not under the influence of Calvin, Zwingli or Bullinger, but of Luther,⁶⁴ and again the view of him as adhering to a peculiarly Dutch theology is called into question.

Despite these concessions, Anastasius, like Luther, still indulged in a certain amount of polemic against the sacrament of Penance. He denounced it for a number of reasons, not least because he saw it as having no scriptural basis:

'Dat wy mit genen hilligen schriffturen verbonden
sijnt, onse pastoren alle sunden an to tellen,
die wy in onse gedechtenus hebben', 65

and because the demands of a full confession were impossible to fulfil:

'Van dat pausselickle sundetellen in der oirbiecht
is ten ersten to weten, dat ons onmoegelick is,
alle sunden den mispriester an to tellen, als
David sacht. psalm.18. her weel gedenckt de
sunden, desse onmoegelickheyt kan men oick
dachlick befynden.' 66

Moreover, he asserted that Roman Catholic absolution was first of all ungodly since it absolved sin not only by virtue of Christ's merits, but also by personal merit and the merits of the saints, and second useless because it is whispered to the laity in an unknown language, contrary to Paul's command in 1 Corinthians 14.⁶⁷

When dealing with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, those ceremonies which he did regard as sacraments, Anastasius was not nearly so negative. Baptism he equated with circumcision as a sign of the covenant made between God and His people.⁶⁸ This analogy was almost certainly

⁶⁴ Pijper makes this same point. See BRN IV, p.111.

⁶⁵ BRN IV, p.224. 'That we are not bound by holy scripture to confess all our sins that we can remember to our pastor.'

⁶⁶ BRN IV, p.224. 'Concerning the papist enumeration of sins in auricular confession; it is first to be noted that we are incapable of confessing all our sins to the mass-priest, for as David says (Ps.18=19:12) "Lord who remembers sins, men can find this impossible (to do) daily."

⁶⁷ BRN IV, p.227.

⁶⁸ BRN IV, p.191.

borrowed from Zwingli or Calvin. It was an argument used by the Reformed to prove infant baptism from Scripture and thereby to refute Anabaptist claims that the only biblical form of Baptism was that of believing adults. Indeed, Anastasius went to great lengths to validate infant baptism, the equation of Baptism with circumcision being but the first of nine defences. However, Anastasius was not slavishly devoted to Reformed theologians, and differed from Calvin over the question of emergency baptism. Whilst he agreed that Baptism was best administered by an ordained minister in a Church, he did not entirely reject Baptism by a lay person outside of a Church:

'De Doip behoirt ons angedient to werden van sekere kerken diener dar to geordeniert.

math 28. marc.16 mer in nodige tyden muegen alle bequeme leken de doip andienien.

De gewoinlike doipplaitz is in den Tempelen, mer in nodige tyden sijnen alle plaitsen vnde alle wateren bequaem to dopen.'⁶⁹ 69

For Calvin, however, the administration of Baptism remained the sole preserve of the ecclesiastical ministry. 'Christ', he observed, 'did not command women or men of every sort to baptize, but gave this command to those whom he had appointed apostles.'⁷⁰ Luther, on the other hand, allowed lay baptism. Anastasius' defence of this practice could, therefore, be interpreted as still further evidence of Lutheran influence in the Leken wechwyser. However, although Anastasius sided with Luther on the practice of emergency baptism, theologically his sympathies on this point lay with Calvin. The usual justification for emergency baptism was that children who die unbaptized are necessarily damned, but Anastasius sided with Calvin in rejecting this notion, listing five arguments why 'de kynder in nootzyden sonder doip sellich werden muegen'.⁷¹ Clearly Anastasius' practical advice was not

69 BRN IV, p.191. 'Baptism ought to be administered by certain servants of the Church, ordained for this purpose, Matthew 28:19, Mark 16:16. But in necessitous times all competent laypersons may administer Baptism. The proper place for Baptism is in the churches, but in time of need all places and all waters are suitable for Baptism.'

70 J. Calvin, Institutes, 4. XV . 20, op.cit. p.1320.

71 BRN IV, p.199. J. Calvin, Institutes, 4 . XV . 20, op.cit. p.1321. 'In time of need children may be saved without Baptism.'

consistent with his theology on this point. Perhaps this was a result of circumstances. Anastasius had spent much of his career as an evangelical priest in a remote part of the northern Netherlands, with access to the writings of Lutheran and Reformed theologians alike. He could therefore select and reject from these writings those beliefs and practices which most closely accorded with his own sympathies, without necessarily being aware of inherent contradictions. Alternatively, it might suggest a difference of temperament between Anastasius and Calvin, with the former showing a greater concern for 'weaker bretheren' than the latter.

Just as Anastasius' views on Baptism show an indebtedness both to the Lutheran and Reformed traditions, the same can be said of his eucharistic theology. Of course, on some points of doctrine and practice relating to the Lord's Supper Luther and Calvin were united. Here, it is impossible to discern particular influences. For example, Anastasius' rejection of the Mass as a sacrifice and a good work on the grounds that Christ's sacrifice on the cross is the one perfect offering for sin fully accorded with Lutheran and Reformed theology alike, as did his insistence that the laity should partake of communion in both kinds.⁷² On other points, however, Anastasius adopted clear and sometimes confessionally contradictory standpoints. On the one hand, he sided with Luther and against Calvin in permitting the administration of private communion to the sick and dying:

'Etlicke spreken, dat de krancken geen auondt mail sonder mitgasten behoren to ontfanghen. Hyr op mach men dit antwoirt geuen, kan men sie hebben, so ist beter dat etlicke mit den krancken eten vnde drincken. Mer is nymant bereit, so mach men nochtans wel enen mensch dat avontmail andienen, ghelyck dat Euangeli wel vur enen mensch mach ghepredickt werden, vnde dit is ene starcke rede, dair mit de Wittenbergenses billick beweget zijnen.' ⁷³

72 BRN IV, pp.214-15, 207-208.

73 BRN IV, pp.213-14. 'Some say that the sick ought not to receive the Lord's Supper without fellow participants. To this, one may give this answer, if it is possible, it is better than someone eats and drinks with the sick. But if no one is prepared, it is nevertheless permitted to administer the Lord's Supper to one man, just as the Gospel can be preached for one man, and this is strong counsel by which the Wittenbergers are justifiably moved.'

On the other hand, Anastasius openly criticized Luther for the neglect of Christian discipline in preparation for communion.⁷⁴ This emphasis on discipline and anxiety to prevent the profanation of the Lord's Supper by unfit persons is strongly reminiscent of Calvin. Moreover, Anastasius held to a spiritualistic interpretation of the Lord's Supper. 'Christus naturlicke licham', he argued, 'onder dat misbroit op den altair nyet en is',⁷⁵ which for Luther, was nothing short of blasphemy.

However, the influence of Luther and Calvin alone does not fully account for the scope of Anastasius' eucharistic theology. In his Vom Nachtmal Christi (1557)⁷⁶ published under the pseudonym Adam Christianus during the second sacramentarian controversy, Anastasius referred his readers to a good number of other writers on the Lord's Supper including Zwingli, Melanchthon, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Peter Martyr and Johannes à Lasco. Furthermore, in his refutation of the real presence in this pamphlet, Anastasius showed a clear dependence on the Epistola of the Dutch jurist Cornelis Hoen which was composed in 1521-22:

Anastasius

'Dan sy bekennend ymmer auszt-rucklich, dasz vns gloubigen mit dem brot der ware leyb Christi: vnd mit dem weyn das ware blut Christi gewuszlich gegeben werde, verste in vnserem eigenth - umb, vnnd zu unserem ewigen nutz, eben wie vns ein hausz, ein acker, oder ein weynberg, mit einem versigleten brief in unseren eigenthumb gewuszlich wirt

Hoen

'Thus by these words, "This is My Body", the Saviour did not want the bread to be transubstantiated but rather He wanted to give Himself through the bread, just as is our custom in certain places when a man who is going to sell some land gives the buyer a staff, straw, or stone and says, "By this token I give you the land." Likewise, the ownership of a house is transferred

74 BRN IV, p.209.

75 BRN IV, p.222. 'Christ's physical body is not contained within the mass-bread of the altar.'

76 Reprinted in BRN IV, pp.389-451. Neither this tract nor Anastasius' other pamphlet dealing with the Lord's Supper, Bekanteniss Ioannis Anastasii von dem waren leyb Christi (1561, BRN IV, pp.461-490) are listed in my bibliographical description of Dutch evangelical literature as both were printed in High German.

übergeben... Vnd eben wie man von den versigleten irrdischen gütern warhaftig mag sagen, Das hausz, oder der acker ist mein: dann ich hab gute sigel vnnd brief dauon, vnd es hinderet mich nit an dem eigenthumb, dasz sölliche güter etwas weyt von mir sind gelagen. Also mag ein yeder gloubiger Christ auch sagen. Der leyb Christi ist mein, mein eigen gut, mir von Christo geschenckt, und mit dem Abentmal mir zum eigenthumb versiglet. Der leyb is mir versiglet mit dem brot, und das blut mit dem weyn.⁷⁷

by handing over the keys. Just so the Lord gave Himself for us by means of the bread, as if to say, 'Take and eat...'⁷⁸

Almost certainly, however, Anastasius was only indirectly dependent on Hoen's Epistola. There is nothing in his writings to suggest that he knew of Hoen, and Hoen himself never had his letter published. It is far more likely that Anastasius' indebtedness to Hoen's imagery came via Zwingli's edited and expanded version of the Epistola published in 1525. Zwingli was one of the authors that Anastasius admitted he was dependent upon and, being exiled in Strasbourg it is not difficult to imagine that he knew either Zwingli's 1525 Latin edition or the two 1526 German translations of the Epistola.

Indeed, generally speaking, Hoen's Epistola does not appear to have been widely known within the Netherlands. Melchior Hoffman used Hoen's image of the Lord's Supper being like a wedding ring given symbolically by a bridegroom to his bride in Die ordonnantie Godts (1530) and the Weissagung usz heiliger götlicher geschrifft (1529).⁷⁹ Apart from this, there is only one other contemporary evangelical pamphlet which demonstrates a knowledge of Hoen's imagery. This is the anonymous Van dat avontmael ons Heeren (c1540). Yet even here, Hoen's influence was

77 BRN IV, pp.400-401.

78 C. Hoen, 'A most christian letter,' in Forerunners of the reformation, ed. H.A. Oberman (London, 1967), p.275.

79 BRN V, pp.156-157. K. Deppermann, Melchior Hoffman (Göttingen, 1979), pp.126-128.

not as great as one might suppose. Most of the arguments of the author of Van dat avontmael ons Heeren against transubstantiation and the real presence are not taken from Hoen. Like Anastasius, he was an eclectic reformer. First and foremost he used biblical arguments in support of his spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper. In addition, he drew on quotations from the Church Fathers, in particular from Augustine and Tertullian, and he even borrowed Luther's comparison of the Lord's Supper to Gideon's fleece from the Sermon von dem neuen Testament (1520).⁸⁰

c) Evangelical Catholicism.

The relationship of Dutch evangelicals to the Roman church was often highly ambiguous. Though attracted to the doctrines propounded by Luther and other Protestant reformers, many remained within the Mother church. This doctrinal innovation coupled with institutional conservatism often resulted in a certain ambiguity within evangelical pamphlet literature. The author of Een corte onderwijsinge hoe wy onse vianden wederstaen sullen, for example, on some issues indicated strong evangelical tendencies. He had a pessimistic view of human nature, arguing that all mankind, being descended from Adam, is conceived in sin, born in sin and lives in sin.⁸¹ Furthermore, he asserted that Christ alone is our mediator and comforter and therefore rejected the intermediary role of the Virgin Mary and the saints:

Vraghe: 'Wat werck alsulcken gelooue?

Antwoort: 'Het werct ten eersten, dat ick Christum alleene die grootste achte, ende hem lief hebbe boue al, eere ende prijse als den genen den welcken my die vader tot een middelaer ende salichmaker ghegeuen heeft, die my alleene genoech is in mijnen saken ende noot te helpen, inden welcken allen mijnen troost staet, sonder te ruste op ennighe creatueren.'⁸²

80 J. Trapman, 'Van dat avontmael ons Heeren,' NAK LI (1970), pp.152 and 156. W A 6, p.358.

81 BRN IX, pp.610 and 621.

82 BRN IX, p.622. Question: 'What does such faith work? Answer: 'It works first (in this way) that I give the greatest respect to Christ alone, and love him above all else, honour and praise Him as He whom the Father has given me as a mediator and saviour, who alone is enough to help me in my affairs and needs, and in whom all my comfort is placed without relying on any creatures.'

However, he was not completely detached from the Roman church and traces of the old faith still remained. In particular, he considered pride to be the greatest sin which suggests that he thought according to the conventional scheme in which pride was the chief of the seven deadly sins.⁸³ More importantly, he presumed that a child would be baptized by a priest:

'Vraghe: 'Wanneer begint die doodinghe des vleeschs?
Antwoord: 'Inden doopsel, wanneer die Priester
dat kint met water beghiet ofte daer inne steect,
inden naem des Vaders, ende des Soons, ende des
heylichen Geests.' '⁸⁴

Another pamphlet which stood midway between Protestantism and Catholicism was the Profitelic ende troostelic boecxken van den gheleove ende hoope. Much of this tract was written in language reminiscent of Dutch fifteenth century mysticism, the language of the final section 'Van die bruyt Christi', for instance, closely resembles that of the Imitation of Christ.⁸⁵ Yet the author was also indebted to the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. Expounding Genesis 17 and Romans 4, he maintained that Abraham's faith was reckoned to him as righteousness, not because of works, nor circumcision or uncircumcision, but because he believed, gave God glory, and obtained mercy. Such Scriptures were not written simply that we might know how Abraham became righteous by faith, but were written for our instruction. Christ died for our sins and rose again for our justification and it is trust in this that will save us.⁸⁶ In addition to this support for the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the author's belief that God requires nothing of us for our sins except a contrite spirit could be interpreted as a covert attack on the sacrament of penance.⁸⁷ Indeed, this evangelical inclination implied as much by what was left unsaid as well as what was clearly stated was a common feature of early evangelical

83 BRN IX, pp.612 and 619.

84 BRN IX, p.624. Question 'When does the mortification of the flesh begin? Answer 'In Baptism, when the priest sprinkles or immerses in water in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.'

85 BRN IV, pp.511-512.

86 BRN IV, pp.527-28.

87 BRN IV, p.527.

pamphlets printed in the Netherlands. It is perhaps best seen in the anonymous Scripture compilation the Fonteyne des levens. Both the title, the preface and the passages of Scripture it contains indicate that the Fonteyne was a work with evangelical tendencies. The title was taken from the words of the prophet Jeremiah:

'For my people have committed two evils:
they have forsaken me, the fountain of
living waters, to hew out cisterns for
themselves, broken cisterns, that can
hold no water.' (Jer.2:13).

Jeremiah's metaphor was then expounded in the preface. The fountain of life is the promises of God contained in the Scriptures. Contrasted to this fountain are puddles infected with errors and heresies.⁸⁸ Nowhere, was the author explicit, but for evangelicals and inquisitors alike such remarks were plain enough. The Bible, as God's word, is the source of truth from which the believer must drink. The Roman church, however, has abandoned this fountain for her own erroneous and heretical doctrines. In addition, the comforting Bible passages the author cites emphasize trust in God's word, but he makes no mention whatsoever of confession, penance, absolution, the Mass, indulgences, or the intermediary role of the Virgin Mary and the saints.⁸⁹ He simply allows the Scriptures to speak for themselves, and by implication the evangelical inclination of the Fonteyne des levens becomes apparent to the reader.

The ecclesiological views of the authors of such pamphlets as Een corte onderwijsinge hoe wy onse vianden wederstaen sullen and the Profitelic ende troostelic boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope are nowhere stated explicitly. It is only in their balancing of old and new, Catholic and Protestant beliefs that we may infer that they were evangelicals who had not completely broken with the Roman church. However, other Dutch evangelicals such as Anastasius exhibited a more consciously developed ecclesiology. Whilst it is true that in quitting the Netherlands and fleeing to Strasbourg in 1554 Anastasius did formally break with Rome, his conception of the Church was not a narrow

88 Fonteyne des levens (c1550), Aiv-iir.

89 S.J. Lenselink, De nederlandse psalmerijmingen van de souterliedekens tot Datheen met hun voorgangers in Duitsland en Frankrijk (Assen, 1959), pp.242-43.

one. Rather as Erasmus had suggested in the Colloquia de fide (1524), Anastasius argued in favour of a fundamental unity of all believers which cut across confessional barriers. Christians, he asserted, are one body because they all agree on fundamentals such as one Godhead, Christ's divinity and humanity, heaven and hell, and salvation by Christ's merits alone.⁹⁰ This ecumenical view of the Church was even extended to include the Anabaptists for, rather than viewing them as completely outside the true-Church, Anastasius attacked them for their breaking of the unity of the Church by their exclusiveness and sectarian attitudes:

'Oick breken die arme wederdoper der kercken enicheit, die alle menschen ter hellen ordelen, vnde vyt hoir ghemeenten bannen, die hoir phantasij in alle punten nyt willen folgen, vnde maken onder sich viel kercken, de den anderen verordelen, so dicwijl hoir verleiders ouer enigen artikel oneens werden. Dese ander geesten doin oick teghen die enicheit, die den euangelischen predickdienst weinich achten, vnde gheen nachtmail mit den Lutheranen (die sie also noemen) holden willen, om des wil, dat sie die predicenten vnde gemene gasten nyt sonder sunde befynden. Des ghelijcks alle Enthusiasten, die predicken vnde schriftlesen, doip vnd auontmail, klein rekenen, vnde van des geestes inblasen allene wonder ding spreken.'⁹¹

Despite vigorously refuting certain elements of Anabaptist doctrine, most notably believers' baptism and the teaching that Christ did not 'take flesh' from Mary, Anastasius was opposed to the execution of Anabaptists. Furthermore, he saw their bravery and purity of life as a rebuke because many of us 'onder den euangelischen naem' lead impure

90 BRN IV, p.313.

91 BRN IV, pp.314-15. 'Also the poor Anabaptists break the unity of the Church, condemning all men to hell, and banning from their congregations those who will not follow their fantasies in every respect, and they create among themselves many churches, which condemn the others, as often as their seducers are at odds over some article (of doctrine). These other spirits also act against unity in that they show little respect for evangelical preaching and will not share the Lord's Supper with Lutherans (as they call them) because they do not judge their preachers and common visitors to be without sin. Likewise all enthusiasts, who set little store by preaching and teaching of the Scriptures, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; only of the inspiration of the Spirit do they speak wonderful things.'

lives and lightly forsake the cause.⁹²

Anastasius was less specific in his condemnation of the Roman church. He rejected many aspects of the doctrine of Rome. Moreover, he implied that the papacy was the fulfilment of the biblical prophecies concerning the coming of Antichrist:

'Paul prophetiert. 2. Thessalon.2. dat Antichrist
in Godes tempel sal regnyren, dat is, in der
menschen herten, dar Christus mit synen geest
behoirt to woenen, vnd in den stenen tempelen,
dar men Christus bescreuuen woirt behoirt to
predicken. Nu wilt des Paussen regiment wel
bedencken, zynt syne geboden in den stenen
tempelen nyt scerper gepredickt, vnd In der
menschen herten hoger gerekent, dan Christus
bescreuene geboden?' 93

But Anastasius was silent on the question of whether or not Rome formed part of the universal Church. Some idea of his views, however, can be gained by a study of his ecclesiastical career. Anastasius began to study the doctrines of Protestant theologians c1540, about four years before he was ordained a priest in the Roman Church.⁹⁴ Between 1544 and 1550 he performed his duties as a priest and, at the same time, openly preached the evangelical faith and denounced 'pausselick affgodery'.⁹⁵ Judging from Anastasius' own account of events, it was only his arrest and imprisonment that precipitated his break with Rome. His enforced recantation and confinement to Leuven acted as a catalyst, crystallizing his opposition to particular aspects of Roman Catholicism. In particular, his opposition to the Mass was strengthened by the ruling that he was to study theology at Leuven where he was to be maintained by

92 BRN IV, p.339.

93 BRN IV, p.365. 'Paul prophesied in 2 Thessalonians 2: 4 that Antichrist would reign in God's temple, that is, in men's hearts, where Christ ought to dwell by his Spirit, and in the stone temples where men should preach Christ's written word. Now the pope's regiment will do well to consider whether his commands in the stone temple are not preached more strongly or regarded more highly in men's hearts, than Christ's written commands.'

94 BRN IV, p.87.

95 BRN IV, p.125.

saying Mass and singing in the choir.⁹⁶ It was not so much that Anastasius deliberately chose schism with the Roman church, but rather he was forced out by those who refused to allow him to remain within her. Thus it would appear that though Anastasius may have criticized particular aspects of the Roman church, he did not reject her completely as being outside the universal Church. If this had been the case, surely he would have abandoned her a good deal earlier than he did.

96 BRN IV, p.126.

CHAPTER 6

CONSOLATION FOR THOSE AFFLICTED IN MIND AND BODY

An abundance of literature intended to console the afflicted was published in the Netherlands on the eve of the Reformation. Der sielen troost, for instance, translated from Johannes Moirs' Selen troist (1474), was printed no less than nine times between 1502 and 1530.¹ Similar popular works of consolation included the Boecxken om te leeren sterven,² the Commendacie die men leest voor de siecke menscen,³ and the Commedatio die men leest voor een broeder of suster die ghestorven is.⁴ In his evangelically orientated Troost ende spiegel der siecken (1531),⁵ however, Willem Gnapheus, former rector of the grammar school at The Hague, specifically rejected a number of such works:

'Mer der menschen ongelooue is so diep int herte
gedreuen, door die onwetenheyt der woorden Gods
dat si veel lieuer geloouen Arent bosmans
loghenen, die fabulen ende dwase exemplenkens
vander sielen troost, van dat Moriael ende
Passionael ende van dat Vaderboec, dan tgene
dat God van ons geleert wil hebben, als
gerechticheyt ende oordeel te doen in tcruycen

1 NK2081-86, 3985-86, 4407.

2 NK448.

3 NK591-92, 2693.

4 NK593.

5 NK1010. See pp.281-284.

van onse sondige begeerlicheden ende
barmherticheyt te bewijsen inder dienste
ons naestens.' 6

Here Gnapheus was voicing the general opinion of evangelical theologians and pamphleteers. This can be seen in the considerable number of evangelical tracts published dealing with the theme of consolation. Clearly these aimed to provide an alternative to the traditional literature on the subject. This wealth of evangelical consolation literature raises a number of important questions which will be dealt with in this chapter. What were the objectionable features of late medieval methods of consolation? What did evangelicals offer as an alternative? Given the intense religious persecution in the Netherlands, how did evangelical pamphleteers seek to console those facing the prospect of imprisonment, banishment or martyrdom? In answering these questions, we shall also pause to ponder wider issues. Most importantly, we shall consider the claims of some historians concerning the peculiar nature of the Reformation in the Netherlands by examining the writings of the two most important evangelical contributors to the literature of consolation, Willem Gnapheus and Cornelis Cooltuyn.

At first sight, there appears to be little difference between late medieval and evangelical works of consolation. The titles of evangelical

6 BRN I, pp.197-98. 'But the unbelief of men is so deeply entrenched in the heart through a lack of knowledge of the word of God that they would much rather believe the lies of Arent bosmans, the fables and foolish examples of the Sielen troost, of the Moriael and Passionael and the Vaderboec, than that which God would teach us, that is, righteousness and judgement, by crucifying our sinful desires and showing mercy in the service of our neighbours.' Pijper and Cramer have identified these four condemned works as follows.

- i) 'Arent bosmans' = Van arent bosman. Hier begint een mirakel dat geschieds int iaer ons heren. M.CCCC. ende xxxiii inden lande van Leeue. The Hague K.B.
- ii) 'Sielen troost' = Hier beghint die tafel van desen boeck welck welck is gheheten der sielen troest, first translated into Dutch in 1479.
- iii) 'Moriael' = Dat sterf boeck, first appearing in Dutch in 1488.
- iv) 'Passionael' = Passionael dat men hiet die gulden legende, translated from Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda aurea and printed in 1478, 1480, 1480, 1484, 1489, 1490, 1505 and 1516.
- v) 'Vaderboec' = Van den leven der heiliger vaderen in der woestinen, translated from Jerome's Vitas sanctorum patrum Aegyptiorum and printed in 1480, 1490, 1498 and 1511.

tracts are strikingly reminiscent of those of the late middle ages. Titles such as De medicijne der sielen⁷, Troost ende spiegel der siecken, Sterfboexken inhondende een soete vermaeninge ende vertroestinge voer die siecken⁸ and Der siecken troost⁹ are not at all dissimilar from Johannes Moirs' Sielen troost, the Boecxken om te leeren sterven and others listed above. There are two possible explanations for this. First, the adoption of titles with a late medieval flavour may have been an attempt to deceive the censors and the authorities. In 1557 when Willem Gnapheus attached his name to his consolation tract, it was published under the evangelical-sounding title Tobias ende Lazarus mit grooter nersticheydt ghecorrigiert... ende in drie dialogus ghedeelt. When it was first published in 1531, however, it appeared anonymously under the much more ambiguous title, Troost ende spiegel der siecken.¹⁰ A second possible explanation is that evangelical authors may have chosen such titles deliberately to preserve some continuity between the late medieval and the evangelical works of consolation. Generally speaking, German pamphleteers were not under the same restraints as their Dutch counterparts. It is notable, however, that Urbanus Regius with his Seelen ärztney für gesund und Kranken zu diesen gefarlichen zeyten (1529) (translated into Dutch as De medicijne der sielen) used a title which would not have been out of place in the late fifteenth century. This would suggest that some authors purposely selected such titles perhaps in the hope that some continuity would be preserved in the aim of the pamphlets (consolation for the sick) and in the readership, even if the subject matter of the tracts themselves was novel.

If evangelical authors were prepared to follow the late medieval example in the choosing of the titles of the titles of their works, then this was as far as they were prepared to go. In every other way

7 Urbanus Regius, De medicijne der sielen (1536) NK1790 See p.302.

8 Matthijs Lenaerts, Sterfboexken inhondende een soet vermaeninge ende vertroestinge voer die siecken (c1560). See p.293.

9 Der siecken troost (c1540). See pp.309-310.

10 For a history of the evolution of the Troost ende spiegel der siecken see pp.281-284.

they aimed to challenge and discredit later-medieval consolation tracts. They did this in two ways: first by condemning almost every feature of the traditional method of consolation and, second, by replacing this with their own biblically-based alternative.

i) Objectionable features of late medieval consolation.

If we examine those late medieval tracts of consolation which Gnapheus specifically condemned, then some definite traits emerge. First, one is struck by the considerable amount of non-Biblical material contained in such works. The Passionael (1478), for instance, a Dutch translation of the Aurea legenda of Jacobus de Voragine, was based almost entirely on non-biblical sources as was the Vader boek (1480), a translation of St. Jerome's Vitas patrum. The Sielen troost did contain some stories from the Scriptures, but these were not distinguished from non-biblical legends and lives of the saints. For evangelical pamphleteers this was completely unacceptable. Comfort and consolation, as the anonymous author of the Siecken troost (c1540) declared, must be based entirely upon the word of God:

'So wij dan nu alle...schuldich sijn die siecke
broederlijcken te besoecken ende met den woerde
Gods te troostene heb ick dit boecxken sonder
eenighe fabulen op older cortste ghecopuleert
hopende het sal veel christenen aenghenaem
ende troostelijck sijn.' 11

A second striking feature of late medieval consolation was the considerable emphasis placed on the lives of the saints. The Passional and the Vaderboeck were entirely devoted to this theme. In this the faith, devotion and deeds of men and women of old in the face of adversity were clearly intended to serve as an example to those suffering present tribulation. The Sielen troost was as we have already seen a slightly different work. In effect it was an exposition of the Decalogue listing numerous exempla of the consequences of

11 Siecken troost (Antwerp, Crom/Mierdmans, 1543), A1iv. 'Because we are now all obliged to conduct brotherly visitations of the sick and to comfort them with the word of God, I have compiled as briefly as possible this little book without any fables, hoping that it will be acceptable and comforting to many Christians.'

breaking and keeping of each commandment. Even so, devotion to the saints figures prominently throughout, as may be seen by the exempla accompanying the second commandment 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain'. Johannes Moirs included in this commandment the veneration of the saints, for he maintained that God requires us to honour those whom He has honoured. He supported this claim with sombre warnings such as the fate of the soldier who refused to honour the signs of St. Francis, the woman who would not respect St. Dominic, and the man who ridiculed the preaching order of St. Peter!¹²

The cult of the saints was fiercely denounced in evangelical consolation literature. Urbanus Regius in his Medicijne der sielen (1536), for example, was especially critical of intercession to the saints. A Christian, he argued, should not seek help from the saints, because the Scriptures teach that we should pray to God alone. All prayers in the Old Testament, he maintained, were directed solely to God, whilst in the New Testament the Father was invoked directly through the Son.¹³ Willem Gnapheus was particularly suspicious of the supposed miraculous powers of the saints. He defined miracles as signs so that we might believe. When Moses gave the children of Israel the Ten Commandments, for example, signs and miracles confirmed their authenticity. Likewise, after Christ's ascension to heaven the apostles confirmed the word with miracles.¹⁴ The miracles performed by the saints and their images, however, do not confirm the word of God, but distract from it and lead to idolatry. Gnapheus did not deny that the signs performed by the saints and their images were supernatural manifestations; but he insinuated that these were of demonic rather than divine origin:

'Die openbaringen der geesten zijn gansselic tegens die script, daeromme moetent niet dan illusien ende bespotterijen der Dueelen zijn, die haer inder lucht ontholden.'¹⁵

12 Sielen troost, NK2081, Ciiiv-Dvir.

13 U. Regius, Medicijne der sielen, Hvr-v.

14 BRN I, pp.193-94.

15 BRN I, p.197. 'The revelations of spirits are clean contrary to the Scriptures, therefore they are nothing but illusions and mockeries of devils who sustain them in the air.' The assertion that the Devil could only perform tricks rather than true miracles was a stock argument in the sixteenth century. See H.C.E. Midefort, Witch hunting in southwestern Germany, 1562-1648 (Stanford, 1972), p.12.

After all, Gnapheus pointed out, did not the Apostle Paul teach that even Satan can disguise himself as an angel of light (2 Cor.11:14).¹⁶ Yet, for Gnapheus, the worst aspect of the cult of the saints was the seeking of help from images, since this is a transgression of the first commandment which forbade all strange gods and the making of idols (Ex 20:3-6).¹⁷ Cornelis Cooltuyn, one time priest at Alkmaar and Enkhuizen and author of Dat evangeli der armen (1559)¹⁸ shared the same concern that veneration of images was tantamount to idolatry. For him, the use of images in any shape or form was a transgression of the Ten Commandments as is shown by the confession of Theophilus, a leading character in his dialogue:

'Ic heb gelijckenisse gemaect of doen maken
in Beelden van Steen, Hout, Silver, Gout:
ende al heb ick die niet gemaect: Ick heb
die geleden, ia ic heb die geleden, ia ic
heb die angebeden, geert, ende ghdient:
mijn hoeft daer voer ontdeckende: mijn
knijen daer voer buyghende; mijn handen
daer voer vrouwende: mijn Lichaem daer voer
reuerencialicken neyghende: Ick heb die
mede gedient, met vasten, met vieren, met
verlichten, met vercieren, ende andere
diensten.'¹⁹

A third feature of late medieval consolation literature to which evangelicals took objection was the stress laid upon the ceremonies of the Church and, in particular, on the last rites. For the author of Een notabel boeck ghenoemt dat sterf boeck (1488), another of the medieval devotional books which Gnapheus blacklisted, the need to make a true confession of sin before death was paramount. In evangelical texts, the sacrament of penance was treated with suspicion. Sometimes

16 BRN I, p.195.

17 BRN I, pp.187-88.

18 See pp.270-272.

19 BRN IX, p.300, 'I have made or have had made likenesses in images of stone, wood, silver, gold: and even if I have not made these, I have suffered these, yes I have suffered these; yes I have worshipped, honoured and served them: uncovering my head before them, bowing my knees before them, folding my hands before them, reverently inclining my body before them: I have also served these with fasts, feasts, lights, adornments and with other duties.'

only certain aspects of the sacrament came under fire and the criticism was covert. The author of the Siecken troost, for instance, implicitly rejected the notion that an effective confession must list every particular sin if it was to be valid, for his prayers of confession were of an extremely general nature. Rather than a list of particular actions and thoughts, the whole life was confessed as sinful before God:

'O Bermhertige Godt Heeren, hemelsche Vader,
mijn natuere, mijn ontfanckenisse, ende dat
beghinsel mijns wesens is sonde, ick will
swijgen van mijn gedachten, woorden, wercken
ende gheheele leuen. Eenen quaden boom ben
ick, ende van natueren een kint des toorns
in alle dien sonden, hoe si dan heeten, tsi
heymelijck oft openbaerlijck, bekenne ick
mi schuldich, en hebbe hier of van herten
een leetwesen en berouwe...' ²⁰ 20

Other authors, however, most notably Cornelis Cooltuyn, utterly condemned the sacrament of penance. Cooltuyn drew a distinction between repentance and acts of penance arguing that the latter can never bring forgiveness of sins for two reasons. In the first place, forgiveness of sins comes from God alone as even the Jews who murmured against Christ recognized (Mark 2:7). Secondly, our 'good' deeds are not truly good before God.²¹ True repentance which brings forgiveness of sins is a renewing or a transformation of the whole man in body and soul, a change from an evil to a good life and a return to God by someone who has turned away. It consists of three parts - here there is both a comparison and contrast between the three parts of the sacrament of penance (confession, absolution and satisfaction) - namely knowledge of sin, faith in Christ, and a new life.²² On the question of auricular confession, like Luther Cooltuyn did not deny that it might be beneficial to confess one's sins to a servant of God's Word,

20 Siecken troost, Bviv. 'O merciful Lord God, heavenly Father, my nature, my conception, and the beginning of my being is sin, not to speak of my thoughts, words, works and whole life. I am an evil tree, and by nature a child of wrath in all these sins, whether they be called secret or public. I confess my guilt and I grieve and repent of it with all my heart.'

21 BRN IX, pp.286-87.

22 BRN IX, pp.295-96.

but he condemned the contemporary practice as idolatrous:

'Iae sy heft haer sonden noch, mit die groote
sonde vermeert, dat sy van de Biecht Paep
een Afgodt gemaect heft, vergheuinghe van
sonden, van hem soekende, ende nae haer
meeninghe ontfanghende, ende met soedanijghen
Biecht steruen de (sic) die menschen dickmael.'²³

ii) The evangelical alternative.

Generally speaking, evangelicals saw suffering as part of God's discipline which brings the believer to salvation. Gnapheus, for example, taught that to bemoan one's fate in the face of adversity was to grumble against God Himself:

Timotheus:

'...Ghy behoort ouer te dencken, dat het die
lieue wille Gods is, dat ghy aldus lijden
moet, het is ymmers algoet wat God doet, ist
niet? weest dan met sinen godliken will te
vreden, soo sal v dit lijden lichter vallen.'

Lazarus:

'Ick moet daer wel mede te vreden zijn, want
ick en weet des niet te keeren, noch ic en
machs niet beteren.'

Timotheus:

'Ende oft ghi dat alle beteren ende keeren
mochte, teghen Gods wille, soude ghy dat ooc
doen? Ick peynse wel, Neen ghy, want ghy en
soudt ymmers teghens God niet willen strijden.'²⁴

23 BRN IX, pp.331 and 335. 'Yes they still have their sins, (now) greatly increased by the sin that they have made an idol from the confessional priest, seeking and receiving, as they suppose, forgiveness of sins from him, and with such confession men frequently die.'

24 BRN I, p.166.T. 'You ought to think that it is the loving will of God that you must suffer thus, everything that God does is good is it not? Therefore be content with His divine will, and so this suffering will be easier for you. L. 'I must also be content with it, for I know that it cannot be changed, nor can I improve it. T. 'Should you be able to improve and change it against God's will, would you also do that? I think you would not, for you would not wish to fight against God.'

To pray for good health is to seek one's own interest, not the glory of God. In the Lord's Prayer, as Timotheus reminds Lazarus, Christ instructed us to pray for God's will to be done on earth as it is in heaven. Our response to adversity, therefore, should be like that of King David who trusted solely in God's providence when pursued by his son Absalom (1 Samuel 15-19).²⁵ According to Cornelis Cooltuyn, God is the author and creator of everything and this includes sickness. Suffering may come from many different sources, but since God is omnipotent it ultimately originates in Him. Lest the reader should think God callous and hard-hearted, Cooltuyn was at pains to stress that sickness comes from God's love and not from His anger. Indeed, sickness and suffering are seen as sure signs that a person is a true child of God, since God chastens those whom He loves and scourges His sons (Hebrews 12:6).²⁶ Whilst sin is indeed the chief cause of all suffering, God chastens not to destroy, but to bring to repentance:

Timotheus:

'Lieu Dorothea, wilt toch niet versuft wesen,
ick heb v gheseyt, dat Godt v castijdt om v
sonden, niet dat hy v gantselicken verworpen,
ende vernielen wil: maer dat hy v also tot
penitenty sal breghen, ende weder in gracij
ontfanghen wil.'²⁷

Suffering, for evangelicals, was not an end in itself but a maturing process. According to the Medicijne der sielen of Urbanus Regius, suffering and sickness are a means whereby God draws His children to Himself and keeps them from sin.²⁸ Caspar Huberinus, author of the Troostinghe wt der godliker script (1542)²⁹, viewed suffering very much sub specie aeternitatis: the ultimate

25 BRN I, pp.173-74.

26 BRN IX, pp.256-57, 259.

27 BRN IX, pp.279, 282. 'Beloved Dorothea, do not be cast down. I have told you that God punishes you on account of your sins, not because He wishes to reject you totally and to destroy you, but because he wishes to bring you to repentance and to receive you again in grace.'

28 U. Regius, Medicijne der sielen, Aviir.

29 See p.290.

result was not death but the honour of God and the salvation of the soul.³⁰ For Gnapheus, on the other hand, the primary purpose of suffering is to reveal God's hatred of sin and His mercy and love towards His children. If we ask God to remove our suffering, how then can His righteousness work in us? Does not such an attitude show us to be friends of sin and enemies of the righteousness of God? God allows us to suffer so that the old Adam with all his lusts and passions might be crucified and put to death. The children of Israel did not enter the promised land until they had passed through the Red Sea. Likewise, the believer must pass through the waters of tribulation and sickness before coming to the heavenly Jerusalem trusting, like the Israelites, in the promises of God.³¹ Lazarus, somewhat perturbed by the prospect of unmitigated suffering, cites the story of the raising up of King Hezekiah who prayed to God when 'sick unto death' and God added fifteen years to his life (Isaiah 38:1-5). In reply, however, Timotheus warns his friend not to imitate the saints, but rather to respect their strong faith. Christ alone is our example and our attitude, therefore, should be like his in the garden of Gethsemane, that is, perfect submission, despite the suffering ahead, to the will of God.³²

As for death itself, rather than something to be feared, it was to be faced with faith and hope. For the author of the Siecken troost the day of death is better than the day of birth, for whilst birth brings hardship, death brings deliverance. Whilst death is a bitter experience, it does not last long, and with God's help and grace we can endure it.³³ Matthijs Lenaerts, author of the Sterfboexken (c1560), had a similarly optimistic approach, viewing death as essentially beneficial since it brings release from sin and the lusts and desires of this life, and brings us to a knowledge of the truth.³⁴ In his Medicijne der sielen, Urbanus Regius conceded that the approach of

30 O. Brunfels, Dat gulden gebedeboec, NK504, Uir.

31 BRN I, p.175.

32 BRN I, p.182.

33 Siecken troost, Aiiiv-Avr.

34 M. Lenaerts, Sterfboexken, Aiiir-Avv.

death induces fears and anxieties in the soul of the believer, who becomes tormented by sin, by death itself and by the possibility of hell and eternal damnation. He countered such fears, however, by stressing the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body on the Last Day and the certainty of the heavenly hope.³⁵ It was this certainty of eternal bliss that was the chief source of Gnapheus' encouragement for the Christian approaching death. For Gnapheus, heaven was not merely a vague hope, but the sure reward of faith in Christ. Death, Tobias informs Lazarus, should not be approached without the certainty that one's soul is eternally secure.

'Het is waer dat die wech die ons tot het leven brengt, is enghel, ende dat die poorte des doots is nauwe, daerom en moghen wy int lichamelike overlijden door den doot niet gaen, sonder perssinghen ende benauwtheyt, wat gaet dat die siel, dat leven ende salicheyt aen.'³⁶

This certainty of salvation comes through trust in all that Christ achieved on our behalf. Christ died and then rose again from the dead so that we, through him, should rise in newness of life.³⁷ Death need not be feared, therefore, because Christ has overcome its power:

'Hier wt sult ghy wel verstaen, dat die doot, daerom te verachten is om dat si haer anghel ende fenijn al quijt is, na dien dat si verslonnen is inder victorie Christi, di hem verwonden heeft, die tghewalt des doots ouer ons hadde, dat is den duuel, tot salicheyt van allen gheloouighen, die al vercrijghen sullen dat haer ghelooue vermach.'³⁸

35 U. Regius, Medicijne der sielen, Aviiir, Bir-viiv, Bviiir-Cvii, Cviiir-v.

36 BRN I, p.228. 'It is true that the way which leads to life is narrow, and that the gateway to death is straight. Therefore, our physical departure through death cannot but be attended with constraints and oppressions. But what is this to the soul that goes to life and salvation.'

37 BRN I, p.229.

38 BRN I, p.220. 'From this you should understand that death is therefore to be despised because it has lost its sting and venom, for the power death had over us, that is the Devil, has been swallowed up in the victory of Christ, who conquered him, for the salvation of all believers, who shall obtain it in accordance with their faith.'

ii) Gnapheus and Cooltuyn: another look.

As has been observed in previous chapters, much has been made by historians in the past of the special flavour of the indigenous Reformation in the Netherlands. Notably, both the Troost ende spiegel der siecken of Willem Gnapheus and Cornelis Cooltuyn's Evangelie der armen have been considered prime examples of this indigenous evangelical tradition. Lindeboom's entry for Gnapheus in the Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek asserts that he

'Behoerde tot de oorsprong nederlandsche reformatorische richting, waarvan hij een der beste en zuiverste vertegenwoordigers is.'³⁹ 39

In a similar vein, L.A. Langeraad and J.P. De Bie claimed that Cooltuyn's theology lacked any confessional colour or label because he was a true Dutch biblical theologian.⁴⁰ How justifiable are such claims? Were Gnapheus and Cooltuyn so peculiarly Dutch in their theology?

Whilst the Troost undoubtedly shows Gnapheus to be evangelical in persuasion, it is difficult to determine his theological convictions from this work. He does not, for instance, appear to have come to a fully Lutheran understanding of justification by faith alone at the time of his writing of the Troost which, according to his autobiographical preface to the later revised edition Tobias ende Lazarus (1557), was first drafted c1525.⁴¹ In the first edition of the Troost, faith was of the utmost importance to Gnapheus. He saw it as a gift of God, not given to all men, and without which no one may please God. He distinguished two types of Christian, those who are Christians in name only, and true Christians, that is, those who have faith, defining faith as a sure belief in the heart in God the Father and His Son Jesus

39 NNBW 111, col.472. 'Belonged to the original Dutch Reformation movement, of which he is one of the best and clearest representatives'.

40 Het protestantsche vaderland. Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland, ed. L.A. Langeraad and J.P. de Bie (Utrecht, 1910), 11, p.209.

41 See p.282.

Christ who is our grace.⁴² Nevertheless, works still played a part in Gnapheus' scheme of salvation. We will be judged, Tobias tells Timotheus, by the works of charity we have done to our neighbours:

'Na dat wy onsen naesten die wercken der liefden bewesen hebben oft niet, daer na sullen wy gheoordeelt worden.' ⁴³

Likewise, Timotheus argues that we are not true Christians unless faith is active (werckende) through love quoting as a proof text Matthew 7:21

'Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.' ⁴⁴

It was this late medieval concept of salvation as the fruit of faith working through love (fides charitate formata) which Luther entirely rejected.⁴⁵

However, when Gnapheus revised the text in 1557 he transformed it into an altogether more thorough-going Protestant work. Much more attention was given in Tobias ende Lazarus to the theme of justification by faith alone. Theophilus, who took the place of Timotheus in this later edition, rejects the suggestion of Lazarus that greater suffering brings greater rewards on the grounds that eternal life is not gained by merits but is a gift of God. Christ, he reminds his suffering friend, said that we are unprofitable servants (Lk.17:10), whilst Paul taught that salvation comes through the grace of God by faith and not from ourselves (Eph.2:8).⁴⁶ This clearer understanding of the nature of justification was the product of Gnapheus' adoption of a more pessimistic and a more radically Protestant view of human nature. We cannot earn salvation through good works, Theophilus informs Lazarus,

42 BRN I, pp.169-70.

43 BRN I, p.157. 'We shall be judged according to whether or not we have demonstrated these works of love towards our neighbour.'

44 BRN I, p.162.

45 See p.92.

46 W. Gnapheus, Tobias ende Lazarus, Diir-v.

because by nature we are children of wrath, born in sin. All our righteousness is as filthy rags (Is.64:6). In our natural strength we are incapable of good works. It is only as we are born again by the Holy Spirit that we may bring forth fruits of life. Without this spiritual rebirth we remain a wicked and unfruitful tree.⁴⁷

The fierce doctrinal attack upon the Mass is another indicator of the radical Protestant position adopted by Gnapheus in Tobias ende Lazarus. Both the Troost and Tobias ende Lazarus rejected the term 'Mass' as unscriptural, preferring to speak of the Lord's Supper. Both works emphasized the commemorative aspect of the Lord's Supper as a proclamation and remembrance of Christ's death. Tobias ende Lazarus, however, had a much sharper polemical edge. In particular, the sacrificial nature of the Mass was roundly condemned as a re-crucifixion of Christ:

'Wat doen de Papen anders dan dat sy Christum op een nieuw cruycen, wen sy int opheffen des broods, ende wijns u dat in beelden, als soude daer, dat wesentliche lichaem Christi teghenwordigh sijn ghelyck alst an den stamme des cruycen eenmael ghehanghen heeft, ende nu andermaels door den papen handen, God den Uader werdt opgheoffert, als een sonde offer tot onser versoenonghe.'⁴⁸

At the time of his writing of the Troost Gnapheus can undoubtedly be classed as an evangelical. But at this early date he was as much influenced by Christian humanism as the Reformation. His rejection of pilgrimages as unnecessary because Christ and the apostles can be found in the Scriptures rather than at Jerusalem, Rome or Compostella,⁴⁹ for example, recalls the sentiments of Erasmus as expressed in the Enchiridion (1503):

47 Ibid. Diiv-Diiir.

48 Ibid. Jiiir. 'What do the papist priests (do) but crucify Christ anew when they in the elevation of the bread and the wine would have you imagine that the real body of Christ is present just as he once hung on the trunk of the cross and now again was sacrificed to God the Father by the priest's hands as a sin offering for our reconciliation.'

49 BRN 1, pp.192-93.

'You may embrace the ashes of Paul with the highest veneration... If, however, you venerate dead, dumb ashes, and neglect his living image, which shines forth, speaking and even breathing, in Scripture, is your religion not a preposterous thing? You worship the bones of Paul, preserved in nooks and niches, but you do not worship the mind of Paul, hidden in Scripture? ... You give homage to the image of Christ's countenance, delineated in stone or wood, or painted in colours; much more religiously ought you to honour the image of his mind, which the Holy Spirit as artificer expressed in the words of the gospel...' ⁵⁰

Further indications of Gnapheus' inclination towards Christian humanism at this time can be seen in his illustrations from Greek mythology and his high regard for the classical scholars in the Troost, ⁵¹ together with the publication of his highly successful Renaissance comedy Acolastus in 1529. ⁵²

Though the Christian humanist influence was not entirely effaced from Tobias ende Lazarus, it became overshadowed by more well defined Protestant views. In the first place, the Reformation itself had matured in the years between the printing of the Troost and Tobias ende Lazarus. Second, Gnapheus' own experiences had resulted in a gradual shift towards a more radical Protestantism. His sojourn in Prussia had brought him into contact with convinced Lutherans, but his sacramentarian views prevented him from professing confessional Lutheranism. When he settled in Emden he came into contact with Reformed Protestantism which was probably more significant in shaping his theological beliefs. Certainly by 1557 Gnapheus was familiar with the writings of Calvin, for in his preface to Tobias ende Lazarus he borrowed a number of phrases and sentences dealing with the civil authorities from book four of the Institutes. ⁵³ In addition, his dedication of the book to the Hof van Holland is reminiscent of Calvin's

50 D. Erasmus, Enchiridion in The library of christian classics XIV, Advocates of reform from Wyclif to Erasmus ed. M. Spinka (London, 1953), p.338.

51 See, for example, BRN I, pp.219 and 230.

52 NK3102. Other editions NK1007-1008, 3103-3107.

53 See p.284.

dedication of the Institutes to Francis I.

That Gnapheus was strongly influenced by Erasmus in the Troost is not in question. This indebtedness is hardly surprising for at the time of his writing the divisions between evangelicalism and Christian humanism were only just becoming apparent, and many contemporaries, both advocates and adversaries, believed that they engaged one and the same cause. As we have already noticed, in the early years of the Reformation evangelicals all over Europe were indebted to Erasmus. It would have been more remarkable if, after long periods of exile among Lutheran and Reformed Protestants, the influence of Erasmus upon Gnapheus had remained as strong. This would indeed support the argument that Gnapheus' Protestantism was peculiarly Dutch. But this was not the case. By the time he wrote Tobias ende Lazarus Gnapheus was a thorough-going Reformed Protestant. When he had written the Troost in the 1520s, Gnapheus' theological stance reflected the prevailing flux in evangelical circles; it cannot be interpreted as representative of any 'national reformed' movement.

And what of Cooltuyn as his Evangeli der armen? Here too there is much less originality than has been supposed. In a preface dealing with the Mass, for example, Cooltuyn was both textually and theologically indebted to Calvin. Indeed he admitted as much.⁵⁴ Each of his five basic objections to the Mass is borrowed from the Institutes: namely, that it is a blasphemy against Christ, that it suppresses the cross and the passion of Christ, that it obscures His true and unique sacrifice, that it robs us of the benefit of Christ's death, and that it destroys the Lord's Supper.⁵⁵ Of course, Cooltuyn's dependence on the Institutes does not make him a Calvinist. One would not expect such confessional allegiance within the context of an unconfessionalised

54 'So veel alst den Misse belangt: want die eersame Caluinus den suluijnghen, op het corste, ende beter heft at ghemaleit, dan ick doen can: so wil ick v sijn sentencie voorhaalen, ende wat verclaren.' BRN IX, p.245. 'So far as the Mass is concerned, since the honourable Calvin can explain it more tersely and better than I can, I will use his words and therefore explain.'

55 See pp.271-272.

Reformation. On other points such as auricular confession, for example, he appears to side with Luther rather than Calvin. This eclecticism is not dissimilar to that of Johannes Anastasius Veluanus and is typical of, although not peculiar to, the Dutch Reformation in general. Nevertheless, Cooltuyn's debt to Calvin does raise a question mark against the claim that his theology was purely Dutch.

Pijper and Cramer, the editors of the Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica suggested, as they did for Anastasius, that Cooltuyn's lack of support for the doctrine of predestination - predestination is not mentioned in the Evangeli der armen - is evidence for the peculiarly Dutch nature of his theology.⁵⁶ However, such an argument is unconvincing. Cooltuyn's position as an evangelically-minded priest meant that he was unlikely to adhere to any particular creed, Lutheran, Reformed or otherwise. True, he has access to a copy of the Institutes, but Calvin's views on this doctrine only came to be fully developed in the final edition of 1559, that is, after Cooltuyn had already written the Evangeli der armen. Moreover, Cooltuyn's silence on predestination cannot be construed as opposition to it.

iv) Consolation for the persecuted.

Consolation literature for the sick and dying was not, as we have seen, an innovation of the reformers. Rather, evangelicals adopted late medieval ars moriendi so that 'superstitious' methods of consolation were replaced by such things as the word of God and the assurance of salvation. Books providing consolation for the persecuted, on the other hand, formed a new literary genre in the sixteenth century. Such works were particularly prevalent in the Netherlands where the Reformation was bitterly opposed by the central government for more than fifty years. Within this period, a considerable number of pamphlets were published which aimed to fortify Dutch evangelicals living 'under the cross'. In 1523, for example, Luther, deeply moved by the execution on 1 July that year of the two Antwerp Augustinians

56 BRN IX, p.189.

Henricus Vos and Johannes van den Esschen published his Brief an die Christen in Nederlanden in which he encouraged Dutch evangelicals to remain true to their faith as had those 'two precious jewels of Christ' Henricus and Johannes.⁵⁷ In the same year Luther also wrote a hymn dedicated to Vos and van den Esschen entitled 'Eyn newes lyed wyr heben an'.⁵⁸ Two years he published an account of the martyrdom of yet another Antwerp Augustinian Hendrik van Zutphen who was brutally put to death on account of his faith by a group of peasants from Meldorf in Dithmarschen, Holstein.⁵⁹

Another letter of consolation which first appeared during this early period of persecution was the Troostelijcken sendbrief voor alle die om der waerheyt ende om Christus naem veruolcht worden (c1524).⁶⁰ For the anonymous author of this tract, suffering in this world is an inevitable participation in the cross of Christ. However, the persecution of the saints does not go unnoticed. God protects His Church, just as He looked over Noah's ark and the children of Israel in Egypt.⁶¹ Suffering may come, but God is sovereign:

'Hy mach zijn Kercke oock wel eenen tijt lanc laten benauwen, ende donweder ende zee toelaten om te bestormen, maer als hijt haer verbiedt, dan sullen sy terstont moeten af laten, ende zijnder stemmen ghehoorsaem zijn diet al in zijnder hant besloten heeft. Daer om als wy ons int midden der zee van deser werelt van alle canten benaute vinden met de baren der tribulatiën, so sullen wy met de Apostelen tot Christum roepen: Heere helpt ons.'⁶²

57 Benzing 1658-68. WA12, pp.73-80. CD IV, pp.223-24.

58 WA35, pp.411-15, 487-88. CD IV, pp.225-28.

59 Von Bruder Henrico samt dem 10 Psalmen ausgelegt. WA18, pp.224-40.

60 See pp.307-308.

61 BRN VIII, p.129.

62 BRN VIII, p.130. 'He may also allow His Church to be oppressed for a while, and permit the thunder and the sea to rage, but when He forbids it, they must cease immediately and be obedient to His voice, for He holds everything in His hand. Therefore, as we are in the midst of the sea of this world and find ourselves buffeted on all sides by the waves of tribulation, so should we call to Christ with the Apostles "Lord help us".'

The believer's response to persecution, according to the author of the Troostelijcken sendbrieft, should be one of total non-resistance. Just as David cast aside Saul's armour when he fought Goliath, we too must reject all human weaponry and trust in God's power alone, for it is God Himself who will bring deliverance.⁶³

Among the small number of evangelical sermons published in Dutch before 1566 were those of Hermanus Brassius (died 1559), a Reformed preacher at Emden. Published posthumously at Emden in 1560 under the title Van den heylighen cruyze sommige schoone troostelickke sermoenen,⁶⁴ the major theme of these sermons was consolation in the face of persecution, and with a theme such as this, they must have appealed to congregations living 'under the cross' in the Netherlands as well as to the refugee community in Emden. Brassius' sermons, six in all, each deal with a different aspect of suffering and persecution. The first concerns how and why the Church suffers on earth; the second, who is responsible for suffering; the third, the origin of suffering; the fourth, how Christians should bear suffering; the fifth, the comfort of suffering; and the sixth, the unconverted.

For Brassius, the true congregation of believers is always small and hated and persecuted by the false church:

'Ten eersten moeten wy in dese saecke met aller neersticheyt anemercken dat de heylige Christelijcke Gemeynte die op Christum ende zijn Woort ghefondeert is ende de waerheyt Christi bekent altijts een cleyn arm ellendich ende verstroyt hoopken is ende van de valsche Kercke ghehaet vervolght gheplaeght ende ghedoot wort.'⁶⁵

Just as Abel was persecuted by Cain, Jacob by Esau, the prophets by Baal's worshippers, Christ and the Apostles by the high priests at

63 BRN VIII, pp.133-34.

64 See p.264.

65 H. Brassius, Van den heylighen cruyze, Aair. 'In this matter we must first take serious note that the holy Christian congregation which is founded on Christ and His word and professes the truth of Christ, is always a small, poor, wretched and scattered handful and is hated, persecuted, tormented and killed by the false Church.'

