

Introduction: The Reformation of the Decalogue

In a dance a man breakes the ten Commandements of God.

William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix: The players scourge* (1633)

The Ten Commandments have their origin in the second book of the Hebrew Bible, which in time became the Christian Old Testament. The first book, Genesis, tells the story of God's creation of the world, of mankind's Fall in the Garden of Eden, of the devastation of the Flood, and of God's forging of a special covenant with the nation of Israel. The book of Exodus picks up the story of God's chosen people in a state of captivity in Egypt under the tyranny of Pharaoh, and describes how God, through his servants Moses and Aaron, led them to safety through the miraculously parted waters of the Red Sea. Eventually, after sustaining the Israelites through their long desert sojourn, God himself descended upon Mount Sinai to commune with Moses. There, heralded by thunder and lightning and the sound of trumpets, cloaked in coruscating fire and wreathed in boiling clouds, God delivered his law to Moses on two tablets of stone.¹ These first stone tablets were in fact short-lived, for when Moses descended from Sinai to find the Israelites dancing around a molten calf his 'anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount'. Moses then took the calf, burnt it, ground it into powder, and brewed the ashes of the idolatrous statue into a bitter tea which he subsequently forced the sinful people to drink.² In response to this contrition, God told Moses to hew two more stone tablets from the mountain and descended once more onto Sinai where he delivered his law for a second time to Moses, who wrote out the Ten Commandments onto these two new 'tables of testimony'. These physical embodiments of God's law were

¹ Exodus 31:18.

² Exodus 32:19–20.

housed inside the Ark of the Covenant, within the inner sanctum of the Jewish Tabernacle.

The Decalogue therefore had a privileged place, both physically and metaphorically, at the centre of the Jewish faith. Judaism came over time to recognise 620 commandments (or *mitzvot*) in total, including laws governing everything from religious ritual to diet, from sexual relations to criminal and judicial regulations. The early Christians emerged out of this culture of Jewish legalism (the Apostle Paul had himself been a Pharisee, a member of a Jewish sect emphasising strict observance of the Mosaic law), but they also sought to distance themselves from it. Christians therefore came to distinguish between the ‘moral’ laws of the Ten Commandments, which they held still to be binding, and the ‘ceremonial’ and ‘judicial’ laws whose precepts governed matters that were specific to Jewish faith and society, and which were therefore deemed no longer to apply to Christians. Early Christianity even disagreed over the numbering of the Decalogue, and whilst some Church Fathers (including Jerome) continued to back the Jewish division, it was the revised scheme favoured most notably by Augustine of Hippo which came to dominate in the Latin West.³ Insofar as they formed an important part of Scripture, the Ten Commandments were never precisely ignored by the Christian Church in the West. However, John Bossy has described how, for most of the medieval period, the attention of confessors and other writers on Christian morality tended to focus to a much greater extent on the more arresting and memorable framework of the Seven Deadly Sins.⁴ The renaissance of the Ten Commandments in the history of Western Christianity began faltering in the fifteenth century, but it was really the reformation which catapulted the Decalogue back into a position of primacy. It is that new ascendancy, broadly speaking, which this book seeks to describe and examine.

The Ten Commandments loom large in the cultural imagination of the English-speaking world even today. The idea that humanity’s important and complex relationships with God and with the rest of humankind can be comprehensively encapsulated in ten short instructions exerts a powerful hold. Human society is complicated, and the idea of a divine creator is humbling; in contrast, there is something comforting and attractive about a set of simple rules which promise to help you live a good and moral life, and perhaps even aid your chances of attaining eternal bliss.

³ For more on the numbering of the commandments, and their reformation-era re-numbering, see Chapter 1.

⁴ Bossy, ‘Moral’, pp. 214–34.

Introduction

3

In 2014, a collection of atheist and humanist organisations ran a competition called ‘The ReThink Prize’, the avowed aim of which was ‘crowd sourcing the Ten Commandments for the 21st century’. Members of the public were invited to submit ‘commandments’ online, and then vote for those which they felt most accurately reflected their principles. The ten winning submissions each received a prize of \$10,000, and included maxims such as ‘there is no one right way to live’, ‘every person has the right to control over their body’, and ‘God is not necessary to be a good person or to live a full and meaningful life’.⁵ Twenty-first century atheists, however, should not kid themselves into thinking that they are the first to attempt to reinvent the Ten Commandments, for Christians had already been doing so for millennia. This book is about one of those reinventions, probably the most significant of them all: the reformation of the Decalogue.

