Introduction
Memory and the English Reformation

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No word occurs oftner in this our *Book* then *REFORMATION*: It is as it were the *Aequator*, or that *remarkable* line, dividing betwixt … [those] who lived *Before* or *After It*. Know then that this *Word* in Relation to the *Church of England*, is of above twenty years extent. For the *Reformation* was not advanced here, as in some *Forraign Free States, suddenly* not to say (*rapidly*) with popular Violence, but *Leisurely* and *treatably* as became a matter of so great importance, beside the meeting with much *opposition* retarded the proceedings of the *Reformers* …

… we may take notice of three *distinct Dates* and different degrees of our *English Reformation* …

1. The *Civil* part thereof, when the *Popes Supremacy* was banished in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight.
2. When the *Church Service* was reformed, as far as that Age would admit, in the *first* year of King *Edward* the Sixth.
3. When the same (after the *Marian interruption*) was resumed and more refined in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

The first of these I may call the *morning Star*. The second the *dawning of the day*. The third the *Rising of the Sun*; and I deny not but that since that time his *light* and *heat* hath been increased.[1]

This revealing passage appears in the introduction to Thomas Fuller's *History of the worthies of England* (1662). Fuller's description of 'our English Reformation' both signalled and cemented its canonisation as a defining historical event. This shorthand captured his conviction that, like its cousins on the Continent, the set of developments that comprised England's 'Reformation' was a chronological landmark: an 'Aequator' in time, before and after which the world was profoundly different. Simultaneously, however, it was a slow and incremental process overseen by the Tudor state and

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spread across two decades, unlike the precipitate and turbulent revolutions that had accompanied the advent of Protestantism in other European countries. Beginning with the Henrician break with Rome in 1534, it had advanced further with the accession of Edward VI in 1547, before reaching a higher degree of achievement when Elizabeth replaced her Catholic half-sister on the throne in 1558. Fuller's narrative acknowledged that it had met with certain obstructions and suffered a rude 'Marian interruption', but presented its gradual and orderly character as a cause for celebration. Just as night gave way to day in successive stages, so had the 'English Reformation' unfolded in the same gentle way. Still intensifying in light and heat, it had, he inferred, not yet reached its peak.

Fuller did not coin the phrase 'the English Reformation'. The credit for naming it largely goes to its Catholic enemies and puritan critics.[2] The former condemned it as a 'pretended' Reformation,[3] a mere parody of the true process of spiritual and institutional renewal for which they themselves strove; the latter spoke sarcastically of its flaws and 'deformities', which were a source of shame and embarrassment.[4] But Fuller's book reflected an emerging sense that England's Reformation was *sui generis* and for that very reason worthy of remembrance. Even as he implied it might still be incomplete, he helped to consign it to the past and bring it into being as a discrete entity. Involving a corresponding element of selective forgetting, this was a process that gathered pace in the second half of the seventeenth century. Friends and defenders of the restored Church of England wrote of its 'glories' with swelling pride. They applauded its intrinsic 'moderation' and upheld it as a model of pure doctrine, primitive church government and pious devotion. Introduced without 'tumult', sedition or rebellion, unlike so many others, 'it was stained with no blood, save that of the Martyrs, which was its chief ornament'. The 'best and most exemplary', 'most compleat and perfect in its Kind', in the eyes of its admirers, the English Reformation was a pattern for the rest of Europe.[5] Further elaborated in later

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[2] See Alexandra Walsham, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *HistJ* 55, no. 4 (2012), 899–938 (919–23).

[3] See, for example, John Floyd, *The church conquerant over humane wit* ([St Omer], 1638), 134.

[4] See, for example, Thomas Cartwright, *A second admonition to the parliament* ([Hemel Hempstead?, 1572]), sig. *1v (To the godly readers).

[5] For some such statements, see Henry Hammond, *A view of the new directorie and a vindication of the ancient liturgie of the Church of England* (London, 1646), 7; Robert Cressener, *Anti-Baal-Berith justified* (London, 1662), 6–7; Gilbert Burnet, *A modest and free conference betwixt a conformist and a non-conformist about the present distempers of Scotland now in seven dialogues, by a lover of peace* (London, 1669), 23; Vincent Alsop, *Melius inquirendum, or a sober inquirie into the reasonings of the serious inquirie …* (London, 1678), 25–6, 30; J. Clutterbuck, *A plain and rational vindication of the liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1699), 4.

centuries, this powerful and insular myth not only became increasingly central to Anglican identity;[6] it has also left an enduring impression upon wider social memory. It coexists with the rival narratives that arose in Roman Catholic and Dissenting circles, which have likewise cast long shadows.

Arising from an interdisciplinary project funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council,[7] this collection of essays has a double agenda. First, it seeks to demonstrate that the protracted religious revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries involved a concerted attempt to reshape social memory. It entailed a spirited effort to disguise its own novelty, to obscure the dramatic rupture it had wrought and to shape the historical legacy it left to future generations. In a variety of ways the Reformation transformed what it meant to remember. It repudiated some key aspects of medieval commemorative culture, rehabilitated others in a modified guise and created new modes of memorialisation, which were embodied in texts, material objects, physical buildings, rituals and gestures. This volume places all of these processes and media under the microscope.