Jerusalem, so true Christians suffer at the hands of the pope, bishops and monks.⁶⁶ Suffering, according to Brassius, comes from three sources, the Devil, the World, and from God Himself. Satan persecutes Christians because he cannot suffer that Christ has dominion over the whole world, since he desires it for his own possession.⁶⁷ The World persecutes Christians because it is the Devil's kingdom.⁶⁸ Here Brassius particularly relates the hatred of the World to opposition from the Catholic Church.

'So wort dan de Godtsalige Christen gehaet ende vervolgt van der weereit niet om dat hy sulcx verdient ende waerdich is maer om dat hy in hare valsche leeringen valsche Sacramenten valsche aenroepingen haerer Afgoderie misgelooue Godloosheyt ende ydelheyt niet en wil ghelyck zijn straft haer ongerechticheyt ende staet met aller neersticheyt nae dat eeuwige Hemelsche goet settende de liefde ende vreese Gods bouen alle dinck.'⁶⁹

But whereas the suffering inflicted by the Devil and the World comes from hatred, that from God comes from His love for our improvement and salvation and to His honour.⁷⁰ The Christian, therefore, should not murmur against God's discipline, but receive it as part of His will.⁷¹

Besides these letters and sermons, there was a third source of consolation for those facing persecution. This was furnished by the accounts of the death of various martyrs, whether individual narratives, or compilations which formed martyrologies. Histories of individual martyrs abounded; they included accounts of the executions of Henricus

66 Ibid. Aiiiv.

67 Ibid. Biv.

68 Ibid. Biiv.

69 Ibid. Biiiv. 'So the pious Christian is hated and persecuted by the world, not because he has earned or deserved this, but because he will not participate in their false doctrines, false sacraments, false invocation (of the saints), their idolatry, misbelief, godlessness and vanity, but he chastises their unrighteousness and zealously pursues that eternal and heavenly estate, preferring the love of God before all things.'

70 Ibid. Biiiiir.

71 Ibid. Dviiv.

Vos and Johannes van den Esschen (1523), Jan de Bakker (1525), Wendelmoet Claesdochter (c1528), Willem van Zwolle (1529), Anneken Jans (1539), Maria and Ursula van Beckum (1544), Joris Ketel (c1544), Godefroid de Hamaelle (c1552), Franciscus and Nicolaes Thysz (1556), Hoste vander Katelyne (1556), Wouter van Stolwijck (1558), and Christoffel Fabritius and Oliver Bock (1564). As well as being published in Dutch, many of these individual martyrologies were translated into German. Indeed, the accident of survival ensures that sometimes only the German version has come down to us. This is the case for the accounts of Vos and van den Esschen, Wendelmoet Claesdochter, Willem van Zwolle, Ursula van Beckum and the brothers Thysz.⁷² The aim of such tracts was not simply one of consolation for those facing persecution. German Protestants were interested in the histories of Dutch martyrs for other reasons. First, they provided German Protestant with a ready made contemporary tradition of martyrs. Second, they served as a warning to evangelicals living in Germany in 1548 to oppose the Augsburg Interim. Third, there was clearly a polemical purpose behind such narratives. On the one hand, they provided clear proof of the wickedness of the Roman church, and the evil nature of the Inquisition, and on the other, they suggested a parallel between the persecution of the early church as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and contemporary persecution of evangelicals.

In addition to these usually brief accounts of individual martyrs, there were a number of much larger collections. Three such works are known to have circulated in the Netherlands. In the southern French-speaking provinces Jean Crespin's Livre des martyrs, first published in 1554, was read within Reformed circles. The equivalent of Crespin in the Dutch-speaking Reformed community was Adriaen van Haemstede's Gheschiedenis ende den doot der vromen martelaren (1559). Finally, the Anabaptists had their own martyrology known as Het offer des Heeren (1562). The works of Crespin and van Haemstede and the anonymous Het offer des Heeren have been the subject of a number of detailed studies,

72 See, for example, Knuttel 99a. Von der Unchristlichen, tyrannischen, Inquisition, den Glauben belangend, Geschrieben aus Niderland (Wittenberg, 1546).

and cannot be fully examined here.⁷³ Nevertheless, they must not be entirely overlooked, for they were an important source of consolation for those facing the prospect of martyrdom, each being reprinted numerous times in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Martyrologists drew on a whole variety of sources in compiling their works. For example, they would borrow from other martyrologies, transcribe trial records, draw on eye-witness accounts and use letters from the prisoner to his family and co-religionists. As with the accounts of individual martyrs, the aim of martyrologies was not simply to console. They edified and instructed. They exposed the cruelty of the papists. Moreover, they provided histories of the 'true' Church, often drawing on pre-Reformation heretical groups to demonstrate that this Church had a lineage dating back to the apostolic age. However, such works were of a specifically confessional nature, Crespin and van Haemstede being of a Reformed inclination and Het offer des Heeren Anabaptist, whereas many of the earlier works of consolation, particularly those intended for the physically sick, were of a broadly evangelical nature. Strictly speaking, therefore, such works fall outside the scope of this study. Nevertheless, we include them to provide a complete picture of this unspectacular but nonetheless significant genre of Reformation literature, that of consolation for those afflicted in mind and body.

73 On Crespin see J.-F. Gilmont, Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle (Geneva, 1981). For van Haemstede see A.J. Jelsma, Adriaan van Haemstede en zijn martelaarsboek (The Hague, 1970). For Het offer des Heeren see the introduction to Pijper and Cramer's edition of the 1570 text in BRN II. In addition F. Pijper, Martelaarsboeken (The Hague, 1924), provides a general survey of sixteenth century martyrologies.

CHAPTER 7

THE POSTILS OF NICLAES PEETERS

In the late middle ages the traditional mode in which expositions of the Scriptures were set was the postil. Originating in the thirteenth century the word postilla probably derived from 'post illa verba' meaning after those words (of Scripture). A postil was a gloss on a scriptural text, or an expository discourse on the Gospel or Epistle for a particular day read in the church service. The compilation of a book of postils such as that of Hugh of St-Cher (c1200-1263) or Nicholas of Lyra (c1270-1340) meant that a commentary was made available alongside the set portion of Scripture for each Sunday and festival in the Church calendar.

By the sixteenth century this traditional mode of exegesis had become unfashionable within certain circles. Many Christian humanists preferred to preach systematically through a particular book of the Bible. This was the method adopted by Zwingli at Zurich from 1 January 1519 onwards¹ and by Wouter Delenus at Amsterdam in 1535.² Likewise, the Reformed advocated systematic preaching rather than follow the Gospels and Epistles of the Church calendar. The Lutherans, however, continued to preach according to the old method and several leading German reformers including Antonius Corvinus, Johannes Bugenhagen, Johannes Spangenberg and Luther himself all published their own postils. Indeed, the postils of Corvinus, Spangenberg and Luther were all translated into Dutch. The Dutch translation of Corvinus is unfortunately no longer extant, although it is known to have been quite widely circulated.³ Spangenberg's postils were not available in Dutch

1 G.R. Potter, Zwingli (Cambridge, 1976), pp.60-61.

2 H.J. De Jonge, 'Caro in spiritum. Delenus en zijn uitlegging van Joh.6:51', in De geest in het geding, opstellen aangeboden aan J.A. Oosterbaan, ed. I.B. Horst, A.F. De Jong and D. Visser (Alphen, 1978), pp.151-60.

3 Antonius Corvinus. Cort uitlegginge der epistelen op de sondagen ende heylige dagen, Item op alle de evangelien vander vasten metter passien (c1540). NK0323. The postils of Corvinus were used by a priest in North Holland c1544, though he may have used a Latin edition. Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der kerkelijke rechtspraak in het bisdom Utrecht ed. J.G.C. Joosting and S. Muller, Vol.VII. De proosdij van West-Friesland, ed. J.G.C. Joosting (The Hague, 1924), June 1544, p.424.

until 1563.⁴ By this late stage the Lutherans had ceased to be the dominant force in the Dutch Reformation. The translation of Spangenberg's postils formed part of a concerted, though largely unsuccessful, programme by the Lutherans to win the Reformation in the Low Countries to their cause.⁵ Their impact thus came very late in the day and, outside the explicitly Lutheran confession, was probably relatively slight.

By contrast, Luther's postils were translated into Dutch as early as 1528. If, as seems likely, the anonymous translator worked from a single complete German text, it is probable that he used the Postill oder Auszlegung der Episteln vnd Evangelien, durchs gantz jar geteylt in zwey teyl which was printed at Strasbourg by Wolfgang Kopfie1 in 1527.⁶ Appearing, like this German text, in three parts bound together in one volume the Postille op die epistelen ende euangelien van allen sondaghen ende sonderlinghen heylidaghen des geheelen iaers (1528)⁷ follows the conventional pattern for such works. The first section runs from Advent to Easter, the second from Easter to Advent, and the third contains the postils for saints' days. Though the Postillen bear a colophon "Ghedruct te Basel by mi Adam Anonymus Int iaer ons Heeren M. CCCCC.xxvijij", Kronenberg has shown this to be a fictitious imprint and has argued convincingly that this work came from the press of Johannes Hoochstraten at Antwerp.⁸

A striking feature of this substantial work of some six hundred and ten folios is that it contains four woodcuts of a particularly high standard which have been attributed to the Dutch artist Jan Swaert of Groningen (c1500-1533).⁹ Three of these illustrations relate to the Christmas story: the first is of the shepherds adoring the Christ child

4 Johannes Spangenberg, Uut legghinge der epistelen die op de sondaghen vanden aduent tot op paesschen (1563). Wt legginghe der epistelen die op de sondaghen beginnen van paeschen af tot opten toe (c1563). Wt legginghe der epistelen. Die op de principaelste feestdaghen in der kercken gelesen worden (c1563). Wolfenbuttel HAB C785 8^e Helmst. I-III.

5 Spangenberg's postils formed part of the confessionally Lutheran literature printed at Wesel in the 1550s and '60s.

6 Benzing 1128.

7 NK3464. Two other Dutch editions of Luther's postils were printed c1530, possibly by Peter Jansz at Leiden. See NK3465-66.

8 M.E. Kronenberg, 'De geheimzinnige drukkers Adam Anonymous te Basel en Basel en Hans Luft te Margurg ontmaskerd,' HB VIII (1919), pp.241-280.

9 C.Ch.G. Visser, Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546 (Assen 1969), pp.78-79.

4. Titlepage of Luther's Postullen op die epistelen ende euangelien.

and this is printed five times at various stages of the nativity;¹⁰ the second portrays the circumcision of Christ, and the third the Magi paying homage to Christ. The most patently evangelical woodcut, however, appears on the title page and is repeated on the title page of the second section of the postils, from Easter to Advent. This illustration depicts the ascension of Christ. In each corner there is a Scripture text: top left. 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature' (Mk.16:15); top right, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved' (Mk.16:16); bottom left, 'Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you' (Mtt.28:20); and bottom right, 'Turn not from it to the right hand or to the left' (Josh.1:7). Significantly, each of the disciples surrounding Christ as he ascends into heaven holds a large key. This is a deliberate evangelical statement of faith which illustrates the attack on papal authority by demonstrating that Christ entrusted the keys of the kingdom not solely to Peter and his successors, but to each of the apostles.

Two copies of the 1528 Postillen survive, one at Leeuwarden, the other at Berlin. The copy in Berlin Kupferstichkabinet is fuller than that at Leeuwarden for it contains an afterword by the anonymous Dutch translator which describes the composition of the work:

'Den Christeliken leser ghenade ende vrede van
 Gode den vader en van sinen sone Ihesu Christo.
 Mine lieue broeders ende susters inden Heere.
 Hier hebt ghi dat costelistelik luwele, die
 Postillen oft Sermonen, eens zeer verlichten
 ende van Gode geleerden mans, ouer die Euangelien
 vanden geheelen iare, ende ouer dye Epistelen
 vanden Aduent tot Paesschen, in welcke wij niet
 en hebben willen veranderen, dan alleen op ten.i.
 paeschdach ende opten eersten ende .v. ende .xxi.
 sondach, daer die voorscreuen leeraer dat
 Euangelion niet heel en hadde wtgeleyt. Ende
 op sommige dagen daer wij doen noch gheen sermonen
 van hem en hadden. Voort hebt ghi hier noch die
 Epistelen van Paesschen totten Aduent, ende vanden
 heiligen dagen, welck die selue leeraer oec niet
 ghemaect en hadde. Welck wij daer omme hebben
 gedaen, op dat die Postille geheel soude zijn.
 In welcken dat rechte fundament Christi also
 oprechtelick ende puerlick wert geleyt, ende
 also onvermengt geleert, ende also claeerlick
 wtgeleyt, dat sint der Apostelen ende Euangelisten

10 Visser miscounts and says this woodcut was printed only four times.
 Ibid. p.79.

tijden, noit des gelijcs en is wtgegaen,
also elck selue seggen sal, die dit met
rechten ordele des geests lesen sal.' 11

In other words, besides Luther's sermons, the 1528 Postillen also contain those of an anonymous Netherlander. The theological quality of these additional sermons is frankly disappointing in character. Often they are little more than paraphrases of the Scriptural text. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that a Netherlander was writing and publishing his own evangelical sermons as early as 1528.¹² Perhaps the man responsible was the former prior of the Augustinian house at Antwerp Jacob Praepositus, a close friend of Luther who had moved to Bremen in 1524. It must be admitted, however, that this is little more than guesswork.

Besides the works of Corvinus, Spangenberg and Luther there was one other compilation of evangelical postils published in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1566. This was the two-volume collection of sermons by the so-called Franciscan Niclaes Peeters. The first volume of this work was entitled

'Hier beginnen de Sermonen oft uitlegghingen
op alle de Evangelien van der Vasten, metter
Passien, alsomen die in der kercken houdt
zeer costelijck uitgheleyt,'

and carried the colophon

11 Ibid. pp.79-80. 'To the Christian reader, grace and peace from God the Father and from His son Jesus Christ. My beloved brothers and sisters in the Lord, here you have that precious jewel, the postils or sermons on the Gospels for the whole year and on the Epistles from Advent to Easter by a very enlightened and learned man of God. We have not wanted to make any alterations except for Easter Sunday and the first, fifth and twenty first Sundays, because the aforesaid teacher had not wholly completed his exposition of these Gospels and for some days where we then had no sermon from him. Therefore, you will find here the Epistles from Easter to Advent and for the saints' days which the same teacher had not written, but which we have written so that the Postil might be complete. The true foundation of Christ is here set out so sincerely and purely, taught in such an unadulterated way and so clearly explained, that there has never been its like since the days of the apostles and evangelists as all who read this (book) with the true discernment of the Spirit will discover for themselves.'

12 C.C. De Bruin, 'Hinne Rode', Het sticht van binnen en buyten, bundel opstellen over de geschiedenis van de provincie Utrecht aangeboden aan dr M.P. van Buitenen bij diens zeventigste verjaardag (Oud-Utrecht, 1981), pp.207-208.

'Gheprint int laer ons Heeren. M.D.xx. Ende
ghemaect by den deuoten Pater Broeder Niclaes
Peeters Minnebroeder ende Gardiaen.' 13

Volume two, which was printed without date or name of author bore the title

'Christelike Sermonen op alle de Evangelien
van alle de sondaghen en principael heylighdagen
int laer. Ooc op alle die dagen in de Vasten.
Ghemaect bi eenen deuoten Christen Minnebroeder.
Ghecorrigeert ende verbetert.' 14

As its title suggests, the first volume contains sermons from the Gospels for each day of the Lenten fast and Holy Week. Volume two gives sermons from the Gospels for Sundays and holy days running from Easter to Quinquagesima (the Sunday before Lent) followed by the Gospels for saints days thus completing the Church calendar.

The Sermonen of Niclaes Peeters were a work of enduring popularity. They were twice reprinted, first in 1565 when new sermons were added for the Epistles for each Sunday, holy day and saint's day¹⁵ and yet again in 1580.¹⁶ As late as 1566-67 the Sermonen were discovered among the forty or so Lutheran books in possession of one Gelis van Bathman, a bookbinder and bookseller from Zwolle, which were probably bound for the Lutheran community at Antwerp.¹⁷ Moreover, the longstanding appeal of the Sermonen extended outside the boundaries of confessional Lutheranism. Johannes Uitenbogaert (1557-1644), a member of the non-confessional evangelical church of Huibert Duifhuis at Utrecht, is known to have read them in his youth,¹⁸ whilst as late as 1593 they were

13 NK1691.

14 NK1692.

15 Christelike sermoonen, oft vthlegginghe, der epistelen ende euangelien.
Gemaect door eenen deuoten minderbroeder. Dat ander deyl. Van
vasterlauendt bet op paeschen (1565). Dat derde deyl. Van paeschen
bet op dat aduent (1565). Machiels P169-70.

16 Only the second volume of the 1580 edition is known to be extant.
Amsterdam UB970 C24.

17 B.A. Vermaseren, 'An unknown bookbinder and bookseller of Zwolle:
Gelis van Bathman (c1567). Quaerendo X (1980), p.148 no 114.

18 A.J. Van 't Hooft, De theologie van Heinrich Bullinger in betrekking
tot de nederlandsche reformatie (Amsterdam, 1888), p.100.

apparently being used by the Reformed minister at Schalkwijk in Utrecht.¹⁹ Despite such popularity, relatively little is known about the Sermonen. Who was Peeters? When did he write? What did he believe? What were his sources in the composition of the Sermonen? In answering such questions we shall also touch on and provide clues to some larger problems. What methods did Dutch evangelical authors and printers employ to escape prosecution? How dependent were Dutch authors on the writings of German reformers? Finally, how radical were evangelical exegetes in breaking away from medieval methods of expounding the Scriptures?

i) Authorship and dating

For many years the colophon of the first volume of the Sermonen which ascribed the work to one Niclaes Peeters and dated it 1520 was accepted at face value. De Hoop Scheffer, for example, included the Sermonen in his list of the earliest evangelical books to be printed in Dutch.²⁰ Likewise Lindeboom named Peeters alongside other 'forerunners' of the Reformation or pre-Luther Dutch evangelicals.²¹ More recently, even Decavele did not question either the attribution to Peeters or the very early date.²² In reality, however, both are false.

Almost certainly the name Niclaes Peeters is a pseudonym. In the first place, 'Niclaes Peeters' is a combination of two of the most common Dutch names, Piet and Klaas,²³ yet there is no contemporary reference to a Dutch evangelical of such a name. This immediately arouses suspicion. The author used these names rather as an Englishman might use Tom, Dick or Harry. Secondly, by calling himself a 'deuoten Minnebroeder' the author deliberately placed himself in a Catholic

19 See p. 175.

20 J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531 (Amsterdam, 1873), pp.117-121.

21 J. Lindeboom, De confessionele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1946), p.37.

22 J. Decavele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565), (Brussels, 1975), I, p.592.

23 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', Kerkhistorische studien (Leiden, 1977), p.24.

context in an attempt to dupe the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Some orthodox sermons by a 'devoten Minnebroer', for example, were published at Antwerp by Jan van Ghelen in 1562.²⁴ This cloak of mystery was perpetuated in the 1565 edition of the Sermonen, the second volume of which concludes with the words

'Hier eindet dat derde deel deser Postilla
(sic) van den eerweerdighen Heer Broeder
Wolter ten Troon.' ²⁵

'Ten Troon', like Niclaes Peeters, is a common name for a religious house meaning simply 'throne' or 'heaven'. Thus the author has chosen an authentic sounding location yet one which defies identification. The attribution of the 1580 edition of the Sermonen was even more obscure, the colophon of the second volume reading

'Ghemaect door eenen liefhebber des
Godtlichen Woordts D.P.' ²⁶

The only sixteenth century Dutch evangelical to bear these initials was the leading Anabaptist figure Dirk Philips (1504-1568). The content and form of the Sermonen, however, are entirely alien to Anabaptism.²⁷ In all likelihood these initials were yet another attempt at mystification and may simply stand for 'Deuoten Pater', bearing in mind that the colophon for the first volume of the first edition reads

'Ghemaect by den deuoten Pater Broeder
Niclaes Peeters Minnebroeder ende Gardiaen.'

These attempts at mystification were so successful that Peeters' identity quickly became confused. A report of the ecclesiastical commissioners on the state of the church in the countryside of Utrecht, for instance, dated 31 October-1 November 1593, relates that one Cornelis

24 B. de Troeyer, Bio-bibliographica franciscana neerlandica saeculi XVI (Nieuwkoop, 1969), I, p.253, II, pp.176-77.

25 Peeters, Dat derde deyl, ddiiir.

26 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', p.26. In using the phrase 'liefhebber des Godtlichen Woordts' (lover of the Word of God), either the printer or the author has deliberately adopted a terminology better suited to the Reformed.

27 Ibid. p.26.

van Eck was appointed minister of the Reformed Church at Schalkwijk on the condition that he did not preach, but read aloud to the congregation

'De sermoonen Anthonii Corvini over de sondagsche Evangelien onder den tytel van een devoten minnebroeder wtgegeven hier te lande.' ²⁸

A comparison between the postils of Peeters and Corvinus reveals no relationship or similarity between the two works. One may therefore conclude that the mystery surrounding Peeters had led to a confusion between the two authors and their respective postils.

What of the dating of Peeters' Sermonen? Certainly cases of the antedating of evangelical works are not uncommon in the Netherlands. For example, Luther's expositions of John 16 and Psalm 130 were both antedated by the mysterious printer Niclaes van Oldenborch.²⁹ Could it be that the 1520 dating of volume I of Peeter's sermons, like its suppositious author, the devout Franciscan Niclaes Peeters, was an attempt to place the Sermonen in an irreproachable Catholic context? In 1520 Luther's works were only just beginning to circulate in the Netherlands, and therefore a work of this date with so conventional title would be unlikely to arouse suspicion. Furthermore, by giving 1520 as the year of publication the printer could omit his name and address, for it was only after the imperial edict of 14 October 1525 that books without these details were forbidden. Volume two of the sermons was also deliberately 'aged'. Although the Christelike sermonen contains no date, the title bears the phrase

²⁸ Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap VII (1884), pp.203-204. 'The sermons of Antonius Corvinus for the Gospels for each Sunday, distributed in this country under the title of a devout Franciscan.'

²⁹ See p.14.

'Ghecorrigeert ende verbetert' (corrected and improved), thus suggesting that the sermons are a reprint of an earlier work. Once again, the intention was to place the sermons in a pre-Reformation context.

Nijhoff and Kronenberg provisionally redated both volumes of the Sermonen c1540, largely on typographical evidence.³⁰ External evidence, however, also indicates a later date. The first known prosecution apparently involving the sermons of Peeters occurred on 10 November 1540 when the Utrecht bookseller, Reinier Pouwelsz was charged with selling a 'boucxken van den Sermonen' which contravened the edicts.³¹ The first prosecution in which the sermons of Peeters can be identified unambiguously occurred in 1543 when a group of burghers from Leuven were tried for heresy. Among their many evangelical books was a 'Postille' which was evidently none other than the Sermonen of Peeters. When one of the accused, Jan Beyaerts, was interrogated, he admitted to having heard one of the leaders of the group, Joes van Ousberghen, read from a collection of postils but could remember nothing about their author than

'Hem dunct dat hy (Joes van Ousberghen) seydt
dat een minder broeder was, ende dat een
eedel gheest moest zyn die dat gemaict hadde,
ende was geprint.'³²

If the first volume of the Sermonen really was published in 1520 then one might have expected it to have appeared either on the first index of forbidden books of 23 March 1524 along with the Summa der godlicher scripturen (1523) and Johan Pelt's Mattheus evangelië (1522), or some other early edict. Instead the first prohibition of the Sermonen did

30 See NK1691.

31 M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de hervormingstijd (Amsterdam, 1948), p.46. Peeters' sermons were probably deemed to have contravened the edicts because they were printed without date or place of publication. They were not prohibited by name until 1546.

32 Campan, p.408. 'He thought that he (Joes van Ousberghen) said that it was by a Franciscan and that the author must have been a noble spirit, and that (the sermons) were printed.'

not occur until 1545 when both volumes appeared on the Liège index.³³ Thereafter they reappeared in the indices of 1546, 1550 and 1558.³⁴

What can a study of the character and content of the sermons themselves tell us of the real date of publication? Professor de Bruin has pointed out that Peeters used a Lutheran translation of the New Testament not published in Dutch until 1523 thus advancing the date of the Sermonen by a few years.³⁵ He also suggested that Peeters may have been acquainted with Luther's postils,³⁶ though some years earlier C.Ch.G. Visser had asserted that no trace of Luther's writings could be found in the Sermonen.³⁷ Visser's argument was disproved in 1970-71, however, when J. Trapman disclosed that Peeters' sermon for the day of the Holy Sacrament (John 6:55-58) was, in fact, a partial translation of Luther's Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament des heyligen waren Leychnams Christi (1519) and that Peeters borrowed from Luther's Kirchenpostillen for his sermon on the first Sunday after Epiphany of 1523.³⁸

Yet even Trapman did not go far enough. A close study of Peeters' sermons (of which there are over one hundred and twenty in all) and Luther's Kirchenpostillen reveals that Peeters draws on Luther's postils

33 E. Fairon, 'Le premier index de livres prohibés à Liège, 1545', GP III (1925), p.15. According to this index the colophon of the first volume of Peeters' Sermonen reads 'Geprint int jaer ons heren 1518 (my italics). Gemaect bij den devoten pater broeder Niclaes Peterss, minderbroeder ende gardiaen.' The slightly different orthography of the title in the Liège list might also point to another edition. Alternatively, the 1518 date could simply have been a wrong transcription of the '1520' colophon.

34 Die indices librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. F.H. Reusch (Nieuwkoop, 1961), p.41. Verboden lectuur, ed. C. Sepp (Leiden, 1889), pp.93 and 137.

35 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', p.19.

36 Ibid, p.28.

37 C.Ch.G. Visser, op.cit. p.129.

38 J. Trapman, 'Van dat avontmael ons Heeren', NAK LI (1970), p.154.

for at least ten of his sermons.³⁹ Clearly Peeters remains independent for the most part, but his debt to Luther is on a far greater scale than has hitherto been unrecognized. This dependence of Peeters on Luther takes place on a number of different levels. Sometimes Peeters extracted only a few sentences from Luther, whilst on other occasions he plagiarized entire sermons. In the sermon below he borrowed substantial parts from Luther, but interwove these with independent passages.

Luther. Sermon on the first Sunday after Holy Trinity.

'Den reychen man muessen wir night ansehen nach seym euszerlichem wande1, denn er hat schaffs kleyder an und seyn leben gleysst und scheynet, huebsch und deckt den wolf meysterlich.

Denn dass Euangeli on schillt hyr nicht, das er ehebruch, mord, raub, frevel odder

1528 Postillen. Sermon on the first Sunday after Holy Trinity.

'Den rijcken man en moeten wij nyet aensien na zijn wtwendiche wandelinghe want hi heeft scaeps leederen aen ende zijn leuen blinit ende schujnt schoone ende bedecket meesterlijck. Want dat Euangeli on beschuldicht hem niet dat hi ouerspele moort roof geweldige onrecht oft yet anders bedreuen

Peeters. Sermon on the second Thursday in Lent.

'In desen Euangeli houdt ons Christus een exempl des gelooighen ende ongelooigen staets voor, op dat wi, die vander vroliker bootschap niet beweget en werden, om meer door die veruaernisse des gruweliken exempls dat ghelooue ende liefde souden aeneerden, in welcken exempl wi een ordeel Gods ouer die gelooiche ende ouer de

39 i) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, aiiv-aiiir. Luther, Postille of die Epistelen ende Euangeli van allen sondaghen ende sonderlinghen heylichdaghen des geheelen iaers II, biiv=WA 10/1/2, p.218f.
 ii) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, aviir. Luther, Postillen II, biir=WA 10/1/2, p.218f.
 iii) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, biir. Luther, Postillen II, bviiir-v=WA12, p.495f.
 iv) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, fviir-v. Luther, Postillen II, liiv=WA 10/3 p.133f.
 v) Peeters, Sermonen oft wtlegghingen op alle de evangelen vander vasten metter passien. Reprinted by J.G.R. Acquoy, Maatschappij der vlaamsche bibliophilen, 4e reeks, X (Ghent, 1893), pp.116-127. Luther, Postillen II, rviir-sir = WA 10/3, p.177f.
 vi) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, riiiir-v. Luther, Postillen II, aaviiv-aaviiir = WA 10/3, p.304f.
 vii) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, eevv. Luther, Postillen I piiv = WA 10/1/1, p.379f.
 viii) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ffvir. Luther, Postillen I, Svir = WA 10/1/1, p.557f.
 ix) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, giiiiir-ggviiir. Luther, Postillen I, Ziir-Ziiiv = WA12, p.409f. See J. Trapman, 'Dat avontmael', p.154.
 x) Peeters, Christelike sermonen, hhvv-hhviv. Luther, Postillen I, AAvir-v = WA 17/2, p.60f.

rgent eltwas begangen
hab, das die welt oder
vernufft tadde In
moecht. Er ist ia szo
erbarlich an seynem
leben geweszen als
ihener Phariseer, der
zwey mal ynn der wochen
fasstet und nicht war
wie ander leult. Denn
wo er solch grobe
knoten helte gewirckt,
wuerde sie das
Euangelion haben
anzeygt, weyl es yhn
szo genaw sucht, das es
auch seyn purpur kleyd
und essen anzeyget, das
doch eusserlich ding
sind unnd Gott nicht
dass elbs nach
richtet. 40

heeft dat die werelt
oft vernuft beschul-
digen mochte? Hi is
ymer alsoe eerbaer aen
zijn leuen gheweest als
dye Phariseeus dye
tweemael ter weken vaste
ende nyet en was
ghelijck ander lieden
Luce.XVIII. Want hadde
hi alsulcke grove
stucken bedreuen dat
Euangelion soudese wel
te kennen hebben gegeuen
aenghesein het hem also
nau ondersoect dattet
oeek zijn purpur cleet
ende eten te kennen
gheeft welck nochtans
wtwendiche dinghen zijn
ende God daer niet na en
ordeelt.' 41

ongeloouigen sien, het
welcke veruaerlic is den
ongeloouigen, mer seer
troostelic den gelooijgen.
Ende op dat wijt te bedt
mogen verstaen, so sullen
wi aen den rijcken die
natuere des ongeloofs
mercken, ende aenden
armen Lazarum, die
natuere des geloofs.

Ten eersten, so en moeten
wi den rijcken man niet
alleen aensien sijn
wtwendige leuen, want
dat hadde van buyten cenen
schonen schijn als scaep-
sleederen, onder welcken
hem de wolf meesterlic
const bedecken. Daerom en
beschelt oft en berispt
hem dat Euangelium niet,
dat hi ouerspel, moort
oft roof gedaen heeft, of
yet dat die werelt
beschuldigen mochte. Hi
is so eerbaer aen sijn
leuen geweest, als die
Phariseeus, die tweemael
ter weken vaste Luc.xviii.
Want hadde hi groue sonden
van buyten gedaen, dat
Euangelium soudese vrylike
wel te kennen hebben
gegeuen, aengesien, dat
het desen rijcken so wel
besien heeft, dat het
ooc sijn purpur cleedt.
ende sijn kostelick
hemde te kennen geeft,
dat nochtans al wtwendige
dingen sijn, daer God
niet na en ordeelt.' 42

40 W.A. 10/3, p.178.

41 Luther, Postillen II, rviir.

42 J.G.R. Acquoy, op.cit. p.116.

But how did Peeters use Luther's Kirchenpostillen? The closely similar (though it must be admitted, not always identical) vocabulary of the Sermonen and the 1528 Postillen suggests that Peeters evidently worked from this Dutch translation rather than the German original. Other features confirm this view. The translator of the 1528 Postillen, as he admitted in his afterward, included his own sermons along with those of Luther in his text in order to complete the Church calendar. A comparison of those sermons unique to the 1528 Postillen with the Sermonen of Peeters reveals that our 'devout Franciscan' borrowed from a further three non-Luther sermons from this Dutch translation.⁴³ Luther omitted a sermon on the day of Holy Innocents, for example, on the grounds that this festival was not universally observed.⁴⁴ The translator of the 1528 Postillen, however, added his own sermon for this day which was then plagiarized in its entirety by Peeters.

Peeters

'Na dat de Engel die drie wijse mannen vermaent hadde dat si niet weder tot Herodem en souden keeren, ende dat si nv doer eenen sekeren wech in haer lant reysden, ende si nv wt den perikel waren, op dat si in haer lant den naem des iongen connincs ende sijn heerlicheyt als ghetrouwe boden souden vergreyden, so heeft de enghel des Heeren Joseph inden droom gheopenbaert, seggende: Stoet op en neemt dat kint ende sijne moeder, ende vlucht in Egypten etc....'⁴⁵

1528 Postillen

'Na dat die engel die drie wijse mannen vermaent hadde dat si niet weder tot Herodem en souden keeren ende dat si nv door eenen sekeren wech in haer lant reysden ende si nv wt de pericule waren op dat si in haer landen den naem des ionghen Conincs ende sijn heerlickeyt als ghetrouwe boden souden verbreyden so heeft die engel des heeren Joseph inde droome gheopenbaert seggende. Staet op ende neemt dat kint ende sijn moeder ende vlucht in Egypten etc....'⁴⁶

In addition, Peeters also borrowed from the 1528 Postillen translator's sermons on the Gospels for the Thursday after Easter and the Wednesday after Pentecost.

⁴³ Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ciiir-v. Postillen II, dvir.
 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, iviv-kiv. Postillen II, pviiv-pviiiv.
 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ddviiir-eiiiiv. Postillen I, 0iv-0iiv.

⁴⁴ WA17/2, p.354.

⁴⁵ Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ddviiir.

⁴⁶ Postillen I, 0iv.

Finally, Peeters' sermon on the holy sacrament was derived from Luther's Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament des heyligen waren Leychnams Christi (1519). This sermon, however, is not to be found in the German editions of Luther's Kirchenpostillen for it did not form part of the Wittenberger's original postil-cycle. However, the Dutch translator of the 1528 Postillen had included it in his text for, as we have already seen, he was anxious to provide sermons for each day in the Church calendar. However, the Dutch translator did not simply copy the Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament verbatim. Instead, he began with six original paragraphs and then plagiarized a large section of Luther's sermon. This provides a vital clue to the dating of the sermons of Peeters, for our pseudonymous Netherlander was dependent upon the Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament in just the same way. Indeed, Peeters' sermon on the holy sacrament is virtually identical to that of the Dutch translator of the 1528 Postillen.⁴⁷

Luther	1528 Postillen	Peeters
	'Maer die dit broot eet dye sal inder eewicheyt leuen Dat is die geloep dat Christus om zijnene wille mensche is geworden ende dat hi sine sonden op hem heeft ghenomen ende helle, doot. Duvel ende sonde heeft verslonden ende allet dat hem soude moghen letten, so is hi met Christo geincorporeert (dat is in gelijft ende vereenicht) ende sal ind eewicheyt in Gode leuen...	'Maer die dit broot eet dat vanden hemel gecomen is, die sal inder eewicheyt leuen, dat is die gheloof, so voorseyt is, dat Christus om sinent wille mensche is geworden, ende heeft sijn wonderen op hem genomen, ende helle, doot, duuel, sonde verslonden ende al dat hem soude moghen schaden, ende heeft hem aan den Uader versoent, so is hi met Christo geincorporeert ende sal inder eewisheyt in God leuen. Dat is het recht verstant van desen Euangelie, welc niet vanden sacramentliken eten ende drincken en vermaent. Nochtans so willen wi daer ter eeran gods ooc wat afseggen. Te weten
'Zum ersten, Das heylige Sacrament des altars und des heyligen waren leychnams Christi hat auch drey dingk, die man wissen musz. Das erst	Dit is dan dat rechte verstant van desen Euangeli. Welck niet van dien sacramentlijcken eten ende drincken en spreect noch en vermaent. Nochtans	

47 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, 1ir-1vr. Luther, Postillen II qviiir-riv = WA2 p.738f.

ist das sacrament
odder zeychen. Das
ander die bedeutung
des selben sacraments,
Das dritte der glaub
der selben beyden, wie
dan yn eynem yglichen
sacrament disze drey
stuck seyn muszen. Das
Sacrament musz euszer-
lich und sichtlich
seyn, yn eyner
leyplichen form odder
gesalt. Die bedeutung
musz ynnerlich und
geystlich seyn, yn dem
geyst des menschen.' 48

willen wij ter eeran
Gods daer oeck wat
afseggen. Ten wetene.
dat daer drie dingen
zijn dye daer toe
behooren. Derste is dat
teeken. Die ander die
bediedinghe des teekens.
Dat derde dat geloue oft
dat gheestelick eten.
Dat teeken is wtwendich
ende sienlick in een
lijflike wtwendige forme
oft gesteltenisse. Mer
die bediedinge moet
zijn inden geeste des
menschen.' 49

datter drie dingen in
sijn diemen weten moet.
Deerste is dat teeken.
Dat ander de bediedinge
des teekens. Dat derde
tgelooue van dien tween.
Dat teeken moet
wtwendich ende sienlic
moet inwendich ende
geestelic sijn inden
liker formen oft
gedaente. De bediedinge
moet inwendich ende
geestelic sijn inden
50
gheest des menschen.'

This is conclusive proof that Peeters worked not from Luther's original German postils, but from the anonymous Dutch translation of 1528.

It is tempting, given the clear relationship between Peeters' sermons and the 1528 Postillen, to jump to the conclusion that both works came from the same pen. However, there is no evidence to sustain such a theory; indeed, there are two formidable objections. In the first place, although the vocabulary of Peeters' sermons resembles that of the 1528 Postillen in those sermons in which he is dependent upon Luther, it is, contrary to what one would have expected, by no means identical. Secondly, although Peeters and the translator of the 1528 Postillen both worked from a Dutch translation of Luther's New Testament, they did not use identical versions:

1528 Postillen (Mtt.2:13-14)

'Siet die engel des heren openbaerde
Joseph inden slaep seghende Staet
op ende neemt dat kint ende sijn
moeder ende vliet in Egypten ende
blijft daer tot dat ict u seghe
want het is toecoomende dat Herodes
dat kint sal soecken om te verdoem
hi stont op ende nam dat kint ende
sijn moeder in her nacht ende ginck
in Egypten.' 51

Peeters

'Siet, doen openbaerde hem de
Enghel des Heeren Joseph inden
droom, ende sprack. Staet op ende
neemt dat kint ende sijn moeder
tot dy, ende vliet in Egypten laet,
en blijft daer totter tijt dat ic
v sege, wat het is toecoomende,
dat Herodes dat kint sal soecken
om te dooden. Ende hi stont op ende
nam dat kint en sijn moeder met

48 WA2 p.742.

49 Luther, Postillen II, qviiiv.

50 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, liir-v.

51 Luther, Postillen, I 0iv.

hem inder nacht ende vloot in Egypten
laet.' 52

Though it is unlikely that Peeters and the author of the 1528 Postillen are one and the same, the relationship now established between the two enables us to place Peeters and his work in a more clearly defined context. Professor de Bruin once enumerated some characteristics of our so-called Franciscan: he was a trained theologian and a Netherlander; his gospel passages were influenced by Luther's translation of the New Testament; he was familiar with late medieval spirituality; he was probably from the southern Netherlands and possibly an itinerant preacher.⁵³ To these we are now able to add that he was writing after 1528 and had a close knowledge of Luther's Postillen. This new date rules out some early evangelical candidates suggested by de Bruin. For example, Nicolaas van Antwerpen had been executed in 1525 and Nicolaas vander Elst died in 1528. Only Isbrant Schol who was executed in 1534 lived sufficiently late to be considered seriously.⁵⁴ Instead, our attention must be focused on the 1530s. For this decade De Bruin's other suggestions of Paul de Rovere, the chaplain of St. Pieterskerk, Leuven, and leader of the evangelical conventicle in that town in which Peeters' Sermonen are known to have circulated and Mattheus van Rillaert, pastor of the neighbouring town of Herverlee, appear as the most plausible candidates.⁵⁵ De Rovere is a particularly strong possibility since he is known to have been the author of a number of other evangelical works. At his trial in 1543 he admitted to having written three of the six manuscript works found in his possession - 'Gratiam et pacem etc.', 'Gods vrinden hebben altijt te strijden' and 'Sij U, ghij Balamijten'.⁵⁶

52 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ddviiv.

53 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', p.37.

54 Ibid. p.37. Since Peeters' Sermonen were almost certainly published in Antwerp this probably also rules out exiled evangelicals such as the former Antwerp Augustinians Jacob Praepositus and Martyn Oudermaerck.

55 Ibid. p.38.

56 See pp.332-333.

ii) Printer

Not only are the authorship and date of publication of Peeters' sermons shrouded in mystery, but their printer is also unknown. It has been suggested that the Sermonen may have been printed in Germany.⁵⁷ Certainly German influence can be seen in the titlepages of both volumes of the first edition of Peeters' sermons. In particular, the woodcut borders appear to have been copied from the first edition Eyn Mandat Ihesu Christi an alle seyne getrewe Christen which was published by Nickel Schirlentz at Wittenberg in 1524 and written by the Lutheran hymnwriter Nikolaus Herman.⁵⁸ In addition, De Bruin has suggested that the 1565 edition of the Sermonen may have been printed in Germany.⁵⁹ Almost certainly, however, the earliest edition of Peeters' sermons was published in the Netherlands, and Nijhoff and Kronenberg's typeface analysis indicates Antwerp as the most likely place of publication.⁶⁰

A clue to the identity of the printer of this first edition is provided by the motto which appears on the title page of the first volume of Peeters' sermons, the Sermonen oft wtlegghingen op alle de euangelien vander vasten metter passien which reads 'Leest ende oordeelt'. This motto is relatively rare in Dutch sixteenth century printing.⁶¹ It first appears in Urbanus Regius's Recht onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe, published anonymously in 1527.⁶² In this case the motto reads 'Coopt. Leest ende Ordeelt'. The following year the Deventer publisher Albert Pafraet printed an anti-Luther tract entitled Eyn merckelick gedichte van dem vorgiftigen ketter Martino Luther with a Latinized version of the motto, 'Lege et iudica'.⁶³ Leaving aside the sermons of Peeters, it next appears in a manuscript

57 See BT5409.

58 Reprinted in full with the original titlepage in Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation, ed. O. Clemen (Nieuwkoop, 1967), 11, pp.245-276.

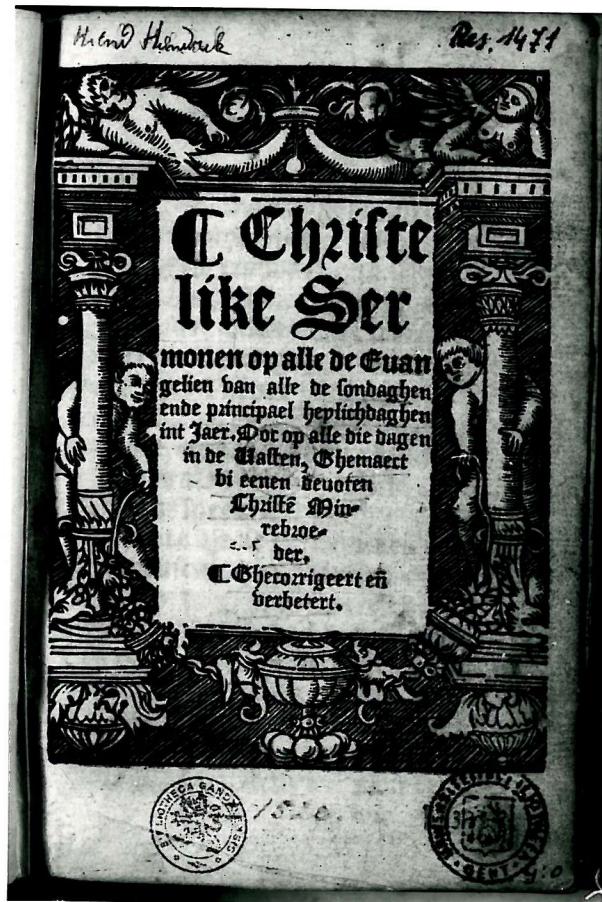
59 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', p.25.

60 See NK1691-1692. If De Bruin is correct, the obvious printer of this 1565 edition would be Hans de Braecker of Wesel.

61 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', p.17.

62 NK1791.

63 NK964.



5. Titlepage of Peeters' Christelike sermonen



6. Titlepage of Nikolaus Herman's Eyne mandat Ihesu Christi an alle seyne getrewe Christen

entitled 'Den gheest maeckt levende. Corte uitlegginghe ende glossen op dat gheheele Nieuwe Testament, met voorredenen, prologhen ende argumenten op die evangelien ende op elke epistele der apostelen inhoudende vele schoone ende profijtelijcke leeringhe' which has been dated c1545-1550.⁶⁴ This text which is a Dutch translation of Luther's glosses on the New Testament probably served as a copy for the Antwerp printers Crom, Mierdmans and van Oldenborch⁶⁵. In this case the motto is identical to that of the Sermonen. Finally, the same motto was used by two Emden printers in 1556-57, by Gilles van der Erven in Bernhard Buwo's Een frundtlyke thosamen sprekinge van twee personen ('Leset, proevert, unde oerdelt recht') and by Willem Gailliaert in Een vriendelycke tsamen sprekinge van twee personen ('Leest, proeft ende oordeelt').⁶⁶ It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions since the motto was used by a number of printers. However, assuming the date of publication to be around 1540, Crom, Mierdmans and van Oldenborch have the strongest claims to be considered as the printer-publishers of the Sermonen of Niclaes Peeters.

iii) Theology.

Thus far we have established that the sermons of Peeters were written after 1528 and probably around 1540, and were possibly published by Crom/Mierdmans/van Oldenborch. In all likelihood they were not written by a Franciscan but by a thorough-going supporter of Luther, masquerading behind a facade of Catholic piety. But how do these findings affect our view of Peeters and his work? Given Peeters' clear indebtedness to Luther, it is now difficult to see him as representative of a peculiarly Dutch evangelical tradition. Peeters' sermon on the Gospel for the Holy Sacrament, for example, was originally thought to be sacramentalist but, given Peeters' dependence on Luther's Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament in this sermon, such a position is no longer tenable. Here, as throughout his life, Luther's belief in the real presence remained firm, though on this occasion he gave a spiritualistic emphasis to the Eucharist, referring to the sacrament

64 Bonn Universitätsbibliothek 753, fol.1-108.

65 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', p.18.

66 Ibid. p.17.

as a sign from God that the believer is united with Christ and his saints.⁶⁷ It was Peeters' borrowing of this emphasis⁶⁸ that led previous historians to the mistaken conclusion that he was a sacramentarian.

It has been suggested that Peeters may have differed from Luther in his understanding of the Lord's Supper because he rendered the Wittenberger's 'und gab yhn seynen Heyligen Leychnam',⁶⁹ as 'ende gaf haer dat sacrament sijns lichaems ende bloets',⁷⁰ but this is improbable. Peeters, as we now know, had access to Luther's Sermon von dem hochwirdigen Sacrament via the Dutch translation of the German reformer's Kirchenpostillen. Since the Dutch translator had already changed Luther's 'und gab yhn seynen Heyligen Leychnam' to 'daer mede maecte hijse bequaem tot desen avontmale',⁷¹ not much significance can be attached to the phrase Peeters used. Moreover, Peeters' belief in the real presence is confirmed by a passage in the first volume of his sermons where he is not dependent on Luther in which he emphasized the importance of the bread because it is the body of Christ:

'Ende het is geen cleyn gaeu, noch geen snoode dinck, mer het is mijn lichaem, dwelc niet sonder siele en is, ende al dat ic daer in ende mede gedaen, geleden ende verdient hebbe, dat wort voor v verlossinge gegeven, het welc costelic genoech is om alle v schult te betalen ende v te verlossen, also dat ghi gheen ander behoeft, ende dat ghi voor gheen ander rantsoen en derft sorgen.' 72

In other respects also Peeters' theology coincides with that of

67 WA2 p.744.

68 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, 1iiir.

69 WA2 p.746.

70 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, 1iiiiiv, J. Trapman, 'Dat avontmael ons Heeren', p.154.

71 Luther, Postillen II, riv.
72 J.G.R. Acquoy, op.cit. p.359. 'And it is no small gift or base thing, but it is my body which is not without a soul and (it contains) all that I have done, suffered and earned. It is given for your redemption, which is precious enough to pay for all your guilt and to deliver you so that you neither need anyone else or provide for any other ransom.'

Luther. For example, he fully subscribes to Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. The man sick of the palsy (Mtt.9:1-8), Peeters notes, was healed through the faith of his friends, not their works or their love.⁷³ Similarly, expounding Christ's words 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and the Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven' (Mtt.5:20), Peeters argues that only the righteousness of Christ obtained through faith satisfies this higher righteousness:

'Wi moeten de gerechticheyt Christi hebben,
die alleen der strenger rechtuaerdicheyt
voldoen mach. Dese vercrijcht men doer
tgelooue, als ic vanden Heere can gehebben
vastelic te gheloouen, dat de gherechticheyt
Christi mijn ghorechticheyt is.' ⁷⁴

In addition, Peeters uses the familiar Lutheran image of righteousness being like a cloak with which Christ covers us rather as Boaz covered Ruth (Ruth 3:9), that is, it is completely extrinsic. Christ's righteousness becomes ours, and our sins his, because he has atoned for our transgressions.⁷⁵ Nothing we may do can earn our salvation.

Forgiveness of sin comes through Christ alone:

'Dat Euangelium in sinen naem prediken, waer
in vercondicht wort, die groote genade.
Aflaet van allen sonden van pijn ende van
schult om niet, doer Christum, ende hoe hi
die wet ende gheboden voor ons ghehouden
ende volbracht heeft.' ⁷⁶

Mary Magdalene, Peeters observes, was not given a letter of indulgence when she washed Christ's feet, but was forgiven because of her faith.⁷⁷

73 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, Xvv.

74 Ibid. oiiiv. 'We must have the righteousness of Christ; this alone satisfies the more rigorous righteousness. This man obtains through faith, when I am able to believe firmly from the Lord that the righteousness of Christ is my righteousness.'

75 J.G.R. Acquoy, op.cit. pp.133-34. Compare with Luther, Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute (1518), WAI p.593.

76 J.G.R. Acquoy, op.cit. p.342. 'In the Gospel preached in Christ's name is proclaimed great grace, remission of all sins, of punishment and guilt for nothing through Christ, and how Christ has kept and fulfilled the law and the commandments for us.'

77 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ttvv.

Peeters' primary objection to monasticism, as with his criticism of indulgences, is that it offered an alternative way of salvation to faith in Christ alone. The thieves and robbers who enter the sheepfold not by the door but climb in (John 10:1) are interpreted as monks who trust for their salvation in the keeping of a monastic rule, rather than in Christ.⁷⁸ Christ commanded those who love him, says Peeters quoting from John 14:23, to keep his commandments. Many, however, and here he singles out the Carthusians and the Benedictines for special mention, prefer to keep the commandments of men.⁷⁹ The contemporary stress on the superiority of monastic vows results, Peeters laments, in children being thrust into monasteries, there to be exposed to all sorts of immorality:

'Ende op dat si dit te beter souden houden, so
gaen si in cloosters, oft si stooten haer
kinderen daer in, die si sommige veel salichliker
int leuen stelden, want si offerense Baal doert,⁸⁰
vier des oncuysheyt ende sonden teghen natuere.'

Peeters reserves a particularly biting satire for his own supposed order, the Franciscans, in his Gospel sermon for the twenty third Sunday after Trinity (Mtt 22:15-22). That Christ handled money, he remarks, surely shows that our Lord cannot have been as holy as the Franciscans who refuse to be tainted by mammon.⁸¹

In addition to these attacks on indulgences and monasticism on the grounds that faith in Christ alone justifies, Peeters' sermons are also highly critical of other aspects of late medieval Catholic devotion. In

78 Ibid. iiiir. This image of monks as thieves and robbers climbing into Christ's sheepfold was not original to Peeters, but was employed by a number of German polemicists in the 1520s. See R.W. Scribner, For the sake of simple folk (Cambridge, 1981), pp.51-54.

79 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, hiv.

80 Ibid. hiir. 'And in order that they keep themselves better, they go into monasteries, or they thrust in their children. Some are much happier being placed in this life, for they make sacrifices to Baal through the fire of impurity and sins against nature.'

81 Ibid. Ziir.

particular, Peeters raises strong objections to the mediatorial role of the saints and the Virgin Mary and to confession and the sacrament of penance. For Peeters, the Scriptures abound with proof that Christ alone is our mediator. The faith of the centurion whose servant was healed (Mtt. 8:5-13) was, he observes, directed to Christ and not to the saints, because Christ alone is our mediator before God.⁸² Likewise, the woman with the flow of blood (Mtt. 9:18-26) was cured because she obeyed Christ's injunction to come directly to him, rather than through any intermediary.⁸³ Prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints are, for Peeters, an affront to the unique mediatorial role of Christ. To trust in the saints rather than in Christ is nothing short of idolatry:

'Ende datmen alle haer betrouwen daer af ende
van alle heyligen tot Christum wil brenghen,
so roepen si, het is ketterije, want de
duyuel wilse in haer afgoderije houden, welc
daer in gelegen is, dat si door yemanden
inden hemel oft opter aerdē salich willen
werden oft door eenighe wercken oft haer
betrouwen yewers op setten, dan op Christum,
die alleen ons middelaer is gestelt als Paulus
openlic seyt. i. Tim. ij. '84. .

Peeters' feelings towards the sacrament of penance were equally antagonistic. He refutes the standard Scriptural defence of the practice made by Catholic opponents, 'Go and show yourselves to the priests (Lk 17:15), by arguing that the ten lepers healed by Christ in this gospel narrative were commanded only to show their bodies to the priest, not to make a confession.⁸⁵ The belief that in order to be valid a confession must be full, Peeters rejects as being contrary to Paul's

82 J.G.R. Acquoy, *op.cit.* p.15.

83 Peeters, *Christelike sermonen*, Zvir.

84 J.G.R. Acquoy, *op.cit.* pp.54-55. 'And when men transfer all their trust from the saints to Christ, then they cry "This is heresy." For the devil desires to keep them in the idolatry in which they lay, that is, that they will become holy either through someone in heaven or on earth or through any works or their trust in setting up someone other than Christ who alone is appointed as our mediator as St. Paul clearly says in I Tim.2: (5).'

85 Peeters, *Christelike sermonen*, sviir-v. See John Eck, *Enchiridion of Commonplaces against Luther and other enemies of the Church*, ed. F.L. Battles, p.73.

admonition 'Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners'⁸⁶ (1 Cor.15:33). Confession, absolution and satisfaction, the traditional trinity of the sacrament of penance are cast aside in favour of an evangelical formula - confession (to God and not to a priest), repentance and faith.⁸⁷ Satisfaction, the third part of the traditional sacrament, comes in for particularly fierce criticism as being a blasphemy against the mercy of God and the passion and blood of Christ. The woman caught in adultery (Jn 8:1-11) was, Peeters notes, not given a penance, but simply told to go and sin no more:

'Ende daer voor en sedt hi anders geen penitentie,
 dan, en wilt niet meer sondighen, Hi en seyt niet
 leest so vele, vast, waect, slaet v seluen etc.
 Die ander penitentie voor de sonden stellen,
 blasphemeren de barmherticheyt Gods, recht oft hi
 so wreet waer dat hi de sonden niet volmaectelic
 en vergaue, ende of hi de sonde sonder de pijn of
 wrade mocht vergeuen ende niet de scult...Ooc so
 blasphemeren si die passie ende tbloet Christi,
 recht of hi voor de sonden niet voldoen en had,
 dat de mensche noch veruullen moest datter gebrake,
 ende dat costelic bloet niet weerdich ghenoech en
 ware voor de schult der sonden te betalen.'⁸⁸

iv) Style and symbolism.