The Ten Commandments loom rather smaller in the historiography of the English reformation. At the time of writing, the Brepols Bibliography of British and Irish History, the authoritative database of works of academic history written about the British Isles, produces no results at all for ‘Ten Commandments’ or ‘Decalogue’ when searching its index terms. Searches for occurrences of those terms appearing anywhere in the records of works written about the period c.1500–c.1700 produces two results; a monograph on mid-eighteenth century Italian opera in London, and a recent essay in *Studies in Church History*, written by the present author.⁶ The reasons for this conspicuous lack of attention are unfathomable. The English reformation catapulted the Decalogue from a relatively low value card in the medieval confessor’s deck – far less important than the Seven Deadly Sins, and on a par with the commandments of the Church, the cardinal and theological virtues, and so on – to the single most visible and important scriptural text in the whole of Christian religion.⁷ The Commandments were to be recited from the pulpit regularly – more frequently than the other two principal pedagogic texts, the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer – and taught as part of the catechism alongside the *Pater Noster*, the ‘Belief’, and the sacraments. They were the first text ordered

⁵ www.atheistmindhumanistheart.com/the-rethink-prize/ [accessed 9.12.2015].

⁶ Curtis Alexander Price, *The impresario’s ten commandments: continental recruitment for Italian opera in London, 1763–4* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1992); Jonathan Willis, ‘The Decalogue, Patriarchy and Domestic Religious Education in Reformation England’, *Studies in Church History*, 50 (2014), pp. 199–209.

⁷ On the Seven Deadly (or Cardinal Sins), see Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Michigan: State College Press, 1952).

to be displayed publically in churches, painted directly onto the walls or on highly decorated boards. The Decalogue was integrated into the liturgy, and was also versified and included not once but twice in the runaway musical success that was the Sternhold and Hopkins *Whole Booke of Psalmes*. They were the subject of learned theological treatises and works of puritan practical divinity, as well as popular pamphlets and ecclesiastical injunctions. The godly wrote about them in their diaries, judges heard them preached about at meetings of the assizes, and parishioners were confronted by them at almost every turn.⁸ What, then, did the Ten Commandments mean to the English reformation? Why were they so prominent, and what impact did their prevalence have upon the processes of religious change and identity formation whose persistent tergiversations rocked the religious, social, political and cultural worlds of early modern England?

The ubiquity of the Decalogue in the English reformation has not translated into historical interest; and in spite of the description of this state of affairs as ‘unfathomable’, it is nevertheless interesting to consider why this should be the case. The idea of the Ten Commandments, delivered by God himself to Moses on Mount Sinai and etched by his divine finger into two tablets of stone, communicates a sense of eternal, elemental and unchanging permanence. The lessons they teach – about worshipping the Christian God, going to church on Sundays, honouring parents, and not killing, stealing from, or committing adultery with other people – seem like religious universals, somehow removed from the polemical cut and thrust of the confessional politics of the reformation era. Their weight and their utility also rest upon ostensible simplicity: these are ten straightforward instructions – a rare instance of God telling it straight, rather than speaking through metaphor, allusion, figure or parable.⁹ As such, they have not just an elemental but also an elementary feel; and indeed during the reformation they formed part of the basic programme of foundational knowledge to be learned by children by rote along with the Creed and Lord’s Prayer, themselves texts which have received scant attention from

⁸ Christopher Hill’s words on the English Bible might well be applied to the Decalogue alone: it ‘became an institution in Tudor England – the foundation of monarchical authority, of England’s protestant independence, the textbook of morality and social subordination’. Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the 17th Century Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 4.

⁹ As David Steinmetz noted, ‘The impression created is that, while sixteenth-century Christians differed sharply about the relationship of faith and works or about the distinction between law and gospel, they did not quarrel over the meaning of “do not steal” or “honour your father and mother”’. Such an impression, however, is incorrect’. David C. Steinmetz, ‘The Reformation and the Ten Commandments’, *Interpretation*, 43.3 (1989), p. 256.

Introduction

5

historians.¹⁰ The Ten Commandments have therefore remained hidden in plain sight: early modern historians have been ‘Decalogue-blind’; unable to see the remarkable quality of the wood for the incredible quantity and apparent simplicity of the trees.