Professor de Bruin has pointed out that although Peeters' sermons are strongly evangelical in content, they also contain strands of medieval piety.⁸⁹ In particular, Peeters draws on medieval and patristic allegorizing of scriptural texts. In his sermon on the healing of the man at the pool of Bethesda (Jn 5:1-15, Friday in the

86 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ttvr.

87 J.G.R. Acquoy, op.cit. p.413.

88 Ibid. p.219. 'And therefore he set no other penance except do not sin any more. He did not say read so much, fast, keep vigil, beat yourself etc. These other penances set for sins are blasphemies against the mercy of God, as if he were so cruel that he did not perfectly forgive the sins and could forgive the sins without the punishment or revenge and not the guilt... Also they blaspheme so against the passion and blood of Christ, as if he had not made satisfaction for sin, that man must yet fulfil what is lacking, and that precious blood is not sufficiently worthy to pay the penalty of sin.'

89 C.C. de Bruin, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', pp.31-33.

first week of Lent), for example, he attaches numerical significance to the five porches at the pool, equating these with the Law, the five books of Moses. The significance of this allegory is that the Law is not able to heal the man, but only to bring judgement, just as no word without the internal working of the Spirit can cure the conscience. For this particular allegorical interpretation Peeters was substantially indebted to Saint Augustine.⁹⁰

Such allegorizing of Scripture, however, goes back to the Apostolic age. The parables of the sower and the wheat and the tares, for example, are expounded as allegories in the gospels of Mark and Matthew respectively.⁹¹ By the third century Origen (c185-c254) was arguing in favour of a threefold interpretation of Scripture. He taught that just as a man is divided up into three elements, body, soul and spirit, so the Scriptures have three meanings, literal, moral and spiritual.⁹² The Latin Fathers adopted a slightly different framework, distinguishing four senses - literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical. This division provided the standard system of biblical exegesis throughout the Middle Ages.⁹³

90 Peeters.

'Dat water met vijf portalen beteekent die wet, die niet gesont en maect, mer meer grancap werct, so Paulus seyt, het en si datse door den geest beweget wert, gelijc ooc geen woort sonder inwercken des geests die sondiche conscientie gesont en maect, want al ist een woort van den heyligen geest, dat is, het en geeft geen liefde om te volbrengen, het en si dattet de heylige geest weder beroere, ende daer door inden mensche diet hoort of leest, wercke.'

J.G.R. Acquoy, op.cit.
pp.76-77.

Augustine.

'Quinque porticus, in quibus jacebant infirmi. Legem significant, quae primo data est Judaeis et populo Israel per famulum Dei Moysen. Etenim Moyses ipse, minister Legis, quinque libros fecit. Propter numerum ergo librorum, quos ille scripsit, quinque porticus Legem figurabant. Quia vero Lex non data est quae sanaret infirmos, sed quae proderet et ostenderet: sic enim dicit Apostolum, Si enim data esset Lex quae posset vivificare, omnio ex Lege esset justitia.'

Augustine, 'Sermones ad populum', CXXV, Sancti aurelii Augustini...opera omnia, post Loraniensium theologorum recensionem castigata (Paris, 1836-1838). V pt.1, col.871.

91 The Cambridge history of the bible II, The west from the fathers to the reformation, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), p.161.

92 R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and event. A study of the sources and significance of Origen's interpretation of scripture (London, 1959), p.235.

93 The Oxford dictionary of the christian church, ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (London, 1974), p.37.

The great danger in the allegorizing of Scripture was that it could be taken to extreme lengths so that all sense of the original meaning was lost. By the later Middle Ages many interpretations of Scriptural allegory bore little relationship to the original text. The treatment of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Mtt.20:1-10, the Gospel for Septuagesima) in an anonymous late fifteenth century English sermon collection is an extreme case in point. After the conventional identification of the husbandman as God, the author is side-tracked into a listing of particular sins in the vineyard: the first is the vine of sin and wicked men; the second the Church; the third man's soul redeemed by Christ; the fourth the Blessed Virgin Mary; the fifth Christ, and the sixth heavenly bliss. The point of the parable, that those converted later in life receive the reward of heaven along with those who have long led godly lives is entirely overlooked.⁹⁴

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, new methods of biblical exegesis were being adopted. Some Christian humanists preferred a more literal and grammatical approach. Erasmus in his work on preaching Ecclesiastes (1535), for example, specifically warned against allegories which are against the native sense of the text, and even criticized the Fathers on this point. He argued that allegories should not be made unless the literal sense is first understood, and that they must not be used to prove dogmas.⁹⁵ Likewise, Protestant theologians were generally critical of allegorical interpretations of Scripture.⁹⁶ In his In epistolam sancti Pauli ad Galatas commentarius (1535) Luther went so far as to say that Paul had wished to end his epistle to the Galatians at verse twenty of chapter four, so doubtful was he of the value of Paul's allegorizing of the story of Sarah and Hagar in the

⁹⁴ J.W. Blench, Preaching in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Oxford, 1964), pp.4-5.

⁹⁵ Ibid. pp.28-29.

⁹⁶ This is not true of all Protestant theologians. For the use Melchior Hoffman made of medieval allegory see C.A. Pater, 'Melchior Hoffman's explication of the Songs (!) of Songs.' ARG LXVIII (1977), pp.173-191.

latter half of this chapter.⁹⁷ Whilst he did not entirely reject the use of allegory, he saw it as highly dangerous, and singled out the allegorizing of Origen and Jerome for particular criticism:

'Fuit autem Paulus optimus artifex tractandi Allegorias, referre enim eas solet ad doctrinam fidei, ad gratiam et ad Christum, non ad legem et opera, ut Origens et Hieronymus. Hi, quia simplicissimas sententias scripturae, in quibus Allegoriae locum non habent, verterunt in Allegorias inconcinnas et ineptas, iure reprehenduntur. Itaque imitatio tractandarum Allegoriarum infelix est et plerumque etiam periculosa. Nam nisi quis perfectam cognitionem doctrinae Christianae habeat, non feliciter tractabit Allegorias.'⁹⁸ 98

This rejection of the fourfold method of biblical exegesis by Protestant theologians was more or less inevitable. To retain it would have been to concede that the numerous allegorical interpretations of Scripture to support orthodox Catholicism were valid. Cardinal Pole, for example, used Luke 5:3-6 where Christ preaches from Peter's boat and then commands the net to be lowered, resulting in a miraculous catch of fish, in support of papal primacy.⁹⁹ In order to refute such interpretations, Luther and his followers were required to cast aside the entire medieval exegetical framework. Anything less would have been to lay themselves open to attack from any one of hundreds of 'hidden allegories'.¹⁰⁰

97 WA40/1, p.652.

98 WA40/1, p.653. 'Now Paul was a marvellously cunning workman in handling of allegories; for he is wont to apply them to the doctrine of faith, to grace, and to Christ, and not to the law and the works thereof, as Origen and Jerome do, who are worthily reprehended for that they turned the plain sentences of the Scripture, where allegories have no place, into unfit and foolish allegories. Therefore to use allegories, it is oftentimes a very dangerous thing. For unless a man have perfect knowledge of Christian doctrine, he cannot use allegories rightly as he should do.' Luther, Commentary on Galatians. Revised and completed translation based on the 'Middleton' edition of the English version of 1575 (London, 1953), p.414.

99 J.W. Blench, op.cit. p.42.

100 The reformers may also have been influenced by the danger of the spiritualists in their rejection of allegorical interpretations of Scripture.

But what of Peeters? Does his use of allegory make him less of a Lutheran than initially suggested? The question cannot easily be settled. Though in 1535 Luther was suspicious of all allegory, he had come to this position only gradually. In the 1520s Luther rejected only the more bizarre allegories which, in his view, were not in accord with the true meaning of the text. In his sermon on the parable of the sower (Lk.8:4-15) for Sexagesima 1525, for instance, he discarded the medieval view that the bearing of fruit thirty-fold referred to marriage, sixty-fold to widowhood, and one hundred-fold to chastity.¹⁰¹ His sermon on the feeding of the five thousand (Jn.6:1-14) on the fourth Sunday in Lent in the same year, however, is packed with allegory. Quoting Isaiah 40:6 'All flesh is grass' as a proof text, he equated the 'much grass' of verse ten with external holiness, wisdom and strength; the five loaves he identified as the external physical word understood through the natural intellect; the two fishes were the patriarchs and the prophets; the twelve baskets were the writings of the Apostles; Philip's advise on the cost of food signified human teachers who try to help the soul but cannot; the bread in Christ's hands was that which is done through his works and not by our own efforts, and so on.¹⁰²

Surprisingly, Peeters' sermon on the feeding of the five thousand is entirely devoid of such allegorizing and so no comparison with Luther can be made here. One sermon in which both Peeters and Luther made extensive use of allegory, however, was the Gospel for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity, the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk.10:23-37). Here Peeters' allegory is closely similar to Luther's but it is unlikely that the Netherlander was directly indebted to the German reformer. Peeters is not textually dependent on Luther for this sermon and, although the two men's allegorizing is similar for the most part, it is not identical. On this occasion, both Peeters and Luther drew either directly or indirectly on Origen's interpretation of the parable as is demonstrated in the table overleaf.

101 WA17/2, p.157. Blench cites St. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester for this exegesis. See J.W. Blench, *op.cit.* p.17.

102 WA17/2, pp.224-227.

7. Allegorical interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan

	Road	The attacked man	Robbers	Wounds	Priest & Levite	Ass	Wine & oil	Inn	Innkeeper	Coins	Samaritan's promise to return	
ORIGEN	Jerusalem: Paradise.	Adam	Hostile powers	Disobedience	Priest: Law. Christ	Ass	Wine & oil	Inn	The Church of the Church	The head of the Church	The Father and the Son	103
	Jericho:				Levite: Prophets.							
LUTHER	The World.	Adam and his descendants	Devils	-	Priest: pre Mosaic Christ	Ass	God's grace	The Church	Preachers of the Word	-	-	104
					Levite: Old Testament priesthood.							
PEETERS	Man in unbelief	The Fall	-	-	Moses and Aaron	Ass	The Law and the Gospel	The Church preacher	The Word of God	-	-	105
					Christ							

103 Origen, Homélies sur s. Luc, Sources chrétiennes LXXXVII (Paris, 1962), pp.402-405.

104 WA10/1/2. pp.335-367.

105 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, siiir-v.

However, though Luther had not completely rejected all allegorizing in the 1520s, his position was, nonetheless, more radical than that of Peeters. The discrepancy between the two men can be seen in their expositions on the Gospel for Septuagesima, the parable of the vineyard (Mtt.20:1-16). This parable relates how the owner of a vineyard hired out labourers to work for him at various hours of the day, and then paid them all equal amounts whether they had worked for one hour or twelve. Augustine had interpreted the workmen of the first hour as the first righteous men such as Abel and Noah, those of the third hour as the patriarchs, those of the sixth hour as Moses and Aaron, those of the ninth hour as the prophets and those of the eleventh hour as Christians.¹⁰⁶ Peeters broadly adopted the interpretation of Augustine equating those hired early in the morning with the Jews and those hired later on with the Gentiles.¹⁰⁷ Luther, however, writing in 1525, specifically rejected such explanations as fables. For him, the parable was to be interpreted simply as an illustration of how we are to enter the kingdom of heaven, that is, being entirely dependent upon the grace and mercy of God:

'Dis Euangelion haben etliche Veter gezogen auff die prediger von der weltt an bis an das ende. Das die erste stunde sey Adams zeyt, Die dritte Noe zeyt, Die sechste Abraham, Die neunde Mose, Die eylffe Christi und der Aposteln. Solch geschwetze ist gut die zeyt zuvertreyben, weyl man sonst nichts zu predigen hat. Denn das will sich ubel reymen, das der pfennig soll das ewige leben seyn, dar an sich die ersten, als Adam und die ersten heyligen Patriarchen nicht lassen benuegen, und sollen ym hymelreich solch heylige leute murren, dazu vom haus vater gescholten und fur die letzten, das ist, verdampft gehalten werden.

'Darumb lassen wyr solche fabel faren und bleyben bey der eynfeltigen lere und meynung Christi, der mit disser gleichnis zeygen will, wie es zu gehe ym hymel reich, das ist, ynn der Christenheyt auff erden, das Gott daselbs wuenderlich richtet und wirckt. Nemlich auff die weyse, Das er aus den ersten die letzten und aus

106 Augustine, 'Sermones ad populum', LXXXVII, op.cit. V pt.1, col.664-665.

107 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, kkiiir.

den letzten die ersten macht. Und ist alles gesagt zu demuetigen die ihenigen, die etwas sind, das sie sich auff nichts sollen verlassen denn auff die blosse Gottes guete und barmhertzickeyt.' 108

Besides his less inhibited use of allegory, Peeters also accommodated Scripture to a much greater extent than Luther. Indeed, at times his accommodations approached the old type of allegory. In his sermon on the Gospel for the Thursday in the fifth week of Lent (Jn 7:40-53), for instance, in which the Pharisees rejected Christ because they mistakenly believed he was born in Galilee, Peeters linked together old and new enemies of the Gospel:

'Die Phariseen, die heylige Concilien, Paus ende Cardinalen hebben hem inden ban gedaen, daerom so en is hi van God niet gesonden, Christus sal heerlic ende met grooter pronckerijen wt Bethleem comen.' 109

However, like the Pharisees, the contemporary ecclesiastical hierarchy only succeed in turning Scripture against themselves:

108 WA17/2, pp.136-137. 'From this Gospel some of the Fathers have drawn the preachers from the beginning to the end of the world. The first hour, they say, was Adam's time, the third Noah's, the sixth Abraham's, the ninth Moses; the eleventh Christ and his apostles.' Such prattle is only good for whiling away the time so that others do not have to preach. For this results in an objectionable interpretation, that the pennies which should be eternal life were not received with joy by the first such as Adam and the first holy patriarchs complained in heaven, as a result of which the householder damned them.

Therefore we will flee such fables and remain with the simple doctrine and view of Christ, that this is an illustration of how to enter the kingdom of heaven, that is, into Christendom on earth, where God rules and works wonderfully. To know in this way that he creates from the first to the last and from the last to the first. And everything has been said to humble them because they have not abandoned themselves to the blood, goodness and mercy of God.'

109 Acquoy, op.cit. p.315. 'The Pharisees, the holy councils, popes and cardinals have put him under the ban; therefore he is not sent from God, for Christ shall come from Bethlehem with glory and great pomp.'

'Ende daer om allegeren dese ongeloouige menschen
die schrifture tegen haer seluen, daer sijt
geheelic waenden gewonnen te hebben, so elc hier
tasten mach. Gelyc de vianden der Euangelischer
waerheyt nv ooc voor onsen ooren doen.' 110

Similarly, for the Gospel for Epiphany (Mtt.2:1-12), the story of the Magi, a parallel was made between the reigns of Herod and the papacy insofar as both reign through human teaching and works rather than faith and the Gospel:

'Dese gheboorte gheschiet inden dagen Herodus des Conincs, dat is, een gheestelic regiment, dat de lieden niet doer tghelloue ende Euangelion, maer doer menschen leeringhen ende werken regeert, ende nochtans den naen ende schijn heeft, als oft het de lieden doer den rechten wech ten hemel leydde, ende die wel leerde, hoe wel datse nochtans doer de breeden wech ter hellen leydt, gelyc de Paus met sinen geestelijcken regimenter in de conscientie der menschen wil regneren, gebiedende ende verbiedende recht oft hi God selue ware.' 111

Such anti-Catholic accommodations are not, of course, unique to Peeters. They were quite often used by evangelicals to rail opponents of the Gospel. The English reformer Hugh Latimer (c1485-1555), for example, drew similar parallels to Peeters equating the Pharisees with monks and 'hollow-hearted' papists, and identifying those who were asleep when the enemy came and sowed tares (Mtt.13:25) as 'the bishops and prelates, the slothful and careless curates and ministers.'¹¹²

110 Ibid. p.314. 'And therefore these unbelieving men cite the Scripture against themselves having simply created illusions as anyone can see, just like the enemies of the truth of the Gospel now also do for our ears.'

111 Peeters, Christelike sermonen, ffviiir-v. 'This birth took place in the days of Herod the king, that is a spiritual rule when the people were governed, not through faith and the Gospel, but through human teaching and works, but which nevertheless had the name and appearance of leading the right way to heaven. Though this may be taught well it is the broad way that leads to hell, like the pope will reign with his spiritual rule in the conscience of men, commanding and forbidding as if he himself were God.'

112 J.W. Blench, op.cit. p.47.

Nevertheless, Peeters' use of this technique where Luther does not employ it again indicates an independence of spirit of the Netherlander, as with his more conservative use of allegory. Textually dependent on Luther he may have been, but this did not mean that he slavishly copied him in all respects.

Much remains unknown about Nicolaes Peeters and his sermons. Though more intelligent guesses can now be made, the true identity of Peeters remains a mystery and, unless new evidence is discovered, it is likely that this will continue to be the case. Exactly when the sermons were written and published is still unknown, although 1528 has been set as the terminus a quo and 1543 as the terminus ad quem. In addition, the printer of Peeters' sermons cannot certainly be established. Why did Peeters choose to plagiarize from Luther? What, if anything, was the rationale behind the selection of the particular sermons he borrowed? How aware was Peeters of his own more traditional stance on the allegorizing of the Scriptures compared to that of Luther? These and other questions still remain unanswered. Nevertheless, many of the problems surrounding our 'devout Franciscan' and his sermons have now been solved.

CHAPTER 8

HERESY ON THE STAGE?

'For in those plays was the word of God
fyrst openyd in thys contrey. Wiche plays
were and ar forbidden, moche more strettly
than any of the boks of Martyn Luter.'¹

So wrote the English merchant Richard Clough to his patron Sir Thomas Gresham on 4 August 1561 after witnessing the procession the previous day of the 1,426 rederijkers into Antwerp for the Antwerp rederijker festival (landjuweel). However, Clough's remarks were not directed at the plays of the 1561 Antwerp landjuweel. Rather he was referring to the spelen of the last great festival at Ghent in 1539 which had centred on the theme 'What is the greatest comfort for a dying man?'

The English observer was not alone in his views. Opponents of the evangelical faith were equally convinced that the vernacular plays produced by the chambers of rhetoric were of a 'Lutheran' orientation. Franciscus Sonnius, inquisitor for the provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, was particularly concerned at the spread of heresy via the rederijkers. In a letter of 25 March 1551 he complained that the rederijkers discussion of controversial articles of the faith within their plays and their preoccupation with Biblical texts were leading people into error.² The ardent Catholic chronicler of the Dutch Revolt Renon de France also attacked the rederijkers for their mocking of God the clergy and the Church,³ whilst Wilhelmus Lindanus, inquisitor for Holland, Zeeland and Friesland appears to have been obsessed with the 'Calvinist' inclinations of the rederijkers at Gouda in the summer of

1 Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le règne de Philippe II, ed. K. de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1882-1900), II, p.597.

2 L.M. van Dis, Reformatorische rederijkersspelen uit de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw (Haarlem, 1937), p.31.

3 Renon de France, Histoire des troubles des Pays Bas ed. C. Piot (Brussels, 1886), I, p.46.

1564.⁴

How accurate are these assessments of the religious position of the rederijkers. Were they evangelicals who used their plays as a vehicle for the promulgation of the new theology? Were they anticlericals eager to attack 'abuses' within the Church? Or were they simply orthodox Catholics having fun at the expense of the establishment? Is it possible to generalize about the religious position of the rederijkers at all, or did they differ so much from town to town that one can only talk of particular plays and individual chambers of rhetoric rather than rederijkers in general?

The extent of material available for a study of the religious position of the rederijkers is considerable. A total of one hundred and eighty seven chambers of rhetoric are known to have been active in the Netherlands in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵ Most of these were concentrated in the south, particularly in Brabant and Flanders. The remote northern provinces of Friesland, Gelderland, Overijssel and Utrecht, for example, had only one chamber each,⁶ whilst the Flemish towns of Ieper and Ghent boasted six and five respectively.⁷ An analysis of all the religious plays performed by the rederijkers in the sixteenth century is beyond the scope of this study. Since our aim throughout has been to examine the role and influence of the printed book in the Dutch Reformation, we shall concentrate on printed plays (as opposed to those which circulated only in manuscript form) to discover the answers to our questions.

Tension between the Church and the chambers of rhetoric antedated the Reformation. As early as 1408 an edict was issued at Tournai forbidding plays in which the Sacrament of the Altar or other matters

4 P. Th. van Beuningen, Wilhelmus Lindanus als inquisiteur en bisschop (Assen, 1966), pp.145-151. J. Kleijntjens, 'Verslag over den godsdienstigen toestand in Holland en Friesland A° 1565', Haarlemsche bijdragen LIX (1940), pp 52-101.

5 J. Decaene, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, p.193.

6 E. Ellerbroek-Fortuin, Amsterdamse rederijkersspelen in de zestiende eeuw (Groningen, 1937), p.15.

7 J. Decaene, op.cit. p.193.

touching the faith were performed.⁸ Yet this was probably not an attack on heresy as such, but a reflection of the Church's concern to prevent any flippant treatment of something as important as the Eucharist.⁹ More than a century later, on 5 March 1526, the messenger of the Hof van Holland was sent to Amsterdam in connection with a play that some rederijkers of the town had performed 'tot confuys, derisie ende bespottinghe vande sacramenten der heyliger kerke ende andre goiden institucien'.¹⁰ This may indicate that evangelical influence had penetrated the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric at this early stage of the Reformation. However, the charge is unclear, and the play may well have been anticlerical in tone rather than specifically evangelical.

It was not until the performance of the nineteen plays at the Ghent festival of 1539 that contemporaries saw a close connection between the rederijkers and heresy. On 6 October that year, less than four months after the landjuweel and barely a month after Joos Lambrecht's publication of the plays entitled Spelen van zinne binnen Ghendt verstooght 12-23 Juni 1539 (31 August 1539)¹¹ Adolf vander Noot, chancellor of Brabant, wrote to Mary of Hungary warning her of their heretical tenor:

'Madamme, je suis cejourd'hy esté averty que,
 à la dernière assamblée des réthorisiens tenue
 à Gand, y ont de plusieurs villes et plaches,
 tant de Brabant que Flandres, esté joué juyz
 plain de malvaises et abusives doctrines et
 séductions, de tout tendant à l'opinion
 lutheriane, et que tous lesdits juyz par
 ensamble sont esté impriméz, pour les vendre
 publicquement et par tout, qui causera beaucoup
 de maulx.'¹²

8 CD II, p.195.

9 C. Krahn, Dutch anabaptism. Origin, spread, life and thought (1450-1600) (The Hague, 1968), p.30.

10 CD V, pp.172 and 324. 'To the confusion, derision and ridicule of the sacraments and the holy Church and other good institutions.'

11 Four Dutch editions of these plays are known. See p.321.

12 Relation des troubles de Gand' sous Charles - quint. per un anonyme, ed. L.M. Gachard (Brussels, 1846), p.256. 'Madam, I have been informed today that at the last assembly of the rhetoricians held at Ghent there were several towns and places, from Brabant as well as Flanders, that performed plays filled with wicked and abusive doctrines and seductions all inclining towards the Lutheran opinion, and that all the said plays have been printed together for public sale everywhere, which will cause all sorts of evil.'

His advice was heeded. The Ghent Spelen van zinne were forbidden by an imperial edict of 22 September 1540.¹³ This prohibition was renewed in a list of forbidden books drawn up by the theologians of Leuven in 1546.¹⁴ Moreover, this 1546 index also included a number of other rederijker plays - Den boom der schriftueren (c1540), first performed at Middelburg on 1 August 1539,¹⁵ the Speel van sinnen op tderde, tvierde ende tvijfde capitell van dwerck der apostelen (c1540)¹⁶ and an otherwise unknown play entitled 'Een batement van IIIII personagien, den pastoor den medecyn, den advocaet ende den sot genoempt onnooseel',¹⁷ together with Den geestelijcken abc (1543), some poems by the Antwerp rhetorician Cornelis Crul.¹⁸

This legislation against suspect rederijkersspelen is indicative of a government attitude which is clearly demonstrated in the prosecutions against those involved in any way in such plays. At least four men are known to have been put to death for their involvement in rederijker plays or verses. In 1546 one Jacob van Middeldonck, dean of the Antwerp chamber 'de Damastbloeme' was executed because four years earlier he had recited a piece from the Boom der schriftueren which was 'smakende heresie, contrarie onsen Heylighen kersten gelooove ende insetten der Heyligher Roomscher Kercken'.¹⁹ On 25 May of the following year Peter Schuddemate, a schoolmaster from Antwerp and member of 'de Violieren' chamber was beheaded after three years imprisonment having been convicted of heresy because he had written a play entitled 'Babel van Vilvoorden'.²⁰ On 28 February 1556 one Jacob Wattel alias Buucq from Ieper was executed after being convicted the previous year of

13 J. Decaene, op.cit. p.197. De gentse spelen van 1539, ed. B.H. Erné and L.M. van Dis (The Hague, 1982), p.27.

14 ROPB ii série V, p.263.

15 ROPB ii série V, p.262. See p.321.

16 ROPB ii série V, p.262. See p.322.

17 ROPB ii série V, p.261.

18 ROPB ii série V, p.261. See p.321.

19 Antwerpsch archievenblad VIII (1871), p.360. 'Smacking of heresy, contrary to our holy christian faith and the decrees of the holy Roman church'.

20 Ibid. pp.364, 373-375.

possession of a book in his own handwriting containing plays, refrains and ballads 'inde welcke diversche passagen stonden vul dwaelyngen ende heresien'.²¹ Finally, Heynsoon Andriaensz, factor of the chamber of Pellicanisten at Haarlem was hanged on 29 June 1568 for composing and distributing songs, ballads and echo verses.²²

Others that were prosecuted for similar offences escaped with less severe penalties. On 2 July 1543 the future Reformed minister Jan Uttenhove had a play performed on his lands at Roborst near Ghent which was condemned as 'erronieux' and 'sentant la nouvelle secte'.²³ As a result Uttenhove suffered the penalty of banishment and confiscation of goods.²⁴ Another rederijker to suffer severe punishment for his involvement in an heretical play was Jan de Zuttere from Zottegem, a teacher at Ronse. On 31 May 1548 the Ronse rederijkers performed a play at the Geeraadsbergen festival written by de Zuttere entitled 'Het spel van der bruyt'. Two years later on 22 September de Zuttere was forced to recant his heresy and condemned to life imprisonment.²⁵

In addition to these prosecutions, there is other evidence to link the chambers of rhetoric with the spread of heresy. For example, a number of leading Anabaptists were associated with the rederijkerskamers. Jan Beuckelsz, the founder of the millenarian kingdom at Munster, was at one time a rhetorician who liked to act the part of King David.²⁶ David Joris is said to have been christened David because his father, like Beuckelsz, played the role of the Old Testament king in a rederijker play²⁷, whilst the Mennonite elder Bouwens was a member of his local rederijkerskamer in his youth.²⁸ Other evangelicals may also have

21 J. Decavale, op.cit. pp.217-218. 'In which several passages were full of errors and heresies.'

22 W.P.J. Overmeer, De hervorming te Haarlem (Haarlem, 1904), pp.182-183.

23 J. Decavale, op.cit. p.208. J. Loosjes, 'De invloed der rederijkers op de hervorming,' Stemmen voor waarheid en vrede XLVI (1909), p.422. 'Erroneous' and 'smacking of the new sect'.

24 J. Loosjes, 'De invloed der rederijkers op de hervorming', p.422.

25 J. Decavale, op.cit. pp.211-212.

26 ME III, p.77.

27 ME II, p.17.

28 ME III, p.305.

learnt their heresy in such circles. Frans Fraet, a bookprinter from Antwerp who was beheaded for printing evangelical books on 3 January 1558 was also factor of the Antwerp rederijkerskamer 'de Violieren'.²⁹ Similarly, a number of members of the Leuven conventicle of the 1540s including Paul de Rovere, Dirk and Boudewijn Gheylaerts, Jan de Brievere and Goris Stockx, all had links with the local chamber of rhetoric.³⁰ Finally, the evangelical sympathies of many rederijkers can be seen in their participation in the iconoclasm of 1566. In Ghent the leader of the image breakers was a prominent rederijker named Jan Onghena. At Leiden images were brought to be burnt at the local rederijkerskamer, and at Den Briel the rederijkers held a mock trial of a missal and a statue of St. Roch and sentenced them to be burnt.³¹

It would be quite wrong to conclude that all rederijkers were pre-disposed to the evangelical faith. Some indeed were steadfast opponents of the new theology and used their literary talents to defend the Mother church. Anna Bijns is an obvious case: her early poetry is directed chiefly against Luther and his adherents.³² Another anti-evangelical rederijker was the Utrecht bookseller Reynier Pouwelsz. His unpublished 'Tspel van de cristenkerck' written shortly after 1540, has been interpreted as an orthodox response to the highly contentious Boom der schriftueren.³³

Bijns and Pouwelsz, however, do seem to have been exceptional cases. The evidence of government legislation and prosecutions as well as what we know of the lives and activities of rederijkers does suggest that a fair number of rederijkerskamers were ambivalent towards the Catholic faith. It would appear that the rederijkers with their attacks on the

29 Antwerpsche archievenblad VIII (1871), pp.441-442 and 445. J. Loosjes, 'De invloed der rederijkers op de hervorming', p.438.

30 R. van Uytven, 'Bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van de protestanten te Leuven in de eerst helft der XVIe eeuw', Mededelingen van de geschied-en oudheidkundige kring voor Leuven en omgeving III (1963), pp.25-26.

31 K.P.F. Moxey, 'Image criticism in the Netherlands before the iconoclasm of 1566', NAK LVII (1976-77), p.156.

32 See p.315.

33 G.A. Brands, Tspel van de cristenkercke (Utrecht, 1921), p.XXVI.

'establishment' had always been an offence to those in authority, but with the onset of the Reformation their unlicensed discussion of religious topics was not just offensive but downright dangerous. Yet much of this evidence is circumstantial, resting on the opinions of hostile contemporaries as to the religious inclinations of the rederijkers. The best way of discerning the extent of evangelical influence within the chambers of rhetoric is to examine the plays which they performed, and it is to these that we now turn.

There is little doubt that some rederijkers plays are of a strongly evangelical inclination. This is certainly true of the Spel van zinnen attributed to Jan Utenhove and performed on his lands in 1543.³⁴ Admittedly, some of the views in this play could have been indebted to the Christian humanist reform programme. For instance, the suggestion that works which are of practical benefit to one's neighbour are more pleasing to God than the building of altars, images and churches recalls Erasmian piety, as does the stress on the availability of the Scriptures to all, laity and clergy alike.³⁵ Other features, however, are unmistakably Lutheran. The play is a dialogue between Ongheleert volck (Unlearned people) who is ignorant of the truths of the Scriptures, and Dienaeer Gods (Servant of God) and Evangelische leeraer (teacher of the Gospel) who, as their names suggest, are spokesmen for the evangelical cause. From the very outset Dienaeer Gods and Evangelische leeraer reject Ongheleert volk's trust in good works for his salvation. No one, Dienaeer Gods asserts, can earn righteousness by his own merits, for salvation comes to us purely by the grace of God:

'Ende werden sonder verdiensten rechtueerdich,
Wter ghenaden Gods in dit pardoen eerweerdich,
Door de verlossinghe die door Christum is gheschiet.'³⁶

Evangelische leeraer is in full agreement with these sentiments, quoting

34 See pp.323-324.

35 J. Utenhove, Een seer schoon spel van zinnen, Eiiir, Fiiiv-Fiiir.

36 Ibid. Aiiiv.

'And becoming righteous without merits,
By the grace of God worthy by this pardon,
Through the redemption brought about by Christ.'

Ephesians 2:8 and Hebrews 11:6 to demonstrate that man is saved only by the grace of God through faith in Christ.³⁷ Letters of indulgence are specifically rejected as a means of obtaining forgiveness of sins. For Evangelische leeraer, the only true indulgence for sin is the blood of Christ:

'Wy zijn ghewasschen in Christus bloet puere,
Waer sulcke vergheuinghe es als wt Gods monde,
Daer en es gheen Offerande meer voor de sonde,
Desen Aflaet sal eeuwiche blijuen.' ³⁸

Moreover, as with Luther, the righteousness of the believer is considered to be completely extrinsic. Rather than anything in which he himself has co-operated, his righteousness is a garment with which he is clothed by Christ:

'Tes tcleet der Gerechticheit twelc ons Christus
heeft bereet,
Want hy heeft onse sonden wtghewasschen door
zijn Bloet,
Ende ghecleet met zijn rechtuaerdicheyt soet.' ³⁹

Another play which is clearly sympathetic to the evangelical cause is the Spel van sinnen op tderede, tvierde ende tvijfde capitell van dwerck der apostelen. An account of the events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles chapters three, four and five, this rederijkerspel was described by Pijper an enactment of a heresy trial in which Peter and John represent contemporary evangelical preachers, and Annas and Caiaphas their inquisitors.⁴⁰ Throughout the play, there is a deliberate link made between the apostles and contemporary evangelical preachers on the one hand, and the Jewish authorities and the Roman hierarchy on the

37 Ibid. Aiiiv.

38 Ibid. Aiiiv.

'We are washed in the pure blood of Christ,
Where there is such forgiveness as from God's mouth,
There is no longer any offering for sin,
This indulgence shall remain forever.'

39 Ibid. Diiir.

'Tis the garment of righteousness which Christ
has prepared,
For he has washed away our sins through his blood,
And clothed us with his sweet righteousness.'

40 BRN I, p.281.

other. Hence a link is forged between old and new enemies of the gospel. Annas, for example, is compared with the Beast of the Apocalypse, the Antichrist:

'Way het is de draken met seven hoofden,
Den groten Antechrist, fel int vervremen,
Wiens hoofden ghecroont zijn met dyademen,
Om God te benemen, zijn glorie dieflick.'⁴¹

In addition, it is noted that Annas is the head of Jerusalem.⁴² Clearly a parallel with the papacy as Antichrist and head of Rome is being drawn. Conversely, the imprisonment of Peter and John is paralleled with the contemporary persecution of evangelicals in the Netherlands at the hands of the religious and secular authorities.⁴³ Similarly, the healing of the cripple at the Beautiful Gate and the testimony of Peter before the rulers, elders and scribes are used by the author to stress the importance of faith in Christ. Salvation, Peter asserts, comes through Christ alone, and hence attention is drawn to the importance of the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith alone.⁴⁴

The anticlericalism of the Spel van sinnen...van dwerck der apostelen is an important feature of a number of rederijkersspelen. Of course, anticlericalism is no guarantee that a play is evangelical. There was no fiercer critic of the prelates and clergy than Anna Bijns who indeed blamed the spread of heresy on their failings.⁴⁵ Other rederijkersspelen contain little else but anticlericalism. A series of three plays performed in September-October 1559 at Brussels very much fall into this category. In the first of these, Een esbatament van de beruoete bruers van ses personagien, for example, the Franciscans come in for considerable criticism for their failure to take care of the needs of the poor.⁴⁶

41 BRN I, p.346.

'Woe it is the dragon with seven heads,
The great Antichrist, much given to plunder,
Whose heads are crowned with diadems,
In order to rob God of His glory.'

42 BRN I, p.343.

43 BRN I, p.315.

44 BRN I, pp.301 and 322.

45 See p.316.

46 Drie schandaleuse spelen (Brussel, 1559), ed. W. van Eeghem (Antwerp, 1937), pp.13-14.

However, other anticlerical plays like the Spel van sinnen...van dwerck der apostelen also contain positive evangelical statements of faith. Take, for example, the Boom der schriftueren. In this play, Medecijne der sielen (Medecine of the soul) who stands for Christ attacks false prophets who lead the flock astray through their fallacious arguments:

'Om mijn woort tonthoudene, so sijt ghenegen.
Siet daer mijn woort en wet al in u hant.
Niet dienende tuwer salicheyt en is gheswegen,
So wijlen pleghen valschen propheeten, want
Si verleyden mijn schapen aen elcken cant,
Door sophistich verstant dat si useren.' 47

Undoubtedly these remarks are directed at the Catholic clergy. Yet this anticlericalism was not inspired by the immorality or greed of clerics, but by their failure to preach the gospel. This is seen in the strongly Christocentric evangelical theology which undergirds the whole play. Christ, the author maintains, has obtained our salvation by the shedding of his blood. Our response should be one of trust in his sacrifice rather than a reliance on the performance of good works.⁴⁸ It is to Christ and Christ alone that we should commit ourselves. Hence Medecijne der sielen bids

'Compt hier tot my, ic ben u broeder,
Uwen eenich advocaat, u herder, u hoedere,
U stercte, u hoot, uwen arm, uwen steen,
U borcht, uwen schilt, u toevlucht, u voedere,
Uwen wech, u waerheyt, u leven alleen.' 49

47 Den boom der schriftueren, ed. G.D.J. Schotel (Utrecht, 1870), p.4.
'Be willing to keep my word.
See there my word and law all in your hand.
What is of no use to your salvation is not mentioned
Thus in the past the false prophets used to do, for
They seduce my sheep in every respect
By using sophistic reason.'

48 Ibid. p.38.

49 Ibid. p.5.

'Come to me here, I am your brother,
Your only advocate, your shepherd, your guardian
Your strength, your head, your arm, your rock,
Your stronghold, your shield, your refuge, your nourisher,
Your way, your truth, your only life.'

This invitation to come to Christ alone is a direct refutation and denunciation of contemporary devotion to images of the saints.

Elck bysonder (Any individual):

'Och wee den menschen, die afgoden adoren,
Si destrueren, en souwen gheerne mineren
U levende woort, der sielen confoort.' 50

Perhaps the most comprehensively evangelical rederijkersspelen published in the sixteenth century was Een schoon tafelspel van drie personagien te weten: een prochiaen gheheeten Eygen ghemack, een coster gheheeten Menschelijck mensche en een wever gheheeten Evangelis verstant⁵¹ in which an evangelical weaver defends himself against fifteen charges of heresy made by an orthodox priest and verger. Like the Spel van sinnen...van dwerck der apostelen and the Boom der schriftueren, the Schoon tafelspel contains much anticlericalism. The sixth of the accusations made against the weaver is that the evangelicals describe the Roman clergy as Scribes and Pharisees.⁵² The weaver responds to the charge, not by denying it, but by demonstrating from Christ's words in the gospels that the clergy's treatment of the poor and needy is exactly like that of the Scribes and Pharisees of New Testament times:

'Daer gheeft ghy getuygenisse van u selven,
Want ghy so pruesch spreect ende onbesneen zijt,
Dat ghy Priesters de rechte Scriben en Phariseen zijt
Die Christus int Evangelio heeft verweten
Dat sy der weduwen huysen duereten
En der armer slechter menschen consciencie beswaren.'⁵³

50 Ibid. p.5.

'O woe to men who worship idols,
They bring destruction, and they would gladly destroy
Your living word, the comfort of the soul.'

51 See pp.322-323.

52 L.M. van Dis, op.cit., p.175.

53 Ibid. p.175.

'There you give testimony of yourself,
For you speak so virtuously yet behave as the
uncircumcised,
That you priests are the true Scribes and Pharisees
Whom Christ reproved in the Gospel
Because they devoured widows' houses
And burdened the conscience of poor simple men.'

Following this general attack upon the clergy as enemies of the Gospel comes a more specific accusation. The seventh charge made against the weaver is that the evangelicals reject papal authority.⁵⁴ The priest argues that, being seated on St. Peter's stool, the pope has dominion to plant the good and to uproot evil. The weaver rejects this out of hand. It is blasphemous, he retorts, to extol the pope's holiness in this way, for like other men, he is born in sin. Quoting 2 Thessalonians 2:4 and Revelation 18:1-2, the weaver suggests that these prophecies concerning the coming of Antichrist are fulfilled in the papacy:

'Hy macht door de cracht des grooten Antichrists doen,
 Dwelc hy doch selve is en eewelijck blijft.
 Waer af Paulus totten Tessalonicensen schrijft,
 Hoe hy hem vertoonen sal als een exemplē,
 Sittende int hoochste vanden tempele,
 Daer hy hem sal doen aanbidden als een Godt.
 Maer door de mont zijns geests sal zijn ryc werden een spot,
 Als Johannes openbaringe fijn declareert,
 Hoe de Paus met de hoere van Babel boeleert,
 Maer de Engelen sullen roepen alle met allen:
 "Babel de groote hoere, sy is gevallen!"
 Set in alsulcke teeckenēn tsPaus insettingen groen.'⁵⁵

The anticlericalism of the Schoon tafelspel, however, is by no means the sum total of its indictment against the Roman church. It is indeed but an aspect of its firm commitment to Reformation theology. This is apparent from many of the other charges made against the weaver. The third accusation, for example, is that he rejects good works. In reply, the weaver insists that the Lutherans do not reject good works out of hand, but rather they do not put their trust in them for that

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.181.

⁵⁵ Ibid. p.182.

'He rules through the power of the great Antichrist,
 Which he himself indeed is, and eternally remains.
 Of which Paul wrote to the Thessalonians,
 How he shall present himself as an example,
 Sitting in the high place in the temple,
 Where he shall be worshipped as a god,
 But through the mouth of his spirit his kingdom will
 become a mockery,
 As John's revelation well declares,
 How the pope plays the harlot with the whore of Babylon,
 But the angels shall shout altogether:
 "Babylon, the great whore, she is fallen!"
 Set in all such signs the papal ordinances grow.'

would be idolatry. Instead, the believer must trust in Christ's grace alone:

'...Maer wy en mogen op geen goede wercken
betrouwen
Maer ons alleene vestigen vast op Christus genade.'⁵⁶

The weaver's complaint against the Mass springs from much the same objection. Idolatry is defined as trust in anything except God, and since many men believe they are holy simply because they hear the Mass, then the Mass is condemned as idolatrous.

A list of some of the other views of the weaver will serve to press home the strong evangelical tenor of the Schoon tafelspel. For example, he argues that confession should be made only to God and not to a priest,⁵⁷ and rejected the contemporary practice of detailed itemizing of sins, not as merely ungodly, but as Satanic in origin.

'De biechte, daer ghy tgemeyn volc toe dwinct,
En daer gijt volc met riguere tot u pijnt te iagene,
Ende hem so vele oneerlijcke vragen te vragen,
Daer hen de papische papen seer af verblijen,
Gelijs van handelen, van tasten, van buggerijen,
Welck schande en sonde waer om vertellen,
Sulc en is geen Gods biecht, maer tis duyvels
vander hellen,
En door sulcke vragen wert menich duysent menschen
bedrogen.' 58

A firm stance is also taken against the intermediary role of the saints and the veneration of images. The priest justifies intercession to the

56 *Ibid.* p. 167.

'...But we must not trust in good works
But place our only firm foundation in Christ's grace.'

57 *Ibid.* p.208.

58 *Ibid.* pp. 163-164.

saints by comparing their role to that of lawyers who speak on behalf of the defendant to the judge. The weaver opposes such comparisons with Scripture texts (1 Timothy 2:5, 1 John 2:1) to prove that Christ alone is our advocate before the Father.⁵⁹ The verger attempts to defend images with the Gregorian argument that they serve as books for the unlearned. The weaver, however, condemns them as a blasphemy against the majesty of God:

'Wilt ghy dan de onbegrijpelijcke godtheyt habundant
Gelijcken by hout, steen, silver oft gouts figueren,
So wilt ghy de Godtlijcke maiesteyt blasphemeren,
En quaet saet in goede ackers plegen' - 60

a stock refutation of image worship in reformed circles. In addition, the weaver denies the existence of purgatory, rejects compulsory fasting and the observance of holy days, and defends lay interpretation of Scripture and clerical marriage.⁶¹

Of course, it could be argued that the weaver's steadfast adherence to the evangelical faith is not proof that the playwright himself was an evangelical. After all, the views of the weaver are countered and rejected by the priest and the verger. Perhaps the play is merely a set piece in which both Protestant and Catholic views are put forward on controversial theological issues.

At first sight this argument may seem plausible. However, a careful reading of the Schoon tafelspel completely discredits such a view. In the first place, the full title of the play giving the names as well as the occupations of the three characters immediately indicates the author's bias. The priest is named Eygen ghemack (Personal ease), the verger Menschelijck mensch (Human Man) and the weaver Evangelis

59 Ibid. p.172.

60 Ibid. p.196

'Do you wish to compare the unintelligible abundant
Godhead
To wood, stone, silver or figures of gold,
Then you will blaspheme the majesty of God,
And cultivate bad seed in good fields.'

61 Ibid. pp.213-215, 185-186, 187-190, 193-194, 210-212.

verstant (Understanding of the Gospel). Clearly the author takes the side of the weaver and his cause right from the beginning. Secondly, the way the debate between the three characters is conducted casts the views of the weaver in a much more favourable light than those of the priest or the verger. On each point under discussion it is always the priest or the verger who attacks the weaver first. This is then followed by the weaver's defence. This order of accusation followed by refutation means that it appears to be the weaver who wins the argument, and it is his views which are imprinted on the mind of the audience or the reader.

There is little doubt then that the Schoon tafelspel was not simply a set piece debate composed by a neutral observer. As van Dis has remarked, it is so sharply critical of Roman doctrine that it would not be incorrect to describe it as a Reformation play.⁶² Other rederijkersspelen, however, are much more difficult to classify. The Spel van zinne of the Leiden chamber the Witte acoleyen, for example, performed at the Rotterdam landjuweel of 1561⁶³ has been variously interpreted by historians. For Enno van Gelder this play has a specifically Catholic character seen in its depiction of the crucified Christ with stigmata and of Mary standing between the apostles performing the role of comforter.⁶⁴ J.B. Drewes, on the other hand, has detected Lutheran influence in the play's stress on trust in the word of God and on the role of faith in the life of the believer, naming the Confession of Augsburg (1530) as the probable source of such views.⁶⁵ It must be admitted, however, that Drewes' conclusions rest on the fairly slender evidence of only a relatively few words and phrases, and that, generally speaking, by the 1560s the rederijkersspelen treated religious matters

62 Ibid. p.99.

63 Spelen van sinne vol schoone allegatien, loflijcke leeringhen ende schriftuerlijcke onderwiisinghen...ghespeelt binnen die stede van Rotterdam...Anno 1561 (Antwerp, 1564), Niiv-Oiiiir. See p.322.

64 H.A. Enno van Gelder, Erasmus, schilders en rederijkers (Groningen, 1959), p.71.

65 J.B. Drewes, 'Het spel van sinne van de witte acoleyen', De nieuwe taalgids LXX (1977), pp.303-304.

far more cautiously. None of the other plays of the Rotterdam landjuweel of 1561 nor those of the Antwerp festival of the same year⁶⁶ bear any trace of heresy.

One can speak with far less assurance about the Ghent Spelen van zinne of 1539. The division amongst historians as to the confessional character of these plays is even greater than that of the Spel van zinne of the Witte acoleyen. If the Bruges play for van Dis is 'consciously reformist' and Muller and Scharp  can consider it as 'developed in a specifically Protestant sense', van Eeghem takes a very different view arguing that this play bears a 'purely Roman character'.⁶⁷ Adopting a middle line, Willems, van Mierlo and Enno van Gelder each asserted that the Ghent Spelen van zinne were strongly influenced by Erasmus and Christian humanism.⁶⁸

Certainly it is difficult to see these plays as being securely within the tradition of late medieval Catholic piety. Not one chamber saw the greatest comfort for a dying man, the theme to which the rederijkers were addressing themselves, in the sacrament of the altar, confession, or the last rites. Instead, each chamber stressed a spiritual assurance or future hope. For the rederijkers of Leffinge the greatest comfort for a dying man was hope of the grace of Christ; for Bruges, trust through the word on Christ alone; for Mesen, trust in the mercy of God with repentance from sin; for Ieper, the living word of God; for Nieuwkerke, to die and rise again in Christ, believing this through His Spirit; for Nieuwpoort, Christ alone; for Tielt, trust that with Christ all things are given; for Antwerp, the resurrection of the flesh; for Axel, a good and peaceful conscience; for Tienen, the mercy of the Lord; for Menen, the stirring of the Spirit testifying to peace with God; for Brussels, the promise of God; for Kaprijke, the mercy of God with hope; for Oudenaarde, the testimony of the Spirit that we are children of God; for Lo, Jesus Christ,

66 Spelen van sinne vol scoone moralisacien wt leggingen ende bediedenisse op alle loeflijcke consten...ghespeelt...binnen der stadt van Andtwerpen...int jaer ons Heeren M.D.LXI (Antwerp, 1562).

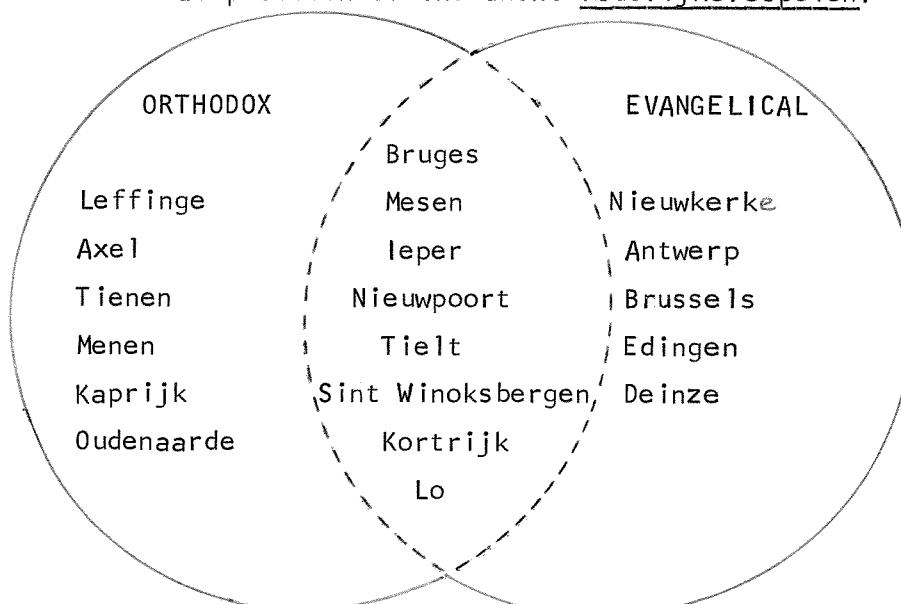
67 J. Decavale, op.cit. I, p.194 n.8.

68 L.M. van Dis, op.cit. pp.35-36. H.A. Enno van Gelder, op.cit. p.27.

advocate and satisfaction before God the Father; for Kortrijk, God's mercy in making the flesh subject to the spirit; for Edingen, the resurrection of Christ; for Sint Winoksbergen, trust that Christ has given you His Spirit; and for Deinze, hope through the Scriptures.⁶⁹

In a recently edited edition of the plays, Erné acknowledged that almost all the playwrights are critical of the clergy and ecclesiastical practices, but argued that five plays in particular are strongly influenced by Reformation theology. These are the plays staged by the chambers from Nieuwkerke, Antwerp, Brussels, Edingen and Deinze. In addition, he detected strong evangelical overtones in the Bruges play.⁷⁰ This stark division between orthodox and 'Reformatorsch-gezind' is, however, something of an oversimplification. True, there are those plays which are clearly orthodox, and others which are strongly evangelical, but a third group occupying the middle ground between traditional Catholicism and evangelicalism is also distinguishable. The plays can thus be divided up as shown below.

8. The doctrinal position of the Ghent rederijkerspelen.



One common feature of the plays categorized above as orthodox Catholic is that they each leave room for good works in the process of

69 De gentse spelen van 1539, pp.51, 85, 117, 147, 177, 205, 235, 269, 303, 339, 369, 397, 435, 469, 505, 535, 569, 597, 623.

70 *Ibid.* p.29.

justification. The Leffinge playwright, for instance, whilst criticizing worldly priests and prelates, supports the traditional view that good works are meritorious, quoting Peter Lombard as his authority.⁷¹ Similarly, the Axel play expresses the view that good works make us 'worthy' before God:

'Wt die verdienste en passye Christi,
Als wt die generaelse, waertste rooze;
Verdienste, die ons waercken (elc dit glooze)
Waerdigh beqwame Gode es makende.' ⁷²

The Tienen, Menen and Oudenaarde plays all use the traditional concept of 'faith working through love' thus indicating that their authors do not support the doctrine of justification by faith alone.⁷³ The Kaprijk playwright does not explicitly reject justification by faith alone, but by saying that the prodigal son decided to return to his state of innocence, he assigns a role to the human will in the obtaining of salvation far removed from that of Luther.⁷⁴ Other factors confirm the orthodox nature of these plays. The author of the Menen play, for example, holds that the apostles remained without sin after the ascension of Christ,⁷⁵ whilst the Kaprijk play gives the Virgin Mary a role of comforting the saints in heaven which would be an anathema to an evangelical.⁷⁶

At the other end of the spectrum, the play performed by the Antwerp chamber 'de Violieren' was strongly evangelical in tone. The author of this particular spel van zinne, which was awarded first prize in the festival, was greatly influenced by Luther in his views on sin, the Law and righteousness. Man, he asserts, is wholly evil by nature.⁷⁷

71 Ibid. pp.55 and 71.

72 Ibid. p.323.

'By the merits and passion of Christ,
As from this most universal and worthy rose;
(Comes) merit which makes our works (each take
this to heart)
Worthy and acceptable before God.'

73 Ibid. pp.357, 378, 481.

74 Ibid. p.467.

75 Ibid. p.382.

76 Ibid. p.462.

77 Ibid. pp.280-281.

Observance of the Law cannot make anyone righteous, but merely brings knowledge of sin. The Gospel, however, brings forgiveness of sins on the basis of faith alone.⁷⁸ In addition, the author's view of the justified man as always righteous through Christ, yet always remaining a sinner also indicates an indebtedness to the Wittenberg reformer.⁷⁹

Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone was, it seems, especially popular within rederijker circles. Each of the plays listed as strongly evangelical adhere to this teaching. For example, according to the Edingen playwright, those who seek works righteousness are like the Jews who wish to gain heaven through their own worthiness.⁸⁰ The author of the Deinze play, on the other hand, uses the doctrine of justification by faith alone in order to launch an attack upon the monastic orders who teach that salvation is gained through good works:

'Maer deze gaen elc zijn eyghen weghen
 Ende staen Christum met huer waercken teghen
 In eyghen wtghecoren gheestelicheyt,
 Meenende dat daer **zaligheyt** in leyt
 Dat zy an tvleesch gheenen cost en waghen
 Tot **zijnder** nootdurst, of in huer draghen
 Aldus of alzoo gaen sectigh ghecleedt:
 Blende leerders, daer de blende duer wert verleedt,
 De welcke zoo tzamen in den put gherocht zijn.' ⁸¹

However, it is not merely adherence to justification by faith alone that stamps these plays as evangelical. Other reformed doctrines are discernible. First, both the Edingen and Deinze plays reject the adoration of the saints. For the Edingen playwright this practice is

78 Ibid. p.282.

79 Ibid. p.295.

80 Ibid. p.583.

81 Ibid. p.637.

'But each of these goes his own way
 And stands against Christ with their works
 (Trusting) in their own select spirituality,
 Thinking that their salvation begins
 With their refusal to spend any money on meat
 For their needs, or in their dress
 They thus go about in sectarian clothing:
 Blind leaders, who through their leading of the blind,
 Together will fall into the pit.'

idolatrous and as such it is a transgression of the first commandment,⁸² whilst the Deinze writer rejects image worship on the grounds that Christ is our eternal priest, mediator and advocate.⁸³ Second, the vocabulary of the Deinze and Brussels plays suggest that their authors may have been influenced by the language of the Lutheran Liesvelt translation of the Bible. In the Brussels play numerous phrases such as 'veil heydensche personen' (Rom.4:17), 'tot gherechtigheyt gherenkent' (Rom.4:22), 'de rechtvaerdigheyt die wt God ghelt' (Rom.10:3) and 'stoel der ghenaden' (Heb.4:16) appear to have been borrowed from the Liesvelt Bible,⁸⁴ whilst the Deinze playwright replaced the orthodox word for church kerk for the more evangelical gemeente.⁸⁵ Third, the Nieuwkerk play rejects indulgences on the grounds that through Christ we are granted the great indulgence, that is, forgiveness of sins:

Mestroostighe mensche

'Zal ic dan ter waerelt in gheen houcken
Pardoenen noch aflaet van zonden zoucken
Dan alleene in Christum, en nieuwers el?