This book has two principal arguments, both expressed by the ambiguity of its title. The first is that the reformation changed the Decalogue in profound ways; that it repurposed – indeed reinvented – the Ten Commandments as they had been commonly understood in the pre-reformation Catholic Church. The biblical text stayed more or less the same, although Reformed Protestants tended to prefer the wording of the commandments taken from the Book of Exodus over the Deuteronomical enunciation favoured by Catholics. And, as many but not all scholars have noted, Reformed Protestants also chose an alternative numbering system for their Decalogue, following Jerome, Origen, and the Jewish and Eastern Orthodox Churches, while Luther and Rome kept to the traditionally dominant Augustinian position. However, the abstract meaning and practical use of the Ten Commandments were transformed utterly: they were confessionalised, polemicised, emphasised and utilised in a plethora of newly significant, complex and unexpected ways.¹¹ This introduction began with a quotation from William Prynne’s *Histrio-mastix*, a lengthy anti-theatrical polemic which explained at some length the ways in which dancing on the Sabbath day comprised a breach of all Ten Commandments at once. It was this example of extraordinary cultural and theological gymnastics which first piqued my intellectual curiosity about the commandments. Just by looking at reformation-era transformations of the Decalogue, therefore, we can learn an awful lot about the priorities and uncertainties of the English reformation itself.¹² Contemporaries regularly compared God’s moral law to a mirror, but for historians it can also function as a prism through which we can refract a vivid spectrum of contemporary religious hopes, fears, and priorities. But more than that, and this is the second argument of the book, the Ten Commandments not only reflected but

¹⁰ One notable exception is the passage of the Creed which refers to Christ’s descent into hell. See Peter Marshall, ‘The Reformation of Hell? Protestant and Catholic Infernalisms in England, c.1560–1640’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61.2 (2010), pp. 279–98.

¹¹ Naomi Tadmor has described how the Bible as a whole was not only translated, but also in a sense *Englished* by Tyndale and later biblical editors, to the extent that ‘the semantic shifts and transpositions, which took place in the processes of translation, affected not just individual words, but the construction of a social universe’. Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 19–20.

¹² For a fuller discussion of this quote, see Chapter 3, p. x.

also helped to shape the development of the reformation in England in a series of nuanced but significant ways. They buttressed ideas about law and order, and particularly about the rights and responsibilities of divine kingship and royal supremacy. They came to inform and define core theological concepts, such as sin, repentance, justification, faith, charity and sanctification. And they also helped to influence the development of both puritan and popular religious identities. The Ten Commandments, it turns out, were not just a concise set of guidelines handy for teaching children the basics about Christian morality: they were also extremely useful to think with. But as reformers embraced the Decalogue and sought to mould it to reflect their confessional priorities, they were in turn channelled to think not only with but also through the Ten Commandments. The process of sculpting is governed not only by the skill of the artist, but also by the condition of his or her tools, and the quality and nature of the raw materials. By choosing to work with and through the Ten Commandments, reformers were embracing a conceptual and discursive framework which exerted a palpable agency upon the finished product. In other words, the English reformation looked and sounded like it did, and English Protestantism evolved along the lines that it did, in part because of the special prominence and reformers' distinctive understanding of God's law.

The historiographical neglect of the Ten Commandments should not be understated, but neither should it be exaggerated. In fact, there has in recent years been a gentle surge of interest in the commandments, marked not least by two international conferences, one of which has already resulted in an edited volume with another currently in the planning stages.¹³ Robert Bast has written extensively on the commandments in the context of early modern German catechisms, while Lesley Smith has recently published on the medieval interpretation of the Decalogue.¹⁴ Theological scholarship

¹³ Dominik Markl (ed.), *The Decalogue and its cultural influence* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013). Of six essays on the early modern Decalogue, however, only one – by the present author – addressed the theological repurposing of the commandments; all the rest focussed on aspects of catechetical practice. Jonathan Willis, 'Repurposing the Decalogue in Reformation England', in Dominik Markl (ed.), *The Decalogue and its cultural influence* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013), pp. 190–204; www.tencommandments.ugent.be/node/3 [accessed 10.12.2015].

¹⁴ Robert Bast, *Honor your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, c. 1400–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Robert Bast, 'From Two Kingdoms to Two Tables: The Ten Commandments and the Christian Magistrate', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 89 (1998), pp. 79–95; Lesley Smith, *The Ten Commandments: interpreting the Bible in the medieval world* (Leiden: Brill 2014). Most of Smith's material is focussed on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although she does consider Mirk's fifteenth century *fiestial* and Dederich of Münster's *Christenspiegel*, the first printed German catechism. For an example of the inclusion of the Ten Commandments in medieval catechesis see Anne Hudson, 'A New Look at the "Lay Folks' Catechism"', *Viator*, 16 (1985), pp. 243–58.