Schriftuerlic troost

'En trauen neen, die verstoet ghy wel!
Duer hem es ghegeven den groeten aflaet,
Das es verghevinghe van alder mesdaet.'⁸⁶

Moreover, the Nieuwkerke play is strongly influenced by the evangelical consolation tract of Willem Gnapheus Een troost ende spiegel der siecken (1531). In the first place, it uses the same Bible texts and allusions – that death is merely a sleep, that in Christ we rise again,

82 Ibid. p.580.

83 Ibid. p.643.

84 Ibid. pp.406, 424-425.

85 Ibid. pp.627, 636, 638, 643.

86 Ibid. p.188.

Man in despair

'Shall I then in no corner of the world
Seeks pardons nor indulgences from sin
Except in Christ alone and nowhere else?

Scriptural comfort

'Indeed not, you understand this well!
Through him is given the great indulgence,
That is, forgiveness of all misdeeds.'

and that Christ covers our sin.⁸⁷ On their own, these similar Bible texts could simply be coincidental. Yet in addition there are textual resemblances between the two works which are not taken from the Bible.

Nieuwkerke rederijkersspel

'T'lichamelic staerven en es maer
een duere om te passerene in dat
eeuwigh leven'
'Een redene diemen ghemeynlic
zeght: datmen voor tstaerven niet
dorft bezwaren, wisteman waer
datmen zoude bevaren.'
'Die helle dat es de vreeze der doot
en voor Gods rechtvaerdigheyt een
vergruwen.'

Gnapheus, Troost

'Die doot is ons dan een doorganc
tot dat leuen.'
'Men seyt ghemeynlic, het waer
goet te sterven, die wist waer
hy bevaren soldē.'
'Die helle is anders niet, dan
die vreeze ende verscrickinghe
des doots, ende een grouwel
voor Gods gherechtigheyt.'⁸⁸ 88

All this is not to say that the Nieuwkerke play is merely a condensed version of the Troost. It is an independent work which makes use of Gnapheus' tract, though the two works differ in tone. Most notably, the Nieuwkerk play is without the sharpness and irony of the Troost.⁸⁹

Finally, we turn our attention to the third group of plays illustrated in the diagram, those occupying the middle ground between evangelicalism and Catholicism. As with the strongly evangelical group, we find that justification by faith rather than by works is an important concept, but these plays' evangelical tendencies are balanced by orthodox overtones. The Mesen playwright, for example, argues for the necessity of not merely historic (that is, intellectual) faith, but faith in Christ which covers our sins.⁹⁰ In addition, he attacks the veneration of the saints as idolatrous, rejects indulgences, and argues that a dying man should not make strenuous efforts to confess before a priest or to take the sacrament, but should repent of his sinful life by way of a general confession.⁹¹ On the other hand, he maintains a high regard for the Roman church, seeing her as the 'helyghe Christenkaercke',

87 Ibid. p.181.

88 Ibid. pp.185, 197. BRN I, pp.225, 243.

89 De gentse spelen van 1539, pp.181-182.

90 Ibid. p.121.

91 Ibid. pp.134-135, 145.

founded on the confession of St. Peter.⁹² The Lo play takes a similar stance. Its author asserts that the forgiveness of sins comes through Christ, without the intervention of earthly mediators (saints).⁹³ In addition he rejects indulgences, and burial in monastic habit:

'Als ic dies tot vele menschen om raedt ga,
 Raden my zom anders dueghden te copene,
 Of in zeker bulen te hopene;
 Ander my in trooste om de ziele te lavene
 Raedt: mijn doode lichaem te gravene
 In vremde habyten, zoot blijct propoostelic.
 Dus troosters, welc hier my meest es troostelic,⁹⁴
 Doch biddic wt minnen; op Gods gheschrifte let.'

Yet like the Mesen playwright, he holds such views from within the Roman church, even going so far as to say that forgiveness of sins is obtained initially through faith, but subsequently through the Church:

'Die verzekertheyt moet ghy verwaerven
 Duer sghelooven gave tot u verchiersele,
 Dan van Christus bruut duer sgheests regiersele.'⁹⁵

This unwillingness of the authors whose plays occupy the middle ground between orthodox Catholicism and evangelicalism to break with the Roman Church is hardly surprising. Even strongly evangelical playwrights advocated renewal from within the Church. The author of the Brussels play, for example, specifically rejects sectarianism because he believes it to be a cause of social unrest:

92 Ibid. pp.121, 127, 136.

93 Ibid. pp.509, 526-527.

94 Ibid. p.530.

'When I go to many men for counsel,
 There are some who counsel me to buy virtues,
 Or to trust in certain bulls;
 Others to comfort and refresh my soul
 Counsel me to bury my dead body
 In strange habits, so it clearly appears.
 Such comforters, which give most comfort here
 Yet I pray for love's sake: heed God's Scriptures.'

95 Ibid. p.529.

'This certainly you must obtain
 Through the faith given to you as an ornament,
 Then from the bride of Christ through the Spirit's rule.'

'Goedt Schynende Opzedt, ic ghevoele my qualick,
Midts erruerighe secten die nu spruten.' 96

It may be that he has Anabaptism in mind at this point. Certainly the Amsterdam rising of 1534 and the establishing of the New Jerusalem at Munster in 1534-35 must have caused a good deal of dismay amongst non-Anabaptist evangelicals living in the Netherlands. In particular, it must have made them extremely wary of breaking with the Mother church, for such excesses could be interpreted as a direct result of schism.

Our analysis of a number of sixteenth century rederijkersspelen has revealed that there was at least some truth in contemporary allegations that they were heretical. Whilst some plays were perfectly orthodox and others merely anticlerical with little or no theological content, there were some which showed a marked adherence to evangelical theology. But these evangelical tendencies may not have been the only reason for the hostility that the rederijkers aroused. Peter Burke has argued that more fundamental issues were at stake. For him, the major cause of such hostility was a reformation of manners in early modern Europe which resulted in a greater distinction and separation between the sacred and the profane.⁹⁷ Certainly in the case of the rederijkers there is evidence to support Burke's thesis. If the sole cause of the opposition to the rederijkers was their dissemination of evangelical doctrine, why did the synods of the Reformed church at Dordrecht (1578) and Middelburg (1581) oppose 'Gheesteliche comedien, en tragedien voor den volcke in Rhetorijcke gegeven'?⁹⁸ Similarly, the rederijkers that moved north from Brabant and Flanders in the 1580s following the reconquest of the southern provinces by Parma did not always find the Reformed as amenable as they might have wished or expected. In particular,

96 Ibid. p.415.

'Seeming Good Plan, I fear evil,
On account of the erring sects now springing up.'

97 P. Burke, Popular culture in early modern Europe (New York, 1978), p.211.

98 E. Ellebroek-Fortuin, op.cit. p.21. 'Spiritual comedies and tragedies given in rhetoric for the people.'

they found themselves criticized on such grounds as dressing up was forbidden by the word of God, and that pronouncements on the Scriptures should not be made by those untrained in theology.⁹⁹ All this would indicate that at least part of the opposition to the rederijkers stemmed from their familiarity with spiritual things and the fear, by Catholics and Reformed alike, that this familiarity bred mockery and irreverence.¹⁰⁰ What, prior to the sixteenth century, had fallen within the broadest boundaries of acceptable religious comment could now no longer be tolerated.

99 J.G.C.A. Briels, "'Reyn genwecht'. Zuidnederlandse kamers van rhetorica in noord Nederland, 1585-1630', Bijdragen tot geschiedenis LVII (1974), p.14. Another factor to be born in mind in the decline of the rederijkers towards the end of the sixteenth century is the emergence of 'le théâtre scolaire'. R. Lebègue, 'L'évolution du théâtre dans les provinces du nord' in La renaissance dans les provinces du nord: Picardie-Artois-Flandres-Brabant-Hainaut ed. F. Lesure (Paris, 1956), pp.117-126.

100 P. Burke, op.cit. p.212.

CHAPTER 9

FROM CONVENTICLE TO COUNTER-CHURCH:
THE PROGRESS OF THE DUTCH REFORMATION

In those German states where the prince adopted the Lutheran faith the passage from unofficial religious revolt to territorial church and Lutheran orthodoxy was usually relatively swift. In the Netherlands, where Charles V fought to defend the old faith by every conceivable means, the development of an evangelical church was a far more protracted process.

Forced underground, evangelical religion in the Netherlands took on a decidedly eclectic nature. In the 1520s the Lutheran influence was in the ascendant. As we have already seen, the works of Luther himself, together with those of a number of his followers, were quickly translated into Dutch. However, even at this early stage one can discern other influences. Most notably, from about 1525 onwards spiritualistic interpretations of the Lord's Supper began to prevail amongst Dutch evangelicals. This did not necessitate a wholesale rejection of Luther's theology. In 1526, for example, Georgius Aportanus of Zwolle, an evangelical preacher in the neighbouring territory of East Friesland, felt at liberty to borrow both from Luther and Karlstadt's writings on the Lord's Supper, though by then there was a clear and bitter divide between the two men, Luther holding to the traditional interpretation of Christ's utterance hoc est corpus meum, and Karlstadt adopting the idiosyncratic belief that when Christ uttered these words he was referring to His own physical body.¹ It may be that sacramentarianism won the day amongst Dutch evangelicals because its commonsensical theology was more accessible to Dutch evangelicals than Luther's eucharistic theology, and also because in the Netherlands there was no territorial church to teach and to drill the laity into acceptance of the Lutheran orthodoxy on this issue.

The arrival of Melchior Hoffman in East Friesland in 1530 signalled

¹ See p.53.

the growth of Anabaptism in the northern Netherlands on a sizeable scale. In the years after the collapse of the millenarian kingdom at Munster in 1535 David Joris and others broke away from mainstream Anabaptism. Rejecting organized religion altogether, they advocated a spiritualistic faith in which outward forms of religion were more or less unimportant. The 1540s also saw a new influence in the form of Calvinism. Initially Calvinism made its mark in the southern French-speaking provinces where there was no language barrier, but by the mid 1550s this had been surmounted and some of Calvin's works had been translated into Dutch. Thus, within a space of some thirty years, the Netherlands had seen an enormous variety of religious influence. Yet the coming of each new movement did not result in the disappearance of the old: earlier influences persisted and were often assimilated. By 1566, therefore, there were four distinct groups in the Netherlands at odds with the Roman church, the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, the Spiritualists and the Reformed.

But in the absence of a Protestant state church, how did evangelicals practise their religion in the Netherlands? Did fully-fledged counter churches exist from the beginning, or did they evolve over a period of time? How strong were Nicodemite influences amongst Dutch evangelicals? What took place at evangelical conventicles? How large were these groups? Who led them? What was the social background of their members? These are some of the most important questions we shall seek to answer in tracing the development of the organization of evangelical religion in the Netherlands from 1520 to 1566.

Confessional Lutheranism in the Netherlands was a late and rather exotic development. For the first forty or so years of the Reformation there was no organized Lutheran church and, when one was finally established at Antwerp in 1566, it was essentially an alien and foreign importation. Many of the Lutheran preachers in Antwerp in 1566 came from Germany and spoke no Dutch whatsoever. Moreover, the arguments of Matthias Flacius Illyricus and others on such issues as the ubiquity of Christ's body were largely irrelevant to the situation in the Netherlands.²

2 J.W. Pont, Geschiedenis van het lutheranism in de Nederlanden tot 1618 (Haarlem, 1911), pp.60-92.

In the early years of the Dutch Reformation, parishioners heard Luther's doctrines preached from the pulpit of their own parish churches. Such was the case at St. Caeciliakerk, Utrecht, where the local parish priest Herman Gerrits openly espoused Lutheran views in 1521.³ Likewise, Adrianus Cordatus, Pieter Quadratus, Isbrand Schoel and one Mr Simon (probably Simon Corver) at Amsterdam, Nicolaas van der Elst at Antwerp, and Jean le Grue and Jean Carpentier at Tournai, all proclaimed the new faith from their pulpits.⁴

In remote parts of the northern Netherlands, this state of affairs continued well into the second half of the sixteenth century. In the 1550s, Cornelis Cooltuyn a priest at Enkhuizen, refused to celebrate Mass, to preach on purgatory, to exhort the people to worship the Virgin Mary or to invoke the saints.⁵ True, Cooltuyn was eventually forced to leave Enkhuizen for Alkmaar and from there to flee to Emden, but that he was able to preach in such a way as late as the 1550s is, in itself, striking. Similarly, Angelus Merula, priest at Heenvliet until his death in 1557, was openly preaching from the pulpit against intercession to the saints, pilgrimages, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary from 1533 onwards.⁶

Nor were such opinions confined to the secular clergy alone, as is illustrated by the life of the Premonstrant abbot Isbrand van Harderwijk. Having already been in monastic orders for a number of years, van Harderwijk journeyed to Wittenberg in 1545 where he remained for five years. Following the imperial proclamation of 1550 forbidding study

3 CD IV, pp.85-87.

4 A. Mellink, Amsterdam en de wederdopers in de zestiende eeuw (Nijmegen, 1978), pp.12-13, 21 and 24. J. Duverger, 'Lutherse predicatie te Brussel en het proces tegen een aantal kunstenaars (april-juni 1527)', Wetenschappelijke tijdingen XXXVI (1977), col.222. R. van Roosbroeck, 'Een nieuw dokument over de begin period van het lutheranisme te Antwerpen,' GP V (1927), p.271. G. Moreau, Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la révolution des Pays-Bas (Paris, 1962), p.63.

5 BRN IX, pp.237-238.

6 J. Weernekers, De theologie van Angelus Merula met name onderzocht op invloed vanuit de reformatie (Amsterdam, 1983), pp.76 and 80.

abroad he returned to his monastery at Lidum, Friesland, and in 1553 he was elected abbot. He held this position for a full sixteen years before he finally retired. He then went to Emden, married a former nun, obtained a leading position in the Reformed community, and took part in the preparations for the Synod of Emden.⁷

In those provinces nearer the seat of government, however, systematic persecution forced Lutheran sympathizers underground within a few years. Small groups of men and women began to meet together in clandestine gatherings known as conventicles. That these secret meetings were a direct response to persecution is borne out by their rarity in remote areas in the northern Netherlands. As the cases of Cooltuyn, Merula and van Harderwijk show, a relative freedom from persecution meant that for many years the Gospel could be preached from within the Roman church and hence conventicles were simply not necessary. Conventicles were first forbidden in Amsterdam in 1523.⁸ The following year an evangelical group was prosecuted by the municipal authorities of Antwerp,⁹ and in 1527 another group led by Nicolaas van der Elst, priest of St. Jacobskerk Antwerp was discovered at Brussels.¹⁰

In the early years of the Reformation in the Netherlands, it is the informal nature of conventicles that is particularly striking. A group from Dikkelvenne in rural Flanders, founded in the early 1530s, for example, grew out of discussions at the local inn each Sunday after Mass. Those most interested eventually came together to form a regular Bible study group under the leadership of a local farmer Jan Taelman and the pastors of Hermelgem and Sinte Maria-Latem, Jan de Wulf and Michael Hannis. At these gatherings one member of the group would read a passage from the New Testament and then give a short exposition. The group would then sub-divide for discussion and then reassemble to hear the different findings.¹¹ A similarly loosely formed group centred

7 J.J. Woltjer, Friesland in hervormingstijd (Leiden, 1962), pp.93-94.

8 CD IV, pp.239-240.

9 CD IV, pp.259-261.

10 Trial documents ARA Brussels, Papiers d'Etat et de l'audience 1177⁶ f°1-99v°. These documents were missing for many years and consequently do not appear in CD.

11 J. Decaene, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, pp.268-269.

around Pieter Floryssen, a crippled tailor, at Gouda in the 1530s was also of a non-schismatic nature in that its members continued to go to Easter confession and to receive the Sacrament whilst meeting to debate the topical religious issues of the day.¹² Such groups cannot be regarded as Protestant churches in any sense. Their aim was not schism. Rather, they sought to make up for what their members perceived as the deficiencies within the Roman church in which the miracle of the Mass was the central point of devotion. Hence, the study of the Bible was central to the life of such groups.

Even the more organized evangelical conventicles at this time were of a non-schismatic nature. One group at Leuven in the early 1540s, led by a local priest named Paul de Rovere, had some rudimentary system of poor relief for needy members.¹³ Furthermore, certain members of the group had fairly advanced evangelical views. Gooris Stockx, a leading figure in the conventicle denied purgatory, the invocation of the saints, the need to observe fast days, the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the role of a priest in confession, and subscribed to the doctrine of justification by faith alone.¹⁴ Others, however, espoused a less radical stance and the conventicle seems to have served as a forum in which different shades of evangelical opinion could be discussed, rather than as a group of firmly committed Protestants. Kathelyne Metsys testified to their being disagreement amongst the group on the question of processions, and on the contentious question of the real presence Paul de Rovere had been heard to say that he had no fixed opinion on this issue.¹⁵

Similar disagreements arose in Antwerp in the late 1520s and early

12 A.C. Duke, 'Dissident voices in a conformist town: the early reformation at Gouda', Bestuurders en geleerden. Opstellen over onderwerpen uit de nederlandse geschiedenis van de 16e, 17e en 18e eeuw aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J.J. Woltjer, ed. S. Groenveld, M.E.H.M. Mont, I. Schöffer (Amsterdam, 1985), p.26.

13 Campan, p.350. Poor relief was often one of the first organizational measures taken by groups of evangelicals. See G. Moreau, op.cit. p.70.

14 Campan, pp.516, 456, 454, 348, 510-512, 440, 452 and 474.

15 Campan, pp.456 and 382.

1530s. In a letter of 12 September 1531 one Leonhard Munssor asked Luther for advice as to whether or not it was permissible for evangelicals to receive the Last Rites from a Catholic priest. Apparently some members of the conventicle to which Munssor was attached felt that this was completely out of the question whilst others argued that it was permissible, provided that it was very close to the procedure instituted by Christ which probably meant an insistence that communion was given in both kinds. Again, these disagreements appear to have arisen because of the nature of the group, the conventicle being a loose association of people of varying shades of opinion, rather than a group of committed Protestants. Indeed, Munssor indicates that the conventicle had even abandoned its potentially dangerous open celebration of the Lord's Supper rather than meet in secret and exclude those who were not firmly committed to the evangelical cause.¹⁶

Many members of the Leuven conventicle claimed to have attended Mass and confession. This would again suggest a moderate non-schismatic stance amongst early Dutch evangelicals. Admittedly, some may have claimed this to avoid punishment. The story of Elyzabeth Sclercx, for example, who claimed that she had last confessed at Ghent when visiting a sick sister in that town, but she did not know the name of her confessor and had not seen him, might well be a fabrication: it would, as Elyzabeth knew, be difficult to corroborate.¹⁷ Her sister Calleken, however, was probably telling the truth when she said that she had gone to confession for the last three or four years and twice taken the Holy Sacrament, and that she had confessed the previous Saturday and had taken communion the previous Sunday.¹⁸ Indeed, even fairly committed evangelicals such as Thoenken van Rosmaels who played an important part in the life of the group and was eventually martyred for her faith, might flee to the mother church in a moment of crisis. According to Elyzabeth Sclercx when Thoenken was very ill she had the last rites administered to her and confessed to the priest of St. Jacobs.¹⁹

16 W.A. Br. 6. p.190.

17 Campan, p.496.

18 Campan, p.474.

19 Campan, p.496.

This position of eclectic non-schismatic dissent is also reflected in the variety of books in the possession of the Leuven heretics. The books mentioned in their trials cover the whole spectrum of religious teaching: they included works written by Luther and other convinced German Protestants such as Urbanus Regius, Otto Brunfels and Caspar Huberinus; indigenous evangelical writings of Willem Gnapheus and the mysterious Niclaes Peeters; a number of books by Erasmus as well as a play by the religiously ambivalent rederijkers, along with some entirely innocent works of Catholic devotion.²⁰ Such a range of religious literature is not uncommon in the Netherlands. One mid-sixteenth century Frisian priest possessed works by authors as far apart theologically as Luther, Erasmus, the Swiss reformer Pellicanus, Franciscus Tittelmanns, Henry VIII and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. These included Luther's De servo arbitrio, Erasmus' De libero arbitrio, Henry VIII's Assertio septem sacramentorum and Fisher's De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia. In addition one of the canons of the Hasker convent had in his library works by Calvin, Brenz, Luther and Menno Simons.²¹

In the early years of the Reformation in the Netherlands conventicles supplemented rather than replaced the Mass. The unknown author of the Summa der godliker scripturen, writing c.1523, typified this position when he said that parents should send their children to Mass and to hear the sermon.²² Writing in a similar vein in 1532 Regnier Dufour, an Augustinian from Tournai, proposed that the word of God should receive as great a reverence as the body of Our Lord.²³ The call for a higher value to be placed on the sermon was not an innovation of Luther; this demand was voiced on occasion in the fifteenth century. Late medieval preachers such as the Alsatian Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg who taught that the Bible ranked equally with the Sacrament of the Altar as a means of grace championed this cause. In the early sixteenth century this sentiment received a new impulse from the writings of Erasmus who had a

20 See p.35.

21 J.J. Woltjer, op.cit. p.103.

22 Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek, 1523. Gecomonica christiana, Summa der godliker scripturen ed. J.J. van Toorenbergen (Leiden, 1882), p.172.

23 G. Moreau, op.cit. p.76. My italics.

high regard for the Pauline epistles but had conspicuously little to say about the Sacrament of the Altar. With the coming of Luther this emphasis on the sermon and the word of God was given a fresh impetus, but for many this was not to the exclusion of other forms of devotion.

Total schism was a very radical step which comparatively few Dutch evangelicals were prepared to take at this time. Their position might be compared with the Italian spirituali such as Gasparo Contarini and Reginald Pole who, despite holding views on justification by faith closely akin to Luther, still refused to employ such beliefs as an instrument of schism.²⁴ It is important that we do not place the post-Tridentine labels of 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' on pre-Trent personalities and situations. Like Contarini, Pole, Juan de Valdés and Peter Martyr Vermigli (before his break with Rome), many Dutch evangelicals could probably most accurately be termed 'evangelical Catholics'.

Alongside these inchoate evangelical groups, however, there existed a more cohesive and deliberately schismatic movement. Whereas it was perfectly possible within evangelical circles to go to conventicle and to continue to go to Mass, within the self conscious Anabaptist community this was out of the question. Menno Simons, the leading figure of Dutch Anabaptism in the 1540s and '50s made this abundantly clear in a letter to a group of Anabaptists at Amsterdam c1545. It is apparent from this letter that some Anabaptists, possibly influenced by the spiritualist teaching of David Joris, were concealing their faith to avoid persecution by attending Mass and having their children baptized. In response to this, Menno urged complete separation:

'Therefore yet that fear God, quit Babylon and go to Jerusalem, and do not allow yourselves to be caught by such frivolous and irresponsible words as, "It is a matter of liberty". The drunkard is at liberty to drink a lot of wine and beer, the gambler to gamble, and the fornicator to fornicate - but with all that they do not have liberty to do it. So also we are at liberty to

24 D. Fenlon, Heresy and obedience in tridentine Italy. Cardinal Pole and the counter reformation (Cambridge, 1972), pp.17, 35 and 97.

hear the preaching and to allow infants to be baptized - yet that does not make it permissible.'²⁵

Anabaptism was, to all intents and purposes, a counter church, with the act of rebaptism severing ties with the old church and initiating the believer into the new. As with the evangelical conventicles, the Anabaptists met together to read and discuss the Gospel. Yet there existed a far greater degree of separatist organization amongst Anabaptist groups in that they appointed their own church officers in the form of elders and deacons. Moreover, initiates to the Anabaptist community at Amsterdam who were considered weak in the faith were required to promise at their baptism never again to go into the Roman church.²⁶ This deliberate repudiation of the Mother church was entirely foreign to other evangelical groups in the Netherlands in the first twenty years of the Reformation.

Initially, foreign reformers advised Dutch evangelicals against separation from the Roman church. In the early 1540s, for example, the advice of the Strasbourg reformer Wolfgang Capito that evangelicals should not quit the Roman church despite all her imperfections circulated in the northern Netherlands.²⁷ Before this, Luther is alleged to have been opposed to any form of separate organization, let alone total schism, advising the evangelicals of Antwerp in 1531 not to meet in conventicles.²⁸ It was not until 1543-44 that evangelicals living in the Netherlands were counselled to abandon the Roman church. When two hundred copies of Calvin's Petit traicté, monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidele connoissant la vérité de l'evangile: quand il est entre les papistes (1543)²⁹ were disseminated in and around Tournai

25 The complete writings of Menno Simons c1496-1561, trans. L. Verduin, ed. J.C. Wenger (Scottdale, 1956), p.1026.

26 C.A. Cornelius, Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs (Leipzig, 1855-1860), 11, pp.385-386, 388. G. Grosheide, 'Verhooren en vonnissen der wederopers, betrokken bij de aanslagen op Amsterdam in 1534 en 1535', Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap XLI (1920), pp.45-50.

27 P. Fraenkel, 'Bucer's memorandum of 1541 and a "Lettera nicodemita" of Capito's', Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance XXXVI (1974), pp.575-576.

28 J.W. Pont, op.cit. pp.42-43 and 330.

29 Index aureliensis 129.758. D.A. Erichson, Bibliographia Calviniana (Nieuwkoop, 1960), p.4. Reprinted in Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss (Brunswig-Berlin, 1863-1900), VI. (Corpus reformatorum XXXIV), col.537-588.

in 1543, they initially caused great dismay amongst the town's evangelicals.³⁰ Previously, since no one had condemned the practice, it had seemed perfectly acceptable to attend Mass and go to conventicle. However, Calvin now demolished such a position. He argued on the basis of Romans 10:10:

'For man believes with his heart and so he is justified, and he confesses with his lips and so is saved.'

that it is impossible to have an inner faith without an outward confession; the lack of a true confession is evidence that faith is dead. It is, he asserted, mere worldly wisdom to suppose that one can go to Mass and outwardly conform, whilst inwardly detesting its idolatry. If the Mass dishonours God, how can an evangelical honour it with his presence?³¹

Valérand Poullain, who had been responsible for the distribution of the tract, wrote to Calvin on 9 March 1544 informing him of the 'objections to his harshness' amongst the evangelical community, and the desire for another tract to set their minds at rest.³² Uncompromising, Calvin replied with an even sterner tract entitled Excuse à messieurs les nicodémites sur la plainte qu'ils font de sa trop grande rigueur (1544).³³ In the Excuse Calvin was at pains to stress that it was not he who made such stringent demands but God. In addition, he used the opportunity to indicate his dissatisfaction with the term 'Nicodemite' to describe contemporary simulation, pointing out that although Nicodemus was initially a secret disciple who only came to Jesus by night, ultimately he gave open allegiance to Christ.³⁴

30 G. Moreau, op.cit. p.90.

31 Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss VI, col.544-545.

32 E.G. Léonard, A history of protestantism (London-Edinburgh, 1965), II, p.81.

33 Index aureliensis 129.765. D.A. Erickson, op.cit. p.4. Reprinted in Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. G. Bauk, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss VI, col.589-614.

34 J. Calvin, Three french treatises, ed. F.M. Higman (London, 1970), pp.25-26.

Initially unpopular Calvin's stance may have been, but it soon received a good deal of support from Dutch evangelicals of a Reformed inclination. By 1550 a fully-fledged Reformed Protestant church had been set up in London with Marten Micron as its pastor and Johannes à Lasco as its superintendent.³⁵ With the ascendancy of Mary Tudor to the English throne, the restoration of Catholicism, and the subsequent flight of the majority of Dutch Protestants, exile communities had also been established at Frankfurt and Emden by the mid 1550s. The importance of these stranger churches should not be under-estimated. In the first place, they provided a choice for non-Anabaptist Dutch evangelicals in the sense that such people no longer had to remain crypto-Protestants within the Roman church. There was now a viable alternative. Second, such churches provided models and examples for the establishing of Reformed Protestant churches within the Netherlands in terms of structure and organization.

The impact of Calvin's advice can also be seen in the changing pattern of evangelical literature in this period. Non-confessional loosely evangelical pamphlets were largely replaced by catechisms, psalmbooks, church orders and the like, which were specifically designed for use within the Reformed community. Moreover, a number of specifically anti-Nicodemite pamphlets appeared within the circles of the stranger churches at this time. For example, the Petit traité and the Excuse were the first of Calvin's tracts to be translated into Dutch, both being published at Emden in 1554 under the titles Van dat schuwen der afgoderie valschen godsdiest, ende gheveynstheyt and Excuse tot mijn heeren die nicodemiten.³⁶ In addition, in 1550 Jan Uttenhove translated a Latin ^{treckise} of Johannes à Lasco into French under the title Advis de Jean à Lasco, baron de Poloigne, superintendent des eglises estrangers qui sont à Londres, assavoir si l'est licite à l'homme chretien, aucunement assister aux services papistiques.³⁷ Finally, in 1561 there appeared Van de weerdicheydt, nutheydt ende

35 For a detailed study of the London refugee church see A. Pettegree, 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580', (Oxford D. Phil., 1983).

36 Amsterdam VU XC 05517 and XC 05516.

37 F. Pijper, Jan Uttenhove. Zijn leven en zijn werken (Leiden, 1883), pp.87-88. Reprinted in E. Droz, Chemins de l'hérésie (Geneva, 1970-76), I, pp.234-247.

noodicheyt der christelicker vergaderinghen,³⁸ written by Marten Micron and translated and edited by Nicolaas Carinaeus. The aim of this pamphlet was fourfold: it sought first to demonstrate the need for a visible Church; second to indicate the signs of the true and the false Church; third, to prove that deviation from the Roman church was correct; and fourth, to show the necessity of joining a Christian congregation after leaving Rome.³⁹

Micron's major attack on Nicodemism in this pamphlet came in the third chapter dealing with the quitting of the Roman church. He was quick to emphasize that it was not rashness or godlessness that prompts such schism; quite the reverse. The Roman church is so full of idolatry and error that it is for the honour of God as well as the salvation of one's own soul that she must be abandoned.⁴⁰ She is so corrupt, Micron argued, that a Christian cannot remain within her without being tainted:

'Maer wat gaet dit der Roomscher Kercken aen
in de welcke alle stucken des Kerckendiensts
met so veel supersticien ende Afgodische
dwalingen besmet ende verualscht blijven dat
een Christen gheen van de selue ghebruycken
en kan sonder hem daer in te besmetten. Ende
ghelijck niemand eenen verrotten appel
ghesondelicken eten en kan ten zy dat de
verrotheyt wtghesneden worde; Also en kan
oock niemand de Papistische Ceremonien sonder
groote besmettinge zijnder consciencien
ghebruycken ten zy datse eerst na den reghel
des Godlichen willes ghebetert ende ghereformeert
worden.'⁴¹

38 Machiels M496. Folios Air-Mvr were written by Micron and translated by Carinaeus. The rest of the tract was probably written by Carinaeus. On folio Mvv the text reads 'So verre heefiet saligher ghedachten Martinus Mikronius ghemaect'. Since Carinaeus was the translator, it seems likely that he finished the text.

39 M. Micron, Van de weerdicheydt, nutheydt ende noodicheyt der christelicker vergaderinghen, Aiiv.

40 Ibid. Fvr-v.

41 Ibid. Gviv. 'But of what concern is this to the Roman church, all the parts of whose services remain tainted and debased with so many superstitious and idolatrous errors, that a Christian cannot use them without himself being tainted. Just as no one can safely eat a rotten apple without the rotten part being cut out, so no one can use papist ceremonies without gravely infecting his conscience until they have first been improved and reformed in accordance with the rule of God's will.'

To counter those who taught that it is not the external Church but inner religion that is important, Micron pointed to Christ's teaching that a good tree must bring forth good fruit and to Paul's listing of idolatry as one of the works of the flesh as proof of the error of such a view. Our body, he reminded his readers, is the temple of the Holy Spirit. How then can we taint it with superstitious idolatry?⁴²

Who were these secret disciples or 'Nicodemites' that Calvin, Micron and others were attacking? The traditional view has been that they were French evangelicals who through fear or half hearted evangelism were reluctant to break with the Roman church. Those scholars who have followed this interpretation have seen the Meaux circle as essentially Nicodemite and have viewed Nicodemism as being in the spirit of original French Protestantism.⁴³ This interpretation was called into question in 1970 with the publication of Ginzburg's Il nicodemismo: simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell' Europa del '500. According to Ginzburg, the philosophy of Nicodemism preceded its practice. That is to say, rather than being a response to persecution, Nicodemism was a conscious adherence to a set of spiritualizing principles. According to Ginzburg, the founder of Nicodemism was Otto Brunfels who wrote his apology for Nicodemism, the Pandectae veteris et novis testamenti in 1527 as a radical response to the failure of the Peasants' Revolt in 1525.⁴⁴ Recently, Ginzburg's thesis has been heavily criticized by C.M.N. Eire. In particular, Eire has convincingly argued that, far from being an apology for Nicodemism, the Pandectae veteris et novis testamenti was rather an encyclopedic collection of biblical passages which contained Scriptural arguments both for and against simulation. For Eire, the correlation between periods of persecution and Nicodemite activity suggests that theories of simulation were a posteriori rationalizations of Nicodemite behaviour during persecution, rather than any pre-conceived theological standpoint.⁴⁵

42 Ibid. Hiiir-Hiiiv.

43 See, for example, F.M. Higman's introduction to the Excuse à messieurs les nicodémites in J. Calvin, Three french treatises, ed. F.M. Higman.

44 C. Ginzburg, Il nicodemismo: simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell' Europa del '500 (Torino, 1970), pp.xiv-xvi.

45 C.M.N. Eire, 'Calvin and nicodemism. A reappraisal', Sixteenth century journal X (Spring, 1979), pp.56 and 69.

In the Netherlands three types of Nicodemite may be distinguished. In the first place, there were those who conformed to Calvin's view that Nicodemites were evangelicals who were afraid to commit themselves openly to the Reformed cause. Such was the case at Antwerp in the 1550s where a distinction arose between those binnen and buiten the gemeente, that is, between the fully fledged members of the Reformed congregation and those who remained on the fringes, reluctant to commit themselves. This distinction was the result of the activities of the minister of the congregation Adriaen van Haemstede who, despite the protestations of his flock, was willing to hold private meetings in the houses of the rich burghers of the town who were afraid to come to ⁴⁶ Reformed services.

This accusation of dissimulation out of fear was the original usage of the term Nicodemite in the Netherlands. As early as 1522 Frederik Hondebeke, an evangelical rector of the Latin school in Delft, expressed his hope in a letter to Caspar Hedio that Erasmus would be less of a Nicodemus and more steadfast in his proclamation of the glory of Christ. ⁴⁷ In the case of Erasmus the charge was unjustified, but it serves to demonstrate that the accusation of dissimulation out of fear antedates the supposed spiritualizing simulation of Otto Brunfels and thus casts doubt on Ginzburg's thesis.

The second type of Nicodemite in the Netherlands were those who remained in the Roman church not as a result of fear, but because they sincerely believed that, despite all her imperfections, she was the true Church. This was the view of Stefaan Myelbeke, a schoolmaster-priest from Ghent and author of the Curt onderwijs huuter heyligher schrifture (1555). ⁴⁸ A similar view was held by one Jan Daelman, an evangelical from Berchem-bij-Oudenaarde who in 1557 held a debate with the Reformed martyrologist Adriaen van Haemstede which concentrated on the nature of

46 H.Q. Janssen and J.J. van Toorenbergen, 'Brieven uit onderscheidene kerkelijke archieven', Werken der Marnix-vereeniging Serie III-Deel II (1e Stuk), (Utrecht, 1877), pp.50-85.

47 D.P. Oosterbaan, 'School en kerk in het middeleeuwse Delft', Spiegel der historie I (1966), p.113.

48 J. Decaeste, op.cit. I, p.98.

⁴⁹ the Church. During this debate, Daelman steadfastly adhered to four beliefs: that the justified man is not subject to the law; that the Roman church is the Church of Christ; that no one may leave the Roman church; and a Christian may use all Roman superstitions without sin.⁵⁰ For Petrus Dathenus, preacher of the Dutch stranger church at Frankfort and editor of the debate, Daelman's views were wholly unacceptable. The abandoning of Babylon in one's heart was insufficient; a physical estrangement was also necessary:

'Is niet ghenoech datmen met dat herte aen het
quade niet hangt? Och neen. Maer het is
noodich dat die doort gheooe Gods volc
geworden ende mettet herte van Babylon
gescheyden zijn dat sy met den lichaem oock
wt scheyden so sy Godts ghebodt niet en willen
versmaden ende verachten.' ⁵¹

Whoever seeks to simulate, Dathenus maintained, cannot be a servant of Christ, for simulation results in idolatry. Moreover, simulators are worse than heathens for heathen idolatry is at least performed in ignorance whereas the idolatry of simulators takes place in knowledge.⁵²

The third type of Nicodemite to be found in the Netherlands were the spiritualists. Examples of spiritualizing Nicodemites may be seen both outside and within the Roman church. David Joris (c1502-1556), for example, quit the Roman church in the early 1530s to throw in his lot with the Anabaptists. By the 1540s, however, Joris advocated a mystically inclined faith in which the observance of outward religious ceremonies, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, was both unnecessary and irrelevant.⁵³ On the other hand, Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert

49 P. Dathenus, Een christelijcke verantwoordinghe op die disputacie, ghehouden binnen Audenaerde tusschen M. Adriaen Hamstadt, ende Jan Daelman beschreven met onwaerheyt, ende uitghegeven door Jan Daelman (Antwerp, 1582). Machiels D39. BT 5555.

50 Ibid. Aiiir-v.

51 Ibid. Kvir. 'Is it not enough that men are not attached to evil in their hearts? By no means. But it is also necessary that those who have become God's people through faith and have taken leave of Babylon in their hearts, also separate themselves bodily from her, if they do not want to mock and despise God's commandment.'

52 Ibid. Miv-Miiiv.

53 G.H. Williams, The radical reformation (Philadelphia, 1962), p.483.

(1522-1590), though strongly influenced by the works of the Strasbourg sectarian spiritualist Sebastian Franck, never left the Roman church. Coornhert was completely indifferent to religious ceremonies as can be seen from his Verschooninghe van de roomsche afgoderye (1562)⁵⁴ which G.H. Williams has seen as a belated reply to Calvin's Petit traicté.⁵⁵ The core of Coornhert's argument was that no ceremonies are abuses if they are performed with a clear conscience:

'Maer over-merckende dat Paulus dit so claer ende onwenderspreeckelijck leert daer hy seyt: "Al hadden wy 't gelooce dat wy met Engelsche tonghen spraken ende ons goeden den Armen gaven ende onse lichamen lieten branden indien wy de liefde niet en hebben so is het al niet": So ben ick verder ghetreden ende bewijs in dit gheschrift datter gheen Ceremonien noch Godsdiest op Aerden is wiens misbruyck een goede conscientie of Godsalighe herte besmetten ofte ontreynighen mach daer by oock van der Arghernisse ende Belijdinghe Christi door welcke saken so menighe onverstandighe ende eenvuldighe herte bestrickt benaute ende jammerlijck om den hals gebracht wert.'⁵⁶

Coornhert's spiritualizing views were based on a radical distinction between the Old and New Testaments. He argued that whereas in the old covenant God instituted a physical kingdom and priesthood, in the new covenant God's kingdom is spiritual and internal, citing Jn 4:22-24 as a proof text.⁵⁷ Coornhert was fully aware that his position was attacked as Nicodemite by his opponents, but himself rejected the label:

⁵⁴ Printed in D.V. Coornhert, Werken (Amsterdam, 1633), III, fol xviiir-xxiiir.

⁵⁵ G.H. Williams, op.cit. p.774.

⁵⁶ D.V. Coornhert, Verschooninghe van de roomsche afgoderye in Werken, III, fol.xviiir. 'But taking note that Paul teaches this so clearly and plainly when he says, "If we have all faith so that we speak with the tongues of angels and bestow all our goods to feed the poor and give our bodies to be burnt, but have not love, it profiteth nothing." Thus I have gone further and I prove in this treatise that there is no ceremony nor worship on earth the misuse of which can contaminate or defile a good conscience or a God-fearing heart; and (I am writing also) about the offence and the confession of Christ by which so many an unwise and simple heart is entrapped, oppressed and miserably killed.'

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol.xviiiv.

'Voort so is vreemt dat dees Luyden soo hardt
van 't innerlijck voorschreven op 't uytterlijck
ghebaer dringen so datse oock die in Christo
door sijn waerheyt te recht ghevryt wesende
d'uyterlijcke Ceremonien wat vrymoedigher met
Christo ghebruyckende...so vermetelijck derren
veroordeelen verdoemen ende lasteren met
verscheyden schandnamen Hypocrijten Nicodemijten
afgheweken Godloosen over beyden zijden de
Wereit ende Gode studerende te behagen etc.
Aenghemerckt Christus den sijnen van sijn selfs
vleysch wijsende op den gheest daer't al om
ghedaen is gheleert heeft dat het vleysch niet ⁵⁸
nut en is maer dat den gheest levendigh maeckt.'

Calvin replied to the Verschooninghe with a tract entitled Response à un certain holandois lequel sous ombre de faire les chrestiens tout spirituels, leur permet de polluer leur corps en toutes idolatries (1562)⁵⁹ in which he reaffirmed his insistence on the need for right worship and ceremonies and rejected Coornhert's arguments as blasphemous, unscriptural and illogical.

This assessment of the nature of religious simulation indicates that Nicodemism, in the Netherlands at least, was a hybrid affair. No one theory, either that of Ginzburg or Eire, is completely adequate in accounting for the variety of reasons for religious simulation among Dutch evangelicals. Some remained Catholics out of fear, others because they believed that the Roman church, despite her imperfections was the one true Church, whilst to others namely the crypto-spiritualists, outward religious observances were completely immaterial. Thus, Dutch Nicodemites were not one unified group with a firmly established

58 Ibid. fol. xixr. 'Moreover it is strange that these people so strongly urge not the aforesaid inward religion, but the outward gesture, so that they boldly try to judge, condemn and defame with several abusive names such as Hypocrits, Nicodemites, deviated, ungodly, people wishing to please both the world and God etc., even those who are liberated in Christ by his truth and are using the outward ceremonies somewhat more freely with Christ, considering that Christ has taught his own, pointing from his own flesh to the spirit (which is what it is all about) that 'the flesh profiteth nothing, but that it is the spirit that quickens'. *My italics.*

59 Index aureliensis 130.020. D.A. Erichson, op.cit. p.25. Reprinted in Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz and E. Reuss IX, col.581-628.

rationale behind their religious activities, but a variety of men from different backgrounds who had reached the Nicodemite position via a number of pathways.

An examination of early evangelical conventicles and Anabaptist and Reformed groups has revealed a clear distinction between the two. The former were non-schismatic, the latter entirely repudiated the Roman church and were vehemently opposed to Nicodemism. To put it another way, early evangelical conventicles were designed to supplement Roman Catholic services, Anabaptist and Reformed meetings to entirely replace them. This is confirmed by what we know took place at these various gatherings. The central activities of the early non-schismatic conventicles were reading from the Bible and evangelical works of devotion coupled with Biblical preaching. Such activities had characterized a number of medieval heretical groups such as the Lollards in England. Amongst Lollard groups it was common practice to meet together to hear the Scriptures read aloud, presumably for the particular benefit of the illiterate.⁶⁰ In addition, the English martyrologist John Foxe recorded discussions in conventicles on matters of the faith, sometimes based around a devotional book.⁶¹ Another practice that seems to have been popular amongst the Lollards is the learning of Scripture by rote. Again, illiteracy and low educational standards may be responsible for this. It apparently took one William Norton five visits to his teacher Agnes Ashford of Chesham before he had learnt three verses from the Sermon on the Mount off by heart!⁶²

Whilst there is no evidence of the practice of learning Scripture by rote within the Leuven conventicle led by Paul de Rovere, Bible reading certainly played an important part in the life of the group. Numerous members of the conventicle admitted to possession of a Bible or a New Testament and testified to portions of the Scriptures being read aloud when they were met together.⁶³ In addition, there was a hunger

60 J. Foxe, Actes and monuments ed. S.R. Cattley, (London, 1841, 1837-1839), IV, p.228. Heresy trials in the diocese of Norwich 1428-31, ed. N.P. Tanner (London, 1977), pp.28-29.

61 J. Foxe, Actes and monuments ed. S.R. Cattley, IV, p.236.

62 Ibid. pp.224-225.

63 Campan, pp.308, 310, 318, 338, 342.

for the preached word. Outside the setting of the conventicle a number of members went to listen to the preaching of a local evangelically inclined Franciscan named Merten van Herentals.⁶⁴ Within the group gatherings leading figures such as Paul de Rovere and Joes van Ousbergen expounded the Scriptures whilst others read aloud from the sermons of Niclaes Peeters.⁶⁵

The activities of the Leuven group are paralleled almost exactly by the Brussels conventicle of the 1520s. Again, the Bible and the sermon were central. Within this group preaching was the responsibility of Nicolaes van der Elst who, on occasions, was known to preach for up to three hours and to give two or three sermons in an evening.⁶⁶ Although these sermons do not survive, some of the more controversial points which van der Elst made were later used against him in the trial proceedings of 1527. His views form an intriguing combination of Lutheran and medieval heresies. Following Luther, van der Elst advocated communion in both kinds, and taught that it is not necessary to confess to a priest.⁶⁷ But his teaching that a priest in mortal sin may not consecrate the bread and wine seems to be a resurgence of Donatist heresy,⁶⁸ whilst on the Lord's Supper he held a spiritualistic view not dissimilar to that of Wessel Gansfort and Thomas à Kempis.

Van der Elst

'Dat men 't heyligh sacramente alleen in 't geloeve ontfangen soude ende dat eenen mensche ontfange een stuck broets ende drinkende op te passie ons Heere ende in den gheest om d' lichaem

Wessel Gansfort

'...Paul, the first hermit, did eat of the flesh of the Son of man even during the time when he did not see a single human being, not to speak of a priest, celebrating the sacrament. But he did eat it because he believed; and because

Thomas à Kempis

'For he communicates mystically and is invisibly fed, as often as he devoutly calls to mind the mystery of the incarnation and passion of Christ, and is inflamed with the love

64 Ibid. p.396.

65 Ibid. pp.312, 318, 388, 408, 446, 458.

66 A.R.A. Brussels, Papiers d'Etat et de l'audience 1177⁶ f^o4r.

67 Ibid. f^o99r.

68 Ibid. f^o99r.

ons Heeren 't
ontfangen, heeft
warectelijck 't
lichaem ons heeren
ontfangen.' 69

he believed he frequently of him.' 71
remembered...' 70

However, van der Elst went further than Wessel Gansfort or Thomas à Kempis in that he denied the real presence of Christ in the eucharistic elements. Our Lord, he asserted, is not contained in one piece of bread, but is seated at the right hand of the Father until judgement day.⁷²

When we examine what took place at Reformed conventicles, we discover that these assumed a much more church-like quality. In 1556 Calvin told the Walloon congregation of Antwerp that it was not enough to read and to hear (the Word).⁷³ Marten Microen argued very much the same thing in Van de weerdicheydt, nutheydt ende noodicheydt der christelicker vergaderinghen. Private Bible study was inadequate. Proper preaching of the Word was required:

'Nieman en sal hem oock daer mede soecken
te verontschuldigen dat hy de Bijbel binnen
synen huyse heeft: want ick neme datmen
dienser vlijtelicken overleest...nochtans so
is den dienst des woordts na de insettinghe
Christi van veel meerder krachten ende kan
oock veel beter het herte treffen. Want van
natueren zijn wy alle seer blindt ende ons
seluen wat te veel toegheuende.' 74

69 Ibid. f^o99v. One member of the group, Hendrik Zas, testified that van der Elst taught that there was no need to go to Holy Sacrament, but that it was enough to believe in one's heart. folr.

70 G.H. Williams, op.cit. pp.32-33.

71 T. à Kempis, The imitation of Christ (Oxford, 1866) bk IV, ch X, p.306.

72 A.R.A. Brussels, Papiers d'Etat et de l'audience 1177⁶ f^o99v. Agnus, wife of Bernard van Orley, revealed that van der Elst had taught that the unbeliever, like Judas, received nothing but a piece of bread. f^o9r.

73 F.L. Rutgers, Calvijns invloed op de reformatie in de Nederlanden (Leiden, 1901), p.223.

74 M. Micron, op.cit. Kviiir. 'No one shall seek to excuse himself because he has a Bible in his own house, for I take it that men read the Bible through industriously...Nevertheless, the service of the word according to the institution of Christ is of much greater power and can also strike the heart more powerfully. For by nature we are all stone blind, and grant ourselves too much.'

In addition, Microen stressed that the other marks of the Church, the administration of the sacraments and Christian discipline must be in operation.⁷⁵ The emphasis within Reformed conventicles was not so much on discussion, but upon devotion. Time together, Carinaeus asserted, should be spent not in idle words and quarrels, but in prayer, godly teaching, punishment of sins, with instruction, edification, reform, comfort and prayer to God with praise and thanks.⁷⁶

As long as evangelical religion remained 'under the cross' conventicles were usually restricted to meeting in a person's home or some other suitably private place. Hence, the size of groups tended to be quite small. Among the largest gatherings took place at Brussels in the 1520s. In 1527 some sixty people associated with these gatherings were arrested on suspicion of Lutheranism. It is unlikely that this entire number ever met together. Some of the suspects were strongly committed to the group whereas others attended a gathering perhaps only once or twice. Even so, one estimate placed the number of people attending one meeting as high as forty or fifty.⁷⁷ About forty five persons were associated with the evangelical circle at Leuven in the 1540s.⁷⁸ But as at Brussels, some suspects were on the fringes attending only one or two meetings. Gatherings at Leuven probably averaged numbers of twenty to thirty. At the other end of the scale, some conventicles could be very small indeed. The loosely-formed group led by Pieter Floryssen at Gouda, for example, consisted of no more than four or five persons.

Even within Calvinist circles where a church might be of a considerable size, the number of people meeting in a conventicle was usually fairly small. The Dutch-speaking church at Antwerp in the 1550s for instance, which was perhaps two hundred strong, reduced the size of its groups to as few as eight, ten or twelve as a result of complaints by some members of the congregation that the existing

75 Ibid. Liiiv.

76 Ibid. Piir-v. This passage comes late in the text and was probably written by Carinaeus.

77 A.R.A. Brussels, Papiers d'Etat et de l'audience 1177⁶ f°12r.

78 Campan, pp.296-304.

conventicles were too large⁷⁹ - in larger gatherings there was less personal acquaintance with other members and thus fears of betrayal were greater. Likewise at Tournai, the secret conventicles which were attended only by committed members of the congregation numbered from six to ten people.⁸⁰

Various scholars have put forward different hypotheses to account for the social composition of Protestantism. Writing at the turn of the century Hauser saw French Protestantism largely as a protest against misery and iniquity. Hence, its appeal was largely to the poorer non-intellectual classes.⁸¹ Since then, Natalie-Zemon Davis cited 'confidence' and 'pride in skills' as the two key attributes of Calvinist print workers at Lyon in the 1560s and '70s, thus suggesting that evangelical religion could also appeal to skilled and relatively affluent artisans.⁸² In a recent study of the social composition of the Reformed community at Amiens in the second half of the sixteenth century D.L. Rosenberg highlighted the weaknesses of both these hypotheses in the case of Amiens and offered a third alternative. The textile workers who comprised nearly half of the town's Reformed community may have been attracted to Protestantism by the reformers' attack on the authority of the Roman church. A longstanding battle with the town council, so the argument runs, may have predisposed textile workers to the arguments of the Protestants about the spiritual authorities in the Church.⁸³

It is difficult to theorize about the composition of evangelical religion in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, some general points can be

79 H.Q. Janssen and J.J. van Toorenbergen, 'Brieven uit onderscheidene kerkelijke archieven', Werken der Marnix-vereeniging serie III - deel II (1e stuk), (Utrecht 1877), p.77.

80 P.M. Crew, Calvinist preaching and iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569 (Cambridge, 1978), p.61.

81 H. Hauser, 'The french reformation and the french people in the sixteenth century', American historical review IV (1899), pp.217-227.

82 N.Z. Davis, Society and culture in early modern France (London, 1975), pp.6-7, 177-178.

83 D.L. Rosenberg, 'Social experience and religious choice: a case study. The protestant weavers and woolcombers of Amiens in the sixteenth century', (Yale Ph.D. 1978), pp.35-35, 189, 195.

made. Early conventicles were often led quite informally by an evangelically-inclined Catholic priest. Such was the case at Brussels in the 1520s, at Dikkelvenne in the 1530s and at Leuven in the 1540s. This again emphasizes the non-schismatic nature of such groups. The same cannot be said of Reformed conventicles in which schism was a pre-requisite of full membership. In Reformed churches the leader was a properly appointed minister. For Carinaeus this was an important factor in the life of churches living under the cross:

'Als wy den van noots weghen ghedronghen worden
 heymelick Vergaderinghen te maken so sullen wy
 inden eersten besorghen datmen inde selue
 Vergaderinge Kerke oft Gemeynte eenen
 Godfruchtighen ghetrouwuen wijsen ende
 neerstighen Dienaer des woorts hebbe die
 Christum ende syne Gemeynte van herten meyne
 die den goeden raedt ende vermaninghe syner
 broederen gheerne ghehoorsaem zy die vyerich sy
 inden ghebede ende die alle andere in heylicheyt
 ende vromicheyt des leuens eenen spieghele zy.'⁸⁴

As to the social composition of conventicles as a whole, generally speaking, the evangelical faith made its first converts amongst the more well-educated members of society - priests, schoolmasters and the like. Presumably, amongst occupations with higher literacy rates there would be a greater awareness of changes in the intellectual and religious climate. The conventicle based at Leuven in the early 1540s is typical of evangelical religion in the early period in its social composition. The majority of the group were merchants or manufacturers, but it also included sixteen students and regular clergy. The only true workman was Joes van Ousberghen who was a furrier, but his less affluent economic position was the result of an affected existence, for he had formerly

84 M. Micron, op.cit. Oviiiv. 'Because we are, of necessity, compelled to meet together in conventicles so we should first ensure that men in these gatherings of the Church have a God-fearing, faithful, wise and diligent servant of the word who is devoted to Christ and His congregation, who is obeying the good counsel and exhortation of his brothers, who is fervent in prayer and who is to all others a mirror by holiness and godliness of life.' This passage comes late in the text and was probably the work of Carinaeus.

been a lay brother at the Carthusian monastery at Groenendaal.⁸⁵ Having said this, not all early evangelicals came from an educated background. One conventicle discovered at Antwerp in 1524, for instance, was comprised entirely of artisans, tailors, cutlers, chandlers, dyers, clothshearers and many more besides.⁸⁶ As a general rule, it is also true that evangelical religion made its strongest impact in the towns. Even so, it could gain ground in rural areas such as Dikkelvenne where local farmers met to discuss the Scriptures. For at least one conventicle, occupation and social position was the one factor which bound the group together. The Brussels group of the 1520s led by van der Elst was comprised almost entirely of painters and tapestry weavers (together with their spouses) employed in the workshop of Valentijn and Bernard van Orley.⁸⁷ In this case, the workplace was crucial in the transmission of the new faith.

The Anabaptists were generally of a low social status, men on the fringes of society. As Pirenne terms it, Anabaptism was the Protestantism of the poor.⁸⁸ In Amsterdam, for example, some 188 suspected Anabaptists came to the attention of the courts in 1534-35. Of the 72 whose occupation is known, nearly half laboured in the metalworking or clothing trades.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Anabaptism could, on occasions, attract the support of the educated classes. Wouter Deelen, for instance, a Hebrew scholar who later became the librarian (biblioscopus) of Henry VIII, was among those who fled Amsterdam following a fresh wave of persecution in the wake of the abortive millenarian uprising of 1535.⁹⁰

85 R. van Uytven, 'Bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van de protestanten te Leuven in de eerste helft der XVI^e eeuw', Mededelingen van de geschied-en oudheidkundige kring voor Leuven en omgeving III (1963), pp.21-22.

86 CD IV, pp.259-261.

87 J. Duverger, 'Lutherse predicatie te Brussel', col.223.

88 H. Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique (Brussels, 1900-1929), III, p.117.

89 A.C. Duke, 'Building heaven in hell's despite: the early history of the reformation in the towns of the Low Countries', Britain and the Netherlands (The Hague, 1981), VII, p.62.

90 I.B. Horst, The radical brethren (Nieuwkoop, 1972), p.75.

Whilst the Reformed churches were not comprised of the 'down-and-outs' which characterized Anabaptism, neither were they made up of men of particularly high social standing. The root of the quarrel that broke out in Antwerp in 1555 over van Haemstede's private services in the houses of the well-to-do was a social conflict between rich and poor. The committed members of the congregation, generally of a lower social status, felt slighted by such private meetings which suggested that they could not be trusted to refrain from betraying wealthier citizens to the authorities.⁹¹ On the other hand, given the risks, wealthy citizens probably felt that they had too much to lose in this world to throw in their lot completely with the Reformed congregation. Of course, there were exceptions to this rule. Van Haemstede himself was of noble lineage and this may help to explain his understanding attitude towards Antwerp's rich who had leanings towards the Reformed faith.

Intense persecution lasting for more than two generations resulted in a retarded development for the Reformation in the Netherlands. Luther's books and doctrines circulated in towns like Antwerp as early as 1520, yet persecution prevented the establishing of Lutheran churches. This led some historians to the mistaken conclusion that Luther and his views were not popular in the Netherlands.⁹² A territorial Lutheran church was, of course, out of the question in a land where the prince was a firm opponent of the evangelical faith. Persecution resulted, instead in an underground evangelical movement meeting in conventicles. Yet to begin with these groups were not churches in the true sense of the word. Their aim was to provide a forum in which the new religious ideas of the day could be discussed, and in which the Bible and the

91 H.Q. Janssen and J.J. van Toorenbergen, 'Brieven uit onderscheidene Kerkelijke Archieven', Werken der Marnix-vereeniging serie III - deel II (1^e stuk), (Utrecht, 1877), pp.53 and 72.

92 See, for example, J. van Mierlo who argued that, outside particular circles in certain towns, Lutheranism was little known in the Netherlands in the first half of the sixteenth century. 'Den "Boem der Schriftueren" en het geval Jacob van Middeldonck', Verlagen en mededeelingen der koninklijke vlaamsche academie voor taal-en letterkunde (1939), p.894.

sermon had a pre-eminence lacking in the Roman Catholic church.

The Anabaptists, from the early 1530s onwards, were the first Dutch to advocate total schism from the Roman church. Outside Anabaptist circles non-schismatic dissent continued for at least another decade and, in the remoter areas of the northern Netherlands, for a good deal longer. It was Calvin who forced the issue by making it apparent that to continue to attend Mass and to hold evangelical views was an idolatrous, hypocritical and logically inconsistent position. Echoing the words of the prophet Elijah, he presented evangelicals in the Netherlands with a clear choice:

'How long will you go on limping with two different opinions? If the Lord is God, follow Him, but if Baal, then follow him.'
(1 Kings 18:21). 93

CONCLUSION

'The United Provinces (we know) are like a fair bird suited with goodly borrowed plumes: but if every Fowl should take his feather, this bird would rest neer naked.'¹

So wrote the London merchant Thomas Mun in 1664 when discussing the trade and commerce of the Low Countries. Yet Mun could just as easily have been describing the character of the Dutch Reformation in the previous century, for the Reformation in the Netherlands was essentially borrowed.

In the first place, a substantial proportion of the pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation consisted of translations of foreign authors. The writings of Luther were by far the most numerous, but the works of at least twenty other evangelical pamphleteers from as far apart as Scotland and Switzerland were translated into Dutch by 1558. These included well known reformers such as Melanchthon, Karlstadt and Bucer, as well as a host of lesser-known men including Brunfels, Bugenhagen, Bynwalth, Huberinus, Hubmaier, Stammel, Regius, Sachs, Birckenmeyer, Corvinus, Gretzinger, Kettenbach, Menius, Lambert, Bale, Becon and Hamilton.

It will be noticed that the bulk of these foreign authors were German Lutherans. However, this did not mean that the Dutch Reformation was a carbon copy of the Reformation in Germany. There was a number of significant differences between the pamphlet literature of the Dutch and German Reformations. In a recent essay Steven Ozment divided German tracts into seven broad categories: those that address themselves to traditional religious beliefs and practices; anticlerical literature; social commentary: pamphlets devoted to the Christian household; instructions on the relationship between 'Church' and 'State'; tracts occasioned by peasant protest and revolt; and Christian mirrors (catechisms).² A fair number of catechisms were published in the early years of the Dutch Reformation, many showing marked Lutheran

1 T. Mun, England's treasure by forraign trade (Oxford, 1927), p.78.

2 S.E. Ozment, 'Pamphlet literature of the german reformation', Reformation Europe: a guide to research, ed. S.E. Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), pp.90-97.

influences. Likewise, polemical literature attacking traditional beliefs and practices were fairly common, though as we have seen, such literature was less common than in Germany and it was very heavily dependent upon German sources. There is also some evidence in Dutch literature of anticlerical sentiments. For example, the first part of Willem Gnapheus' work of comfort for the sick and dying Een troost ende spiegel der siecken (1531), contains a fierce indictment of the contemporary Catholic clergy for their avarice and failure to perform their pastoral duties.³ Nevertheless, anticlericalism does not appear to have featured as significantly in the Netherlands as it did in the German Reformation. As for Ozment's four other groupings - social commentaries, pamphlets devoted to the Christian household, instructions on the relationship between Church and State, and tracts occasioned by peasant protest and revolt - such subjects are scarcely dealt with in the pamphlet literature of the Dutch Reformation. Different circumstances dictated different needs and pamphlets on these issues would not have been relevant in the Netherlands. Thus, although a considerable number of German tracts were translated into Dutch, these pamphlets by no means represent the whole range of German literature, and thus the Dutch Reformation, though heavily dependent upon the German, cannot be considered identical to it.

As well as the large number of pamphlets which were translated from German authors, it has also been demonstrated that many of the so-called 'national reformed' pamphleteers were a good deal more dependent on foreign sources than has been acknowledged previously. Niclaes Peeters is an obvious case in point. Since 1520 has been disproved as a date of publication, Peeters' sermons can no longer be considered as part of a Dutch proto-Protestant tradition. Furthermore, since the so-called sacramentarian part of his sermons was plagiarized from Luther via the Dutch translation of the Postill oder Auszlegung der Episteln vnd Evangelien, the Netherlander's theology cannot be represented as peculiarly Dutch. What the sermons of Peeters do demonstrate is the degree to which the early Dutch Reformation was faithful to Luther. The dependence of other Dutch authors on German

3 BRN I, pp.153-159.

Lutheran writers underlines this point and here the indebtedness of Cornelis vander Heyden's Corte instruccye to the Vaderunser of Matthias Bynwalth serves as one obvious example.

Yet just as Mun implies in the context of trade and commerce, the Dutch Reformation borrowed not simply from one, but from a whole variety of different sources. Vander Heyden, for example, though indebted to the Lutheran Bynwalth cannot simply be described as a 'Martinist'. He adopted a Lutheran approach to images (criticism but never outright condemnation), yet chose a Reformed enumeration of the Ten Commandments and had a spiritualistic interpretation of the Lord's Supper. A similar eclecticism may be discerned in the writings of Johannes Anastasius Veluanus. The so-called 'national reformed' theology of Anastasius was in fact a compound of several strands of foreign theological opinion. His rejection of predestination, for example, was not so much anti-Calvinist as a statement of preference for Melanchthon's rejection of antinomianism. On other subjects such as confession, baptism and the Lord's Supper Anastasius felt at liberty to pick and choose between the doctrines of several reformers. On confession he followed Luther in condemning the Roman form, but not rejecting it completely as a means of comfort for poor Christians. On baptism he sided with Luther in permitting emergency lay baptism, but with Calvin in rejecting the notion that unbaptized children are eternally damned. Finally, on the issue of the Lord's Supper he sided with Luther in permitting the administration of the last rites, but against the German reformer in adopting a spiritualistic interpretation of the words of institution.

Indeed, many aspects of the Dutch Reformation which were previously thought to be peculiarly Dutch can now no longer be seen in this light. The first ten years of the Reformation in the Netherlands (1520-1530) prior to the coming of Anabaptism can no longer be described as 'sacramentarian'. The first four years (1520-1524) were dominated by the theological points at issue elsewhere in Europe - justification by faith alone, papal versus scriptural authority, christian freedom and the like. The debate on the Lord's Supper in these years centred on the sacrificial nature of the Mass and not on the interpretation of Christ's words of institution. It was not until 1525 when the debate between Luther and Karlstadt and Zwingli was underway that denials of the real presence can be found either in Dutch pamphlet

literature or in trial evidence. Thus the growth of sacramentarianism after 1525 was a reflection of events and debates elsewhere in Europe rather than the product of a peculiarly Dutch Reformation.

Similarly, early pamphlets such as the Troost ende spiegel der siecken of Willem Gnapheus should not be seen as peculiarly Dutch in their theological inclination. Gnapheus' indebtedness to and appreciation of Christian humanism in the Troost which was first drafted c1525 is not at all unusual for a work of this period. Numerous other non-Dutch pamphleteers and theologians openly acknowledged a debt to Erasmus in the early 1520s before the division between Luther and the Rotterdamer became apparent. Far more surprising would be a combination of evangelicalism and Christian humanism in the 1550s, but when Gnapheus published his revised edition of the Troost, Tobias ende Lazarus (1557), it showed a far greater allegiance to Calvin than Erasmus. Again, this reflects events on the European stage - the rise of Calvinism and the gulf by this point in time between Christian humanism and Protestantism.

The Reformation in the Netherlands bears many of the characteristics of other 'underground' Reformations. For example, the practice of inserting the writings of evangelical authors into innocuous-looking tracts was not confined to the Netherlands. Just as the Dutch Summa der godlicher scripturen (1523) plagiarized Luther's Von weltlicher Oberkeit (1523) in its twenty sixth chapter and the Passionael-boecxken tracterende van dat lijden ons Heeren Iesu Christi (c1540) contained a translation of Luther's Sermon von Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi (1519), so too the French Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison (1528) borrowed from Luther and Guillaume Farel,⁴ whilst the Italian Beneficio di Cristo (1543) translated and abridged whole passages of the 1539 edition of Calvin's Institutes.⁵

Yet this is not to say that the Dutch Reformation was identical to

4 F. Higman, 'Luther et la piété de l'église gallicane: le Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison', Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, LXIII (1983), pp.99-111.

5 D. Fenlon, Heresy and obedience in tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the counter-reformation (Cambridge, 1972), p.75.

the Italian or the French. The Reformation made far greater inroads in the Netherlands than it ever did in Italy, whilst the Dutch Reformation was never dominated by one theologian as Calvin came to dominate the Reformation in the French-speaking lands. This helped delay confessionalization in the Netherlands, and even when Reformed churches had emerged, the Dutch Reformation maintained its eclectic spirit throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. In the long term, this eclecticism may have contributed to the conflicts within Dutch Calvinism apparent by the end of the sixteenth century which came to a head at the Synod of Dort in 1618-19. By the 1560s the Genevan brand of Reformed Protestantism was gaining the ascendancy amongst non-Anabaptist evangelicals in the Netherlands. Yet there remained those who drew their theological inspiration from other traditions, and who therefore believed that their position was that held by the first Dutch Protestants. As Nijenhuis has effectively demonstrated, Dutch Calvinists were by no means birds of one plumage in the latter decades of the sixteenth century.⁶ The eclectic nature of the Reformation in the Netherlands prior to 1566 goes a long way to explain the subsequent bitter quarrel which shattered the harmony of the Dutch Reformed churches.

6 W. Nijenhuis, 'Variants within dutch calvinism in the sixteenth century', Acta historiae neerlandicae XII (1979), pp.48-64.

PART 2.

SECTION A. EVANGELICAL TRACTS.

I. ALARDUS, FRANCISCUS, Een cort veruat van alle menschelijcke insettinghen der roomscher kercke

A former Dominican monk, Franciscus Alardus (1530-1578) became the first preacher of the Lutheran church in Antwerp when freedom of worship was granted on 2 September 1566. Indeed, Alardus was the first native preacher of the Lutheran church in the Netherlands as a whole.¹ His anti-Roman polemic Een cort veruat was first published in 1556.² Three reprints appeared in 1560,³ 1560⁴ and 1580.⁵

II. ANASTASIUS, JOHANNES, VELUANUS, Der leken wechwyser⁶

As its title suggests this work was intended as a manual of evangelical doctrine for the laity covering such subjects as salvation, predestination and free will, the sacraments, Christian liberty, the Church and heresy. Like several other Dutch reformers including Menno Simons and Cornelis Cooltuyn, Anastasius began his career as a priest in the Catholic Church. He may also be compared to Menno and Cooltuyn in that he like them became convinced of the truth of the evangelical faith some years before quitting the Mother Church. Indeed, Anastasius began to study Protestant doctrine some four years before he became pastor at Gerdieren in Veluwe in 1544.⁷ It was through this vocation and especially through preaching that Anastasius gave expression to his new evangelical ideas; following his arrest on 1 January 1550 on suspicion of heresy the manuscripts of his sermons were used against

1 Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het nederlandse protestantisme (Kampen, 1983), 11, p.21.

2 Location unknown.

3 Leiden UB 1370 F39. Frankfort = Wesel, Hans de Braecker.

4 BT 54. Antwerp?

5 Location unknown. These four editions are listed in J.W. Pont, Geschiedenis van het lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618 (Haarlem, 1911), p.266.

6 Reprinted BRN IV, pp.123-376.

7 BRN IV, p.125.

him. In his preface to the Leken wechwyser Anastasius tells the reader that he was also found to be in possession of 'matery als dit is' which suggests that he may have already drafted the Leken wechwyser by this stage.⁸

Unwilling to die for his faith, Anastasius abjured his heresy and on 3 February 1550 he was condemned to life imprisonment at Hattem. In December 1551 he was released on the condition that he remained under house arrest. After a further eighteen months this restriction was lifted on the condition that within two weeks he went to study theology at Leuven. Initially he obeyed and went to Leuven, though he was resolved not to involve himself in 'Missetliche affgodery', but after three days he fled to Strasbourg. Deeply regretting his original recantation he then published the Leken wechwyser as an open confession of his faith.⁹

Appearing in the Gelderse dialect, a variant of Low German, with the imprint 'Straisburg in Elas, Balth. van Klarenbach', this first edition of the Leken wechwyser has been attributed to the press of Josse Lambrecht at Wesel.¹⁰ Published on 12 April 1554 the Leken wechwyser quickly reached the Netherlands. On 12 August that year a copy was bought at Harderwijk and on 6 September it was forbidden by a placard of the stadhouder and council of Gelderland.¹¹ By 1558 there was a general prohibition throughout the Netherlands of all the works of Anastasius.¹² The Leken wechwyser was translated from Gelderse into Dutch in 1555 and was reprinted many times. Pijper and Cramer list six editions subsequent to the original version.

- i) (Emden), Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout (= Steven Mierdmans), 1555.
- ii) Dordrecht, Jaspar Troyer, 1591.
- iii) Leiden, Jan Paedts Jacobszoon, 1594.

8 BRN IV, p.125.

9 BRN IV, pp.126-128.

10 Index aureliensis 105 093.

11 BRN IV, p.117.

12 Verboden lectuur, ed. C. Sepp (Leiden, 1889), p.114.

- iv) Aelbrecht Heyndricksoon, 1597.
- v) The Hague, Hillebrandt Jacobszoon, 1605.
- vi) The Hague, Hillebrandt Jacobszoon, 1610.¹³

In addition to the above, Sepp notes editions published in 1587, 1631, 1632 and 1651.¹⁴

III Articulen te Marburg geaccoordeert 3 Oct. 1529.

Bearing the false imprint 'Ghedruct te Marburg in Hessen bi Hans Luft', this Dutch translation of the Marburg articles was printed at Antwerp by Johannes Hoochstraten, probably in 1529.¹⁵

IV AUGUSTINE, SAINT (Suppositious). De xij artikelen des christen gheloofs. Translated by Bouden de Smit.

First published by Mattheus Crom at Antwerp in 1543,¹⁶ a second edition of this tract appeared anonymously in 1550.¹⁷ The heterodox nature of this exposition of the Creed suggests that the attribution to Saint Augustine was a ploy by the author to escape detection.

V Avontmael ons Heeren, Van dat.

An anonymous pamphlet dealing with the Lord's Supper which Kronenberg dated c1540 and attributed to the press of Niclaes van Oldenborch.¹⁸ It is probably an original Dutch work, though this cannot be certainly established.

13 BRN IV, pp.118-120.

14 Verboden lectuur, p.114.

15 NK 2314.

16 BL 4401 bbb 36.

17 Wolfenbuttel HAB1338.13 Theo1 (3).

18 NK 2323. Reprinted and edited by J. Trapman, 'Dat avontmael ons Heeren', NAK LI (1970), pp.154-166.

VI BALE, JOHN, Den standt ende de bilde der beyder ghemeynten na de alder wonderbaerste ende hemelscher openbaringhe Ioannis den euangelist.¹⁹

This lengthy commentary on the book of Revelation is a translation of The image of bothe churches (1545) by the virulently anti-Roman English reformer John Bale. Published in 1555 probably at Emden this Dutch translation was the work of Karolus de Koninck, a former Carmelite monk from Ghent who was converted to Reformed Protestantism and eventually martyred for his faith at Bruges on 27 April 1557.²⁰

VII Baruch, Van den propheet.

This pamphlet is a condemnation of image worship first published anonymously about 1525²¹ and reprinted by Hans de Braecker at Wesel in 1558.²² In all probability Van den propheet Baruch was written by a Netherlander for part of his attack upon image worship is a critique of the cult of St. Hubrecht who was particularly venerated in the area around Liège in the southern Netherlands.²³

VIII BECON, THOMAS, Een christen oft kersmis bancket...ghemaect by Theodorus Basilius.

A translation of the Christmas bankette garnyshed with many pleasaunt and deynty dishes (1542)²⁴ by the English reformer Thomas Becon who frequently used this pseudonym Theodore Basille to avoid

19 Machiels B70

20 A. van Haemstede, De gheschiedenis ende den doodt der vromer martelaren (Emden, 1559), Ddir-iir. Karolus de Koninck was also responsible for translating the history of Francisco de Spira into Dutch, see p.333.

21 NK246 Reprinted in the BRN I, pp.259-272.

22 BRN I, p.258.

23 BRN I, pp.253-255.

24 STC 1713-1715.

detection in the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII.²⁵ The work is a dialogue between four men, Philemon, the host of the banquet, and his guests Theophile, Eusebius and Christopher. The banquet which they enjoy is a spiritual feast with each dish containing particular aspects of the truth of the Gospel. Two different Dutch translations of the Christmas bankette are known, one published by Mattheus Crom at Antwerp in 1543,²⁶ the other appearing anonymously in the same year, probably from a Kampen press.²⁷

IX Begrijp, Dat der ghehelder bybelen.

Dat begrijp is a translation of an anonymous Latin text entitled Summa totius sacrae scripturae.²⁸ The Summa was published in 1533 by Joannes Grapheus, the brother of Cornelius Grapheus, the former town secretary of Antwerp and an early supporter of the evangelical cause in the Netherlands.²⁹ The earliest Dutch edition, printed about 1535 by Wouter van Lin of Antwerp is no longer extant.³⁰ However, a second edition was published by Mattheus Crom in 1542.³¹ An English version of the Summa, translated by George Joye, also appeared in 1535.³²

X Biechte, Een deuote, oft belijdinghe der sonden tot Godt.³³

This is one of many small Dutch tracts to be printed anonymously without date or place of publication. On typographical evidence, however, it can be ascribed to Mattheus Crom and dated c1540-1544. Though strongly evangelical in tone, it is in no way polemical, the emphasis of the confessions of sin it contains being on the inherently

25 He was unsuccessful in this aim for in 1541 and again in 1543 he was forced to abjure his heretical opinions at St. Paul's Cross.

26 Index aureliensis 115 537 Machiels B191.

27 Index aureliensis 115 538.

28 NK1970.

29 A. Rouzet, Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe and XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle (Nieuwkoop, 1975), p.79.

30 Campan, p.576.

31 Utrecht UB E. oct.437(9) (Rariora).

32 STC 14821.

33 Machiels B682.

and utterly sinful nature of man.

XI BLOCCIUS, PETRUS, Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen ende nieuwe leeringen, welck wt de misse zyn ghecomen.³⁴

First published in Latin in 1566 this attack on the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Mass was translated into Dutch the following year. Little is known of the life of the author Petrus Bloccius. He was a schoolmaster at Leiden from 1559 onwards. Previous to this he had studied at the Universities of Leuven and Bologna and was converted to Protestantism in his youth. His theology is strongly evangelical but difficult to classify confessionally.³⁵

XII BLOCCIUS, PETRUS. Een slechtelick ende schrifftelijck onderrichtinghe van dat doepsel ende auontmael Christi Jesu.³⁶

Translated from the Querimonia Jesu Christi (1562)³⁷ and published in 1566, this pamphlet contains a defence of the validity of infant baptism and a symbolic interpretation of the Lord's Supper.

XIII Boexken hoe dat men die kinderen leeren sal in den rechten ghelove.³⁸

This is a brief anonymous catechism which was printed without date or place of publication, or name of publisher. Judging from the typeface used and the subject matter,³⁹ it was probably printed about 1530. Kronenberg has proposed Willem Vorsterman as a possible publisher.

34 Index aureliensis 119 860

35 NNBW 11, col.180. Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het nederlandse protestantisme 11, p.70.

36 Wolfenbuttel HAB 1164.17 Theol (11).

37 NNBW 11, col.180.

38 NK442.

39 This tract is loosely evangelical and non-confessional in tone. This would suggest an early date of publication.

XIV Boecxken Een profitelic ende troostelic, van den gheloove ende hoope.⁴⁰

This anonymous work is, in fact, three pamphlets in one, the first dealing with faith and hope, the second with love and the third with the Church. Thus its full title reads Een profitelijck ende troostelick boecxken vanden gheloove ende hoope, wat dat oprechte gheloue is. Ende welcke ghenade dye mensche doer dat gheloue mach vercrijgen. Ende hoe schandelick dat ongheloue is. Noch een boecxken van die liefde die God tot ons heft, ende wat die liefde werct, ende noe schadelijck die liefde des werlts is. Allen menschen seer troostelick. Met noch een deuote contemplatie van dye bruyt Christi, ende is seer leerlick ende profijtelick voer allen gueden christen menschen. The final part, Een devote contemplacie van dye bruyt Christi seems to have been printed as a separate work, first by Peter Jansz at Leiden,⁴¹ and subsequently by Peter Warnersz at Kampen.⁴² However, no separate editions of the first two parts are known.

Copies of two sixteenth century editions of the Boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope survive. One appeared without the name of the publisher or place and date of publication. Kronenberg dates this edition c1540.⁴³ The other was published by Adriaen van Berghen in 1534.⁴⁴ It may be, however, that this was not the first edition of the Boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope, for the eighteenth century scholar Isaac Le Long in his history of the Reformation in Amsterdam refers to an anti-Catholic work dealing with 'het oprecht gelove, Hope en Liefde'⁴⁵ published by Jan Seversz die Croepel at Amsterdam. Moreover, one of

40 Reprinted in BRN IV, pp.521-592.

41 NK507.

42 The Hague KB 1708 D34(2).

43 NK441.

44 NK440. There are also two seventeenth century editions of the Boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope, the first published at The Hague in 1603 and the second at Delft in 1614. BRN IV, p.519. In addition, the Boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope was also translated into English by Miles Coverdale as A goodly treatise on faith, hope and charite. STC 24219.5.

45 I. Le Long, Historische beschryvinge van de reformatie de stadt Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1729), p.481. There is a completely different work to the Boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope with a very similar title that begins, Gheloove, hope ende liefde. However, the only known edition of this pamphlet was published by Mattheus Crom and printed by Steven Mierdmans at Antwerp in 1543. BT 1246. Machiels G147.

the entries to the catalogue compiled by the auctioneers of the library of Le Long reads:

'Van den gelooce ende Hoope; noch van de liefde Gods; door Ysbrandt Scholl, priester te Amsterdam, 1534 in 8° Seer raar.' ⁴⁶

Relatively little can be gleaned about the life of this man, but it is known that one 'Magister Ysbrandus Scol' held a benefice in the Nieuwe Kerke Amsterdam from 1517 onwards. Some time in the 1520s Scholl was converted to the evangelical cause and became an active proponent of his new faith in Antwerp. However, in 1534 he was arrested on suspicion of heresy. Thereafter he was imprisoned at Vilvoorde and finally executed at Brussels. ⁴⁷

If we accept Le Long's evidence as correct we can reconstruct the events surrounding the publication of the Boecxken van den gelooce ende hoope as follows. Scholl wrote the work shortly before his arrest and it was first published by Jan Seversz, acknowledging Scholl as author - hence his name appears in the Le Long catalogue. After his arrest and execution, however, his name was suppressed on account of his notoriety.

XV Boecxken, Een schoon suyverlyck, inhoudende het oordelende yonnisse dat gewesen is vanden Paus Paulo tertio over eenen broeder der christenen ghehaemt Pasquillus. ⁴⁸

This pamphlet records an imaginary and satirical debate between Pope Paul III and an evangelical named Pasquillus (Pasquil means lampoon) by which the anonymous author demonstrates that the evangelical

46 Cat. Le Long 8°730. The Le Long catalogue (8°871) lists another edition published at Leiden in 1539.

47 K. Heeringa, Rekeningen van het bisdom Utrecht, 1378-1573 (Utrecht, 1932), II, p.413. R. Van Roosbroeck, 'Een nieuw dokument over de beginperiode van het lutheranisme te Antwerpen', GP V, (1927), p.271. A.L.E. Verheyden, Le martyrologe courtraisen et le martyrologe bruxellois (Vilvoorde, 1950), p.61.

48 The Hague KB. 1703 E 42(1).

faith fully accords with that of the Church Fathers. Published in 1565, the Schoon, suyverlyck boecxken was discovered that same year by a government agent in the bookshop of Albert Christaensz at Vianen. Fontaine Verwey has therefore suggested that it may also have come from the Christiaensz press.⁴⁹

XVI BRASSIUS, HERMANUS, Van den heylighen cruyze sommige schoone troosteliche sermoenen, door Hermannum Bassium dienaer des godlickien woordes binnen Embden, voortijden trouwelick ghepredickt, ende nu na zijn doodt door geleerde ende godtureesender mannen raedt...in het licht ghebracht.

Hermanus Brassius was a Reformed preacher at Emden from 1543 until his death in 1559.⁵⁰ His Troosteliche sermoenen for those facing persecution were published posthumously in 1560 by Gilles van Erven at Emden.⁵¹ Reprints were issued in 1592 and 1598.⁵² Although these sermons are clearly confessionalized and thus strictly speaking fall outside the boundaries of the thesis, they have been included because they are closely related to the consolation theme of the sixth chapter.

XVII BRUNFELS, OTTO. Dat gulden ghebedeboecxken wt den ouden ende nieuen testament

The Precationes biblicae of the German theologian Otto Brunfels was first published in Strasbourg in 1528.⁵³ In its original form it consisted entirely of prayers from the Scriptures. Divided up into six sections it contained prayers for the sins of God's people, prayers in tribulation and for one's own sin, the thanksgivings and blessings of

49 H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', HB XXX (1949-51), p.19.

50 NNBW, I, col.454.

51 Index aureliensis 123.907. I have not been able to locate a copy of this edition.

52 Index aureliensis 123.908, Aelbr. Hendricksz, The Hague, 1592.
Index aureliensis 123.909, Emden, 1598.

53 Index aureliensis 125.614.

the Fathers, prayers for the understanding of life, for wisdom and humility, some selections from the Psalms, and some short miscellaneous prayers.⁵⁴

Within a short space of time both Latin and vernacular versions of the Precationes biblicae had added substantially to the original text. The years 1531-1564 saw the publication of no less than eight Dutch editions of the Precationes biblicae translated into Dutch as Dat gulden ghebedeboecxken.⁵⁵ It is difficult to speak in general terms about the Gulden ghebedeboecxken, however, as the nature of the work meant that sections could easily be inserted or removed. The first edition was published by Martin de Keyser at Antwerp in 1531. As well as the Scripture compilations of Otto Brunfels it also contained Luther's exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria taken from the Betbuchlein,⁵⁶ Erasmus's exposition of the Lord's Prayer,⁵⁷ Savonarola's commentaries on Psalms 51 and 31,⁵⁸ together with a third commentary on the Lord's Prayer, a

54 O. Brunfels, Precationes biblicae (Strasbourg, I. Schott, 1528).

- a) 1r-14v.
- b) 14v-28r.
- c) 28r-40v.
- d) 41r-46r.
- e) 46r-87r.
- f) 89r-91r.

55 a) NK2573. Antwerp, Mart. de Keyser for Gov. van der Hagen, 1531.

- b) NK2574. Antwerp, Jac. van Liesvelt, 12 November 1532.

- c) NK2575. Antwerp, Jan van Ghelen for Gov. van der Hagen, 1532.

- d) NK2576. Antwerp, Gov. van der Hagen, 1532.

- e) NK502. Antwerp, Adr. van Berghen, 1535.

- f) NK503. Antwerp, Henr. Peetersen van Middelburch, 1538.

- g) NK504. Antwerp, Henr. Peetersen van Middelburch, 1540.

- h) The Hague KB.1708G21. Dierick Buyter, Vianen, 1563.

There may also have been a ninth edition which is now no longer extant. In 1543 one Jan Schats of Leuven admitted owning a 'Gulden ghebedeken...gedruct inden mol ter Antwerpen by Henric Peters'.

Campan, p.344.

In addition four Latin and two French versions were also printed in the Netherlands. See NK501, 2571-2572, 4204, 2577-2578.

56 WA.10/2 pp.376-409.

57 Dutch translation of the Precatio dominica digesta in septem partes (1524).

58 See NK3849-3850.

confession of sin and expositions of the Magnificat and the Nunc dimittis whose authorship has not yet been identified. All subsequent editions maintain this essential framework, though the three different expositions of the Lord's Prayer are interchangeable. All later editions contain the Troostinghe der godliker script of the German Lutheran theologian Caspar Huberinus.⁵⁹ Other editions also included various additional tracts by evangelical writers including Van dat ghe loue aen onsen salichmaker Iesum Christum,⁶⁰ Een schoon testament vander liefden,⁶¹ Remedye teghen dye sonde der ghiericheyt, Ghe loue, hope ende liefde, een schoon onderwijsinghe, and the Pater noster of Matthias Bynwalth, a Lutheran preacher from Danzig.⁶² The contents of each edition of the Gulden ghebedeboecxken are shown below.

9. Editions of Otto Brunfels' Gulden ghebedeboecxken.

	NK2573 Antwerp 1531	NK2574 Antwerp 12 Nov. 1532	NK2575 Antwerp 1532	NK2576 Antwerp 1535	NK502 Antwerp 1535	NK503 Antwerp 1538	NK504 Antwerp 1540	The Hague KB Vianen 1563
Scripture compilation (Brunfels)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
10 Commandments (Luther)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Creed (Luther)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lord's Prayer (Luther)	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
Lord's Prayer (Erasmus)	*	*	*					*
Lord's Prayer (anonymous)	*		*				*	*

59 See p.290.

60 NK966.

61 NK1284. According to Sepp this is probably a translation of Savonarola's Regola de vivere Christiana mente (1498). Verboden lectuur, p.77.

62 See p.326.

NK2573 Antwerp 1531	NK2574 Antwerp 12 Nov. 1532	NK2575 Antwerp	NK2576 Antwerp	NK502 Antwerp	NK503 Antwerp	NK504 Antwerp	The Hague KB Vianen 1563
---------------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	--------------------------------------

<u>Lord's Prayer</u> (<u>Bynwalth</u>)	*			*			
<u>Ave Maria</u> (<u>Luther</u>)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Confession</u> of sin	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Magnificat</u>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Nunc</u> <u>dimitus</u>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Psalm 51</u> (<u>Savonarola</u>)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Psalm 31</u> (<u>Savonarola</u>)	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Troostinghe</u> (<u>Huberinus</u>)		*	*	*	*	*	*
<u>Van dat</u> <u>ghelooue</u>				*	*	*	*
<u>Testament</u> <u>vander</u> <u>liefde</u>				*	*	*	*
<u>Teghen</u> <u>ghiericheyt</u>				*		*	*
<u>Ghelooue,</u> <u>hope ende</u> <u>liefde.</u>			*				*

There were, judging from the contexts of each edition, two criteria that guided which tracts were included in Brunfels' Gulden gebedeboecxken. In the first place, they had to be both evangelical and devotional in character. This included not only Reformation pamphlets but also pre-Reformation works such as Savonarola's commentaries on Psalms 31 and 51 which may well have been included to propagate the notion of the 'forerunners' of the Reformation. No polemical tracts are included as the work is, as its title suggests, devotional in character. Secondly, it is probable that each tract had already been translated into Dutch before its appearance in the Gulden ghebedeboecxken.⁶³ Certainly, this

63 See, for example, NK3849-3850, 966, 1284 and 3547-3548.

would explain the ease with which editors or publishers removed and inserted various sections of the book.

XVIII Bruuyt, Van dye, Christi, een devote contemplacie.

This pamphlet is the separate publication of the third part of Een profitelic ende troostelic boecxken van den gheلوove ende hoope.⁶⁴ Two editions are known, the first published by Peter Jansz at Leiden c1540, and the second by Peter Warnersz at Kampen c1550.⁶⁵

XIX BUGENHAGEN, JOHANNES, Die souter. Verclaringhe des gheheelen psalters.

This commentary on the Psalms was first printed in Dutch by Johannes Hoochstraten in 1526 under the pseudonym 'Adam Anonymous te Basel'.⁶⁶ Its author, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558) had been a Premonstratensian canon at Treptow in Pomerania before his appointment as parish priest at Wittenberg in 1523, following his conversion to the Lutheran cause. He wrote a large number of evangelical pamphlets including the Librum psalrorum interpretatio (1524).⁶⁷ In January 1526 Bugenhagen's commentary on the Psalms was translated into German by Martin Bucer.⁶⁸ However, Bucer's German translation modified certain passages, notably the commentary on Psalm 110, in order to advocate a spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper. Since the Hoochstraten edition was based on the German text and not the Latin original, it was Bucer's eucharistic views which were represented in the Dutch translation.⁶⁹ Both Luther and Bugenhagen were greatly disturbed by this Dutch translation of Bucer's 'heretical' views, and

64 NK440-441. See p.262.

65 NK507. The Hague KB1708 D 34(2).

66 NK508.

67 Benzing 1862.

68 Benzing 1873-1874.

69 J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', NAK LXIII (1983), p.15.

in some copies of the Souter an attack on the Strasbourg reformer's interpretation of the Lord's Supper was printed along with letters by Luther and Bugenhagen and a translation of the latter's exposition of Psalm 110.⁷⁰

The Bugenhagen-Bucer Souter was never forbidden by name in the Netherlands, though there was a blanket prohibition of Bugenhagen's works as from 1526 and Bucer's from 1550 onwards.⁷¹ Nevertheless, a second edition appeared some time after 1556 bearing the fictitious address 'Geneva, Petrus Stephanum van Gendt'.⁷²

XX Catechismus, dat is de groote kinderleere

This catechism is a lengthy exposition of the Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer based on quotations from the Church Fathers. Two editions are known, the first bears the name of Niclaes van Oldenborch and is dated 1538,⁷³ the second was published in 1564 almost certainly at Vianen by Dierick Buyter.⁷⁴

XXI Colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien waeraf die een Pasquillus, ende de andere Marphorius genaemt is.⁷⁵

This pamphlet somewhat resembles the Pasquillus ecstaticus (c1544)⁷⁶ of the Italian reformer Celio Secondo Curione in form and content. Both works are cast in the form of a dialogue between two characters, Pasquillus and Marphorius, and both are strongly anti-papal and anti-

70 G. Hammer, 'Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen. Ein rätselvoller Textfund und ein unbekannter Lutherbrief', Lutheriana. Zum 500 Geburtstag Martin Luthers von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Ausgabe (Cologen-Vienna, 1984), pp.395-396.

71 CD V, p.146. Verboden lectuur, p.47.

72 NK0254. Index aureliensis 127078.

73 NK529.

74 The Hague KB. H. de la Fontaine Verwey 'Hendrik van Brederode', p.10.

75 Knuttel 135.

76 B.L.3905.b.8.

Roman in tone. But here the similarity ends. A Dutch translation of the Pasquillus ecstaticus was made in 1567 by F(oppe) v(an) C(ammeringha) and published in Emden,⁷⁷ but this pamphlet probably printed about 1564,⁷⁸ is an entirely different work.

XXII COOLTUYN, CORNELIS, Dat evangeli der armen⁷⁹

Dat evangeli der armen is a lengthy and strongly evangelical dialogue between one Theophilus and a sick woman, Dorothea. The author Cooltuyn began his ecclesiastical career about 1550 as a priest at Alkmaar. It was here, probably under the influence of the pastor of the town, Laurens Zas, that he became a supporter of the evangelical cause. He soon encountered opposition, however, on account of his outspoken criticism of the Mass and other 'superstitious' ecclesiastical practices and from Alkmaar he moved to Enkhuizen. Yet here too he ran into difficulties and, following complaints from some of his colleagues, was sent to The Hague to answer charges of heresy. Fortunately for Cooltuyn, he enjoyed the support of a number of burghers from Enkhuizen who petitioned the leading inquisitor, Ruward Tapper, a local man, for his release.

Upon his release Cooltuyn initially refused to moderate his behaviour, but after warnings from a local citizen and on the agreement of his local congregation he ceased from preaching and spent his time visiting the poor and the sick. In 1556, however, he left Enkhuizen and returned to Alkmaar where he became a teacher having now almost totally withdrawn from his priestly duties. Yet on the death of his former mentor Laurens Zas the following year, Cooltuyn was again thrust into

77 B.L.3925.a.18 Verboden lectuur, p.123.

78 On 27 February 1566 Margaret of Parma expressed her disapproval to Brederode over a book entitled 'een colloquie van Pasquillus ende Marphorius' on sale at Vianen. Verboden lectuur, p.123. Fontaine Verwey suggests that like the Schoon suyverlyck boecxken inhoudende het oordeelende vonnisse dat gewesen is vandan Paus Paulo tertio over eenen broeder der christenen ghenaemt Pasquillus this pamphlet may have been printed as well as sold by Albert Christiaensz. Fontaine Verwey 'Hendrik van Brederode', p.19.

79 The Hague KB. Reprinted in BRN IX, pp.217-480.

prominence as Zas's replacement. But Cooltuyn's second spell as priest at Alkmaar was very brief. Within two weeks his opposition to the Mass had caused such an outrage that he was ordered to stop preaching and the deputy inquisitor Nicolaus de Castro came to the town to take him by force. Forewarned, Cooltuyn fled to Emden where he joined the Reformed Church and was a preacher until his death in 1567.⁸⁰

Dat evangeli der armen (1559)⁸¹ was published, as Cooltuyn explained in a preface dated 12 January 1559 to set forth his beliefs and to explain his flight. Having left Alkmaar Cooltuyn was accused of cowardice by his enemies who argued that his flight proved the falsity of his views. Cooltuyn, however, insisted that his refusal to remain in Alkmaar and dispute with his adversaries was because his opponents would expect him to defend his views by their principles and not by the Scriptures. In addition, he quoted Christ's command to his disciples to flee to another city when persecuted as a further justification of his flight. His beliefs as set forth in Dat evangeli der armen should be judged, Cooltuyn maintained, only by the light of the Scriptures.⁸²

For the most part Dat evangeli der armen is an independent work. Nevertheless, Cooltuyn is, at times, less original than has sometimes been supposed. In a second preface which deals with the Mass, for example, Cooltuyn is both textually and theologically indebted to Calvin. Each of his five basic objections to the Mass is borrowed from the Institutes.⁸³ The fourth argument, that the Mass robs us of the benefit of Christ's death shows the nature of this debt:

80 BRN IX, pp.233-239.

81 On 7 December 1558 one Jan Buidelmaker of Alkmaar was banished from Enkhuizen for selling heretical books by Cooltuyn. This has led Pijper and Cramer to suggest that there may have been an earlier edition of the Evangeli der armen published in 1558 without the accompanying letter and attack on the Mass. BRN IX, p.209. The enduring appeal of Cooltuyn is demonstrated in the republication of the Evangeli der Armen by Adriaen Helmichsz at Gorinchem as late as 1611 (copy in The Hague KB).

82 BRN IX, pp.239-241.

83 Compare BRN IX, pp.245-250 with J. Calvin, Institution of the christian religion, ed. F.L. Battles (Atlanta, 1975), pp.157-160.

Cooltuyn

'Ten vierden so beneemt ons die Missee die vrucht welck wt de doot Christi tot ons quam, die wijle sy doet, dat wy den suluighen niet bekennen, ende daer op niet dencken: Wie sal dencken, dat hy doer Christus doot verlost is, als hy een nieuwe verlossinghe in die Missee siet? Wie sal betrouwien, dat hem sijn sonden vergheuen sijn, doer Christus doot, als hy in de Missee een nieuwe vergheueinghe siet: Dat die Papisten hier op willen segghen: datmen op gheen ander wijse in die Missee der sonden vergheueinghe crijghen, dan, want die suluijgh doer Christus doodt verworuen is, mach den Missee niet verschoonen: want sy bewijsen daer anders niet mede, dan dat wy op die condicie, van Christo, doer sijn doot verlost sijn, dat wy ons seluer met die Missen sullen verlossen, alsoe dat die Passij Christi alleen solde sijn, een exemplel des verlossings, doer welcken wy solden leeren onse eyghen verlossers sijn.' 84

Calvin

'Now I must discuss the fourth function of the Mass, that it robs us of the benefit which was coming to us from Christ's death, while it causes us not to recognize or ponder it. For who can think himself redeemed by Christ's death, when he has seen new redemption in the Mass? Who can trust that his sins are forgiven, when he has seen a new forgiveness? And it is no way out to say that we obtain forgiveness of sins in the Mass solely because it has already been purchased by Christ's death. This amounts to nothing else than to boast that we have been redeemed by Christ on condition that we redeem ourselves; for this is the kind of doctrine that is spread abroad by Satan's ministers, and today is defended with shouting, sword and fire: that we, when we offer Christ to the Father in the Mass, by this act of oblation obtain forgiveness of sins and are made participants in Christ's passion. What now remains of Christ's Passion, except that it is an example of redemption by which we learn that we are our own redeemers.' 85

XXIII Daden, Die, werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi
ende des Paus. 86

Appearing without name of author or date of publication this pamphlet bore the fantastical colophon 'Buyten Rome in S. Pieters Hof'. This address, more an extension of the polemical nature of the work rather than a deliberate attempt to deceive, suggests that Die daden,

84 BRN IX, p.249.

85 J. Calvin, op.cit. p.159.

86 NK675.

werken ende leerijnghe was probably printed in 1520s. Forged addresses are not uncommon in evangelical books printed in the Netherlands between 1520 and 1540, but such patently satirical colophons are indicative of an early date.⁸⁷

Die daden, werken ende leerijnghe purports to be a translation of a French work.⁸⁸ In reality, however, it is an adaptation of the German Passional Christi und Antichristi. First published in May 1521, the Passional contained twenty six woodcuts by Lucas Cranach the Elder contrasting Christ and the papacy. Christ's rejection of worldly authority, for example, is compared with the pope's seizure of temporal power. Likewise, Christ's washing of his disciple's feet is contrasted with the kissing of the pope's feet by emperors and kings. For each woodcut Melanchthon supplied a brief commentary, the commentary on Christ being based on Scripture texts, and that on the papacy on papal decretals. Similar comparisons between Christ and the papacy had been made in Luther's An den christlichen Adel deutschen Nation (1520), but the Passional may have been based on a Hussite manuscript in the possession of Ulric von Hutton which, like the Passional, contrasted the pope riding on a white horse to Christ's entry into Jerusalem on an ass.⁸⁹

Die daden werken ende leerijnghe is not, however, a straightforward translation of the Passional. There are a number of significant differences between the two works: in the first place the Dutch version contains no illustrations; second, it makes sixteen comparisons between Christ and the papacy, whereas the Passional makes only thirteen;

87 M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de hervormingstijd (Amsterdam, 1948), p.154 n.158-160.

88 Die daden werken ende leerijnghe Eiv. 'Die wel ouermerckt hebbende mijn broeders so hebb ick voor goet anghesien tot u lieder dienst ende voorderijnghe dit Bouck wt die Frantsche tale in onse nederlanscthe (sic) sprake te bringen.' It is possible that the translator is telling the truth and Die daden werken ende leerijnghe was translated from French. See WA9 pp.696-697, Antithese des faicts de Iesus Christ & du Pape (1528). This would make the Dutch version of a later date.

89 G. Fleming, 'On the origin of the Passional Christi und Antichristi and Lucas Cranach the Elder's contribution to Reformation polemics in the iconography of the Passional', Gutenberg Jahrbuch (1973), p.357.

and third, its commentaries are generally fuller than those of the Passional, probably because of the absence of illustrations. The comparison between Christ riding into Jerusalem on a donkey in humility and the pope riding on a stallion in pomp and imperial splendor may be used to illustrate:

Passional

'Sich an, dein konigk
kompt dir demuetigk uff
einem iungen esel.
Mathei 21. Also ist
Christus kommen, reyttendt
uffin frembden esell, arm
und sanfft-mutigk, und
reydt nicht au regiren
szonder uns allen zu eyнем
seligen todte. Johannis 12.

Die daden, werken ende leerijnghe
Christ.

'Segt die dochter Sion siet dijnen Coninck
comt sachmoedich/ende rydt op een
ezelinne/ende op eenen vuelen des last
draghenden Ezels.

Also is Christus ghekommen sittende op
een Ezelinne ende die gheleent: aerme
sachmoedich ende viedelick.

Niet om ghedient te syne: maer om te
dienien. Niet om sielen te verderuen:
sonder om die te behouden.

Niet om die Werelt te verdommen maer om
die Weerelt te behonden.

The pope

'Die geystlichen seing
alle konnige, unnd das
bezeugt die platten uffim
kopffe. duo 12q.1. Der
Bapst magk gleych wie der
keysser reyten, und der
keyszer ist seyn thrabant,
uff das bischofflicher
wirden gehalt nicht
gemindert werde.c.
constantinus 96.dis.
Der Bapst ist allen
volckern und reychen
vorgesatzt ex.vag.super
gentes. Johannis 22.' 90

'Den geestelicken syn alte Mae1 Coningen so
haerlieder gheschoren cop bedyt ende te
kennen geeft. Dese wyse: oft maniere van
scheren hebben sy van haer selfs Romsche
ordonatie 12.q.1.duo. Daer also staet:
het es ons ghegeuen dat wy ryden mogen als
den Keiser die onsen trabant ofte lacay is
houdende den breidel van onsen peerde.

Ende alle de ginne die onder ons syn
behooren te gaene verchiert als die hedel
van des Keisers hof. Want alle glorie eere
ende Keiserliche hoocheit behoort ons toe.
So wel inder weerdicheit als in ons officie
Dienst ende roup.

Kleideren peerden ende der ghelycke is
ons al gegheuen tsamen met dat gantsche
westersche rycke Dist.9.Constantinus: Den
Paus is houer alle volcken ende Coninckrijcken.
Extranag.Super gentes.' 91

In his recent survey of Reformation iconography Scribner interpreted the Passional on six different levels. In its simplest form he sees it

90 WA9 p.709.

91 Die daden werken ende leerijnghe, C3r.

as an illustrated morality play contrasting Christian virtues such as humility and simplicity with worldly vices. Second, it contrasts true Christianity and false religion. Third, it is patently anticlerical. Fourth, it attacks the secular power of the papacy. Fifth, it rejects warfare as unfitting for the Christian. Finally, it identifies the papacy as Antichrist.⁹² Much of Scribner's analysis holds good for Die daden werken ende leerijnghe, though the appearance of the text in the Dutch translation without the woodcuts indicates that text and image are not as inextricably bound together as he suggests. It is not known why the Cranach woodcuts were omitted from the Dutch text. Perhaps the original blocks were not available and the cost of cutting new ones was prohibitive. John Frith's English rendering of the Passional, Antithesis wherein are compared to geder Christes actes and oure holye father the Popes also lacks the Cranach woodcuts, probably for the same reason.⁹³

XXIV Een expositie op den hondersten en sessentwintichsten psalm van David

This commentary on Psalm 127⁹⁴ was printed without place or date of publication, ostensibly by Niclaes van Oldenborch.⁹⁵ Wijnman, however, has observed that the printer of this tract and the first edition of the Waeरheyd onderwijs⁹⁶ used types which have been identified with those of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans.⁹⁷ As for its contents, this pamphlet has no polemical intention. It is a work of edification which interprets the Psalm as a prophetic declaration of our redemption in Christ.

92 R.W. Scribner, For the sake of simple folk (Cambridge, 1981), pp.155-157.

93 STC 11394.

94 The title follows the Vulgate enumeration and therefore Psalm 127 is numbered as 126.

95 NK915. Kronenberg dates it c1540.

96 NK2193.

97 H.F. Wijnman, 'De antwerpse hervormingsgezinde drukker Mattheus Crom en zijn naast omgeving', GP XL (1962), pp.115-116.

XXV Fonteyne, De, des levens

The Fonteyne des levens was one of the most frequently republished of all Dutch evangelical pamphlets. Discounting no longer extant copies some ten Dutch editions of this work appeared between 1533 and 1619. In addition, the Fonteyne was also published in five other languages - Latin (five editions), French (seven editions), English (two editions), German (one edition) and Italian (one edition).⁹⁸

The origins of the Fonteyne are obscure. Both Sepp and Droz were of the opinion that the work was first published in Latin as the Fons

98 Dutch.

- i) Delft, Corn. Henricz. Lettersnijder, 1533. NK3034.
- ii) Antwerp, Adr. van Berghen, 1535. NK3035.
- iii) Leiden, Peter Jansz. (c1540). NK3036.
- iv) Amsterdam, Jan Ewootzoon (c1550). BL843.e.17(3).
- v) Antwerp, Ameet Tavernier, 1564. Leiden UB1498 G 12(2).
- vi) Antwerp, Ameet Tavernier, 1567. H. Carter and HDL Vervliet, Civilité types (Oxford, 1966), p.96 Antwerp MPM. Not recorded in BT.
- vii) Antwerp, Ameet Tavernier, 1572. BT5810.
- viii) Steenwijk, Herman 't Zangers, 1580. ME 11, p.347.
- ix) Delft, Aelbert Hendricksz, 1582. Private collection at Brasschaat, Belgium.
- x) Rotterdam, Jan van Waesberghe, 1619. Amsterdam UB.
- Latin:- Fons vitae.
- xi) Antwerp, Martin de Keyser, 1533. NK945.
- xii) Paris, Petrum Regnault, 1538, H.M. Adams, Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600 (Cambridge, 1967) F705.
- xiii) Paris, Ioannes Bignon, 1538. Paris BN.D.35244.
- xiv) Paris, Ioannes Parrum, 1540. B.L.4405.a.55.
- xv) Ghent, G. Salenson, 1555. F. Vanderhaegen. Bibliographie gantoise (Ghent, 1858-69) 12067.
- French:- Fontaine de vie.
- xvi) Paris, Arnoul Langelier, 1540. E. Droz, Chemins de l'hérésie (Geneva, 1970-1976), I, p.299.
- xvii) Paris, Jean de Tournes, 1543. Ibid. p.302.
- xviii) Paris, Jean Ruelle, 1547. Ibid. p.302.
- xix) Lyon, Jacques Berjon, 1549. Ibid. p.302.
- xx) Lyon, Jean Saugrain, 1560. Ibid. p.302.
- xxi) Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1564. BT5809.
- English:- The fountayne or well of lyfe.
- xxii) T. Godfray, (c1535) STC 11211.
- xxiii) 1548-49. STC 11211.2.
- German:- Brunne des Lebens
- xxiv) Nurenberg, K. Gerlachin and Johannes vom Berg Erben, 1583. B.L.3107.a.10(2).
- Italian:- Fontana de vita.
- xxv) 1583. B.L.3107.a.10(1).

vitae and then translated into Dutch.⁹⁹ Close examination of the earliest extant editions of the Fonteyne and the Fons, however, casts doubt upon their chronology. The colophon of the earliest Dutch edition gives 1533 as the date of publication:

'Gheprent tot Delft in Hollant bi mi Cornelis
henriczoen Lettersnijder. Anno M.CCCC ende
xxxiii.'¹⁰⁰

The preface, however, is dated 21 July 1532,¹⁰¹ presumably the date at which the text went to print. Bearing in mind that the earliest extant Latin edition was not published until September 1533¹⁰² and that its preface is dated 4 August 1533,¹⁰³ priority should be given to the Dutch text. Since the Dutch edition was apparently at the press by July 1532, for the Latin version to have preceded it, we must suppose that it gathered dust at the printers for some fifteen months before publication. It is far more likely that the Latin version came into existence some time between July 1532 and early 1533.¹⁰⁴ Since the Fonteyne was not protected by privilege there was nothing to prevent its translation into Latin and publication by a different publishing firm.

We cannot be entirely certain, however, that the Dutch edition is the original text. Henricus Antonii Nerdenus in his Praefatio systematis theologici (1611) alleges that the first edition of the work was published in Amsterdam, but that in 1533 a Franciscan from Brabant journeyed north and had the whole edition destroyed.¹⁰⁵ Yet even if Nerdenus's account is accurate¹⁰⁶ this does not resolve the problem of

99 Verboden lectuur, p.202. E. Droz, op.cit. p.298.

100 Fonteyne des levens, Delft, Corn. Henricz. Lettersnijder, 1533. Dviiiv.

101 Ibid Aiv.

102 Fons vitae. Antwerp. Mart. de Keyser, 1533, Hviiir.

103 Ibid Aiiir.

104 S.J. Lenselink, De nederlandse psalmberijmingen van de souterliedekens tot Datheen (Assen, 1959), p.240.

105 J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531 (Amsterdam, 1873), p.430.

106 M. Schoock, Liber de bonis vulgo ecclesiasticis Christis (Groningen, 1651), p.526. gives 1541 as the date when the Franciscan burnt the Fonteyne.

primacy. As Nerdenus was writing in Latin it is uncertain whether the no longer extant Fons vitae to which he refers was a Latin or a Dutch work. Nor can textual comparison help us to identify either the Fonteyne or the Fons as the original work. The Latin text is borrowed from the Vulgate whereas the Dutch depends on the Vorsterman Bible¹⁰⁷ and thus neither can be shown to have been derived from the other. Marginal references for each portion of Scripture are given in both versions which made this tract easy to transfer from one language to another. Rather than being translated it could be pieced together from the Bible.¹⁰⁸

On balance, however, we conclude that the Dutch version is the original. A nineteenth century inventory of manuscripts and books compiled by Ph.J. baron van Zuylen van Nijeveldt van Hinderstein, a descendant of Willem van Zuylen van Nyeveldt, author of the Souterliedekens (1551), has as its first entry

'Fonteyn des levens Vuyte heilige Schrift by een
getogen door Ioncker Willem van Zuyten van
Nyeveldt den Ouden Int Jaer ons Heeren Vyfthyen
hondert twee ende dertich.'¹⁰⁹

Since this family tradition knows only a Fonteyne and no Fons, and since it is suggested that Willem van Zuylen van Nyeveldt wrote rather than merely translated the Fonteyne, this would appear to confirm the view that the Fonteyne began life as a Dutch work.

107 S.J. Lenselink op.cit. p.240.

108 Ibid. p.240.

109 Ibid. p.237. Though written in sixteenth century Dutch this entry cannot have been written by Willem van Zuylen van Nyeveldt himself as it refers to Willem van Zuylen van Nyeveldt den Ouden. It may have been written by his son who was also called Willem van Zuylen van Nyeveldt.

XXVI Gelooue, Van dat, aen Jesum Christum

Included in three editions of Otto Brunfels' compilation work Dat gulden ghebedeboecxken,¹¹⁰ this tract was also printed as a separate work. Two editions are known, one published by Albert Pafraet c1530,¹¹¹ the other by Mattheus Crom c1540.¹¹²

XXVII Ghelooue, hope ende liefde. Hoe een yeghelijck hem daer daghelicx in oeffenen sal.¹¹³

Printed by Mierdmans and published by Crom in 1543 Ghelooue, hope ende liefde is a short catechetical tract. In addition to the standard Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, it also contains the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds.

XXVIII GNAPHEUS, WILLEM, Disputacie welcke gheschiet is in den Haghe tusschen die kettermeesters en Jan van Woorden.