on the Ten Commandments is a livelier area of research, but relatively little of it is on the reformation or early modern period.¹⁵ Perhaps the most important piece of historical writing on the early modern Decalogue to date is the short but weighty essay by the great historian of Christianity John Bossy, who sadly passed away in October 2015 during the later stages of the writing of this manuscript. Bossy's essay, 'Moral arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments', charted with aplomb the great shift that took place between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, whereby the Ten Commandments replaced the Seven Deadly Sins as the preeminent 'moral system' of the western Christian world.¹⁶ The key figures in this transition were not Luther and Calvin, but Thomas Aquinas and Jean Gerson; as with so much else, the reformation-era focus on the Decalogue was an intensification of pre-existent trends within medieval Christianity, rather than a radical new invention. Bossy's story was a pan-European one which encompassed both Catholic and (latterly) Protestant Churches over the span of four centuries; not bad for a twenty-page essay.¹⁷ The other major piece of Anglophone scholarship on the reformation Decalogue is J. Sears McGee's 1976 monograph *The Godly Man in Stuart England*. McGee deserves credit for attempting to place the Ten Commandments at the centre of his explanation of divergent religious identities in the wake of the English reformation; however, the concepts of 'Anglican' and 'puritan' which lie at the heart of *The Godly Man* have been comprehensively redrawn by forty years of evolving reformation historiography, not least the considerable oeuvres of Nicholas Tyacke and Patrick Collinson.¹⁸

¹⁵ For example, Patrick Miller, *The Ten Commandments* (Louisville Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009); Mark F. Rooker, *The Ten Commandments: Ethics for the Twenty-First Century* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2010); Thorwald Lorenzen, *Towards a Culture of Freedom: Reflections on the Ten Commandments Today* (Eugene, Or: Cascade Bks, 2008). One recent exception to this early modern neglect is Christofer Frey, 'Natural law and Commandments: Conditions for the Reception of the Decalogue since the Reformation', in Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman (eds), *The Decalogue in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (London: T&T Clark, 2011), pp. 118–31.

¹⁶ Bossy, 'Moral', pp. 214–34.

¹⁷ Bossy's focus was moral, cultural and social; not especially theological or religious. His essay was not principally concerned with individual belief or identity. His antennae were also more attuned to the diachronic, to changes over time, than to the synchronic, and to the similarities and differences between Catholic and Protestant use of the commandments in the immediate post-reformation period.

¹⁸ E.g. Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); Nicholas Tyacke, 'Anglican Attitudes: some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War', *The Journal of British Studies*, 35.2 (1996), pp. 139–67; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1991).

Where other historians have touched upon the Decalogue, they have done so only lightly; either by considering it in one particular context, or by looking at only one theme or commandment. Ian Green, for example, has considered the Ten Commandments in the context of English catechisms, analysing the messages of the authors and the variations in content between shorter and longer forms.¹⁹ In *The Christian's ABC* he provides a useful summary of each commandment, concluding that while catechisms differed in emphasis, there were large measures of agreement in authors' respective treatments of the Decalogue, and noting that discussion of the commandments constitutes 'a rich and largely untapped vein of clerical thought on a wide variety of contemporary social and moral as well as religious issues'.²⁰ By concentrating solely on the process and context of catechesis, however, there are significant aspects of the larger role of the Decalogue in post-reformation English religion which fall outside of Green's focus. Perhaps the most frequently-discussed of the Ten Commandments has been the prohibition against idolatry contained within the second precept (in the Reformed numbering system). The work of Carlos Eire, Margaret Aston, Tara Hamling, Keith Thomas and others has drawn heavily upon the importance of the Second Commandment to explain the Protestant propensity toward iconoclasm.²¹ The precept forbidding the making of graven images was undoubtedly important in both formulating and expressing Reformed hostility to idolatrous worship, but taken out of context it does not tell anything like the whole story, for the whole of the first table was designed schematically to describe the proper worship of God; its subject, its ordinary nature, its end, and its extraordinary nature one day in seven. Idolatry was therefore discussed just as often in the context of the First, Third and Fourth Commandments as it

¹⁹ Ian Green, "For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding": The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), pp. 397–425; Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC, Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Ian Green, 'The Dissemination of the Decalogue in English and Lay Responses to its Promotion in Early Modern English Protestantism', in Dominik Markl (ed.), *The Decalogue and its cultural influence* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013), pp. 171–89.

²⁰ Green, *The Christian's ABC*, p. 466. Some of these issues have been picked up in Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*, pp. 36–41.