In all the Bibliotheca Belgica lists ten editions (seven Dutch and three Latin) of this account of the death of Jan de Bakker, the protomartyr of the Reformation in the northern Netherlands.¹¹⁴ A substantial part of the Disputacie was written by Willem Gnapheus probably either during his imprisonment with de Bakker or shortly after the latter's execution on 15 September 1525.¹¹⁵ The final section, however, is by an unknown author.¹¹⁶

110 NK2576, 503-504.

111 NK3064.

112 NK966.

113 BT1246. Machiels G147.

114 Bibliotheca Belgica G169-176. Dutch editions dated 1525-29 (probably incorrect) c1556, undated, 1578, 1652, 1657, 1858. Latin 1546, 1649, 1650. In addition, both the Dutch and the Latin version of Gnapheus's account are reprinted by P. Fredericq. CD IV, pp.406-496.

115 For the life of Gnapheus see pp.281-283.

116 CD IV, pp.494-495.

The earliest known edition of the Disputacie bears the colophon 'By my, Peeter Stesser, alias Lodowijck Hetser', along with the motto 'O God, verlost die gheuanghen!'¹¹⁷ Ludwig Haetzer (1500-1529) was a Swiss radical of spiritualizing and Anabaptist tendencies who was executed for his faith at Constance on 4 February 1529.¹¹⁸ Haetzer is best known as the translator and author of numerous Reformation tracts. The appearance of his name on the colophon of the Disputacie is clearly an attempt to deceive. Nevertheless, the Dutch printer who used this fictitious address went to considerable lengths to ensure accuracy. Not only did he use Haetzer's name but also a Dutch translation of his motto 'O Got, erlosz die Gfangen' together with a Dutch rendering of his Worms publisher Peter Schöffer. This being the case, one is tempted to suggest that this colophon is more than a complete fabrication. Possibly it provides a clue as to the authorship of the final section of the Disputacie. Gerardus Geldenhauer (1482-1542) the Dutch humanist and evangelical sympathiser was in Worms in 1526-27 where he may have been in touch with Haetzer whose German edition of Alle propheten he translated into Dutch (1527).¹¹⁹ Furthermore, Geldenhauer was present at the death of de Bakker and related the story of his martyrdom to others afterwards.¹²⁰ It may be that Geldenhauer's narration was published separately at Worms in 1526-27 with a similar colophon and then tacked on to Gnapheus's account at a later date.

117 NK1009. Kronenberg attributes this edition of the Disputacie to Niclaes van Oldenborch and dates it between 15 September 1525 and 1 December 1529. Wijnman, however, ascribes it to Mattheus Crom which would push the date of publication forward to the early 1540s. H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden' in Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey (Amsterdam, 1968), p.451.

118 M.E II, p.625.

119 C. Augustijn, 'De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528', NAK LVI (1975), p.84.

120 Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, ed. J. Prinsen, p.79.

XXIX GNAPHEUS, WILLEM. Troost ende spiegel der siecken

The earliest extant edition of the Troost was published without acknowledging Gnapheus as author by the mysterious Niclaes van Oldenborch in 1531 and a second, and similarly anonymous edition followed from the same press a year later.¹²¹ The Troost was again reprinted at Emden in 1557 by Gilles van Erven, this time acknowledging the now aged Dutchman as author.¹²² This later edition, reprinted in 1577,¹²³ was, however a substantial revision of the original text and appeared under a new title, Tobias ende Lazarus mit grooter nersticheydt ghecorrigieert. In addition, Gnapheus added a new preface addressed to the nobility, councils and government officials of Holland which contained much autobiographical detail and information about his writing of the Troost.

Willem Gnapheus (1493-1568), one time rector of the grammar school at The Hague, was one of the earliest sympathisers of the evangelical cause in the Netherlands. As early as 1523 he ran into trouble with the authorities for his opposition to 'der Ceremonien ende valsche Gods dienst' of Satan,¹²⁴ and was imprisoned with Cornelis Hoen, the author of the Epistola christiana admodum as a result. On this occasion both men escaped relatively lightly being released on a surety put up by two men by the name of Willem Sonderdanck and Jan Splinter that they remained in The Hague for a period of two years.¹²⁵ In 1525, however, Gnapheus ran into further trouble on account of a letter he had written consoling a widow over her son's decision to quit the monastic life. He pointed out that according to St. Paul the Christian life does not consist of food, drink, times, clothes or places (as with the monastic life), but of a firm faith in God, and of a sincere love of God and one's neighbour, virtues which her son was capable of exercising now as

121 NK1010 and 3108. Wijnman has cast doubt on the reliability of the dating of both these editions. See p. 18.

122 Amsterdam UB 767F5.

123 Utrecht UB. The Troost was also translated into English. See STC 11470.5.

124 W. Gnapheus, Tobias ende Lazarus (1557). Avv.

125 CD IV, pp.237-238.

before.¹²⁶

As a result of this 'attack' on the monastic life Gnapheus suffered the doubtless irksome penalty of three months confinement in a monastery on a diet of bread and beer. It was during this time, Gnapheus informs us, that he wrote the Troost, partly prompted by the increasing persecution in the Netherlands and partly by the Peasants' War which had greatly increased the number of widows and orphans.¹²⁷ Originally, Gnapheus tells us, he did not intend to publish his book and it appeared in print without his knowledge or consent. Nevertheless, the Troost bore much fruit and brought a good many people to an understanding of the evangelical faith.¹²⁸

Even after his release from the monastery, however, Gnapheus's troubles were not over. A new scandal arose in 1528 when a piece of sausage was discovered in a stew in his kitchen during the Lenten fast. Gnapheus defended himself by arguing that the sausage was to satisfy the craving of a pregnant woman (canon law made an exception to pregnant women) and ridiculed the government for the amount of fuss made over such a trifling affair:

'Deze zake is by den Heeren, Stadholder ende
den ganschen Raedt, zo hoogh gheweghen,
datmen twee daghen langk, die ghemeine
zaecken des ganschen landts liet anstaen, om
alleen consultatie ouer de worste te houden.
Daer worden de Doctooren der medetijnen
verhoordt ende afgheuraeght, oft het oock
naturlick waer, dat de zwanger vrouwen lust

126 W. Gnapheus, Tobias ende Lazarus, Avir.

127 This reference to increasing persecution probably relates to the martyrdom of de Bakker since the marginal column at this point in the text gives the date as 1525.

128 W. Gnapheus, Tobias ende Lazarus, Avir-v.

solden moghen hebben, om vleesch te eten in
den vasten?' 129

The decision went against Gnapheus and he was sentenced to be taken dead or alive. He managed to avoid being arrested however, by absenting himself from The Hague, though his mother and sister were taken prisoner. 130

Fleeing to Prussia, Gnapheus became a rector at Elbing in 1535. In 1543 he moved north east to Königsbergen where he took up an appointment at the University as rector and professor of philosophy. Even in exile, however, he ran into difficulties and in 1547 he was accused of Anabaptism (probably because his sacramentarian views on the Lord's Supper were unacceptable to local Lutherans) discharged and excommunicated. He finally settled in Emden as the tutor for the son of Countess Anna von Oldenburg¹³¹ and it was here that he corrected and republished the Troost.

In its original form the Troost consisted of a dialogue in three parts between three men, two neighbours named Timotheus and Tobias and their sick friend Lazarus. The first part is a conversation between Timotheus and Tobias largely on the shortcomings of contemporary religion and, in particular, the failure of the clergy to fulfil their pastoral responsibilities. Part two consists of a dialogue between Timotheus and Lazarus on how to bear suffering, and the third part of a conversation in which Tobias advises Lazarus on how to approach death.

129 Ibid. Aviv-viir. 'This matter was so highly regarded by the lords, stadhouder and the whole council, that for two days long the general business of the entire land was held up whilst they held discussions over a sausage. Doctors of medecine were heard and asked whether it was natural for a pregnant women to have a craving for meat during a fast.'

On 26 February 1529 one Adam Aertse Chirugijn was fined fourteen guilders by the Hof van Holland for eating sausages on a Saturday between Christmas and Candlemas and pork on Whitsun eve (Knuttel 46). Possibly this case is related to the incident to which Gnapheus refers. See also J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, op.cit. pp.539-540.

130 W. Gnapheus, Tobias ende Lazarus, Aviir.

131 NNBW III col.471.

The 1557 version, Tobias ende Lazarus, on the other hand, consists of four dialogues between Theophilus (who takes the place of Timotheus), Tobias and Lazarus. The additional dialogue is formed by a division of the second conversation in the Troost into a series of positive statements concerning evangelical comfort and a series of criticisms of Catholic devotion. Finally, Tobias ende Lazarus contains a lengthy preface which not only gives much information concerning the origins of the Troost, but also shows Gnapheus dependence upon ¹³² Calvin's Institutes.

Gnapheus

'Tot een waerteeken, dat alle Justicieren ende Officieren, Rechteren ende Regenten God den Heer anghenaem zijn in't ampt, dat sy van Gods weghen bedienen, so werden sy in de heylige Schrift Goden (dat is goedtdoenders) ghenoemdt...

'Dit hebben Moses, ende den vromen koningk Josaphat wel anghesien ende bekent, als zy de Rechters, die zy ouer dat Jodische volck in de Stenen gheset hadden...

'Siet sulcken Rechters verdienien oock datmen se wel te recht heeten magh Uaders des vaderlandts, Herders des volcks (als de Poet segt) Liefhebbers der gherechtigheydt straffers des boosheydts, ende voorstanders des armen...' ¹³² 132

Calvin

'Since those who serve as magistrate are called 'gods', let no one think that their being so-called is of slight importance...

'...As Moses and Jehoshaphat said to the judges whom they appointed in every city of Judah...

'But since we have so far been describing a magistrate who truly is what he is called, that is, a father of his country and, as the poet expresses it, shepherd of his people, guardian of peace, protector of righteousness, and avenger of justice...' ¹³³ 133

The 1531 edition is reprinted in BRN I, pp.151-245.

XXX God, Vanden olden en nieuwen, gelooue ende leere.

The German original of this pamphlet Vom alten vnd nuen Gott Glauben vnd Ler was first published by Adam Petri at Basle in 1521. ¹³⁴

132 Aiiiv-Aiiir.

133 J. Calvin, op.cit. pp.287 and 304.

134 BL 3905.c.110. Reprinted by E. Kück in 1896.

For some reason the author chose to write under the pseudonym Judas Nazarei. A good deal of speculation has surrounded the identity of this figure, the most likely suggestion being Joachim Vadianus, the leading reformer at St. Gall.¹³⁵

Three Dutch editions of Vom alten vnd neuen Gott are known. Two of these appeared without date or place of publication or name of publisher.¹³⁶ Kronenberg dated one c1524, but was unable to state with any certainty when the other was published. The third appeared much later - about 1556 - and was the work of Steven Mierdmans at Emden.¹³⁷

XXXI HAMILTON, PATRICK, Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts.

Patrick Hamilton, (c1504-1528) protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation, wrote this treatise, better known as Patrick's pleas whilst at the University of Marburg in 1527.¹³⁸ The text consists of a collection of pithy propositions in support of justification by faith alone and evangelical contrasts between the Law and the Gospel and was originally written in Latin. Hamilton's Latin text was then translated into English by John Frith, and it was from Frith's version that the Dutch translation was made.¹³⁹

Two Dutch editions of Patrick's pleas are known, one dated by Kronenberg c1530 and the other c1540.¹⁴⁰ Both bear the fictitious

135 Judas Nazarei, 'Vom alten und neuen Gott, Glaube und Lehre', ed. E. Kuck (Halle, 1896), pp.iii-vir, 69-90. Justus Jonas, Paul Elias, Paul Berus and even Thomas Munzer have also been suggested.

136 NK1013-1014. Reprinted in BRN I, pp.41-107.

137 The Hague KB1704F15.

138 Dictionary of national biography (London, 1885-1900), XXIV, p.202. Hamilton's stay at Marburg coincided with that of the Franciscan renegade François Lambert who, as professor of divinity, may have provided some of the theological inspiration for Hamilton's work. Also at Marburg in 1527 was Herman van den Busche, an evangelically-minded humanist from Westphalia who could have translated Patrick's pleas into Dutch.

139 The Dutch text contains a translation of Frith's preface to the English version.

140 NK3140 and 4239.

colophon 'Ghedruct tot Marburch bi my Cornelis Nyenhuys': presumably because Marburg was where Hamilton wrote the work.

XXXII HEYDEN, CORNELIS VANDER, Corte instruccye...hoe een ieghelic
mensche met God, ende zynen even naesten, schuldigh es, ende
behoord te leven.

The Corte instruccye, first published by Joos Lambrecht Lettersnijder at Ghent in 1545,¹⁴¹ was originally a privileged work having been declared 'goet ende dueghdelic' by an inquisitor. As the Council of Brabant did not recognize the signature of the inquisitor the book was sent for a second opinion at Leuven where it was adjudged satisfactory. Soon after, however, it fell under suspicion and was referred to the Faculty of Theology at Leuven a second time. On this occasion it was indeed held to be bad and liable to lead simple people into error and therefore forbidden by an imperial edict of 29 October 1545.¹⁴² By this stage, however, two other Dutch editions had been printed,¹⁴³ and a French translation had been made by one Frère Liéven Robert of Lille and was circulating in the said town.¹⁴⁴

The Corte instruccye is a catechetical work and as such follows the same order as Luther's Kleine Katechismus, (1529) beginning with the Ten Commandments, followed by the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, and concluding with some Scripture texts for Christians in various walks of life. In addition, Visser has noted two other significant resemblances to Luther. In the first place, vander Heyden's

141 Machiels H197. Reprinted in BRN IV, pp.15-77.

142 ROPB, ii série, V pp.174-175.

143 Machiels H198-199.

144 Machiels H200. Brief instruction et enseignement, comment chascune personne doibt viure & soy maintenir avec Dieu & son prochain, fait & composé par Maistre Corneille de la Bryere prestre Imprime a Gand par losse Lambert, tailleur de lettres, demourant deuant la maison de la ville, 1545. le 24.de.iuliet. M.-P. Willems-Closset, 'Le protestantisme à Lille', Revue du nord, LIII, (1970), p.203 n.50. There are also three English versions of Vander Heyden's Corte instruccye, see STC 3017, 5200, 5199.7.

introduction entitled 'Dry dijnghen zijnden mensche van noode gheweten, tot zijnder zaligheyt, wanneer hy tot rederlicker audde, ende tot verstande ghecommen es' is taken from Luther's forward to the Kurz form der 10 Gebote, des Glaubens und des Vaterunser (1520).¹⁴⁵ Second, there are smaller textual parallels between the Corte instruccye and Luther's Kleine Katechismus.¹⁴⁶

Vander Heyden's greatest debt, however, is not to Luther but to the little known Danzig preacher Matthias Bynwalth, the Netherlander's exposition of the Lord's Prayer being taken in large part from Bynwalth's Vaterunser of 1525.¹⁴⁷ Vander Heyden's exposition of each section of the Lord's Prayer is in two parts, a confession followed by a prayer and confession, and it is this second part that is borrowed in toto from Bynwalth.

Vander Heyden

'0 lieve vader, ghy hebt ons wt uwer goederthierenheyt van niet op aerden gheschapen, ende om niet wt uwer grondelozer ontfermhertigheyt vander eeuwigher dood, die wy schuldigh waren ende verdiend hadden, verlost. 0 goede vader wy en zijn niet waerdigh v kinderen te zyne, want wy hebben ghezondight teghen dijn ghorechtigheden. Nochtans wt bevele dijns eenighs zoins. zo zegghen way stautelick ons vadere...' ¹⁴⁸

Bynwalth

'0 vnser vater, du hast uns ausz sonderlicher deyner guettheir von nichten auff disz erdtrich geschaffen und vmbsonst ausz deiner grundtlosen barmherczikeit vom ewigen tode, dareyn wir gefallen waren, erloeszet. Lieber vater, wyr seyn nicht wurdig, czu seyn deyn kynder. Denn wir haben gefuendiget widder all deyne gerechtikeit. Iedoch nach geheysz deyns eynigen vnd lieben sones sprechen wir torstiglich: Vnser Vater...' ¹⁴⁹

The Vaterunser of Bynwalth also appears in two editions of Otto Brunfelli's Gulden ghebedeboecxken,¹⁵⁰ but it is unlikely that vander

¹⁴⁵ There are three other Dutch translations of the Kurz form, NK2116, 3462, 3458.

¹⁴⁶ C.Ch.G. Visser, Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546 (Assen, 1969), pp.127-128.

¹⁴⁷ Reprinted in Flugschriften aus den ersten jahren der Reformation, ed. O. Clemen (Nieuwkoop, 1967), IV, pp.144-157.

¹⁴⁸ BRN IV, pp.34-35.

¹⁴⁹ O. Clemen, op.cit. p.144.

¹⁵⁰ NK2574 and 502. See p.267.

Heyden worked from Brunfels, for the two texts differ to such an extent that they should be considered as independent translations.¹⁵¹ It may be that vander Heyden made his own translation of the Vaterunser. Alternatively, he may have used the no longer extant version that appeared on the 1550 index as 'Dat Paternoster vutgeleit door Matthias Bynwank'.¹⁵²

As for the identity of Cornelis vander Heyden, little is known. In a letter of 14 November 1545 Mary of Hungary referred to him as a canon of Mechelen 'résidant en Frise en Overijssel',¹⁵³ but this is the only other contemporary reference to this mysterious figure. This being the case, one is tempted to question whether such a man ever existed. It may be that the name Cornelis vander Heyden was a pseudonym which cloaked and held together a number of German authors of which Luther and Bynwalth are only two.

XXXIII Hooftarticulen, Die principaele, van allen dingen, die den menschen troostelic sijn.

Two editions of this pamphlet are known. The first edition, which dates from about 1527, has been ascribed to Johannes Hoochstraten on typographical evidence.¹⁵⁴ In 1533 a reprint appeared from the press

151 Vander Heyden

'Gheift ons vrome, ende gheleerde predicanen, die onzer zielen recht voedsel gheven, ons voordraghende uwen eenighen zone Jesum Christum achterlatende alle fabulen, droomen, of yde leerijnghe, op dat wy, v schaepkins, niet ghedoodt en werden op uwen helighen baergh, in dynen helighen tabernakel.'
BRN IV, p.40.

Gulden ghebedeboecxken

'Daer om gheeft ons vrome geleerde Predicanen die ons die rechte waerheit sonder alle eygen soeckelicheyt voordragen Jesum Christus uwen eenigen sone ende ons niet met fabulen noch onnutte clapperije en verleiden met versierde woorden ende soete benedijdinge van ons snoode woecker suygen ende nemen op dat uwe scapen niet meer ghedoodet ende vermoordet en worden op uwen heyligen tabernakel in die christelike kercke.'
NK2574 1vv.

152 Verboden lectuur, p.77. See p.326.

153 M.-P. Willems-Closset, 'Le protestantisme à Lille', p.203 n.50.

154 NK1114.

of Adriaen van Berghen.¹⁵⁵ According to its preface the Hooftarticulen is not an original Dutch work but a translation.¹⁵⁶ However, the original text from which the Dutch translation came has not been identified. At one time Kronenberg believed the Hooftarticulen had come from Wilhem Graf von Eisenburgk's Hauptartikel ausz Gotlicher Geschrift Christlich leben betreffen (1526), but she later rejected this hypothesis.¹⁵⁷ The Hooftarticulen is divided into two parts, the latter section being a Biblical concordance of names and places. The first part is of more interest in that it is a compilation of Scripture references on particular theological issues. The one hundred and eighty headings under which the Scripture texts are listed immediately betray the author's evangelical convictions. They include such controversial headings as 'Op des menschen vryen willen' or 'Dan die spraken die den vryen well', 'Spraken die den vryen wil schinen te bewaren', 'Die wercken en markent nyemant rechtuaerdich', 'Die wercken schijnen loon ende rechtuaerdicheyt te belouen', 'Tegen der menschen insettingen ende dat men niet nieus voor nemen en sat', 'Dat Christus ailleen onse middelaer is', 'Van biechten' and 'Van onderscheyt der spijs ende der daghen'.¹⁵⁸

XXXIV Hoofstucken, Dye, des christen gheloofs.¹⁵⁹

De Hoop Scheffer argued that this tract, printed without date or place of publication or name of publisher, was borrowed from Luther.¹⁶⁰ Kronenberg rejected this attribution¹⁶¹ but Visser has since shown that

155 NK3185.

156 Die principael hooftarticulen (c1527), Aiir.

157 See NK1114 and 3185.

158 Die principael hooftarticulen Aiiv-Aiiiv; Dir; Aiiiir; Diir; Aviv; Aviir; Dir; Eiiv.

159 NK1115.

160 J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, op.cit. p.403 n.3.

161 NK1115.

the Hoofstucken is, in fact, an abridged version of Luther's Kleine Katechismus.¹⁶²

XXXV HUBERINUS, CASPAR, Troostinghe wt der godlyker script.

Caspar Huberinus, a Lutheran preacher who spent much of his time at Augsburg, initially as an assistant to Urbanus Regius, first published his Trost aus der Schrifft in 1525.¹⁶³ The earliest known Dutch translation of this work of consolation appeared in Otto Brunfels's Gulden ghebedeboecxken. Though the Troostinghe did not appear in the first Dutch translation of the Precationes biblicae of 1531, it was included in the six subsequent editions published between 1532 and 1563.¹⁶⁴ In addition the Troostinghe was also incorporated into Urbanus Regius's Medicijne der sielen (1536)¹⁶⁵ and printed as a separate work first about 1542¹⁶⁶ and subsequently in 1554.¹⁶⁷

162 C.Ch.G.Visser, op.cit. p.124.

163 G. Franz, Huberinus-Rhegius-Holbein. Bibliographische und Druckgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Verbreitesten trost - und Erbauungsschriften des 16.Jahrhunderts (Nieuwkoop, 1973), p.87.

164 See p.267.

165 NK1790.

166 This c1542 edition is no longer extant. Its existence is known only because in 1542 Jacob van Liesvelt was accused of printing an heretical book entitled 'Troostinge der godlycker scryft'. The following year a copy of the Troostinghe was found in the possession of Paul de Rovere, chaplain of St. Pieterskerk, Leuven. In addition, the Troostinghe appeared on the Liège Index of 1545 and the Leuven Index of 1546. Antwerpsch archievenblad VII (1870), p.465. Un procès de religion à Louvain. Paul de Rovere, 1542-1546, ed. R. van Santbergen (Brussels, 1953), p.69. E. Fairon, 'Le premier index de livres prohibés à Liège, 1545', GP III (1925), p.14. Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. F.H. Reusch (Nieuwkoop, 1961), p.40.

167 Amsterdam UB 2008 F1 (5).

XXXVI HUBMAIER, BALTHASAR, Articulen¹⁶⁸

Balthasar Hubmaier (c1480-1528) began his ecclesiastical career as a cathedral chaplain at Regensburg. In 1521 he became a parish priest at Waldshut in Breisgau though by 1522 he was moving towards the evangelical cause. He was eventually to become an Anabaptist and was executed as such on 10 March 1528. In 1524, however, when he delivered his eighteen Schlussreden to the burghers of Waldshut he was a convinced Zwinglian.¹⁶⁹ This Dutch translation of the Schlussreden bears the colophon 'Ghedruct tot Wittenberch by my Melchior Lotter'. Kronenberg accepted this colophon as genuine and dated the pamphlet 1524-1525 as a result, pointing out that Melchior Lotter left Wittenberg for Leipzig early in 1525.¹⁷⁰ If, however, this colophon is fictitious as well it might be, then the Articulen could have been printed at a later date. As well as the eighteen Schlussreden this pamphlet also contains an extract from François Lambert's Evangelici in minoritarum regulam commentarii (1523) which is not to be found in the German original.¹⁷¹

XXXVII Kinderleere. Dat christen gheلووe. De thien gheboden.
Den vader onse. Van de wet. Ende evangeli.

This short catechism was first printed by Mattheus Crom in 1542.¹⁷² Shortly after Crom also published a French translation, La doctrine des enfants. Les dix commandemens, le Pater Noster et Evangile.¹⁷³ Almost immediately, however, the Kinderleere fell under suspicion. On 27 January 1542 an order was issued at Ghent that all copies of the said

168 NK1145. Reprinted in BRN I, pp.117-125. German text reprinted in Balthasar Hubmaier Schriften ed. G. Westin and T. Bergsten (Heidelberg, 1962), pp.71-74.

169 M.E. II, pp.826-834.

170 See NK1145.

171 BRN I, pp.124-125. This extract from Lambert's Evangelici in minoritarum derives from a different translation to Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghel (1526). NK1310. See p.292.

172 Machiels K275. NK3317 is, in fact, a fragment of this edition, see p. 16.

173 ROPB, ii serie IV, p.423.

book should be burnt,¹⁷⁴ whilst on 13 January 1543 an imperial edict was issued at Hainault forbidding the printing, sale, distribution or possession of the French translation.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, three other Dutch editions followed, one published by Crom in 1543,¹⁷⁶ another by Mierdmans in 1544¹⁷⁷ and a third by Willem Gailliart at Emden in 1555 under the pseudonym 'buyten Lonnen by Theophilum Brugensem'.¹⁷⁸

XXXVIII LAMBERT, FRANÇOIS, Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghel.¹⁷⁹

François Lambert (1486-1530) was converted to the Lutheran cause from the ranks of the Franciscan Observants. Having read the writings of Luther he left his monastery at Avignon in 1522 and made his way to Wittenberg via Geneva, Lausanne and Zurich. His first publication dealt with his exit from monastic life, and he followed this up with the Euangelici in minoritarum regulam commentarii (1523), a vitriolic attack on monasticism in general and the Rule of St. Francis in particular.¹⁸⁰ The Dutch translation of this pamphlet, Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghel bears the colophon 'Gheprent in Eutopia. Bij Resam Mondorf. Anno. XXVI'.¹⁸¹ Whilst there is no reason to mistrust this date, the printer's name and address are clearly fictitious. Kronenberg has proposed Peter Jansz. of Leiden as a possible publisher.¹⁸²

174 Bibliotheca Belgica K1.

175 ROPB ii serie IV p.423.

176 BT 6116.

177 Bibliotheca Belgica K2. No location given.

178 Bodleian, Oxford. I.C.250.

179 NK1310.

180 New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge ed. S.M. Jackson (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1960), VI, p.402.

181 F. Lambert, Een gulden opschrift, l*iiii*v.

182 See NK1310.

XXXIX LAMBERT, FRANÇOIS, Paradoxes.¹⁸³

After his stay at Wittenberg, Lambert moved on to Metz and Strasbourg. Failing to find a position in either of these places, he was eventually recommended to Landgrave Philip of Hesse and took a leading part in the Homberg Synod (1526).¹⁸⁴ His propositions from this synod were published in 1527 under the title Paradoxa s. que apud s. Hessorum synodum Hombergi congregatam pro ecclesiarum reformatione Dei verbo disputanda et deservienda proposuit cum epistola ad Colonienses de ipsa venerabili synodo advers Nic. Herborn. Unfortunately, no complete copy of the Dutch translation of this work survives, the British Library having the most complete version, some twenty five of sixty eight or seventy pages of the text.¹⁸⁵ As a result, neither the printer nor the date or place of publication are known.¹⁸⁶

XL LENAERTS, MATTHIJS, Sterfboexken inholdende een soete vermaeninge ende vertroestinge voer die siecken.

Matthijs Lenaerts, according to the title page of this pamphlet was a priest at Veere in Zeeland. Yet apart from this attribution, there is no other contemporary reference to him, so it may be that the name is a pseudonym. The only known edition of the Sterfboexken was printed anonymously about 1560.¹⁸⁷ The 1570 Index, however, lists an edition with the words 'Ghedruckt te Campen In die Broederstrate bij mij Peeter Waermersoene'¹⁸⁸ which implies there may have been two editions of this compilation of comforting Scripture verses for the sick.

183 NK3359.

184 New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia VI, p.402.

185 The Hague KB also has two pages, although these are duplicated by the B.L. fragments.

186 Kronenberg has suggested Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch of Antwerp as a possible printer, and dates the fragments c1528.

187 BL 4401.aa.b.

188 Verboden lectuur, p.252.

XLI Liedekens, Vier.¹⁸⁹

Consisting of four evangelical hymns by an unknown author, this short tract bears the false address 'Ghedruckt tot Straesburch by my Cornelis van Nieuhuys'.¹⁹⁰ Dated by Kronenberg c1540 or later,¹⁹¹ it was probably published by Mattheus Crom between 1540 and 1544.

XLII MEINERTZHAGEN, JOHANNES STAMMEL, Vanden borgheren, hoe dat sy onder malcanderen leven sullen.

This didactic pamphlet explaining how an evangelical burgher ought to live is a translation of the Handbuchlein des evangelischen Bürgers (1544) of Johannes Stammel of Meinertzhagen, an ex-Franciscan preacher at Bonn. It was forbidden by Alva's index of 1570.¹⁹² The only extant copy of the Dutch translation was printed by Hans van Liesvelt in 1553.¹⁹³ It may be, however, that Vanden borgheren was published more than once, for the edition specified on the 1570 index was printed by Jan Wijnrijcx at Antwerp in 1548.

XLIII MYELBEKE, STEFAAN, Curt onderwijs huuter heyligher schrifture.

Exactly when this catechism was first published is unclear. The earliest extant edition was printed by Gheeraert van Salenson in 1555.¹⁹⁴ Sepp, however, dates the Curt onderwijs 1553¹⁹⁵ and the Bibliographie gantoise lists a French edition entitled Briefve instruction de la saincte escripture (also printed by Salenson) which is dated 1554.¹⁹⁶ Given that the privilege on the 1555 edition is dated October 1553, Sepp's dating is probably correct.

189 NK3399.

190 Vier liedekens, Biiiv.

191 See NK3399.

192 T. Schlieter, 'Die Publizistik um der Reformationsversuch des Kölner Erzbischofs Hermann von Wied aus den Jahren 1542-1547' (Bonn University Ph.D.), p.172. Verboden lectuur, p.219.

193 The Hague KB1708E16.

194 Machiels M688. The Curt onderwijs was reprinted by the widow of Gheeraert van Salenson during the Calvinist regime in Ghent (1578). Machiels M689.

195 Verboden lectuur, p.130.

196 F. Vanderhaegen, Bibliographie gantoise, 12061.

Myelbeke himself was a schoolmaster-priest from Ghent and initially his Curt onderwijs was considered to be an orthodox Catholic work. As such it was granted a privilege. In 1556, however, Myelbeke fell under suspicion and on 7 September that year a search of his house revealed a letter from Gerard Mortaigne on the mission of John a Lasco in Poland. On 15 June 1557 Myelbeke was convicted of heresy, banished from Flanders, and had all his property confiscated.¹⁹⁷ It was probably as a result of these proceedings that the Curt onderwijs was placed on the forbidden book list in 1558.¹⁹⁸

XLIV Onderwijsinghe, Christelijcke ende corte: van vergheuinghe der sonden, ende van der eeuigher salicheyt.¹⁹⁹

This tract is a dialogue which deals with some of the essentials of the evangelical faith such as justification by faith alone and the role of good works. The Christelijcke ende corte onderwijsinghe was printed without either the name of its publisher, date, or place of publication, but on typographical evidence it may be ascribed to the press of Mattheus Crom and dated 1540-1544. Though the initials 'JJD' appear on the title page, the author has not yet been identified.

XLV Onderwijsinghe, Christelijcke, tot den rijcke Gods.²⁰⁰

Published by Mattheus Crom probably about 1543,²⁰¹ this pamphlet is a catechetical dialogue between Mensche (man) and Schriftuere (the Bible). Its author is unknown.

197 J. Decaene, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, pp.96-97.

198 Verboden lectuur, pp.130-131.

199 Machiels 055.

200 NK1622. Dated c1540.

201 See Machiels 054. Dated c1543 Machiels' dating is more accurate in this case than that of Kronenberg, who dates many pamphlets probably published in the early 1540s, c1540 so as to include them in her bibliography.

XLVI Onderwijs, Een cort, wt der heyligher script, om de mensche te
brengen tot gheerne ende willichlic te sterven ende den doot
niet te ontsien.²⁰²

Sepp wrongly supposed this work to be a translation of Luther's Sermon von der Bereitung zum Sterben (1519).²⁰³ In fact, a comparison of the Cort onderwijs with a French pamphlet entitled Vng breif enseignement tire hors de la saincte escripture pour amener la personne a morir²⁰⁴ reveals that they are one and the same work, although no indication is given as to whether the Dutch is a translation of the French or vice versa. The available evidence is insufficient to determine for certain whether the Corte onderwijs or the Breif enseignement appeared first, but precedence should probably be given to the French text. The Corte onderwijs must have been published by 1545 for it appears on the Liège Index of that year²⁰⁵ as well as the Leuven Index of 1546.²⁰⁶ The Breif enseignement, on the other hand, must have been published by 1 June 1541 because a Sorbonne censure of that date quotes three propositions which appear in the printed version. This censure was transcribed into the Sorbonne printed catalogue in 1544.²⁰⁸

The author of the Cort onderwijs is unknown. One edition of the Breif enseignement bears the initials G.L.,²⁰⁹ but no author has so far been identified from this.

202 Amsterdam UB 2497 H34. Amsterdam UB catalogue dates this pamphlet c1550 and suggests Ghent as a possible place of publication.

203 Verboden lectuur, p.87.

204 The British Library has two editions one dated c1550 (4405 aa 37) the other 1551 (3103 a 30).

205 My thanks are due to Prof. F. Higman who first suggested that the Cort onderwijs and the Breif enseignement might be the same work.

206 E. Fairon, 'Le premier index', p.13.

207 Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum, p.41.

208 I am indebted to Prof. Higman for this information.

209 BL 4405 aa 37.

XLVII Onderwijsinge, Corte, wter heylicher schriftueren, hoe wy onse vianden, die duuel, die werelt, ende ons eygen vleesch, als christelijcke ridders wederstaen sullen.

The earliest known edition of this pamphlet was published in 1562 by Ameet Tavernier at Antwerp.²¹⁰ Reprints followed from Tavernier's press in 1565 and 1567.²¹¹ Like many of Tavernier's works the Corte onderwijsinge was published in *civilité* type.²¹² The work is divided up into four parts, the first section being an instruction in spiritual warfare, the second and third offering consolation to the suffering and dying and the fourth includes some hymns. Both the title and contents of the Corte onderwijsinge call to mind Erasmus's Enchiridion militis christiani (1503).

Initially, the Corte onderwijsinge was viewed as an orthodox Catholic work, the colophon of the 1562 edition reading 'Hic nihil continetur aut erroris aut scandali: poterit ergo praeolo mandari. Ita attestor Martinus Cools, Plebandus Bruxellenis immeritus'.²¹³ By 1570, however, opinion had shifted for it appeared on Alva's Index of forbidden books published in that year.²¹⁴ Possibly this was due to the Erasmian ethos of the Corte onderwijsinge, for many of Erasmus's works were first forbidden in 1570 also.

XLVIII Onderwijsinge, Gulden, om te antwoorden op alle puncten die de vyanden der waerheyt bybrenghen moghen.

Possibly written by Johannes Schopper, Eyn Ratschlag, den etliche christenliche Pfarrherrn... verthedigenn wöllenn first appeared in Nurenberg in 1525²¹⁵ and was translated into Dutch as Een gulden

210 Leiden UB. 1498 G12(3). Reprinted in BRN IX, pp.615-639.

211 1565, BT6124. 1567, Verboden lectuur, p.243.

212 See pp.23-24.

213 BRN IX, p.639.

214 Verboden lectuur, p.243.

215 See NK1623.

onderwijsinge om te antwoorden op alle puncten die de vyanden der waerheyt bybrenghen moghen. Three Dutch editions are known. The earliest two were both ostensibly printed at Nuremberg in 1525,²¹⁶ but almost certainly place and date of publication in both cases are fictitious.²¹⁷ A third edition was published by Steven Mierdmans at Emden in 1556 under the pseudonym Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout.²¹⁸

XLIX Passionael-boecxken tracterende van dat lijden ons Heeren Iesu Christi.²¹⁹

The Passionael-boecxken is a compilation of the writings of numerous evangelical authors.

'So zijn hier van (tot leeringhe en troost den Christen) vele troostelijcke leeringhen ende onderwijsinghen vergadert wt diuersche Christelijcker leeraers scriften '²²⁰

as the editor explains in a preface to the work. The Passionael-boecxken, which is clearly an evangelical reworking of the traditional medieval passion-book, comprises some twenty five chapters, the first of which is a translation of Luther's Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi (1519).²²¹ The authorship of the other twenty four chapters still remains unknown, but it is probable that they were written by confessionally Lutheran theologians. Visser has identified

216 NK1623 and 3631.

217 At least one edition of the Gulden onderwijsinghe must have been published before 1528 for in that year one Jan van Genck, a glassmaker from Maastricht purchased a copy from a local bookseller. W. Bax, Het protestantisme in het bisdom Luik en vooral te Maastricht 1505-1557 (The Hague, 1937), I, p.84. M.E. Kronenberg, Verboden boeken, p.44.

218 The Hague KB 1714 F20.

219 NK1682. Dated c1540.

220 Passionael-boecxken, Aiiy. 'So are here gathered (for the teaching and comfort of Christians) many comforting teachings and instructions from the writings of various Christian teachers.'

221 See NK1682. For other Dutch translations of this sermon see NK263 and 3467.

the Passionael-boecxken as coming from the Lutheran publishing centre of Wesel,²²² and the chapter entitled 'Van dat avontmael ons Heeren' betrays a strong Lutheran bias when the author castigates those who hold spiritualistic views of the Lord's Supper:

'Ende het is een grouwelijcke sonde van desen Sacramente houden ghelyck Zwinglius ende die Sacrament swermers dat het maer broot ende wijn sy.' ²²³

L PEETERS, NICLAES, Sermonen oft wt legghingen op alle de euangelien vander vasten metter passien. ²²⁴

LII PEETERS, NICLAES, Christelike sermonen op alle de euangelien van alle sondaghen ende principael heylidchaghen int iaer. ²²⁵

LIII Refutacie vant Salve regina ²²⁶

Three editions of this condemnation of the Salve regina are known.²²⁷ None are dated and all of them were printed anonymously. The Refutacie, however, was probably first published in the early 1520s.²²⁸ In addition to these Dutch texts an English version of the Refutacie was published in 1538 appearing alongside a translation of Luther's Das Magnificat verdeutschet und ausgelegt (1521) as An exposition upon the songe of the blessed virgine Mary called Magnificat Where vnto are added the songes of Salve regina Benedictus and Nunc dimittis.²²⁹

222 C.Ch.G. Visser, op.cit. p.124. Dated c1540-1550.

223 Passionael-boecxken. Mviiv. 'And it is an abominable sin to hold like Zwingli and the sacramentarian fanatics that this sacrament is merely bread and wine.'

224 See pp.167-200.

225 See pp.167-200.

226 The Salve regina is a Marian antiphon dated from the eleventh century.

227 NK1787, 3788, 4170. Reprinted in BRN I, pp.15-26.

228 Kronenberg dated NK1787 c1524.

229 STC 17536. Benzing 803.

LIII Reghe1, Der christen.

This catechism is based almost entirely on verses of Scripture. Structurally, it resembles Luther's Kleine Katechismus in that as well as containing the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments it deals with how men and women in various stations of life (virgins, widows, parents, masters, servants and the like) ought to live. There is, however, no textual relationship between the two works. Two editions of Der christen reghe1 are known, one printed by Mierdmans and published by Crom at Antwerp in 1543,²³⁰ the other printed by Peter Warnersz, at Kampen about 1550.²³¹

LIV Registeren, De verghelijckinge der gheslacht, onses Heeren ende
salichmakers Jesu Christi bij Matteum ende Lucam.²³²

The aim of this tract is to demonstrate by Scriptural proofs that Christ was directly descended from King David. Printed by Dierick Buyter at Vianen in 1564, the Verghelijcking der gheslacht registeren may well have been intended as a defence of the orthodox view of the incarnation against the Anabaptist notion that Christ did not 'take flesh' from Mary.

LV REGIUS, URBANUS, Een boecxken oft sendtbrief waer om als nu ter
tijt inden gelove twist is, geschreven an eenen gueden vrendt.

Though initially an opponent of Luther, as early as 1520 Urbanus Regius (1489-1541) was moving towards the evangelical cause. Both as a practical reformer - first at Augsburg (1524-1530) and subsequently at Lüneburg (1531-1549) - and as a writer, Regius became a strong supporter of orthodox Lutheranism.²³³ The Boecxken oft sendtbrief was translated from his Sendbrief warumb der yetzige Zanck im Glauben sey...

230 Machiels R85.

231 The Hague KB 1708 D 34 (5).

232 Amsterdam UB968 D19.

233 The New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia X, pp.22-23.

an einen guten Freunde zu Hildesheim (1531). Two Dutch editions are known. The first bore the same date as the German original, but may have been antedated. Unfortunately, the only extant copy of this edition, previously in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, is now missing.²³⁴ A second edition was published by Hans de Braecker at Wesel in 1558.²³⁵

LVI REGIUS, URBANUS, Dialogus van de prekinghe die Christus den twee discipelen dede, tot Emaus gaende op den paesdach.

Translated from Regius's Dialogus von der trostreichem Predigt, die Christus Luc. 24 (1537), the subject of this treatise is the Old Testament prophecies concerning the birth, life, death and resurrection of Christ. The exegesis and explanation take the form of a dialogue between a husband and wife based on St. Luke's remark that Christ 'Beginning with Moses and all the prophets...interpreted to them (the disciples on the road to Emaus) the things concerning himself'.²³⁶ Strongly didactic in tone it dwells at length on justification by faith alone and Christian liberty, though occasionally some polemic against Catholicism and, more especially, against Anabaptism intrudes. Emaus was a particularly popular work. It was first printed, ostensibly by Niclaes van Oldenborch in 1538²³⁷ and reprinted by Steven Mierdmans at Emden in 1557²³⁸. In addition, four other editions were published in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.²³⁹

234 NK4398. Previously NK01035.

235 Machiels R106.

236 Luke 24:7.

237 NK1789.

238 Machiels R105. Published under the pseudonym Magnus vanden Merberg van Oesterhout.

239 i) Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam 1589. Amsterdam UB 975 E2.
 ii) Jacob Lenaertsz Meyn, Enkhuizen, 1589. Amsterdam UB 2497 B12.
 iii) Jan Claesz van Dorp, Leiden, 1596. Amsterdam UB 975 E1.
 iv) Laurens Jacobsz, Amsterdam, 1601. Amsterdam VU.

LVII REGIUS, URBANUS, De medecijne der sielen.²⁴⁰

Though its title is probably based upon that of a late medieval work of devotion,²⁴¹ the Medecijne der sielen is strongly evangelical in tenor. Translated for Regius's Seelen ärzney für gesund und kranken zu diesen gefarlichen zeyten (1529), the Medecijne der sielen first appeared, according to its colophon in 1536, though its alleged printer, Niclaes van Oldenborch, was not averse to antedating pamphlets. A second edition of this tract was published by Jan van Ghelen at Antwerp in 1559.²⁴²

LVIII REGIUS, URBANUS, Een rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeue leeringhe.

A comparison between evangelical (old) and Catholic (new) doctrine, the Recht onderscheyt was translated from the Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio (1526), and was published anonymously in 1527.²⁴³

LIX ROL, HENRICK, Die slotel van dat secreet des nachtmaels.²⁴⁴

Henrick Rol ended his life as an Anabaptist martyr, being burned at the stake at Maastricht in September 1534.²⁴⁵ However, the Slotel, a spiritualistic treatment of the Lord's Supper, was drafted some time between 1531 and 8 November 1533,²⁴⁶ and therefore may have been written before Rol had been converted to the Anabaptist cause. Unfortunately, no copy of this early date survives. The text reprinted in the Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica is that published by Pieter

²⁴⁰ NK1790. The Medecijne der sielen also contains the Troostinghe wt der godliker scrift of Caspar Huberinus, see p.290.

²⁴¹ See NK1506 and 3510, Medecijn der sielen, and 3985-3986, Der zielen troost.

²⁴² J.W. Pont, op.cit. p.264.

²⁴³ NK1791.

²⁴⁴ BRN V, pp.41-94.

²⁴⁵ M E II, p.704.

²⁴⁶ BRN V, p.10.

Anastasius de Zuttere at Emden c1563.²⁴⁷ In de Zuttere's edition the Slotel was published along with another work, Eyne ware bedijnckijnge, hoe dat hoochweirdich lichaam Chrisit, van unsen vnweirdigen lichaam to vnderscheiden jsz, doer vrage vnde antwoorde. It is unlikely, however, that Rol was the author of this other tract.²⁴⁸

LX SACHS, HANS, Dialogus of tweesprake tusschen eenen evangelischen Hans, ende eenen luyterschen Peeter, in welcke gestraft wert, die onwetentheyt ende onbescheydelijckheit van sommige drijven.

Hans Sachs of Nuremberg (1494-1576) was a shoemaker by trade, but is better known as a poet and Reformation polemicist. The Dialogus of tweesprake is a translation of his Gesprech eynes evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen which was published in 1524 as one of his Vier Dialogen in Prosa.²⁴⁹ The only extant Dutch edition of this pamphlet was printed anonymously in 1564.²⁵⁰ Almost certainly, however, this is a reprint of an earlier Dutch translation, for the Dialogus of tweesprake appeared on a forbidden book list as early as 1545.²⁵¹

LXI SACHS, HANS, Een schoone disputatie van eenen evangelischen schoenmaker ende van eenen papistighen coerheere.

Translated from the Disputacion zwischen ainem Chorherren vnnd Schumacker (1524) the Schoone disputatie was first published about 1525.²⁵² Two reprints followed, one published c1540²⁵³, the other

²⁴⁷ Bibliotheca Belgica, R25. Copies in Utrecht UB and Zurich Zentralbibliothek.

²⁴⁸ BRN V, pp.4, 14-15.

²⁴⁹ New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia X, pp.138-139.

²⁵⁰ Amsterdam UB 2007 G43 (3).

²⁵¹ E. Fairon, 'Le premier index', p.13.

²⁵² NK3827. The Schoone disputatie must have been printed by August 1526, for some time before 10 September of that year one Martin Mathysz from Mons was arrested at Gouda for distributing Sach's tract within the town. A.C. Duke, 'Dissident voices in a conformist town: the early reformation at Gouda', Bestuurders en geleerden. Opstellen over onderwerpen int de nederlandsche geschiedenis van de 16e, 17e en 18e eeuw aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J.J. Woltjer, ed. S. Groenveld, M.E.H.M. Mont, I. Schöffer (Amsterdam, 1985), p.25.

²⁵³ NK3828.

c1557.²⁵⁴ Like the Dialogus of tweesprake the Schoonedisputatie was originally one of Sachs' Vier Dialogus in Prosa, and as a dialogue between an orthodox canon and an evangelical shoemaker may be of autobiographical significance.

LXII Scutum fidei. Den schilt oft wapen des geloofs daer mede wi sullen weerden die vianden Gods.

One of the most popular of all Reformation tracts was a compilation of over five hundred quotations from the Church Fathers and the Scriptures known as the Unio dissidentium of Hermanus Bodius. All in all, at least twenty five editions of this work were printed in Latin, French and German between 1527 and 1600.²⁵⁵

In all probability the Unio dissidentium is of Netherlandish origin. The earliest extant edition was published by Martin de Keyser at Antwerp on 1 March 1527.²⁵⁶ Some have questioned whether this was, in fact, the first edition of the Unio, citing its appearance on a list of prohibited books compiled by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, dated 23 October 1526.²⁵⁷ A number of the books listed on this index, however, must have been added after 1526 since some were not published until 1528 or 1529. As Clebsch has shown, the earliest possible date for the complete list is 12 July 1529, the date of publication of Frith's translation of Luther, The revelation of Antichrist.²⁵⁸ Furthermore, de Keyser was also responsible for publishing the second part of the Unio later in 1527, together with numerous other early editions of the work,²⁵⁹ and was in communication with Bodius himself.²⁶⁰ Thus, even

²⁵⁴ M.E. Kronenberg 'Is Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout een schuilnaam van Niclaes van Oldenborch', HB XXXI (1952-54), p.110.

²⁵⁵ Index aureliensis 120.866-120.890.

²⁵⁶ NK4313.

²⁵⁷ NK01293. J. Foxe, Acts and monuments (London, 1576), II, p.990.

²⁵⁸ W.A. Clebsch, England's earliest protestants, 1520-1535 (New Haven, 1964), pp.262-263.

²⁵⁹ See Index aureliensis 120.866, 120.868-120.871, 120.874-120.875.

²⁶⁰ W.F. Dankbaar, 'De Unio dissidentium van Hermanus Bodius', Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis LXXIV (1961), p.369.

if the earliest extant edition of the Unio is not the first edition, it is very likely that the Unio originated from de Keyser's Antwerp press.

Though the press from which the Unio originally came has been identified, the authorship of this work remains a mystery. Most scholars have been of the opinion that Hermanus Bodius is a pseudonym, and the 'Swiss' orientation of the theology of the Unio (its spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper) together with a complicated linguistic interpretation of the name Hermanus Bodius, have established Martin Bucer as a leading candidate.²⁶¹ Kronenberg rejected this hypothesis, demonstrating that the Unio was first published in Antwerp and not Cologne as originally thought, and pointing out that though a French version appeared in 1527 there was no German translation until that of Caspar Hedio in 1538. It is more likely, she argued, that Bodius was a Netherlander.²⁶²

In the Low Countries the Unio dissidentium was first prohibited at Leiden on 8 January 1530. On the same list of forbidden books was a work entitled 'Schuteum fidei in duytsche den schilt des geloofs int dwelck oick geallegeert worden die oude doctoren tracterende vanden gelove, wercken ende geesteliche eetinghe, geen mencie maeckende vande sacramentale eetinghe ende gelove'.²⁶³ Alas, no copy of a Scutum fidei

261 Ibid. pp.378-379. M.E. Kronenberg, 'Is Martinus Butzer onder het pseudoniem Hermanus Bodius de auteur van de Unio dissidentium geweest', HB XXXIV (1959-61), pp.1-2.

262 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Is Martinus Butzer', p.4.

263 L. Knappert, 'De index librorum prohibitorum te Leiden in 1530', Tijdschrift voor boek-en bibliotheekwezen IV (1906), p.226. It has been suggested that Willem van Zwolle, a member of the entourage of Christiaan II of Denmark who was put to death on 20 October 1529 at Mechelen was the author of the Scutum fidei. This is possible but by no means certain. Three books were mentioned in the sentence pronounced against Willem van Zwolle on 25 September 1529. The sentence clearly identified Willem as author of two, Dat licht der heydenen and Die vertroestinghe des Heyligen Geestz sy met ons, but merely noted that he was in possession of the third, the Scutum fidei. P. Fredericq, 'Sentence prononcée contre Guillaume van Zwolle par l'inquisiteur général des Pays-Bas, 1529', Bulletins de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique sér.3. XXX (1895), pp.258-266.

published before 1530 survives. In the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, however, there is a copy of a work entitled Scutum fidei. Den schilt oft wapen des geloofs daer mede wi sullen weeren die vianden Gods which has been dated c1545.²⁶⁴ A recent analysis of this pamphlet, which is a compilation of quotations from the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, has revealed that it is a partial translation of the Unio dissidentium.²⁶⁵ This c1545 Scutum is comprised of three sections. The first part which deals with confession, closely follows chapter twelve of the Unio 'De Poenitentia et triplici confessione'.²⁶⁶ The second section on justification by faith alone loosely borrows from chapter nine of the Unio 'De Fide et operibus', and concludes with a short section on the needless expense in the burial of the dead taken from chapter twenty one of the Unio 'De honore erga sanctos, et impensa funeris'.²⁶⁷ The final part which the translator considers a separate book, for he inserts another prologue, deals with the Holy Sacrament and is borrowed from chapter eighteen of the Unio 'De Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi'.²⁶⁸ Given that this c1545 Scutum contains numerous texts from the Fathers on faith and works and the Lord's Supper, the 1530 Leiden edict which described a Scutum 'int dwelck oick gealleert worden die oude doctoren tractorende vanden gelove, wercken ende geesteliche eetinghe, geen mencie maeckende vande sacramentale eetinghe ende gelove' must surely be referring to an earlier edition of the same work.

Though the Scutum is heavily dependent upon the Unio, there are notable differences between the two. The titles of the two works reveal a basic difference in the aims and intentions of Bodius and the author of the Scutum. Though Bodius was a committed evangelical, he was

264 The Hague KB 1702 F12(3)

265 J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', NAK LXIII (1983), pp.17-18.

266 Scutum fidei, avir-biiiv. H. Bodius, Unio dissidentium (Cologne, 1531, Index aureliensis 120.872), pp.299-316.

267 Scutum biiiv-diiv. Unio pp.153-209, 463-466.

268 Scutum fiiv-gviiir. Unio pp.367-387. The prologue for the book on the Lord's Supper in the Scutum also borrows from chapter ten of the Unio, 'De Preceptis et mandatis hominum'. J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des sacramentaires', p.19.

essentially eirenic in his approach. His aim was to heal the growing schism between Rome and the evangelicals by reference back to the writings of the Fathers, an authority acknowledged by both camps. Hence his title, 'the union of discord'. The author of the Scutum, on the other hand, was altogether more polemical in his approach. The Scutum fidei (shield of faith) was intended as a work by which evangelicals could refute their Catholic opponents. This is borne out by the subtitle 'the shield or weapon of the faith with which we shall combat the enemies of God'. This divergence of approach between the Unio and the Scutum is amplified in the texts of the two works. Both authors deny the sacrificial nature of the Mass. Bodius, however, was prepared to use the verb 'offer' for the sake of accuracy when quoting Cyprian.²⁶⁹ The author of the Scutum, on the other hand, denounced the Mass as a 'groote abominatie'.²⁷⁰ It is neither a sacrifice nor a good work, but a remembrance of the sacrifice and Last Supper of Christ:

'En waer alsulcke vgeuinge is daer en is gheen offerhande meer voor die sonden. Onse auontmael is een ghehoochnisse van die offerhande ende auontmael Christi Jesu ende gheen werck.'²⁷¹

LXIII Sendbrief. Een troostelijcken, voor alle die om der waerheyt ende om Christus naem veruoelcht worden.

Two editions of this comforting letter for those suffering persecution are known. The earliest, of which only a fragment survives, was dated by De Hoop Scheffer and Kronenberg c1524.²⁷² This is very early for a pamphlet of this type since the persecution of evangelicals in the Low Countries had only just begun by 1524. Such a date is, however, not beyond the bounds of possibility. Luther's Brief an die

269 J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des sacramentaires', p.19.

270 Scutum fidei dviir.

271 Ibid. eiiv. 'And where there is such forgiveness there is no longer any offering for sin. Our Lord's Supper is a memorial of the sacrifice and Last Supper of Christ and not a (good) work.'

272 NK1885. Reprinted in the BRN, VIII, pp.123-137.

Christen in Niederlanden written to comfort Dutch evangelicals after the execution of the Antwerp Augustinians was published as early as 1523.²⁷³ The Troostelijcken sendbrief was reprinted by Hans de Braecker in 1558.²⁷⁴

LXIV Sermon, Een schoon, van Christus rijcke heerlicheyt ende macht.²⁷⁵

Published by Steven Miermans at Antwerp in 1544, this short tract was designed to bring comfort to those suffering persecution by comparing the brief trials of this age with the future glory of the kingdom of God.

LXV Summa der godliker scripturen oft een Duytsche theologie.²⁷⁶

First published by Jan Seversz at Leiden in 1523²⁷⁷ the Summa der godliker scripturen was one of the earliest indigenous Dutch pamphlets inclined to the evangelical cause. Its origins are obscure. At one time it was thought to be the work of Hendrik van Bommel (1498-1570), but this has been disproved.²⁷⁸ It may have been translated from a Latin work known as the Oeconomica christiana, but conversely the Oeconomica could have been taken from the Summa.²⁷⁹ Translated into French, English and Italian and reprinted in Dutch four times, the

273 Benzing 1658-1668.

274 BRN VIII, p.122.

275 BL.4034.aa.15(2).

276 Reprinted in Het oudste Nederlandsche verboden Boek, 1523 Oeconomica christiana. Summa der godliker scripturen, ed. J.J. van Toorenbergen. Monumenta reformationis Belgicae I (Leiden, 1882). The Summa was also the subject of a recent doctoral thesis. J. Trapman, De summa der godliker scripturen (1523) (Leiden, 1978).