²¹ Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: the Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Margaret Aston, *England's iconoclasts. Vol.1, Laws against images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1988); Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England', in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (eds), *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 16–40; Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts* (Routledge: London, 1993).

Introduction

9

was under the Second. In addition, as we shall see, the undue attention given to the renumbering of the Second Commandment has distracted from some of the other more significant changes taking place within the Reformed Decalogue. Some historians of the continental reformation have also begun to take an interest in the commandments. Ilja Veldman, for example, has explored visual representations of the Ten Commandments in print and manuscript form, whilst Maria Mochizuki has explored the material culture of the Decalogue in both domestic and ecclesiastical spaces in the Reformed Netherlands.²² Historians of the English reformation, until now, have lagged behind this trend.

This book still owes a huge debt to the recent historiography of the English reformation, and particularly to the chief proponents of its post-revisionist phase, including Peter Marshall, Alec Ryrie and Alexandra Walsham. In a now famous phrase which has gradually attained the status of a kind of post-revisionist ‘mission statement’, Walsham explained how:

There is a growing conviction that too much ink has been spilt arguing about the pace, geography, and social distribution of conversion and change and too little charting the ways in which the populace adjusted to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical revolution as a permanent fact.²³

Since those words first appeared in print in 1999, a great deal more ink has indeed been spilt in pursuit of a more sophisticated understanding of the cultural and psychological impacts of religious change over the course of the long reformation, particularly its later stages.²⁴ However, while

²² Ilja Veldman, ‘The Old Testament as a Moral Code: Old Testament Stories as Exempla of the Ten Commandments’, *Simiolus*, 23.4 (1995), pp. 215–39; Mia Mochizuki, ‘At Home with the Ten Commandments: Domestic Text Paintings in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam’, in A. Golahny (ed.), *In His Milieu. Essays on the Netherlandish Art in Memory of John Michael Montias* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp. 287–300; Mia Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish image after iconoclasm, 1566–1672: material religion in the Dutch golden age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

²³ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 5.

²⁴ E.g. David Cressy, *Agnes Bowker's cat: travesties and transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2006); Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Moderate voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Laura Sangha, *Angels and belief in England, 1480–1700* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (eds), *The place of the dead, death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2002); Tara Hamling and Richard Williams (eds), *Art re-formed: re-assessing the impact of the Reformation on the visual arts* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007); Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early*

much has been gained, we must also be careful to observe which areas of the garden of English reformation studies have been less well tended.²⁵ In the 'Introduction' to a recent edited volume on *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England*, I argued that theological topics – amongst which we might well count the Ten Commandments – have not fared particularly well in scholarship on the English reformation of late, although they are perhaps now beginning to experience something of a renaissance.²⁶ As Walsham herself noted in the 'Afterword' to the same volume, 'the "cultural turn" has not served theology well: it has left us with a conception of religion akin to a doughnut, with a hole in the middle'.²⁷ Walsham also commented upon historians' often subconscious Cartesian tendency to polarise belief and praxis, and this book is an attempt to reintegrate the two, in the mode of what is starting to be referred to as the cultural history of theology.²⁸ It is also an attempt to contribute to the broader question of 'whither the study of the English reformation' and of the future direction of post-revisionism. In part this is through its advocacy of the cultural history of theology approach, but it also does so by positing a dialectical model of religious change, and of the relationship between religious belief, practice and identity, in which the reformers' message was shaped not only by the conceptual frameworks through which they expressed their ideas, but also by the genres through which they chose to communicate, and in

Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); Alexandra Walsham, *The reformation of the landscape: religion, identity, and memory in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Private and domestic devotion in early modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Worship and the parish church in early modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Christopher Marsh, "Common Prayer" in England, 1560–1640: 'The View From the Pew', *Past & Present*, 171 (May 2001), pp. 66–94; John Doran and Charlotte Methuen (eds), *Religion and the Household* (Studies in Church History vol. 50, 2014); Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars restored: the changing face of English religious worship, 1547–c.1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Arnold Hunt, *The art of hearing: English preachers and their audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²⁵ For the origins of this horticultural metaphor, as well as an astute analysis of recent developments in English reformation historiography, see Peter Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), pp. 564–96.

²⁶ Jonathan Willis, 'Introduction', in Jonathan Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 3; Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c.1590–1640* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014); Alister Chapman, John Coffey and Brad Gregory (eds), *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

²⁷ Alexandra Walsham, 'Afterword', in Jonathan Willis (ed.), *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 262–3.

²⁸ Willis, 'Introduction', p. 3.