277 NK01134.

278 J. Trapman, De summa der godliker scripturen (1523), pp.41-52.

279 Ibid. pp.80-81. On balance Trapman gives priority to the Oeconomica.

Summa was a work of considerable popularity.²⁸⁰ Theologically, its author was indebted both to Erasmus and to Luther, his twenty-sixth chapter being a condensed version of Luther's Von weltlicher Oberkeit (1523).²⁸¹

LXVI Tijdinghe, Warachtige nieuwe, van eenen boer die met cranckeyt beuaen hem heeft ghebiecht tegen zynen prochiaen.²⁸²

Translated from German,²⁸³ possibly by the Brugse rederijker Eduard de Dene,²⁸⁴ this polemical dialogue was published anonymously in 1564. Though the Warachtige nieuwe tijdinghe appears on the 1570 index, it does so in a confused form, being listed together with Willem Gnapheus's Tobias ende Lazarus as 'T'sieckbedde van Tobias. Dialogus den Prochiaen ende den Crancken. Sparus hic est tempore Geusianismi'.²⁸⁵ Possibly copies of the Warachtige nieuwe tijdinghe were bound together with Tobias ende Lazarus when they were discovered being distributed 'at the time of the Beggars' (1566-67) and it was wrongly assumed that they were one and the same work.

LXVII Troost, Der siecken, onderwijsinghe, om ghewillichlick te sterven.

At one time mistakenly thought to be a translation of Bullinger's Bericht der krancken (1535),²⁸⁶ the Siecken troost is probably an original Dutch work. Unfortunately the c1540 edition of this pamphlet

280 Ibid. p.73. NK1968-1969, 3910-3911. Trapman redates each of the Dutch editions as follows: NK3910 (1524 or later); NK1968 (1525 or later); NK3911 (1527 or later); NK1969 (c1540). J. Trapman, De summa der godliker scripturen (1523), p.18.

281 Ibid. pp.57-70, 33.

282 BL 11555.a.11. Discussed by C.P. Burger, 'Een anti-roomsch pamphlet van 1564', HB X (1921), pp.331-336.

283 After the title on the titlepage come the words 'Ouerghesedt wten hoochduytschen'.

284 J.J. Mak, De rederijkers (Amsterdam, 1944), pp.119-120.

285 Verboden lectuur, pp.255-257.

286 A.J. Van 't Hooft, De theologie van Heinrich Bullinger in betrekking tot de nederlandsche reformatie (Amsterdam, 1888), p.125.

listed by Nijhoff and Kronenberg is now no longer extant, the only known copy in the British Library having been destroyed in the Second World War.²⁸⁷ Copies of two other editions of the Siecken troost survive, however, both of which were published by Mattheus Crom in 1543, one printed by Steven Mierdmans²⁸⁸ and the other by Cornelis Wellens.²⁸⁹

LXVIII Uut legghinge, Een costeliche, oft expositie op die X gheboden ende op dat Pater noster.

This catechism is strongly evangelical in tone. Published anonymously c1540,²⁹⁰ its preface promises truthful instruction regardless of the ordinances of Antichrist (that is, the papacy).

'Mer wi sullen elcken die waerheyt leeren niet
achtende op Antechrist met al sijn discipelen
noch op sijn instellinghe oft menschelike
geboden.'²⁹¹

LXVIII Val, Den, der roomscher kercken.²⁹²

Various Dutch writers such as Jan Utenhove and Marten Micron have been suggested as possible authors of this vitriolic attack upon the doctrine of transubstantiation.²⁹³ There is little doubt, however, that the Val der roomscher kercken was translated from the English Faull of the romyshe churche. Both the English and Dutch texts

287 NK3984.

288 Machiels T351.

289 Machiels T352.

290 NK2092

291 Costeliche uut legghinge avv. 'But we will teach everyone the truth, heeding neither Antichrist with all his disciples, nor his institution or human commands.'

292 Reprinted in BRN 1, pp.399-420.

293 See Verboden lectuur, pp.133-134.

conclude with a dedication to the new English king Edward VI, and it is difficult to see why a Dutch pamphlet would contain such a dedication unless it were a translation. Moreover, the earliest Dutch edition was published in 1553,²⁹⁴ whereas the earliest English text has been dated c1547.²⁹⁵ Besides the 1553 edition, printed by Steven Mierdmans in London, three Dutch reprints are known, the first by Mierdmans himself at Emden in 1556,²⁹⁶ the second by Antonius de Solemne at Norwich c1570²⁹⁷ and the third by Adriaen Helmichsz at Gorinchem in 1610.²⁹⁸

LXX Vraghe ende antwoorde op alle saken die eenen mensche ter salicheyt van noode zijn te weten.

As can be seen from Nijhoff and Kronenberg's bibliographical description, the Vraghe ende antwoorde is a translation of a German Lutheran pamphlet.²⁹⁹ It consists of two series of seventy two and nineteen questions which deal in turn with justification by faith alone, the Church, monasticism, confession and the Lord's Supper. Copies of two editions of the Vraghe ende antwoorde survive. The edition which bears the date 1518³⁰⁰ is clearly antedated to disguise the evangelical nature of the work by giving it a pre-Reformation date. The other is dated 1526,³⁰¹ but Wijnman has suggested that this too is an attempt to deceive.³⁰² Some approximation of the dates of publication could be made if the original German text could be discovered.

294 STC21307.3.

295 STC21305. Other English editions STC21305.3, 21305.7 and 21306.

296 Knuttel 109. The Knuttel catalogue wrongly gives the place of publication as Antwerp.

297 STC21307.5.

298 Knuttel 110. The 1558 index includes 'Den val der Roomescher Kercke. Gedruckt Temben by Claes van Berghen' which suggests there may have been another edition of this work which is no longer extant. Verboden lectuur, pp.133-134.

299 See NK2181 and 4076.

300 NK4076.

301 NK2181.

302 H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch,' p.462.

LXXI Vraeghe, Een schoon, van een bwr, hoe dat hy eenen pape geuraecht heeft, van weghen sommighen articulen, seer schoon ende lustich te leesen ende te hooren.³⁰³

Although similar in its title, format and content to the Warachtige nieuwe tijdinghe van eenen boer... tegen zijnen prochiaen³⁰⁴, the Schoon Vraeghe, published anonymously in 1565, is, in fact, a completely different work.

LXXII WACKER, STEVEN, Warachtige pronosticatie ende almanach.³⁰⁵

Published by Mattheus Crom about 1543, this work is an adaptation of a German pamphlet, Eyn getruwe warnung aller Christgleubiger menschen des sy sich vor den Zeychen bedudern und Sternseheren sleyszlichen hoeden (c1530)³⁰⁶ which also bears the name Steffen Wacker. The Warachtige pronosticatie is not, however, a straightforward translation from the German. The Dutch text, consisting of thirty two folios, is a much longer work than the German which runs to a mere four folios. Nevertheless, the use both pamphlets make of the pseudonym Steven or Steffen Wacker, and some strikingly similar passages, suggest that the Warachtige pronosticatie derived from the Getruwe warnung. An example of the textual dependence of the Dutch on the German work is shown below.

Warachighe pronosticatie

'Alder eerst ende principalic coemt mi te vorendie Prophete Esaias daer hi teghen de Babylonische schrijft die daer met alsulcke saken omginghen segghende: Du bist afgheuallen in de menich fuldicheyt dijnne raden ende voornemen: laet nv die waersegghers des hemels (die

Getruwe warnung

'Zu dem andermale spricht Isaias ym xlviii. Capi. daer wyder die Babilonier (die den ouch myt disser kunst umbgyngen) schrybt also ludent.

"Du bist abgeuallen in die manychfeldicheit deyner rede die Wairseger der humel die da sehen

303 Knuttel 134.

304 See p.309.

305 NK2191.

306 BL8610.b.63.

de sterren aensien) staen ende v
1ieden behouden de welcke de
maenden tellen op dat si daer wt
v die toecomende dingen vercondigen.
Siet si sijn gheworden ghelyck als
stoppelen die welcke tvier verslint
ende si en sullen haer siele niet
beschermen moghen van die
verslinden vlamme.

'Siet hier meyne ick dat onse
waerseggers oft sterren sienders
(genoemt Astrologi in Latijne) bi
verstaen ende beteekent worden.³⁰⁷

in die Sternen laisz dyr dieselbigen
nu vorsteen und dich behalden welche
da tzelle die Maende das sy dyr usz
den selbigen die zu komstige dyng
verkundigeden. Suich sei syn worden
wie stoppelen die von dem feur
verbrent werden und moegen yre
seele nit entledigen von der
gewlichkeit der flammen.

'Ich meyn das tie der Propheet unser
Astrologi und Sternseher redlich
by der nasen schnutzs so er spricht
dz sey vom dem feuwer gelich als
die stoppelen des feldes vertzert
sollen werden.'³⁰⁸

The Warachtige pronosticatie had a twofold purpose. In the first place, it aimed to warn evangelicals of the dangers of judicial astrology rather as Calvin did in his Advertissement contre l'astrologie iudiciare (1549)³⁰⁹. Secondly, it sought to replace such sinful delving into the future with an almanach based upon Scripture texts.

LXXXIV Waerheyt onderwijs, Der.

Apparently first published by Niclaes van Oldenborch in 1536,³¹⁰ the Waerheyt onderwijs was reprinted four times between 1540 and 1566.³¹¹ The Waerheyt onderwijs is a Scripture compilation cast in the form of a dialogue between Waerheyt (Truth) and Ongheleerde (Ignorance); that is, between God and man. When Ongheleerde asks a question Waerheyt always responds with a quotation from Scripture, thus conveying the author's message that God's complete revelation of Himself is to be found in the Bible. The work is divided into ten sections. These deal in turn with God's word, love of God and one's neighbour, faith, God's

307 S. Wacker, Warachtige pronosticatie, Avv.

308 S. Wacker, Getruwe warnung, Biiir.

309 Index aureliensis 129.811.

310 NK2193.

311 i) Anonymous c1540. NK2194.

ii) (Emden), Niclaes van Oldenborch, 1555. BL 3925.a.16.

iii) Emden, Willem Gailliart, 1556. Bodleian Oxford IC249 and IC250.

iv) Emden, Willem Gailliart, 1566. BL.874.h.24(5).

mercy, false teaching, secular government and obedience, how a christian ought to respond to suffering, death and Christ's victory over it, sober living and the Second Coming, and the judgement of God and eternal life.

SECTION B. ANTI EVANGELICAL WORKS.

I Bewijs, Een redelijck der dolingen van ses prochianen der
luterschen secten.¹

Published by Willem Vorsterman in 1527-28, this pamphlet is a Catholic refutation of the errors of six evangelical parishioners (probably from Antwerp) based on scriptural proofs. Though the Redelijck bewijs appeared anonymously, the author gives some clue to his identity by listing his other works. These include books on monastic vows, on the secular and spiritual states and on 1 Corinthians chapter 7.² No works fitting these descriptions are known, but the titles suggest that the author was a cleric and probably a monk.

II BIJNS, ANNA, Refereinen.³

Anna Bijns (1493-1575) was an orthodox Catholic poet who in her early life devoted much time and energy towards the refutation of evangelical doctrines. The first volume of her Refereinen, published by Jacob van Liesvelt in 1528, was written between 1522 and 1527 and contains some of the most virulent anti-Lutheran polemic published in Dutch.⁴ It is difficult to know, however, to what extent Anna Bijns was attacking Lutheranism in the Netherlands and how much she was attacking German Lutheranism, since some of her allusions seem to refer to the Peasants War. The 1528 edition of the Refereinen was reprinted in 1541, 1548 and 1564. A second volume was published by Martinus Nuyts in 1548, and a third by Jan van Ghelen in 1565.⁵

Though the Refereinen of 1528 consist, for the most part, of a polemic against Lutheranism, Anna Bijns does not exempt the Catholic

1 NK321.

2 Een redelijck bewijs, kiiiir.

3 NK423.

4 For the dating of individual refereinen see L. Roose, Anna Bijns, Een rederijkster uit de hervormingstijd (Ghent, 1963), p.210.

5 Ibid. pp.54-57.

clergy from her criticisms. The ecclesiastical hierarchy is attacked for its lack of care of the flock which has enabled Lutheran errors to have made greater inroads than they would otherwise have done.⁶ The theologians are also criticized, in the first place for their lack of study of the Scriptures, and in the second (quite remarkably) for their light treatment of heretics:

'Doctoren, geleert in de theologie,
 Ghij behoort te weerstane de ketterije;
 Hierom soudij in de scriptuere studeren.
 Maer ghij let meer op ander fantasie
 Op poetrie en philosophie,
 En als ghij de ketters gaet examineeren,
 Ghij wittse veel te soetelijc hanteren,
 Te saen absolveren.' ⁷

III BUNDERIUS, JOANNES, Den scilt des gheloofs.⁸

Translated from the Scutum fidei orthodoxae (1556),⁹ this tract is a refutation of the evangelical doctrines espoused by Johannes Anastasius Veluanus in his Leken wechwyser (1554).¹⁰ Den scilt des gheloofs was published by Cornelis Manilius at Ghent in 1557.

IV Determinacie ende vonnisse der doctoren in theologien van Parijs
over de leeringhe van Martin Luther.¹¹

The Determinacie, as its title implies, is a vernacular rendition

6 Ibid. pp.249-250.

7 Ibid. p.250. 'Doctors, learned in theology,
 You ought to oppose heresy;
 For this reason you should study the Scriptures.
 But you simply observe other fantasy
 On poetry and philosophy,
 And as you go to examine heretics,
 You manage to treat them much too leniently,
 Absolving them completely.'

8 BT 5343. Published at Ghent by Cornelis Manilius.

9 BT 5344. Also published at Ghent by Cornelis Manilius.

10 See pp.256-258.

11 NK 706. Copy now in Edinburgh U.L.

of the condemnation of Luther by the Sorbonne (15 April 1521). This Dutch translation published by Willem Vorsterman in the same year as the Latin original was the work of one Jan Roeyaerts, a vehemently anti-Lutheran Franciscan monk. Roeyaerts' translation of the Determinatio is confirmed by a conversation related at the trial of Lieven de Zomere, an evangelical baker from Ghent in April 1522.¹²

V DUNCANUS, MARTINUS, Vant rechte evangelische avontmael Christi Jesu.

Martinus Duncanus (1505-1590), Catholic priest first at Wormer, and later at Delft and Amsterdam, was a longstanding opponent of the evangelical cause. His Vant rechte evangelische avontmael Christi Jesu was a strong condemnation of the eucharistic doctrines espoused by the author of the Val de roomscher kercken, an evangelical polemic against the doctrine of transubstantiation first printed in Dutch by Steven Mierdmans in 1553. According to Duncanus, Mierdmans was the author as well as the printer of this 'blasphemous' anti-Roman tract.¹³ Three editions of the Rechte evangelische avontmael Christi Jesu are known, one published by Harmen van Borculo at Utrecht in 1558¹⁴ and two by Peeter van Keerberge of Antwerp in 1567.¹⁵

VI ECK, JOHANNES, Declaracie...teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen.¹⁶

This pamphlet is a Dutch translation of the Enchiridion locorum communium (1525) by the best known of all Luther's adversaries, John Eck. Ostensibly directed against Philip Melanchthon's Loci communes (1521), the main target of the Enchiridion is Luther himself.¹⁷ An

12 CD IV, p.112.

13 Vant rechte evangelische avontmael Christi Jesu (1558), Aiiiv.

14 Amsterdam UB 1283 G 38.

15 Machiels D292 and 293.

16 NK752.

17 J. Eck, Enchiridion of commonplaces against Luther and other enemies of the church, ed. F.L. Battles (Grand Rapids, Michigan c1979), p.4.

enormously popular work, the Enchiridion ran to ninety one editions between 1525 and 1600.¹⁸ This Dutch translation of the Enchiridion was published at Delft by Cornelis Henricz Lettersnijder for a mysterious and otherwise unknown 'Meester Luyt' verger of the Oude Kerk at Amsterdam in 1527.¹⁹ Ironically Eck, the great Catholic polemicist, was to suffer the indignity of the burning of Lettersnijder's publication. In a letter to the council of Holland of 25 May 1527 Mary of Hungary ordered that it be burnt because its setting forth of the views of Luther, regardless of the subsequent refutations, was considered a transgression of the placards against heretical books.²⁰

VII Gedichte, Eyn merckelick, van dem vorgiftigen ketter Martino Luther.

As its title suggests, this pamphlet is an anti-Lutheran polemic. Published at Deventer by Albert Pafraet in 1528,²¹ it denounces many leading evangelicals by name and probably contains the earliest Dutch reference to Melchior Hoffman, the founder of Anabaptism in the Low Countries.²²

VIII LAURENSEN, LAURENS, Een antwoort op de disputacie ghedruct in de naem luncker Ulricx van Doernum.²³

This pamphlet is an account of a disputation which took place between Ulrich van Dornum, a minor nobleman from Emden, and Laurens Laurensen, Dominican prior of the Groningen house. As its title suggests it is Laurensen's reply to an earlier evangelical account

18 Ibid.

19 J. Eck, Declaracie teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen, Air.

20 F.J. Dubiez, Op de grens van humanisme en hervorming (Nieuwkoop, 1962), p.106.

21 NK 964.

22 Eyn merckelick gedichte, Aiiiiv.

23 NK 1330.

of the disputation by van Dornum, the Disputation to Oldersum ynn de graveschup to Oestureeslant kortes na Viti geholden of 1526.²⁴ Printed at Kampen by Jan Evertsz. Laurensen's reply was published on 9 August 1527.²⁵

IX Tijt, Van der verveerlicken aenstaende. Endechristes.²⁶

This is a Low German (Gelderse) version of a Latin work entitled Prognosticon de terribilissimo maledicti antichrist adventu (1524).²⁷ It is a vehemently anti-Lutheran work, financed by the Duke of Gelre²⁸ and published by Albert Pafraet at Deventer, which sees the fulfilment of the Biblical prophecies concerning the coming of Antichrist in the German reformer. The vernacular text, also published in 1524, is not a straightforward translation of its Latin counterpart. There are significant differences between the two works. The Gelderse version contains more anti-Lutheran polemic than the Latin.²⁹ Presumably this was because the author felt a particular need to combat heresy on a popular level. The Latin text, on the other hand, contains a much fuller critique of the morality of the clergy and, in particular, attacks the practice of simony.³⁰ Such comments were probably omitted from the vernacular version as being unsuitable for the less well educated. Perhaps it was feared that dissemination of such ideas on a popular level might increase anticlericalism and thus give fuel to the Lutheran fire.

Van der verveerlicken aenstaende tyt Endechristes appeared anonymously, though the author gives a good deal of information about

24 M. Smid, Ostfriesisch Kirchengeschichte (Rautenberg, 1974), p.124. There is a copy of the Disputation to Oldersum in Aurich Staatsarchiv.

25 L. Laurensen, Een antwoort op de disputacie, Qiiiir.

26 NK3954. Facsimile edition, Der Deventer Endechrist von 1524, ed. H. Niebaum, R. Peters, E. Schütz and T. Sodmann (Cologne - Vienna, 1984).

27 NK3774.

28 Van der verveerlicken aenstaende tyt Endechristes, giiiir.

29 Ibid. giir.

30 Ibid. Ziv-Ziir.

himself. He was a Benedictine monk who, by 1524, had been father confessor of the convent at Mariëngaard near Opheusden for twenty years.³¹ This same man was probably also responsible for a pre-Reformation attack on indulgences. In Van der verveerlickien aenstaende tyt Endechristes he informs the reader that he has written several other books including De gulden crone Marien (1516).³² Unfortunately, this work is no longer extant but Revius, a seventeenth century historian of the Reformation at Deventer, quotes a fragment from it ridiculing indulgences and refers to it as

'libellus superstitionis confectus à Patre quodam conventus morialium in Mariengarde, Ordinis Benedicti... De hoc scriptore plura habebimus ad annum MDXXIV.'³³

X Verclaringhe, Een cleyne, des gheestelijcken staets tegen tfenijn
door Martijn Luyter teghen die religie versiert ende ghescreven.³⁴

This anonymous tract published by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten³⁵ about 1530 begins with a defence of the monastic life against the writings of Luther. There then follows a book of monastic vows, and it concludes with a letter of Erasmus written from Basel on 15 October 1527 to dissuade a friend from quitting the monastic life.³⁶

31 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Van der verveerlickien aenstaende tyt Endechristes', HB XI (1922), p.218.

32 Ibid. p.216.

33 Ibid.

34 NK4017. Nijhoff and Kronenberg knew only of a fragment of this pamphlet. There is a complete copy in Gent UB. Machiels V204.

35 The complete copy does indeed, as Nijhoff and Kronenberg supposed, bear the colophon 'Gheprent Thantwerpen in die Rape bi mi Michiel van Hoochstraten'.

36 Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum, ed. P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1906-1958), VII, pp.198-201.

SECTION C. REDERIJKER PLAYS AND POEMS.I Boom, Den, der schriftueren van vi personagien, ghespeelt tot Middelburch in Zeelant den eersten augusto in tjaer 1539.

The Boom der schriftueren was published anonymously without place or date of publication.¹ In all probability it was published shortly after it was first performed at Middelburg on 1 August 1539, and it had certainly appeared by 1546 for in that year it appeared on the list of proscribed books compiled by the Faculty of Theology at Leuven.

II CRUL, CORNELIS, Den geestelijcke abc.

This collection of Crul's poems was published by Mattheus Crom at Antwerp in 1543.²

III Spelen van zinnen binnen Ghendt vertooght 12-23 Juni 1539.

Four Dutch editions of these plays are known. The first was printed by Joos Lambrecht at Ghent on 31 August 1539,³ and the next two were both published by Mattheus Crom at Antwerp on 25 October in the same year.⁴ A fourth edition was printed by Hans de Braecker at Wesel in 1564.⁵ In addition, a French translation must have existed at one time, for the plays were forbidden under the French books section of the 1550 index.⁶

1 NK2549. The Boom der schriftueren was edited by G.D.J. Schotel, Den boom der schriftueren van vi personagien... (Utrecht, 1870).

2 Machiels C811. Crul's poetry was edited by D.L. Roose, Religieuze poezie van Cornelis Crul (Zwolle, 1954).

3 NK1926.

4 NK1927-1928.

5 Leiden UB.

6 ROPB ii série, VI, p.74. The Ghent plays have been edited by B.H. Erné and L.H. van Dis, De gentse spelen van 1539 (The Hague, 1982).

IV Spelen van sinne ... ghesspeelt ... binnen die stede van Rotterdam,
20 July, 1561.

These rederijkersspelen were published by Willem Silvius at Antwerp in 1564.⁷

V Spel van sinne op tderde, tvierde ende tvijfde capitte1 van dwerck
der apostelen.

Five editions of this play are known: the first two appeared anonymously about 1540;⁸ the third was printed at Emden in 1557; the fourth formed part of a work entitled Veel schoone christelijcke ende
schriftuerlijcke refereynen ghemaect wten ouden ende nieuwen testament, printed by Jaspar Troyens at Dordrecht in 1592; and the fifth was published by Jan Haensberch at Gorinchem in 1608.⁹

VI Tafelspel, Een schoon, van drie personagien, te weten een prochiaen,
gheheeten Eygen ghemack, een coster gheheeten Menschelijck mensche
en een wever, gheheeten Evangelis verstant.

Two editions of this play are known, one published in 1565 and the other in 1578.¹⁰ Almost certainly, however, this Tafelspel is considerably older than the earliest extant edition. In the first place, its arguments and broadly evangelical tenor suggest an earlier date than 1565. Secondly, a reference within the play to the tolerant religious policy of the Duke of Gelre means that it must have been written between 1538 and 1543, that is, during the rule of Duke William of Jülich, for his predecessor Charles of Egmond was a firm opponent of

7 BL 11754 aa 56.

8 NK1924-1925.

9 BRN, I, pp.283-284. The text has been edited by S. Cramer and F. Pijper in BRN, I, pp.288-366.

10 1565 edition, The Hague KB and Ghent UB. 1578 edition, Leiden UB. Reprinted in L.M. van Dis, Reformatorische rederijkersspelen uit de eerst helft van de zestiende eeuw, (Haarlem, 1937), pp.150-221.

heresy.¹¹ Indeed, a date of between 1538 and 1540 has been suggested on the grounds that the publication of an anti-heresy edict in September 1540 makes so flattering a reference to the tolerant policy of the Duke improbable.¹²

VII Tafelspel, Het, van die menichfuldicheit des bedrochs der werelt.

Printed anonymously without date or place of publication, this Tafelspel was probably published some time in the 1540s.¹³

VIII UTENHOVE, JAN, Een seer schoon spel van zinnen, ghemaect by mijn heer Johan Wtenhove anno 32 ende is ghespeelt anno 1543.¹⁴

The attribution of this play to Jan Uttenhove is uncertain. The arrests of the Council of Flanders following the performance of the play on 2 July 1543 indicate one Gilles Joyeulx as the author, and credit Jan Uttenhove only with lending a hand.¹⁵ However, the published text of the play which appeared as late as 1570 (almost certainly from an Emden press) suggests that Uttenhove himself was the author. Not only is Uttenhove attributed with the authorship in the title of the play itself, but this is confirmed on the reverse of the titlepage:

'Siet hoe vol minnen was met ionstighen zinnen
Mijn heer Johan Wtenhove die dit Spel excellent

11 J. Loosjes, 'De invloed der rederijkers op de hervorming', Stemmen voor waarheid en vrede XLVI (1909), pp.365-366. L.M. van Dis, op.cit. p.90.

12 Ibid. pp.90-91.

13 Pijper and Cramer reject Kalff's suggestion that the Tafelspel was published in the second half of the sixteenth century. BRN, I, p.371. However, the Tafelspel is not included in NK and it is therefore extremely unlikely that it was printed before 1540.

14 1570 edition Paris BN D2 1415(6).

15 J. Decaene, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, p.209.

Heeft ghestelt en omtrent vier mijlen van Ghent
Te Borst doen spelien op zijn Heerlickhede.¹⁶ 16

However, it has been pointed out that if the date of authorship of the printed text (1532) is correct, it is unlikely that Uttenhove could be the sole author for he was only sixteen years old at the time.¹⁷

16 J. Uttenhove, Een seer schoon spel van zinnen, Aiv.

'See, how full of love, how benevolent my lord
Johan Uttenhove was, who has composed this excellent
play and had it performed about four (Dutch) miles
from Ghent in Borst at his manor.'

17 J. Decavale, op.cit. p.209.

SECTION D. NO LONGER EXTANT PAMPHLETS.

I Almanack, Eenen gheestelicken, ofte laetbrief (before 1527).

Proscribed by the theologians of Leuven in 1546,¹ Eenen gheestelicken almanack must have been published before 1527 for in that year it was found in the possession of one Dierik Kits of Saint-Winoksbergen, Flanders.²

II Bedencken, Een christlech, vp iudas un die ongelovigen falschen christen (published before March 1534).³

As with all the other no longer extant tracts listed which have been dated 'before March 1534', this title was listed in the inventory of the Hof van Holland of that date.⁴

III BIRCKENMEYER, GEORGIUS, Een profitelick register omme te vinden lichtelicken alle tgunt dat men nu disputeert (before March 1534).⁵

Birckenmeyer was an evangelical Bible expositor at Ulm between 1525 and 1545.⁶ The Profitelick register was translated from Ain schön Registerbuchlin, Alles das in der h. geschrifft in eil zufinden darinn man am maysten yetzo disputiert, Das wider die wort gotes lang her auffgericht ist (1525).⁷

1 ROPB, ii série V, p.262.

2 J. Decavele, De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565) (Brussels, 1975), I, p.282.

3 NK01284.

4 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Nederlandse drukken in de catalogus de librye van het Hof van Holland (1533/34)', HB XXXI (1952-54), pp.22-40.

5 NK01292.

6 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie II, pp.399-400.

7 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Nederlandse drukken in de catalogus', p.33.

IV BYNWALTH, MATTHIAS, Paternoster (before 1546).

Judging by the number of editions, the Paternoster of Bynwalth was a popular work in the early Reformation in the Netherlands. It was incorporated into two editions of Otto Brunfels' Gulden ghebedeboecxken⁸ and plagiarized in its entirety by Cornelis vander Heyden in his Corte instruccye.⁹ In addition, it must also have been printed as a separate work for it appeared as such on the 1550 index.¹⁰ Sepp wrongly assumed that the name Matthias Bynwalth was a pseudonym.¹¹ In reality, Bynwalth was a Lutheran preacher who began his career at St. Bartholomew's church, Danzig, in 1524 before moving on to Elbing the following year. His Vaterunser was first published in 1525.¹²

V Catechismus, Een cleenen, ofte onderwijs ende fundament des christelicken ghehoofs, den cleenen kinderen ende allen simpelen menschen boven maeten nut (before 1546).¹³

As with all other no longer extant pamphlets listed which have been dated 'before 1546', this title was proscribed by the Faculty of Theology at Leuven in that year.

VI Christus is d'warachtich beelde Gods etc. (before 1543).¹⁴

This tract, found in the possession of Paul de Rovere, an evangelical chaplain of St. Pieterskerk, Leuven, was probably only a manuscript and never appeared in printed form.

8 NK502 and 2574. See p.267.

9 See p.287.

10 Verboden lectuur, ed. C. Sepp (Leiden, 1889), pp.77-78.

11 Ibid. p.78.

12 Flugschriften aus den ersten jahren der Reformation, ed. O. Clemen (Nieuwkoop, 1967), IV, pp.135-141.

13 ROPR ii série, V, p.261.

14 Un procès de religion à Louvain. Paul de Rovere, 1542-1546, ed. R. van Santbergen (Brussels, 1953), p.70.

VII Claesdochter, Wendelmoet. Account of her martyrdom (c1528).¹⁵

The earliest extant Dutch versions of the martyrdom of Wendelmoet Claesdochter appear in Adriaen van Haemstede's Gheschiedenis ende doodt der vromer martelaren (1559) and the Anabaptist martyrology Het offer des Heeren (1562). However, the first account of her death must have been printed c1528 for in that year a prosecution was brought for the sale and distribution of books in Antwerp dealing with 'the death of a Lutheran woman in Holland' which can only refer to the martyrdom of Claesdochter.¹⁶

VIII CORVINUS, ANTONIUS, Corte uitlegginge der epistelen op de sondagen ende heylige dagen. Item op alle de evangelien vander vasten. vol. I-II.¹⁷

The postils of the Lutheran reformer Antonius Corvinus (1501-1553) first appeared in 1537. They may have been translated into Dutch shortly afterwards for about 1544 the postils of Corvinus were found in possession of a priest in North Holland. However, this reference is unclear and could refer to a Latin edition. Corvinus' postils were certainly translated by 1566-67 for at that time a 'Korte wtlegginge der evangelien per Antonium Corvin' was found in the possession of Gelis van Bathman, a bookbinder and bookseller from Zwolle.¹⁸

IX Dialogus, Eenen schoonen troostelycken, van twee personnaigen. Te weten 't geslachte der menschen, diewelcke hem seer beclaghende is, hoe hy inder weereilt geen ruste vinden en can: die andere is ghenaempt. Die godliche liefde, die welcke hem vertroostende is, met veel godtlycke scripturen, ende wtlegginghe der thien gheboden Gods (before 1558).

This tract was forbidden by the index of 1558.¹⁹

15 NK01250.

16 CD V, pp.279, 370-371.

17 NK0323.

18 B.A. Vermaseren, 'An unknown bookbinder and bookseller of Zwolle: Gelis van Bathman (c1567).' Quaerendo X (1980), p.128.

19 Verboden lectuur, p.135.

X Dootbedde, Dat, ende onderganck der missen (before 1558).²⁰

XI Gelyck onder die menscheyt etc. (before 1543).²¹

Found in the possession of Paul de Rovere, this pamphlet probably only appeared in manuscript form.

XII GRETZINGER, BENEDICTUS, Een scerm boexken met den wordt godts (before March 1534).²²

Benedictus Gretzinger, a Lutheran preacher at Reutlingen first published his Vriüberwintlich beschirm buechlyn von haubt artickeln der Gottlichen schrifft in 1523.²³ Its Dutch translation, Een scerm boexken met den wordt godts was forbidden by the 1558 index.²⁴

XIII 'HADRIANUS', Unknown writings.

The evangelically inclined Christian humanist Gerardus Geldenhauer (1482-1542) named one 'Hadrianus' as a writer who was sympathetic to the evangelical cause in the Netherlands.²⁵ He was probably referring to Hadrianus Cordatus, a canon from Middelburg. It is not known whether Cordatus wrote in Dutch or Latin.

XIV Hoemen christelycke rou draegen sal over die doeden noch een christelycke vermaninge omme dat wordt godts te vorderen aan den bisscop van brisloun (before March 1534).²⁶

20 Verboden lectuur, p.134.

21 Un procès de religion à Louvain, p.70.

22 NK01306.

23 BL3908.aa.18.

24 Verboden lectuur, p.125.

25 Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, ed. J. Prinsen (Amsterdam, 1901), p.138.

26 NK01315.

XV KARLSTADT, ANDREAS, Tract on the Lords Supper.²⁷

It is not known for certain that a work of Karlstadt on the Lord's Supper was translated into Dutch. However, there is strong circumstantial evidence that this was the case.²⁸

XVI KARLSTADT, ANDREAS, Copie eens briefs vander alder hoechster duicht gelatenheit (before March 1534).²⁹

This pamphlet was translation of Karlstadt's Missiue vonn der aller hochste tugent gelassenheyt (1520).³⁰

XVII KETTENBACH, HENDRICK, Een vergelykinghe des alderheylichste vader den paus tegen den selsamen vreemden gast in die christenheyt ghenoempt Jesus, die in corten tijt wederomme in Duytslant gecomen is, ende nu weeder wilt in Egyptenlant, als een die by ons veracht wordt. Domine quo vadis. Roman iterum crucifigi! ghemaect bij broeder Hendrick Kettenbach, minnebroeder (before 1558).³¹

XVIII Letters, Two scandalous (early 1527).³²

It is not known for certain whether these two 'schandeloese' letters, distributed by the Amsterdam publisher Jan Seversz die Croepel, were ever printed.

27 NK 0262.

28 See pp 53-54.

29 NK01297.

30 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Nederlandse drukken in de catalogus', p.31.

31 Verboden lectuur, pp.126-127. Flugschriften aus den ersten jahren der Reformation, II, p.129.

32 NK0247.

XIX MELANCHTHON, PHILIP, Onderwysinge ende bekentenis des geloefs ende der leringen soe te appelleren (de?) state der K. Mt.
 (before March 1534).³³

XX MENIUS, JUSTUS, Een schoon onderwijs van gheestelicker huushoudinghen (before 1546).³⁴

XXI Menschen leeren, Van, van cloester leven ende gheestelick staet
 (before March 1534).³⁵

XXII 'NOYUS, JACOBUS', Unknown writings.

Geldenhauer named one Jacobus Noyus as a Dutch evangelical writer.³⁶ Almost certainly, he was referring to Jacob Noy, an Augustinian preacher in and around Den Briel who came under suspicion in October 1525.³⁷

XXIII OCHYN, BERHARDINUS, Den Antechrist leuendich aghemaelt, gheschildert ende naectelyc beschreuen (before 1558).³⁸

XXIV Onderwisinge, Een schoen, hoe die alders hoer kynderen recht christeliche sullen leeren ende heyt der leken bibel (before March 1534).³⁹

33 NK01341.

34 ROPB ii série V, p.261.

35 NK01342.

36 Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, p.138.

37 CD V, p.29.

38 Verboden lectuur, pp.125-126.

39 NK01345.

XXV OTTENS, WILLEM, Lampoon against Willem Bartholomeusz, parish priest at Hoorn (1525).⁴⁰

This tract probably only appeared in manuscript form.

XXVI OUDERMAERCK, MARTYN, Drie christelycke sermonen opt velt buyten Andwerpen (before 1534).⁴¹

Martyn Oudermaerck, a member of the Augustinian house at Antwerp was, like many of his associates, an early convert to the Lutheran cause in the Netherlands. Like Jacob Praepositus, the prior of the Antwerp house, Oudermaerck visited Wittenberg and matriculated there on 4 September 1520 along with several other Augustinians, Cornelius Bester from Antwerp and Martinus Berlin and Georgius Lechard from Ghent.⁴²

The Drie christelycke sermonen opt velt buyten Andwerpen may have been given c1525 for on 29 July of that year a decree was issued forbidding such preaching.⁴³ This would tie in with what is known of Oudermaerck's career for, shortly after 1525, he left the Netherlands to labour in Germany. About 1527 he was working in Celle, from 1528 he was active in the introduction of the Reformation in Lüneburg, and in 1535 he was sent to Lutheranise the Reformation in East Friesland.⁴⁴ Oudermaerck died in 1569.

40 NK0956.

41 NK01346.

42 Album academiae Vitenbergensis ed. C.E. Forstemann (Leipzig, 1841-1905), 1, p.97.

43 M.E. Kronenberg, 'Nederlandse drukken in de catalogus', p.31.

44 A. Wrede, Die Einführung der Reformation in Lüneburgischen durch Herzog Ernst den Bekkenner. E. Kochs, 'Die Anfänge der ostfrieschen Reformation', Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterlandische Altertümer zu Emden, XX, 1920, p.87. E. Sehling, Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen VI, 1, p.576.

XXVII Prince en gheef den moet nyet heel verloren etc. (before 1543).⁴⁵

Found in the possession of Paul de Rovere, this pamphlet probably only appeared in manuscript form.

XXVIII Rapsodie, Een, begripende int corte tfundament der medicinen, met troostinghe der ziecken (before 1546).⁴⁶

XXIX REGIUS, URBANUS, Dat rechte fundament der christenen menschen ende principael stucken der ganser godlyker schriftuyren (before 1546).⁴⁷

It is unclear from the title from which of Regius's works this pamphlet was translated.

XXX REGIUS, URBANUS, Een verclaringe der twalf articulen des christeliche geloefs (Before March 1534).⁴⁸

This pamphlet was translated from Die zwölff Artikel vnsers christlichen Glaubens (1523).

XXXI ROVERE, PAUL DE, Gods vrinden hebben altijt te strijden (before 1543).⁴⁹

This tract, which Paul de Rovere admitted to having written, probably only appeared in manuscript.

45 Un procès de religion à Louvain, p.70.

46 ROPB ii série V, p.262.

47 NK01036. ROPB série ii V, p.262.

48 NK01351.

49 Un procès de religion à Louvain, p.71.

XXXII ROVERE, PAUL DE, Gratiam et pacem etc. (before 1543).⁵⁰

This tract, which Paul de Rovere admitted to having written, probably only appeared in manuscript form. Its title suggests that it was a Latin work.

XXXIII ROVERE, PAUL DE, Sij U, ghij balamijten etc. (before 1543).⁵¹

Like Gods vrinden and Gratiam et pacem, Paul de Rovere admitted authorship of this pamphlet, which probably only appeared in manuscript.

XXXIV Seindtbrief, Een kostelyck, aen een religiuse gesonden alle menschen omme hem te houden van alle dualingen nu inder werreldt regneerende (before March 1534).⁵²

XXXV Spira, Francisco, Een verschrikelijke historie van, hoe dat hij in grouwelicker vertwyvelinghe ghevallen is...overgheset uit den hoogduytschen (before 1557).⁵³

The sombre warning of the recantation and resultant anguish of the Italian evangelical Francisco Spira who, in denying his faith, committed the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, was widely circulated amongst evangelicals living 'under the cross'. This Dutch version was probably translated from Gribaldus' Warhafftige Historia von einem Doctor im Italia welchen die feind des heiligen Euangelij gezwungen die warheit zu erleugnen (1549).⁵⁴ Since the translator was Karolus de Koninck⁵⁵ who was put to death in 1557, Een verschrikelijke historie was probably published before this date.

50 Un procès de religion à Louvain, p.71.

51 Un procès de religion à Louvain, p.71.

52 NK01356.

53 A. van Haemstede, op.cit. Ddir.

54 BL.1395.h.26.

55 A. van Haemstede, op.cit. Ddir.

XXXVI Testament, Een schoen, der liefden (before 1545).⁵⁶

Forbidden by the 1545 Liège index,⁵⁷ the title of this tract is closely similar to the Testament vander liefde contained in Brunfels' Gulden ghebedeboecxken⁵⁸ and Den kersten reghel inhoudende een testament der lyefden⁵⁹. In all probability, they are one and the same work.

XXXVII Tonghe, Die, der evangelien (19 Jan. 1538).⁶⁰

It may be that this work, which was read by a number of Paul de Rovere's Leuven conventicle,⁶¹ was a translation of Erasmus' De lingua (1525). Alternatively, it could be an entirely independent evangelical tract.

XXXVIII Tweederleij doopen etc. (before 1543).⁶²

Found in the possession of Paul de Rovere, this pamphlet probably only appeared in manuscript form.

XXXIX Verhooringhe, Der roomscher keyserlijcker maiesteit, aenspraecke ende antwoorde van heere Martinus Luther...op den rijcksdach te Worms in 1521.⁶³

This Dutch translation of the Anzaigung wie D. Martinus Luther zu Wurms auff dem Reichs tag eingefaren durch K.M.⁶⁴, probably published by Michel Hillen van Hoochstraten in 1521, is now no longer extant. The only copy listed by Nijhoff and Kronenberg was destroyed in the Second World War.

56 NK01148.

57 E. Fairon, 'Le premier index de livres prohibés à Liège, 1545,' GP III (1925), p.14.

58 See pp.266-267.

59 NK1284.

60 NK01175.

61 Campan, pp.328, 342, 374, 478-80, 566.

62 Un procès de religion à Louvain, p.71.

63 NK4053.

64 Benzing 931-936.

XL Vigilie, Een nieuwe zuverlicke, int duytsche, met den Pater noster (before 1546).⁶⁵

XLI Vleesch, Van Christus, ende bloet te eten ende te drijnken (before 1546).⁶⁶

XLII Wegh, Den, der behaudenessen (before 1546).⁶⁷

XLIII Wech, Den rechten, tot den eeuwighen leven, uit die vier evangelisten ende epistelen van Sinte Pauwels ghetoghen (before 1546).⁶⁸

XLIV WOUTERSZ, CORNELIS ALIAS COPERPOTGEN, Seven psalms 'geprint ende gemaect by Cornelis Woutersz' (1525).⁶⁹

Cornelis Woutersz, a shoemaker by trade, was one of Luther's most active supporters in the Netherlands in the 1520s. Perhaps because of Woutersz' humble background Nijhoff and Kronenberg took 'geprint ende gemaect' to mean 'printed and translated' and argued that the above work was a Dutch translation of Luther's Sieben buszpsalmen (1517).⁷⁰

However, the normal translation in this context would be 'printed and written' and there is no reason to believe that this was not the case and that these seven psalms were an independent work by Woutersz; by the end of 1524 Woutersz had already run into trouble for writing heretical books.⁷¹

65 ROPB ii série V, p.262.

66 ROPB ii série V, p.262.

67 ROPB ii série V, p.261.

68 ROPB ii série V, p.261.

69 NK0849.

70 See NK0849 and Benzing 84.

71 NK01256. CD IV, pp.299-300.

XLV WOUTERSZ, CORNELIS, ALIAS COPERPOTGEN, Two letters to the town council and municipality of Dordrecht in which Woutersz withdrew his earlier recantation (1527).⁷²

As a result of his open support for the evangelical cause in his home town of Dordrecht, Woutersz was forced to recant and perform a public penance.⁷³ Hereafter, he journeyed north to Bremen where he stayed for six months. He then returned to the Netherlands, travelling first to Delft and then to Gorinchem and Antwerp, before leaving for Goslar in Brunswick where he worked in the silvermines. Despite his wife's protestations, Woutersz came to regret his earlier recantation. He therefore had two letters printed, one to the town council and the other to the town of Dordrecht as a whole in which he withdrew his recantation. Woutersz showed considerable ingenuity in getting his letters printed, taking them personally to a printer in Antwerp and having as many printed 'dat mer wel hondert jair nae zyn doot vinden sal'. He was put to death in 1529 for the printing of this retraction.⁷⁴

XLVI 'ZASIUS, HENRICUS.' Unknown writings.⁷⁵

Geldenhauer named one Henricus Zasius as a writer sympathetic to the evangelical cause in the Netherlands. He may have been referring to Hendrik Tsas, a member of the Brussels conventicle of the 1520s led by Nicoleas van der Elst.

72 NK01257.

73 De Hoop Scheffer suggested that Woutersz first ran into trouble for translating the Theologia Deutsch (1516), but this is not certain. See NK04.

74 J.G. De Hoop Scheffer, 'Cornelis Woutersz van Dordrecht, een martelaar der hervorming (1525-1529)', Kerkhistorisch archief IV (1866), pp.1-22. 'They would still be circulating a hundred years after his death.'

75 Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, p.138.

XLVII ZWOLLE, WILLEM VAN, Answer to the articles of the
Leuven theologians (c1529).⁷⁶

It is not known for certain whether a Dutch version of the trial of Willem van Zwolle was ever published. A German version, the Artickel der Doctorn von Loven, zu welchen Wilhelm von Zwollen Konigs Christiernen Fourer christlich hat geantwort, was published at Wittenberg in 1530 with a foreword by Johannes Bugenhagen.⁷⁷ Willem van Zwolle himself was a member of the entourage of Christain II the dethroned of Denmark and was executed for heresy at Mechelen on 20 November 1529.

XLVIII ZWOLLE, WILLEM VAN, Dat licht der heydenen (before 25 September 1529).

At Willem van Zwolle's trial on 25 September 1529 nine heretical propositions were extracted from a manuscript writing which began 'Dat licht der heydenen'.⁷⁸ It is not known whether this manuscript was ever published.

XLIX ZWOLLE, WILLEM VAN, Die vertroestinge des Heilige Geestz sy met ons (before 25 September 1529).

At his trial it was revealed that Willem van Zwolle was also the author of another tract which began with the words 'Die vertroestinge des Heilige Geestz sy met ons'.⁷⁹ Again it is not known whether this work was ever published.

76 NK01268.

77 BRN IX, pp.149-176.

78 P. Fredericq, 'Sentence prononcée contre Guillaume van Zwolle par l'inquisiteur général des Pays-Bas, 1525,' Bulletins de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique sér.3, XXX (1895), p.263. J. Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas,' NAK LXIII (1983), p.16.

79 P. Fredericq, 'Sentence prononcée contre Guillaume van Zwolle,' p.264.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PRIMARY SOURCES.

Archival

Bonn Universitätsbibliothek 753, fol.1-108. 'Den gheest maeckt levende. Corte uitlegginghe ende glossen op dat gheheele nieuwe testament, met voorredenen, prologhen ende argumenten op die evangelien ende op elk epistele der apostelen inhoudende vele schoone ende profijtelijcke leeringhe', (c1545-50).

Brussels, Algemeen riksarchief. Papiers d'état et de l'audience, 1177⁶.

Gouda, Oud recht archief, 176.

Printed

No dates or places of publication for Dutch pamphlets discussed in part two of the thesis have been given below as this would have served only to duplicate complex bibliographical information.

Alardus, Franciscus, Een cort veruat van alle menschelijcke insettinghen der roomscher kercke.

Album academiae Vitenbergensis ed. C.E. Forstemann, 3 vol (Leipzig, 1841-1905).

Almanacke, A spirituall, wherein every christen man and woman may see what they ought dayle to do or leave undone.

Anabaptist beginnings (1523-1533): a source book, ed. W.R. Estep (Nieuwkoop, 1976).

Anastasius, Johannes, Veluanus, Der leken wechwyser.

Anastasius, Johannes, Veluanus, Vom nachtmal Christi...an die stende der Augspurgischen Confession (1557) in BRN IV, pp.389-451.

Anastasius, Johannes, Veluanus, Bekanteniss...von dem waren leib Christi (1561) in BRN IV, pp.461-490.

Antwerpsch archievenblad, ed. F. Jos van den Branden. First series 1-XXX (1864-1921), second 1-IX (1926-1934).

Augustine. Sancti aurelii Augustini...opera omnia, post Lovaniensium theologorum recensionem castigata 11 vol. (Paris, 1836-1838).

Augustine, Saint (Suppositious), De xij artikelen des christen ghehoofs.

Avontmael ons Heeren.

Bale, John, Den standt ende de bilde der beyder ghemeynten na de alder wonderbaerste ende hemelscher openbaringhe Ioannis de euangelist.

Becon, Thomas, Een christen oft kermis bancket.

Begrijp, Dat, der gheheelder bybelen.

Bewijs, Een redelijck, der dolinghen van ses prochianen der luterschen secten.

Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica. ed. S. Cramer and F. Pijper, 10 vol. (The Hague, 1903-1914).

Biechte, Een deuote, oft belijdinghe der sonden tot Godt.

Bienwald, Matthias, Das vaterunser (1525) in Otto Clemen, Flugschriften aus den ersten jahren der Reformation (Nieuwkoop, 1967), IV, pp.135-158.

Bijns, Anna, Refereinen, ed. W.L. van Helten (Rotterdam, 1875).

Bloccius, Petrus, Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen ende nieuwe leeringen, welck wt de misse zyn ghecomen.

Bloccius, Petrus, Een slechtelick ende schriffelijck onderrichtinghe van dat doepsel ende auontmael Christi Jesu.

Bodius Hermanus, Unio dissidentium (Cologne, 1531).

Boexken hoe dat men die kinderen leeren sal in den rechten ghelove.

Boexken, Een profitelic ende troostelic, van den ghelooe ende hoope.

Boecxken, Een schoon suyverlyck, inhoudende het oordelende vonnisse dat gewesen is vanden Paus Paulo tertio over eenen broeder der christenen ghenaemt Pasquillus.

Boom, Den, der schriftueren van vi personagien, ghespeelt tot Middelburch in Zeelant, den eersten augusto in tjaer 1539, ed. G.D.J. Schotel (Utrecht, 1870).

Brassius, Hermann, Van den heylighen cruyze sommige schoone troosteliche sermoenen.

Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van het dom te Utrecht, ed. W.J. Alberts, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën CLV (The Hague, 1976).

Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der kerkelijke rechtspraak in het bisdom Utrecht in de middeleeuwen, ed. J.G.C. Joosting and S. Muller, 7 vol. (Werken der vereeniging tot uitgaaf der bronnen van het oud-vaderlandsche recht. Tweede reeks). (The Hague, 1906-1924).

Brunfels, Otto, Precationes biblica (Strasbourg, 1528).

Brunfels, Otto, Dat gulden ghebedeboecxken wt den o. ende n. testamenten.

Bruyt, Van dye, Christi, een devote contemplacie.

Bucer, Martin, Deutsche schriften, ed. R. Stupperich (Paris, 1960-).

Bugenhagen, Johannes, Die souter. Verclaringhe des ghehellen psalters.

Bunderius, Joannes, Den scilt des gheloofs.

Calvin, Jean, Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss, 59 vol. Corpus reformatorum vol 29-87. (Brunswig-Berlin, 1863-1900).

Calvin, Jean, Institution of the christian religion (1536) ed. F.L. Battles (Atlanta, 1975).

Calvin, Jean, Institutes of the christian religion (1559). Library of christian classics XX & XXI, ed. J.T. McNeil (London, 1961).

Calvin, Jean, Van dat schuwen der afgoderie valschen godsdienst, ende gheveynstheyt. Een seer sijn ende christelijcke onderwijs. Noch een epistel van der selver materie bij den auteur voornoemde (Emden, 1554).

Calvin, Jean, Excuse tot mijn heeren die nicodemiten (Emden, 1554).

Calvin, Jean, Three french treatises, ed. F.M. Higman (London, 1970).

Carmina scholastica Amstelodamensia. A selection of sixteenth century school songs from Amsterdam ed. C.L. Heesakkers and W.G. Kamerbeek (Leiden, 1984).

Catechismus, dat is, de groote kinderleere.

Colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien waeraf die eene Pasquillus, ende de andere Marphorius genaemt is.

Cooltuyn, Cornelis, Dat evangeli der armen.

Coornhert, Dirk, Volckertsz, Werken waer van eenige noyt voor desen gedruct zyn, 3 vol. (Amsterdam, 1633).

Corpus documentorum inquisitonis haereticae pravitatis Nederlandiae, Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke en bisschoppelijke inquisitie in de Nederlanden, ed. P. Fredericq, 5 vol. (Ghent and The Hague 1889-1903).

Corvinus, Anthonius, Postilla in Euangelia dominicalia totius anni ab A. Corvino conscripta (Strasbourg, 1536).

Crespin, Jean, L'estat de l'eglise, avec le discours des temps, depuis les apostres, sous Neron, iusques à present, sous Charles V (Geneva, 1557).

Crul, Cornelis, Religieuze poëzie, ed. D.L. Rooze (Zwolle, 1954).

Daden, Die, werken ende leerijnghe ons heeren Ihesu Christi ende des Paus.

Dathenus, Petrus, Een christelijcke verantwoordinghe op die disputacie, ghehouden binnen Audenaarde tusschen M. Adriaen Hamstadt, ende Jan Daelman beschreven met onwaerheyt, ende uutghegeven door Jan Daelman (Antwerp, 1582).

Determinancie ende vonnisse der doctoren in theologien van Parijs over de leeringhe van M. Luther.

Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica II. Amsterdam (1536-1578), ed. A.F. Meilink (Leiden, 1980).

Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en Loven in Vlaanderen en Brabant (XVe-XVIIIe eeuw), ed. C. Verlinden, 4 vol. (Bruges, 1959-1973).

Duncanus, Martinus, Vant rechte evangelische avontmael.

Dürer, Albrecht, Diary of his journey to the Netherlands, 1520-1521, ed. J.-A. Goris and G. Marlier (London, 1971).

Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae archivum epistolae et tractus ed. J.H. Hessels, 3 vol. (Cambridge, 1889-97).

Eck, Johannes, Enchiridion of commonplaces against Luther and other enemies of the church, ed. F.L. Battles (Grand Rapids, Michigan, c.1979).

Eck, Johannes, Declaracie...teghen zommighe articulen der lutheranen.

Enzinas, Francisco de 'Mémoires', ed. Ch. Al. Campan, Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique, XIII (1862) and XVI (1863).

Epistolae obscurorum virorum, ed. G. Stokes (London, 1925).

Erasmus, Desiderius, Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum, ed. P.S. Allen, 12 vol. (Oxford, 1906-1958).

Erasmus, Desiderius, Colloquies, ed. C.R. Thompson (Chicago and London, 1965).

Erasmus, Desiderius, Enchiridion, The Library of Christian Classics XIV. Advocates of Reform from Wyclif to Erasmus ed. M. Spinka (London, 1953).

Evangelische, Die, Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts, ed. E. Sehling (Tübingen, 1955).

Expositie op den 126 en Psalm.

Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation, ed. O. Clemen, 4 vol. (Nieuwkoop, 1967).

Fonteyne des Levens.

Forerunners of the reformation, ed. H.A. Oberman (London, 1967).

Foxe, John, Acts and monuments 2 vol. (London, 1576).

Foxe, J., Acts and monuments ed. S.R. Cattley, 8 vol. (London 1837-39, 1841).

Gedichte, Eyn merckelick, van dem vorgiften ketter Martino Luther.

Geldenhauer, Collectanea van Gerardus, Noviomagus, ed. J. Prinsen (Amsterdam, 1901).

Gelooue, Van dat, aen Jesum Christum.

Gelooue, hope ende liefde, Hoe een yeghelyck hem daer daghelycx in oeffenen sal.

Glapion, Jan, Een seer suyverlijc tractaetken ghenaemt die tijtcortinghe der pelgrimagien des menschelijcken levens (Antwerp, c1540).

Gnapheus, Willem, Disputacie welcke gheschiet is in den Haghe tusschen die kettermeesters en Jan van Woorden.

Gnapheus, Willem, Troost ende spiegel der siecken.

Gnapheus, Willem, Tobias ende Lazarus.

God, Vanden olden en nieuwen, gelooue ende leere.

Goetman, Lambertus, Den spyeghe1 der ionghers (Antwerp, c1500).

Gualtherus, Rudolph, Der Antichrist. Eyn korte, klare ende eyualdige bewijsung in vijf predicken begrepen dz der Paus van Room der recht, waerachtig, groot, und eygentlich Antichrist sij. (Emden, c1560).

Guicciardini, L., Beschryvinghe van alle de Nederlanden; anderssins ghenoemt Neder-Duytslandt (Amsterdam, 1612).

Haemstede, Adriaen van, De gheschiedenisse ende den doodd der vromer martelaren (Emden, 1559).

Hamilton, Patrick, Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts.

Heresy trials in the diocese of Norwich, 1428-31, ed. N.P. Tanner, Camden fourth series XX (London, 1977).

Heyden, Cornelis vander, Corte instruccye...hoe een ieghelic menschen met God, ende zynen even naesten, schuldigh es, ende behoord te leven.

Hooftarticulen, Die principaele, van allen dingen, die den menschen troostelic sijn.

Hoofstucken, Dye, des christen gheloofs.

Hubmaier, Balthasar, Schriften, ed. G. Westin and T. Bergsten (Heidelberg, 1962).

Hubmaier, Balthasar, Achttien sluitredenen of articulen.

Indices, Die Librorum Prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, ed. F.H. Reusch (Nieuwkoop, 1961).

Jerome, Saint, Van den leven der heiliger vaderen in der woestinen (Gouda, 1480).

Julich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik am ausgange des mittelalters und in der Reformationszeit, ed. O.R. Redlich (Bonn, 1911).

Kempis, Thomas à, The imitation of Christ (Oxford, 1866).

Kinderleere, Dat christen gheooeve. Die thien gheboden. Den vader onse. Van de wet. Ende evangelié.

Lambert, François, Een gulden opschrift in der minrebroeders reghe1.

Lambert, François, Paradoxes.

Lasco, Joannis, a, Joannis a Lasco opera, tam edita quam inedita; recensuit, vitam auctoris enarravit, A. Kuyper, 2 vol. (Amsterdam, 1866).

Lasco, Joannis, a, Advis de lean à Lasco, baron de Poloigne, superintendent des eglises estrangers qui sont à Londres, assavoir si l'est licite à l'homme chretien, aucunement assister aux services papistiques (1550). Reprinted in E. Droz, Chemins de l'Hérésie (Geneva, 1970-76), I, pp.234-247.

Lasco, Joannis, a, Catechismus (London, 1551).

Laurens Laurensen (Rufus), Een antwoort op de disputacie ghedruct in de naem iuncker Ulricx van Doernum.

Lefèvre d'Etaples, Epistres et evangiles pour les cinquante et deux sepmaines de l'an, ed. M.-A. Screech (Geneva, 1964).

Lenaerts, Matthijs, Sterfboexken inhoudende een soete vermaeninge ende vertroestinge voer die siecken.

Liedekens, Vier.

Lieder der niederländischen Reformierten aus der zeit der Verfolgung im 16. Jahrhundert, ed. P. Wackernagel (Nieuwkoop, 1965).

Lusy, A. de Le journal d'un bourgeois de Mons, 1505-1536, ed. A. Louant (Brussels, 1969).

Luther, Martin, Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar, 1883-).

Luther, Martin, Luther's Works, ed. J. Pelikan and H.T. Lehmann. vols.31-55. (Philadelphia, 1957-71).

Luther, Martin, Postillen op die epistelen ende evangelien (Antwerp, 1528).

Luther, Martin, A commentary on St Paul's epistle to the Galatians (1535). A revised and completed translation based on the 'Middleton' edition of the English version of 1575. (London, 1953).

Luther, Martin, Luther's primary works, ed. H. Wace and C.A. Buchheim. (London, 1896).

Manifestations of discontent in Germany on the eve of the reformation ed. G. Strauss (London, 1971).

Melanchthon, P., Locis Communes (1521). Library of christian classics, XIX ed. W. Pauck. (London, 1969).

Micron, Martin, Cleynen catechismus (London, 1552).

Micron, Martin, Van de weerdicheydt, nutheydt ende noodicheydt der christelicker vergaderinghen (Emden, 1561).

Moirs, Johannes, Sielen troost (Antwerp, 1502).

Myelbeke, Stefaan, Curt onderwijs huuter heyligher schrifture.

Nazarei, Judas, Vom alten und neuen Gott, Glaube und Lehre, ed. E. Kück (Halle, 1896).

Onderwijs, Een cort wt der heyligher script, om de mensche te brengen tot gheerne ende willichlic te sterven ende den doot niet te ontsien.

Onderwijsinghe, Christelijcke ende corte, van vergheuinghe der sonden, ende van der eeuigher salicheydt.

Onderwijsinghe, Christelijcke, tot den rijcke Gods.

Onderwijsinge, Corte, wter heyligher schriftueren, hoe wy onse vianden, die duuel, die werelt, ende ons eygen vleesch, als christelijcke ridders wederstaen sullen.

Onderwijsinge, Gulden, om te antwoorden op alle puncten die de vyanden der waerheyt bybrenghen moghen.

Origen, Homélies sur S. Luc, Sources chrétiennes LXXXVII, (Paris, 1962).

Paglia, Antonio, dalla, Beneficio di Cristo ed. R. Prelowski in Italian reformation studies in honour of Laelius Socinus ed. J.A. Tedeschi (Firenze, 1965), pp.21-102.

Passionael-boecxken tracterende van dat lijden ons Heeren Iesu Christi.

Peeters, Niclaes, Sermonen oft wt legghingen op alle de euangelien vander vasten metter passien. Reprinted by J.G.R. Acquoy, (Maatschappij der vlaamsche bibliophilen), 4e Reeks, nr.10. (Gent, 1893).

Peeters, Niclaes, Christelike sermonen op alle de euangelien van alle sondaghen ende principael heylidhaghen int iaer.

Procès, Un, de religion à Louvain. Paul de Rovere, 1542-1546, ed. R. van Santbergen (Brussels, 1953).

Recueil des ordonnances des Pays-Bas, ed. Ch. Laurent, J. Lameere, H. Simont, 2e série (1506-1700), 6 vol. (Brussels, 1839-1922).

Refutacie vant Salve regina.

Reghel, Der christen.

Registeren, De verghelijckinge der gheslacht, onses Heeren ende salichmakers Jesu Christi bij Matteum ende Lucam.

Regius, Urbanus, Dialogus van de prekinghe die Christus den tween discipelen dede, tot Emaus gaende op den paesdach.

Regius, Urbanus, De medecijne der sielen.

Regius, Urbanus, Een rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeue leeringhe.

Rekeningen van het bisdom Utrecht, 1378-1573 ed. K. Heeringa (Utrecht, 1932).

Relation des troubles de Gand sous Charles - quint, par un anonyme ed. L.M. Gachard (Brussels, 1846).

Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le règne de Philippe II, ed. K. de Lettenhove, 11 vol. (Brussels, 1882-1900).

Renon de France, Histoire des troubles des Pays-Bas ed. C. Piot. 3 vols. (Brussels, 1886-91).

Sachs, Hans, Werke, ed. A. von Keller & E. Goetze, 26 vol. (Stuttgart, 1870).

Sachs, Hans, Een schoone disputatie van eenen evangelischen schoenmaker ende van eenen papistighen coerheere.

Sachs, Hans, Dialogus of tweesprake tusschen eenen evangelischen Hans, ende eenen luykerschen Peeter, in welcke gestraft wert, die onwetentheyt ende onbescheydelijkheit van sommige drijven.

Satiren und Pasquelle aus der Reformationszeit, ed. O. Schade (Hildesheim, 1966).

School, The, of faith. The catechisms of the reformed church, ed. T.F. Torrance (London, 1959).

Scutum fidei. Den schilt oft wapen des geloofs daer mede wi sullen weeren die vianden Gods.

Sendbrief, Een troostelijcken, voor alle die om der waerheyt ende om Christus naem veruolcht worden.

Sermon, Een schoon, van Christus rijcke, heerlicheyt ende macht.

Simons Menno, The complete writings of Menno Simons c1496-1561, trans. L. Verduin, ed. J.C. Wenger. (Scottsdale, 1956).

Spangenberg, Johannes, Postilla Deudsche (Frankfurt, 1548).

Spelen, De gentse, van 1539 ed. B.H. Erné and L.M. van Dis, 2 vol. (The Hague, 1982).

Spelen, Drie schandaleuse (Brussel, 1559) ed. W. van Eeghem (Antwerp, 1937).

Spelen van sinne...ghespeelt...binnen der stadt van Antwerpen op d'ant juweel, 3 August 1561.

Spelen van sinne...ghespeelt...binnen die stede van Rotterdam, 20 July 1561.

Spel van sinnen op t'erde, t'vierde ende t'vijfde capitell van dwerck der apostelen.

Stammel, Johannes, Vanden borgheren, hoe dat sy onder malcanderen leven sullen.

Sterf boek (Delft, 1488).

Summa der godliker scripturen oft een duytsche theologie. Reprinted in Het oudste nederlandsche verboden boek. 1523. Oeconomica christiana. Summa der godliker scripturen, ed. J.J. van Toorenbergen, Monumenta reformationis Belgicae I (Leiden, 1882).

Tafelspel, Een schoon, van drie personagien te weten: een prochiaen, gheheten Eygen ghemack, een coster, gheheten Menschelijck mensche en een wever, gheheten Evangelis verstant.

Tafelspel, Het, van die menichfuldicheit des bedrochs der werelt.

Tijt, Van der verveerlickien aenstaende, Endechristes. Facsimilie edition, Der Deventer Endechrist von 1524 ed. H. Niebaum, R. Peters, E. Schütz and T. Sodmann (Cologne - Vienna, 1984).

Troost, Der siecken.

Tspel van de cristenkercke, ed. G.A. Brands (Utrecht, 1921).

Twee geschriften uit de begintijd van de gereformeerde kerk in Nederland, ed. D. Nauta (Amsterdam, 1974).

Utenhove, Jan, Een seer schoon spel van zinnen, ghemaect by mijn heer Johan Wtenhove anno 32 ende is ghespeelt anno 1543.

Uut legghinge, Een costeliche, oft expositie op die X gheboden ende op dat Pater noster.

Val, Den, de roomscher kercken.

Verboden lectuur. Een drietal indices librorum prohibitorum, ed. C. Sepp (Leiden, 1889).

Verclaringhe, Een cleyne, des gheestelijcken staets tegen tfenijn door Mart. Luyter teghen die religie versiert ende ghescreven.

Voragine, Jacobus de, Passioael dat men hiet die gulden legende (Gouda, 1478).

Vraghe ende antwoorde op alle saken die eenen mensche ter salicheyt van noode zijn te weten.

Vraeghe, Een schoon, van eenen bwr, hoe dat hy eenen pape geuraecht heefft, van weghen sommighen articulen, seer schoon ende lustich te leesen ende te hooren.

Wacker, Steven, Warachtige pronosticatie ende almanach.

Waerheyt onderwijs, Der.

Werken der Marnix-vereeniging, serie III, deel II (1e stuk). Brieven uit onderscheidene kerkelijke archieven verzameld en uitgegeven door H.Q. Janssen en J.J. van Toorenbergen (Utrecht, 1877).

SECONDARY SOURCES.

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 56 vol. (Leipzig, 1875-1912).

Althaus, P., The theology of Martin Luther, trans. R.C. Schultz (Philadelphia, 1966).

Alton Templin, J., 'Oeconomica christiana, Biblical humanism in the Netherlands, 1523', MQR LVI (1982), pp.242-255.

Augustijn, C., 'De Vorstermanbijbel van 1528', NAK LVI (1975), pp.78-94.

Autenboer, E. van, Het brabants landjuweel der rederijkers (1515-1561), (Middelburg 1981).

Autenboer, E. van., Volksfeesten en rederijkers te Mechelen (1400-1600), (Gent, 1962).

Autenboer, E. van., 'Rederijkers en schutters in de branding van de 16de eeuw', Noordgouw XVIII (1978), pp.85-106.

Baeumer, M.A., 'Sozialkritische und revolutionäre Literatur der Reformationszeit', Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur V (1980), pp.169-233.

Bainton, R., Here I stand (New York, 1950).

Bakhuizen van den Brink, J.N., 'Geen kerk in het nieuwe testament', NAK LVI (1975), pp.1-18.

W. Balke, W., Calvin and the anabaptist radicals, trans. W. Heynen (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1981).

Ball, B.W., A great expectation. Eschatological thought in english protestantism (Leiden, 1975).

Bangs, J.D., 'Reconsidering the lutheran book trade: the so-called "Winkelboek" of Pieter Claesz van Balen', Quaerendo IX (1979), pp.227-260.

Bauckham, R., Tudor apocalypse. Sixteenth century apocalypticism millenarianism and the english reformation: from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman (Sutton Courtenay, 1978).

Bax, W., Het protestantisme in Luik en Maastricht. 1505-1557 (The Hague, 1937).

Beets, N., 'Een godsdienstige allegorie door Barent van Orley', Oud-Holland XLIX (1932), pp.129-137.

Belgica typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc regni Belgarum partes sunt, 2 vol. (Nieuwkoop, 1968-1980).

Bennett, H.S. English books and readers 1475 to 1557. Being a study in the history of the book trade from Caxton to the incorporation of the Stationers' Company (Cambridge, 1952).

Benzing, J. Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet (Wiesbaden, 1963).

Benzing, J., Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod (Baden-Baden, 1966).

Beuningen, P. Th. Van, Wilhelmus Lindanus als inquisiteur en bisschop. Bijdrage tot zijn biografie (1525-1576) (Assen, 1966).

Bierlaire, F., Les Colloques d'Érasme: réforme des études, réforme des moeurs et réforme de l'église au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1978).

Bijl, S.W., Erasmus in het Nederlands tot 1617 (Nieuwkoop, 1978).

Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het nederlandse protestantisme, 2 vol. (Kampen, 1983).

Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, ed. G.D.J. Schotel, 21 vol. (Haarlem, 1852-78).

Bizer, E., Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahlstreits im 16. Jahrhundert (Gütersloh, 1940).

Blaas, P.B.M., 'The touchiness of a small nation with a great past: the approach of Fruin and Blok to the writing of the history of the Netherlands', Britain and the Netherlands VIII (Zutphen, 1985), pp.133-161.

Blench, J.W., Preaching in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Oxford, 1964).

Blockx, K., De veroordeling van Maarten Luther door de theologische faculteit van Leuven in 1519 (Brussels, 1958).

Boehmer, E., Spanish reformers of two centuries from 1520 (Strasbourg, 1874).

Boehmer, E., 'Der Anfang von Francisco de Enzina's "Historia de Statu Belgico deque Religiane Hispanica"', Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIII (1893) pp.346-359.

Boon, K.G., Netherlandish drawings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Catalogue of the dutch and flemish drawings in the Rijksmuseum (The Hague, 1978).

Boon, K.G., 'Divers aspects de l'iconographie de la pré-réforme aux Pays-Bas', Gazette des beaux arts CIV (Dec. 1984), pp.207-216, Jan. 1985 (CV), pp.1-14.

Boon, K.G., 'Patientia dans les gravures de la réforme aux Pays-Bas', Revue de l'art LVI (1982), pp.7-24.

Bos, F.T., Luther in het oordeel van de Sorbonne (Amsterdam, 1974).

Branden, L. van den, 'De antwerpse boekverkoper en drukker Jan Gymnicus (+ 1502-1568)', Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique LI (1980), pp.203-257.

Brandes, W., Bibliographie der niedersächsischen Frühdrucke bis zum Jahre 1600 (Baden-Baden, 1960).

Brandt, G., Historie der reformatie en andere kerkelyke geschiedenissen, in en ontrent de Nederlanden, 4 vol. (Amsterdam, 1671).

Brandt, G., Historie der vermaerde zee-en koop-stadt Enkhuisen, vervaeetende haere herkomste, en voortgangh (Hoorn, 1747).

Breen, J.C., 'De kinderlere van Laurens Jacobszoon Reael', Archief voor nederlandsche kerkgeschiedenis VI (1897), pp.129-157.

Briels, J.G.C.A., "'Reyn genuecht.' Zuidnederlandse kamers van rhetorica in noord Nederland, 1585-1630', Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis LVII (1974), pp.3-89.

Briels, J.G.C.A., Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de republiek der verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630 (Nieuwkoop, 1974).

Brilioth, Y., Eucharistic faith and practice. Evangelical and catholic, trans. A.G. Hebert (London, 1956).

Bruin, C.C. de, De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers (Leiden, 1937).

Bruin, C.C. de, 'Beschouwingen rondom het Leuvense ketterproces van 1543', Rondom het woord III (July 1967), pp.249-259.

Bruin, C.C. de, 'Hinne Rode', Het sticht van binnen en buytenen, bundel opstellen over de geschiedenis van de provincie Utrecht aangeboden aan dr. M.P. van Buyten bij diens zeventigste verjaardag (Oud-Utrecht, 1981), pp.191-208.

Bruin, C.C. de, 'De sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', Kerkhistorische studien (Leiden, 1977), pp.7-49.

Bubenheimer, U., 'Scandalum et ius divinum. Theologische und rechts theologische Probleme der ersten reformatorischen Innovationen in Wittenberg 1521/22.', Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte XC (1973), pp.263-342.

Burger, C.P. 'Een anti-roomsch pamflet van 1564', HB X (1921), pp.331-336.

Burger, C.P., 'De introduction pour les enfants', HB XVIII (1929), pp.161-168.

Burke, P., Popular culture in early modern Europe (New York, 1978).

Burke, P., 'The politics of reformation history: Burnet and Brandt', Britain and the Netherlands VIII (Zutphen, 1985), pp.73-85.

Bullinger, Heinrich, Werke, ed. F. Busser, 2 vol. (Zurich, 1972).

Butterworth, C.C., The english primers (1529-1545). Their publication and connection with the english bible and reformation in England (Philadelphia, 1953).

Butterworth, C.C. and Chester, A.G., George Joye, 1495?-1553. A chapter in the history of the english bible and the english reformation (Philadelphia, 1962).

Cambridge history of the bible VII. The west from the fathers to the reformation, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969).

Cambridge history of the bible VIII. The west from the reformation to the present day, ed. S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1963).

Capp, B., English almanacs, 1500-1800 (New York, 1979).

Carter, H., and Vervliet, H.D.L., Civilité types (Oxford, 1966).

Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Cambridge libraries, ed. H.M. Adams, 2 vol. (Cambridge, 1967).

Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de centrale bibliotheek van de riksuniversiteit Gent, ed. J. Machiels, 2 vol. (Ghent, 1979).

Catalogus van de pamphletten - verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ed. W.P.C. Knuttel, 8 vol. (The Hague, 1889-1916).

Catholic, The, encyclopedia, ed. C.G. Herbermann et al, 10 vol. (London, 1913-1914, 1922).

Chrisman, M.U., Lay culture learned culture. Books and social change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599 (New Haven and London, 1982).

Chrisman, M.U., Bibliography of Strasbourg imprints, (1480-1599) (New Haven and London, 1982).

Clark, F., Eucharistic sacrifice and the reformation (Oxford, 1967).

Clasen, C.-P., Anabaptism. A social history, 1525-1618. Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, south and central Germany (Ithaca and London, 1972).

Clebsch, W.A., England's earliest protestants, 1520-1535 (New Haven, 1964).

Clemen, O., Kleine Schriften zur Reformationsgeschichte (1898-1943) (Cologne and Vienna, 1982-85).

Clemen, O., 'Die Lamentationes Pétri', Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte XIX (1898-99), pp.431-48.

Coigneau, D., 'Calvinistische literatuur te Gent tot 1584', Koninklijke soevereine hoofdkamer van retorica 'De Fonteine' te Gent. Jaarboek, XXXI (1980-81) 1, pp.145-166.

Cole, R.G., 'The reformation in print? German pamphlets and propaganda', ARG LXVI (1975), pp.93-102.

Cole, R.G., 'Reformation printers: unsung heroes', Sixteenth century journal XV (Autumn 1984), pp.327-339.

Cornelius, C.A., Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs, 2 vol. (Leipzig, 1855-1860).

Coulton, G., Art and the reformation (Cambridge, 1953).

Crew, P.M., Calvinist preaching and iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569 (Cambridge, 1978).

Crofts, R., 'Books, reform and the reformation,' ARG LXXI (1980), pp.21-36.

Dankbaar, W.F., Martin Bucers Beziehungen zu den Niederlanden (The Hague, 1961).

Dankbaar, W.F., 'De Unio dissidentium van Hermanus Bodius,' Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis LXXIV (1961), pp.367-381.

Davis, J.F., 'Lollardy and the reformation in England,' ARG LXXIII (1982), pp.217-237.

Davis, K.R., 'No discipline, no church: an anabaptist contribution to the reformed tradition', Sixteenth century journal XII (Winter 1982), pp.43-58.

Davis, N.Z., Society and culture in early modern France (London, 1975).

Davis, N.Z., 'Strikes and salvation at Lyons', ARG LVI (1965), pp.48-64.

Decavele, J., De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565), 2 vol. (Brussels, 1975).

Decavele, J., 'Historiograpie van het zestiende-eeuws protestantism in België', NAK LXII (1982), pp.1-25.

Decavele, J., 'De opkomst van het protestantisme te Brussel', Zesde colloquium 'De Brabantse stad' congresboek, Antwerpen, 3 en 4 april 1981 (s.l., 1983), pp.25-44.

Deppermann, K., Melchior Hoffman (Göttingen, 1979).

Dewitte, A., 'Chronologie van de reformatie te Brugge en in het Brugse vrije (1485-1593)', Brugge in de geuzentijd. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse vrije tijdens de 16de eeuw (Bruges, 1982), pp.34-44.

Dickens, A.G., Reformation and society in sixteenth century Europe (London, 1966).

Dickens, A.G., 'Heresy and the origins of english protestantism', Britain & the Netherlands II (Groningen, 1964), pp.47-66.

Dictionary of national biography, 63 vol. (London, 1885-1900).

Dictionnaire de biographie française, 13 vols. & fascs. (Paris, 1933-).

Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, 15 vol. (Paris, 1909-1972).

Dis, L.M. Van., Reformatorische rederijkersspelen uit de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw (Haarlem, 1937).

Dis, L.M. van, 'Onderzoek naar de invloed van een zestiende-eeuwse concordantie op enkele rederijkersteksten', Bundel opstellen van oud-leerlingen, aangeboden aan Prof. dr. C.G.N. de Vooys (Groningen-Batavia, 1940), pp.104-118.

Drewes, J.B., 'Het spel van sinne van de Witte acoleyen', De nieuwe taalgids LXX (1977), pp.301-318.

Droz, E., Chemins de l'hérésie. Textes et documents, 4 vol. (Geneva, 1970-1976).

Dubiez, F.J., Op de grens van humanisme en hervorming (Nieuwkoop, 1962).

Duke, A.C. 'The ambivalent face of calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561-1618', International calvinism 1541-1715, ed. M. Prestwich, (Oxford, 1985), pp.109-134.

Duke, A.C., 'Building heaven in hell's despite. The early history of the reformation in the towns of the Low Countries', Britain and the Netherlands VII (The Hague, 1981), pp.45-75.

Duke, A.C., 'Dissident voices in a conformist town: the early reformation at Gouda', Bestuurders en geleerden. Opstellen over onderwerpen in de nederlandse geschiedenis van de 16e, 17e en 18e eeuw aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J.J. Woltjer, ed. S. Groeneweld, M.E.H.M. Mont, I. Schöffer, (Amsterdam, 1985).

Duke, A.C., 'The face of popular religious dissent in the Low Countries, 1520-1530', Journal of ecclesiastical history XXVI (1975), pp.41-67.

Duverger, J., 'Lutherse predicatie te Brussel en het proces tegen een aantal kunstenaars (april-juni 1527)', Wetenschappelijke tijdingen XXXVI (1977), col.221-228.

Duyse, P. van, De rederijkerskamers in Nederland, hun invloed op letterkundig, politiek en zedelijk gebied (Ghent, 1900-1902).

I.H. van Eeghen, 'Een kettersche schilderij in 1534', Oud-Holland LVII, 1940, p.108.

Eekhof, A., 'Zwingli in Holland', Zwingliana III (1918-1919), pp.370-384.

Eenheid en scheiding in de Nederlanden 1555-1585, ed. J. Decaesteke (Ghent, 1976).

Eire, C.M.N., 'Calvin and nicodemism. A reappraisal', Sixteenth century journal X (Spring, 1979), pp.45-69.

Eisenstein, E.L., The printing press as an agent of change, 2 vol. (Cambridge, 1979).

Ellerbroek-Fortuin, E., Amsterdamse rederijkersspelen in de zestiende eeuw (Groningen, 1937).

Elte, S., 'De rechtszaak tegen Peter Warners, boekdrukker te Kampen (1566-1567) Kamper Almanak (1951-1952), pp.148-173.

Enno van Gelder, H.A., Erasmus, schilders en rederijkers (Groningen, 1959).

Erichson, D.A., Bibliographia calviniana. Catalogus chronologicus operum Calvini (Nieuwkoop, 1960).

Etienne, J., Spiritualisme érasmien et théologiens louvanistes. Un changement de problématique au début du XVI^e siècle (Leuven, 1956).

Fairon, E., 'Le premier index de livres prohibés à Liège, 1545', GP III (1925), pp.1-15.

Febvre, L., and Martin, H.-J., The coming of the book, trans. D. Gerard (London, 1976).

Febvre, L., 'The origins of the french reformation: a badly put question?' A new kind of history, ed. P. Burke (London, 1973), pp.44-107.

Fenlon, D., Heresy and obedience in tridentine Italy. Cardinal Pole and the counter reformation (Cambridge, 1972).

Fleming, G. 'On the origins of the Passional Christi und Antichristi', Gutenberg Jahrbuch (1973), pp.351-68.

Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, Uit de wereld van het boek. Humanisten, dwevers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw (Amsterdam, 1975).

Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Meester Harmen Schinckel: een delftse boekdrukker van de 16e eeuw', Oud Delft III (1963), pp.1-78.

Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', HB XXX (1949-1951), pp.3-41.

Foppens, J.F., Bibliotheca Belgica, 2 vol. (Brussels, 1739).

Fraenkel, P., 'Bucer's memorandum of 1541 and a "Lettera Nicodemitica" of Capito's', Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance XXXVI (1974), pp.575-589.

Franz, G., Huberinus-Rhegius-Holbein. Bibliographische und Druckgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Verbreitesten trost- und Erbauungsschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts. (Nieuwkoop, 1973).

Fredericq, P., 'Sentence prononcée contre Guillaume van Zwolle par l'inquisiteur général des Pays-Bas, 1529', Bulletins de l'académie royale des sciences des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, sér.3. XXX, (1895), pp.258-266.

Gawthrop, R., and Strauss, G., 'Protestantism and literacy in early modern Germany', Past and present CXIV (1984), pp.31-55.

Gilmont, J.-F., Jean Crespin: un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle (Geneva, 1981).

Ginzburg, C., Il nicodemismo: simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500 (Torino, 1970).

Godin, A., 'La société au XVI^e siècle, vue par J. Glapion (1460?-1522), frère mineur, confesseur de Charles-Quint', Revue du nord CLXXXII (1964), pp.341-370.

Godin, A., Érasme lecteur d'Origen (Geneva, 1982).

Goez, W., 'Luthers "Ein sermon von der Bereitung zum Sterben" und die spätmittelalterlich ars moriendi', Lutherjahrbuch XLVIII (1981), pp.97-114.

Greenslade, S.L., The english reformers and the fathers of the church (Oxford, 1960).

Groote, G. de, 'Erasmus en de rederijkers', Belgisch tijdschrift voor philologie en geschiedenis XXIX (1951), pp.389-420, 1029-1062.

Grosheide, D., 'Enige opmerkingen over de reformatie en het humanisme in de noordelijke Nederlanden', Serta historica II (1970), pp.72-93.

Grosheide, G., Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der anabaptisten in Amsterdam (Hilversum, 1938).

Grosheide, G., 'Verhooren en vonnissen der wederdopers, betrokken bij de aanslagen op Amsterdam in 1534 en 1535', Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap XLI (1920), pp.1-197.

Gruijs, A., 'Het inventarium van Doesburg (1529). Een boek-archeologisch onderzoek', Forty-three studies in bibliography presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellinga on the occasion of his retirement from the chair of neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the end of the year 1978, ed. A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen (Amsterdam, 1980).

Haga, A., 'Nieuws over Simon Corver', HB XXXVII (1964-1965), pp.209-211.

Haitsma, J., De leer aangaande de kerk in de reformatorische catechismi uit het duitse en nederlandse taalgebied van 1530-1600 (Woerden, 1968).

Halkin, L.-E., La réforme en Belgique sous Charles-Quint (Brussels, 1957).

Halkin, L.E., 'Protestants des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège réfugiés à Strasbourg', Strasbourg au coeur religieux du XVI^e siècle (Strasbourg, 1977), pp.297-307.

Hamilton, A., The family of love (Cambridge, 1981).

Hammer, G., 'Der Streit um Bucer in Antwerpen. Ein rätselvoller Textfund und ein unbekannter Lutherbrief', Lutheriana Zum 500. Geburtstag Martin Luthers von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Ausgabe (Cologne and Vienna, 1984), pp.393-454.

Hanson, R.P.C., Allegory and event. A study of the sources and significance of Origen's interpretation of scripture (London, 1959).

Hauser, H., 'The french reformation and the french people in the sixteenth century', American historical review IV (1899), pp.217-227.

Heller, H., 'The evangelicism of Lefèvre d'Étaples: 1525', Studies in the renaissance XIX (1972), pp.42-77.

Hempshall, D.S., 'The Languedoc 1520-1540: a study of pre-calvinist heresy in France', ARG LXII (1971), pp.225-244.

Higman, F., Censorship and the Sorbonne. A bibliographical study of the books in french censured by the faculty of theology in the University of Paris 1520-1551 (Geneva, 1979).

Higman, F., 'Les traductions françaises de Luther, 1524-1550', Palaestra typographica: aspects de la production du livre humaniste et religieuse du XVIe siècle, ed. J.-F. Gilmont (Aubel, c1985), pp.11-56.

Higman, F., 'Luther et la piété de l'église Gallicane: le Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison', Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse LXIII (1983), pp.91-111.

Hindman, S., Text and image in fifteenth century illustrated dutch bibles. Corpus sacrae scripturae neerlandicae medii aevi vol 1 (Leiden, 1977).

Hindman, S., 'The transition from manuscripts to printed books in the Netherlands: illustrated dutch bibles', NAK LVI (1975), pp.189-209.

Histoire de l'édition française. VI. Le livre conquérant. Du moyen âge au milieu du XVIIe siècle, ed. H.-J. Martin, R. Chartier and J.-P. Vivet (Paris, 1982).

Hobbs, R.G., 'How firm a foundation: Martin Bucer's historical exegesis of the psalms', Church history LIII (1984), pp.477-491.

Hobbs, R.G., 'Exegetical projects and problems: a new look at an undated letter from Bucer to Zwingli', Prophet, pastor protestant: the work of Huldrych Zwingli after 500 years, ed. E.J. Furcha and H.W. Pipkin (Allison Park, Pa., 1984), pp.89-108.

Hollweg, W., 'Johannes Anastasius Veluanus', Monatshefte für evangelische kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes XVI (1967), pp.220-239.

Hooft, A.J. van 't, De theologie van Heinrich Bullinger in betrekking tot de nederlandsche reformatie (Amsterdam, 1888).

Hoop Scheffer, J.G. de, Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531 (Amsterdam, 1873).

Hoop Scheffer, J.G. de, 'Cornelis Woutersz van Dordrecht, een martelaar der hervorming (1525-1529)', Kerkhistorisch archief IV (1866), pp.1-22.

Horst, I.B., The radical brethren. Anabaptism and the english reformation (Nieuwkoop, 1972).

Hulzen, A. van, Utrecht in 1566 en 1567 (Groningen, 1932).

Hummelen, W.M.H., Repertorium van het rederijkersdrama 1500-ca.1620 (Assen, 1968).

Index aureliensis. Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum, 7 vol. (Geneva, 1962-).

Jansma, T.S., 'De boeken van Adriaen Cornelisz van Haemstede', Huldenboek pater de Bonaventura Kruitweigen (The Hague, 1949), pp.196-204.

Jeltsma, A.J., Adriaan van Haemstede en zijn marteelaarsboek (The Hague, 1970).

Johnston, A.G., 'The sermons of Niclaes Peeters: partially unmasked', NAK LXIV (1984), pp.123-143.

Jong, H.J. de, 'Caro in spiritum. Delenus en zijn uitlegging van Joh. 6:51', De geest in het geding. Opstellen aangeboden aan J.A. Oosterbaan, ed. I.B. Horst, A.F. De Jong, and D. Visser (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1978), pp.145-168.

Jongh, H. de, L'ancien faculté de théologie de Louvain au premier siècle de son existance (1432-1540) (Utrecht, 1980).

Jung, E.M., 'On the nature of evangelism in sixteenth century Italy', Journal of the history of ideas XIV (1953), pp.511-527.

Kittelson, J.M., Wolfgang Capito, from humanist to reformer (Leiden, 1975).

Kleijntjens, J. 'Verslag over den godsdienstigen toestand in Holland en Friesland, A° 1565', Haarlemsche bijdragen LIX (1940), pp.52-101.

Knappert, L., 'De index librorum prohibitorum te Leiden in 1530', Tijdschrift voor boek - an bibliothekwezen IV (1906), pp.224-227.

Knappert, L., De opkomst van het protestantisme (The Hague, 1908).

Knappert, L., Het ontstaan en de vestiging van het protestantisme in de Nederlanden (Utrecht, 1924).

Knappert, L., 'De theologie van Petrus Bloccius' Theologisch tijdschrift XXXVIII (1904), pp.309-348.

Knappert, L., 'De nederlandsche "Prognosticon de antichristo" 1524 teruggevonden', NAK XVII (1922-24), pp.71-73.

Kogel, De, door de kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden en de rol van de Unie van Utrecht, 1559-1609, ed. S. Groenveld, H.L.Ph. Leeuwenberg and others (Zutphen, 1979).

Kohler, W., Zwingli und Luther. Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen, 2 vol. (Gutersloh, 1953).

Kopp, U., 'Ein unbekannter und andere niederländische Lutherdruck von ca.1528 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel', Wolfenbütteler Notizen IV (1979), pp.46-53.

Krahn, C., Dutch anabaptism. Origin, spread, life and thought (1450-1600) (The Hague, 1968).

Krans, G.H.A., 'Peter Warnersen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen', HB XXIV (1936-37), pp.147-186.

Kraus, G., Andreas Gerhard Hyperius: Leben, Bilden, Schriften (Tübingen, 1977).

Kronenberg, M.E., Verboden boeken en opstandige drukken in de hervormingstijd (Amsterdam, 1948).

Kronenberg, M.E., 'De drukker van de deensche boeken te Antwerpen (1529-1531)', HB VIII (1919), pp.1-8.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'De geheimzinnige drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel en Hans Luft te Marburg ontmaskerd', HB VIII (1919), pp.241-280.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Executie te Antwerpen van Niclaes van Oldenborch drukker', HB X (1921), pp.71-72.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Van der verveerlichen aenstaende tyt endechristes', HB X (1922), pp.213-218.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Lotgevallen van Jan Seversz boekdrukker te Leiden (c1502-1524) en te Antwerpen (c1527-c1530)', HB XIII (1924), pp.1-38.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Het zoogenaamde winkelkasboek van Jan Seversz', HB XIV (1925), pp.334-338.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Het Prognosticon de terribilissimo maledicti Antechristi adventu van 1524 teruggevonden' HB XV (1926), pp.109-116.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'De drukker-martelaar Adriaen van Berghen (+ 1542)', HB XVI (1927), pp.1-8.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Vervolging van kettersche boeken in de Nederlanden (c1518-1528)', HB XVI (1927), pp.163-188.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Nieuwe onderzoeken over de onbekende ketterse drukker in 1523, (Simon Corver?)', HB XXV (1938), pp.199-204.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Peter Elsenius te Nijmegen en de Zutphensche schoolmeester Herman Leuw voor het gerecht als drukker en verspreider van een verboden boek (1561)', HB XXVIII (1944-1946), pp.55-78.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Forged addresses in low country books in the period of the reformation', The library fifth series, II (Sept., Dec., 1947), pp.81-94.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis (1536)', HB XXX (1949-1951), pp.313-317.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Nederlandse drukken in de catalogus der librye van het Hof van Holland (1533-34)', HB XXXI (1952-1954), pp.22-40.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Is Martinus Butzer onder het pseudoniem Hermanus Bodius de auteur van de Unio dissidentium geweest', HB XXXIV (1959-1961), pp.1-11.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Luther-uitgaven Ao. 1531 in het bezit van kanunnik mr. Jan Dirksz van der Haer te Gorkum', HB XXXVI (1963-1964), pp.2-23.

Kronenberg, M.E., 'Uitgaven van Luther in de Nederlanden verschenen tot 1541', NAK XL (1954), pp.1-25 and XLIX (1968-1969), pp.101-103.

Kuczynski, A., Thesarus libellorum historiam reformationis illustrantium (Nieuwkoop, 1960).

Lebègue, R. 'L'évolution du théâtre dans les provinces du nord', La renaissance dans les provinces du nord: Picardie-Artois-Flandres-Brabant-Hainaut, ed. F. Lesure (Paris, 1956), pp.117-126.

Lenselink, S.J., De nederlandse psalmberijmingen in de 16e eeuw van de souterliedekens tot Datheen met hun voorgangers in Duitsland en Frankrijk (Assen, 1959).

Léonard, É.G., A history of protestantism, 2 vol. (London and Edinburgh, 1965).

Liebmann, M., Urbanus Rhegius und die Auf^{II}ange der Reformation: Beitrag zu seinem Leben, seiner Lehre und seinem Wirken bis zum Augsburger Reichstag von 1530 mit einer Bibliographie seiner Schriften (Münster, 1980).

Lienhard, M., 'Prier au XVI^e siècle. Regards sur le Biblisch Beltbüchlin du Strasbourgeois Othon Brunfels', Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses LXVI (1986), pp.43-55.

Lindeboom, J., De confessionele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1946).

Locher, G.W., Die Zwinglische Reformation in der europäischen Kirchengeschichte (Göttingen and Zurich, 1979).

Long, I. Le, Historische beschryvinge van de reformatie der stadt Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1729).

Long, I. Le, Bibliotheca selectissima s. catalogus librorum...quae... a c t i o n e p u b l i c a v e n d e n t u r A m s t e l o e d a m i ... 1 7 A u g . & seqq. (1744).

Loosjes, J., Geschiedenis der luthersche kerk in de Nederlanden (The Hague, 1921).

Loosjes, J., 'De invloed der redeijkers op de hervorming', Stemmen voor waarheid en vrede XLVI (1909), pp.246-290, 359-376, 417-442, 609-646.

Lovy, R.-J., Les origines de la réforme française Meaux 1518-1546 (Paris, 1959).

Lubac, H. de, Exégèse médiéval: les quatre sens de l'écriture, 4 vol. (Paris, 1959-1964).

Luther, J., Die Titeleinlassungen der Reformationszeit (Leipzig, 1909-13).

McCue, J.F., 'Luther and the problem of popular preaching', Sixteenth century journal XVI (Spring 1985), pp.33-43.

McGrath, A.E., 'Forerunners of the reformation? A critical evaluation of the evidence for precursors of the reformation doctrines of justification', Harvard theological review LXXV (April, 1982), pp.219-242.

Mak, J.J., De redeijkers (Amsterdam, 1944).

Manschreck, C.L., Melanchthon. The quiet reformer (New York, 1958).

Meiners, E., Oostvrieschlands kerkelyke geschiedenis of een historisch en oordeelkundige verhaal van het gene nopens het kerkelyke in Oostvrieschlandt, en byzonder te Emden, is voorgefallen, zedert...1519 ...to op den huidigen dag, 2 vol. (Groningen, 1738-1739).

Mellink, A., Amsterdam en de wederdopers in de zestiende eeuw (Nijmegen, 1978).

Mennonite, The, encyclopedia, ed. C. Krahn, 4 vol. (Hillsboro, Kansas, 1955-1959).

Middlefort, H.C.E., Witch hunting in southwestern Germany 1562-1648. The social and intellectual foundations (Stanford, 1972).

Mierlo, J. van, 'Den "Boem der schriftueren", en het geval Jacob van Middeldonck', Verslagen en mededelingen der koninklijk vlaamsche academie voor taal-en letterkunde (Ledeberg and Ghent, Oct.-Nov. 1939), pp.889-905.

Moll, W., 'Joannes Anastasius Veluanus en "Der leken wechwyser". Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der hervorming, inzonderheid in Gelderland', Kerkhistorisch archief I (1857), pp.1-134.

Moore, W.G., La réforme allemande et la littérature française. Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France (Strasbourg, 1930).

Moreau, G., Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la révolution des Pays-Bas (Paris, 1962).

Moreau, G., 'Un colporteur calviniste en 1563', Bulletin de la société d'histoire protestantisme français CXVIII (1972), pp.1-31.

Moxey, K.P.F., Pieter Aertsen, Joachim Beuckelaer and the rise of secular painting in the context of the reformation (New York and London, 1977).

Moxey, K.P.F., 'Image criticism in the Netherlands before the iconoclasm of 1566', NAK LVII (1976-1977), pp.148-162.

Mun, T., England's treasure by foreign trade (Oxford, 1928).

Nationaal biografisch woordenboek. Koninklijke academie van België, 11 vol. (Brussels, 1964-).

Nauta, D., 'De reformatie in Nederland in de historiographie', Serta historica II (1970), pp.44-71.

Nave, F. de and Braekman, E.M., Protestantse drukken en prenten uit de hervormingstijd te Antwerpen (Brussels, 1985).

Nerdenus, H.A., Praefatio systematis theologici (Franeker, 1611).

Neue Deutsch Biographie, 11 vol. (Berlin, 1953-).

New Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge, ed. S.M. Jackson, 13 vol. (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1960).

Nicholls, D.J., 'The nature of popular heresy in France, 1520-1542', The historical journal XXVI. 2 (June, 1983), pp.261-275.

Nieto, J.C., 'Juan de Valdés on catechetical instruction: the dialogue on christian doctrine and the christian instruction for children', Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance XXXVI (1974), pp.253-272.

Nieuw nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, J.J. Blok, L. Knappert and K.H. Kossmann, 10 vol. (Leiden, 1911-1937).

Nijenhuis, W., Calvinus oecumenicus. Calvijn en de eenheid der kerk in het licht van zijn briefwisseling (The Hague, 1959).

Nijenhuis, W., 'Varaints within Dutch calvinism in the sixteenth century', Acta historiae neerlandicae XII (1979), pp.48-64.

Nijhoff, W., Nederlandsche houtsneden. 1500-1550, 2 vol. (The Hague, 1931-1939).

Nijhoff, W., and Kronenberg, M.E., Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540, 3 vol. (The Hague, 1923-1971).

Obbema, P.F.J. and Derolez, A., 'De produktie en verspreiding van het boek 1300-1500', Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden IV (Haarlem, 1980), pp.351-362.

Ogilvie, M.H., 'Wesel Gansfort's theology of church government', NAK LV (1975), pp.125-150.

Oorthuys, G., Anastasius' "Wechwyser", Bullingers "Huysboeck" en Calvyn's "Institutie" vergeleken in hun leer van God en mensch (Leiden, 1919).

Oosterbaan, D.P., 'School en kerk in het middeleeuwse Delft', Spiegel der historie I (1966), pp.33-40, 111-120, 150-160, 192-200.

Opstand en onafhankelijkheid. Eerste vrije statenvergadering Dordrecht 1572 (Dordrecht, 1972).

Oudejans, N., 'De jood in de middeelnederlandse literatuur', Literatuur tijdschrift over nederlandse letterkunde I (1984-1985), pp.246-253.

Overmeer, W.P.J., De hervorming te Haarlem (Haarlem, 1904).

Owst, G.R., Preaching in medieval England (Cambridge, 1926).

Owst, G.R., Literature and pulpit in medieval England (Cambridge, 1933).

Oxford, The, dictionary of the christian church, ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (London, 1974).

Ozment, S.E., Mysticism and dissent (New Haven and London, 1973).

Ozment, S.E., The reformation in the cities (New Haven - London, 1975).

Ozment, S.E., The age of reform, 1250-1550 (New Haven and London, 1980).

Ozment, S.E., 'The social history of the reformation: what can we learn from pamphlets', Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit, Tübinger symposium, 1980, ed. H.-J. Köhler (Stuttgart, 1981).

Parker, G., The dutch revolt (London, 1977).

Pater, C.A., Karlstadt as the father of the baptist movements: the emergence of lay protestantism (Toronto, 1984).

Pater, C.A., 'Melchior Hoffman's explication of the Songs (!) of Songs', ARG LXVIII (1977), pp.173-191.

Pegg, M.A., A catalogue of german reformation pamphlets (1516-1546) in libraries of Great Britain and Ireland (Baden-Baden, 1973).

Pegg, M.A., Bibliotheca Lindensiana and other collections of german sixteenth-century pamphlets in libraries of Great Britain and France (Baden-Baden, 1977).

Pekelharing, K.R., Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der hervorming in Zeeland, 1524-1572 (Middelburg, 1866).

Pijper, F., Jan Utenhove. Zijn leven en zijne werken (Leiden, 1883).

Pijper, F., Erasmus en de nederlandsche reformatie (Leiden, 1907).

Pijper, F., Martelaarsboeken (The Hague, 1924).

Pijper, F., 'Geestelijke stroomingen in Nederland vóór de opkomst van het remonstrantisme', De remonstranten. Gedenkboek bij het 300-jarig bestaan der remonstrantsche broederschap, ed. G.J. Heering (Leiden, 1919), pp.37-59.

Pirenne, H., Histoire de Belgique, 6 vol. (Brussels, 1900-1929).

Pollet, J.V., Martin Bucer. Études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas, l'électorat de Cologne et l'Allemagne du nord, 2 vol. (Leiden, 1985).

Polman, P., L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIe siècle (Gembloux, 1932).

Pont, J.W., Geschiedenis van het lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618 (Haarlem, 1911).

Poortman, W.C., Bijbel en prent (The Hague, 1983).

Post, R.R., Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland voor de reformatie van ± 1500 tot ± 1580 (Utrecht, 1954).

Potter, G.R., Zwingli (Cambridge, 1976).

Prims, F., "'De boom der schrifturen' te Antwerpen", Antwerpensia XIII (1939), pp.84-91.

Quere, R.W., 'Changes and constants: structure in Luther's understanding of the real presence in the 1520s', Sixteenth century journal XVI (Spring 1985), pp.45-78.

Reformation Europe: a guide to research, ed. S.E. Ozment (St. Louis, 1982).

Renaissance, La, dans les provinces du nord (Picardie - Artois - Flandres - Brabant - Hainaut), ed. F. Lesure (Paris, 1956).

Rogghé, P., 'Pieter Anastasius de Zuttere, zuidnederlandse apostel van de verdraagzaamheid in de XVI eeuw, Appeltjes van het Meetjesland XVII (1966), pp.3-35.

Roodhuyzen, H., Het leven van Guihelmus Grapheus (Amsterdam, 1858).

Roosbroeck, R. van, 'Een nieuw dokument over de beginperiode van het lutheranisme te Antwerpen', GP V (1927), pp.267-284.

Rouzet, A., Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle (Nieuwkoop, 1975).

Royannez, M., 'L'euchariste chez les évangéliques et les premiers réformés français (1522-1546)', Bulletin de société de l'histoire du protestantisme français CXXV (1979), pp.548-576.

Rupp, G., Patterns of reformation (London, 1969).

Rutgers, F.L., Calvijns invloed op de reformatie in de Nederlanden (Leiden, 1901).

Scheible, H., 'Reform, Reformation, Revolution. Grundsätze zur Beurteilung der Flugschriften', ARG LXXV (1974), pp.108-134.

Schmidt, P., Die Illustration der Lutherbibel 1522-1700 (Basel, 1962).

Schnaase, E., Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Danzigs (Danzig, 1862).

Schoock, M., Liber de bonis vulgo ecclesiasticis Christis (Groningen, 1651).

Schotel, G.D.J., Geschiedenis der rederijkers in Nederland, 2 vol. (Amsterdam, 1862).

Schumacher, B., Niederländische Ansiedlingen im Herzogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts (1525-68) (Leipzig, 1903).

Schwarz, W., Principles and problems of biblical translation (Cambridge, 1955).

Scribner, R.W., For the sake of simple folk (Cambridge, 1981).

Short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of english books printed abroad, ed. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (London, 1926).

Short title catalogue (revised), ed. W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, K.F. Pantzer, 2 vol. (London, 1976-1986).

Short title catalogue of books printed in France and of french books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum (London, 1924).

Short title catalogue of books printed in the german speaking countries and german books printed in other countries from 1455 to 1600 now in the British Museum (London, 1962).

Short title catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of dutch and flemish books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum (London, 1965).

Sider, R.J., Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (Leiden, 1974).

Slenk, H., 'Jan Utenhove's psalms in the Low Countries', NAK XLIX (1969), pp.155-169.

Smalley, B., The study of the bible in the middle ages (Oxford, 1952).

Smid, M., Ostfriesische Kirchengeschichte (Rautenberg, 1974).

Strauss, G., Luther's house of learning. Indoctrination of the young in the German reformation (Baltimore - London, 1978).

Strubbe, E.I., 'Boeken van Luther verkocht door Jan Rijckaert te Gent (1522)', Annales de la société d'émulation de Bruges CX (1953), pp.72-76.

Tavard, G.H., Holy writ or church: the crisis of the protestant reformation (London, 1959).

Tentler, T.N., Sin and confession on the eve of the reformation (Princeton, 1977).

Thomson, J.A.F., The later lollards 1414-1520 (Oxford, 1965).

Toorenbergen, J.J. van, Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde Godsdienstige en kerkelijke geschriften (The Hague, 1878).

Tracy, J.D., 'Heresy law and centralization under Mary of Hungary: conflict between the Council of Holland and the central government over the enforcement of Charles V's placards', ARG LXXIII (1982), pp.284-308.

Trapman, J., De summa der godliker scripturen (1523) (Leiden, 1978).

Trapman, J., 'Van dat avontmael ons Heeren', NAK LI (1970), pp.149-166.

Trapman, J., 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', NAK LXIII (1983), pp.1-24.

Troelstra, A., De toestand der catechese in Nederland Gedurende de vóór-reformatorische eeuw (Groningen, 1901).

Troelstra, A., Stof en method der catechese in Nederland vóór de reformatie (Groningen, 1903).

Troeyer, B. de, Bio-bibliographica franciscana neerlandica saeculi XVI, 2 vol. (Nieuwkoop, 1969).

Uytven, R. van, 'Bijdrage tot de sociale geschiedenis van de protestanten te Leuven in de eerste helft der XVIe eeuw', Mededelingen van de geschied - en oudheidkundige kring voor Leuven en omgeving III (1963), pp.3-38.

Vaderland, Het protestantsche, Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland, ed. L.A. van Langeraad and J.P. de Bie, 2 vol. (Utrecht, 1910).

Vanderhaegen, F., Bibliographie gantoise. Recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs de Gand (1483-1850), 4 vol. (Ghent, 1858-1869).

Vanderhaegen, F., Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas, par le bibliothècarien chef et les conservateurs de la bibliothèque de l'université de Gand, 6 vol. (Ghent - The Hague, 1880-1913).

Verduin, L., 'The chambers of rhetoric and anabaptist origins in the Low Countries', MQR XXXIV (1960), pp.192-196.

Verheyden, A.L.E., Le martyrologe courtraisien et le martyrologe bruxellois (Vilvoorde, 1950).

Verheyden, P., 'Verhooren van Mark Martens en van Jacob van Liesveldt (1536)', Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen IV (1906), pp.245-261.

Vermaseren, B.A., 'Een 16de-eeuws spaans aanhanger van de reformatie: Francisco de Enzinas', GP XLIII (1965), pp.149-165.

Vermaseren, B.A., 'An unknown bookbinder and bookseller of Zwolle: Gellis van Bathman (c 1567)', Quaerendo X (1980), pp.113-152, 170-210.

Visser, C.Ch.G., Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546 (Assen, 1969).

Vocht, H. de, History of the foundation and rise of the collegium trilingue Louvaniense 1517-1550, 4 vol. (Leuven, 1951-1955).

Vocht, H. de, John Dantiscus and his netherlandish friends as revealed by their correspondence, 1529-46 (Leuven, 1961).

Voet, L., The golden compasses. A history of the printing and publishing activities of the official plantiniana, 2 vol. (Amsterdam, 1969).

Vooy, C.G.N. de, 'Een onbekende verzameling refereinen uit de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw', NAK XXI (1928), pp.191-232.

Vooy, C.G.N. de, 'De dortse bundel met christelycke en schriftuerlijcke refereynen', NAK XXI (1928), pp.273-296.

Vooy, C.G.N. de, 'Apostelspelen in de rederijkerstijd', Mededeelingen der koninklijke academie van wetenschappen afdeeling letterkunde LXV, Series A no.5 (1928), pp.1-45.

Vos, K., 'Karlstadt of Zwingli?' Doopsgezinde bijdragen LIV (1917), pp.92-97.

Vroom, W.H., De financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen in het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht (Maarsen, 1981).

Weerners, J., De theologie van Angelus Merula, met name onderzocht op reformatie (Amsterdam, 1983).

Wendel, F., Calvin. The origins and development of his religious thought (London, 1974).

Wessel, J.H., 'De opvatting van Jakob van Hoogstraten aangaande de rechtvaardiging', NAK XLVI (1965), pp.193-196.

White, H.C., Social criticism in popular religious literature of the sixteenth century (New York, 1965).

Wijnman, H.F., 'De Antwerpse hervormingsgezinde drukker Mattheus Crom en zijn naaste omgeving', GP XL (1962), pp.105-124.

Wijnman, H.F., 'Grepes uit de geschiedenis van de nederlandse emigranten - drukkerijen te Emden', HB XXXVI (1964), pp.140-169, XXXVII (1966), pp.121-152.

Wijnman, H.F., 'The mysterious sixteenth century printer Niclaes van Oudenborch: Antwerp or Emden?' Stvdia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, ed. S. van der Woude (Amsterdam, 1968), pp.448-478.

Willems-Closset, M.-P., 'Le protestantisme à Lille jusqu'à la veille de la révolution des Pays-Bas (1521-1565)', Revue du nord LII (1970), pp.199-216.

Williams, G.H., The radical reformation (Philadelphia, 1962).

Woltjer, J.J., Friesland in hervormingstijd (Leiden, 1962).

Wrede, A., Die Einführung der Reformation in Lüneburgischen durch Herzog Ernst den Bekennner (Göttingen, 1887).

Zielman, G.C., Middelnederlandse epistel en evangelie (Leiden, 1978).

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Bridgden, S.E., 'The early reformation in London, 1520-1547: the conflict in the parishes' (Cambridge Ph.D., 1979).

Bulbring, M., 'Literary relations between Germany and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century' (London M.A., 1939).

Clark, G.W., 'An urban study during the revolt of the Netherlands: Valenciennes 1540-1570' (Columbia Ph.D., 1972).

DuPlessis, R.S.-C., 'Urban stability in the Netherlands revolution. A comparative study of Lille and Douai' (Columbia Ph.D., 1974).

Eire, C.M.N., 'Idolatry and the reformation: a study of the protestant attack on catholic worship in Germany, Switzerland and France, 1500-1580' (Yale Ph.D., 1979).

Hempshall, D.S., 'Reform and reformation in France, 1517-36' (Kent Ph.D., 1972).

Kenney, L.A., 'The censorship edicts of Emperor Charles V in the Low Countries, 1515-1550' (Maryland Ph.D., 1960).

Kooloos, W.A., 'Cornelis Hoen en zijn avondmaalsbrief' (Tilburg doctoraalscriptie, 1981).

Paterson, R.M.E., 'A study in catechisms of the reformation and post-reformation periods' (Durham M.A., 1982).

Pettegree, A., 'The strangers and their churches in London, 1550-1580' (Oxford D.Phil., 1983).

Rhodes, J., 'Private devotion in England on the eve of the reformation, illustrated from works printed or reprinted in the period 1530-40' (Durham Ph.D., 1975).

Rosenberg, D.L., 'Social experience and religious choice: a case study, the protestant weavers and wool combers of Amiens in the sixteenth century' (Yale Ph.D., 1978).

Schlieter, T., 'Die Publizistik um der Reformationsversuch des Kölner Erzbischofs Hermann von Wied aus den Jahren 1542-1547' (Bonn Ph.D., 1957).

Took, P.M., 'Government and the printing trade' (London Ph.D., 1979).