Secondly, it investigates the manner in which the English Reformation became 'a happening to which cultural significance has been successfully assigned'.[8] This was partly a retrospective process. It reflected the propensity of people to look back on the tumultuous times through which they had lived with the benefit of hindsight and in the light of their later experiences. But it was also a self-conscious strategy initiated by the political and ecclesiastical establishments and by their opponents and rivals. It too involved studied forms of amnesia and reinvention. Examining the dissident as well as the official dimensions of this story, this collection traces how memory of the English Reformation evolved in the two centuries following the Henrician schism. It seeks to advance in new directions the heated debates that have taken place about its nature, significance and impact. It diverts attention from the tangled web of unpredictable developments in which Englishmen and women were embroiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries towards the ways in which they entered and embedded themselves in the collective imagination.

The idiosyncratic variety of Protestantism that took root in this country cannot be disentangled from its manifestations in the other kingdoms that comprise this archipelago of islands – Scotland, Ireland and Wales – and in

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[6] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *JBS* 30, no. 1 (1991), 1–19. On the myth of moderation, see also Ethan Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2011).

[7] See the project website at http://rememberingthereformation.org.uk/.

[8] Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Shepton Mallet, 1982), 191.

mainland Europe. As much important work has demonstrated, the English Reformations were both energised and complicated by contact with their sisters and cousins on the Continent and elsewhere in Britain.[9] The reciprocal exchange and cross-fertilisation of people, practices and ideas played a vital part in the processes we describe. But there remain merits in investigating the distinctive patterns of remembering and forgetting engendered by a religious revolution that was both a political initiative orchestrated by the Tudor regime and a charismatic movement infused by the evangelical zeal of ordinary people. By contrast with its counterparts in France and the Low Countries, where the advent of Protestantism sparked military confrontation and sectarian violence, at least initially the English Reformation unfolded less explosively. The culture of memory it generated was not merely a by-product of its prolonged chronology; it was also a significant agent and catalyst of the corrosive conflicts that belatedly engulfed the nation in a bitter civil war in the 1640s and that continued to destabilise it in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was a key ingredient in England's troubled history in this period that requires closer inspection.

The rest of this introduction sets out the conceptual frameworks and historiographical contexts for this volume; describes its architecture and organisation; and highlights some of the themes and threads interwoven through the essays that follow.

Frameworks and Contexts

Early Modern Memory

Memory was understood as both cognitive and affective in early modern Europe. A subject discussed in philosophical, medical, literary, rhetorical and theological texts, it was conceived as an intellectual function but also integrally linked with the operation of the passions and senses. Our own tendency to separate out the rational from the imaginative belies the

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[9] Patrick Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism, 1558–1640', in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), 75–100; Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the Map', *TRHS* 15 (2005), 75–95; Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson, eds., *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain*, Proceedings of the British Academy (Oxford, 2010); Dorothea Wendebourg, ed., *Sister Reformations: The Reformation in Germany and in England/Schwesterreformationen: die Reformation in Deutschland und in England* (Tubingen, 2010). For the British Reformations, see Felicity Heal's excellent *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2003).

critical role that contemporaries accorded to memory in what we call creativity. For them, it was the matrix and locus of invention.[10] Labile and transient, it traversed the boundary between fact and fiction. Used to persuade and motivate, stir the will and evoke emotion, then, as now, memory was as much a strategy for influencing the present and shaping the future as it was for recalling the past. The past itself is a projection of the preoccupations, hopes and dreams of those who remember it. It is a fabric manufactured from the subjective experiences of multiple actors, which is recurrently remade in the image of the values and priorities of the individuals and communities that inherit it.

Contemporaries conceived of 'memory' as a mental mechanism for storing and preserving information and for preventing its burial in the grave of oblivion.[11] In the early modern era, the word was used to describe a power or faculty that stimulated and perpetuated remembrance. Deployed as both a verb and a noun, it denoted the action and fact of remembering, but also the persons, thoughts and things that were the object of this process and the temporal interval or period for which they remained in the mind. Sometimes personified, it served as a symbol of endurance and ephemerality at the same time.[12] Fickle and prey to malfunction through the infirmities of illness and age, it could not always be relied upon to keep the past alive. Respect for its status as a secure safe-deposit box jostled with anxiety about the perennial propensity to forget.

Hence the Renaissance preoccupation with the *ars memoria*, the science of aiding the faulty organ of memory using mnemonic tricks and artificial devices, including commonplacing and the technologies of writing and print. Humanist scholarship, literacy and the mechanical press combined to facilitate the spread of methods that supplemented aural and oral modes of remembering.[13] As Tony

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[10] Stephen Clucas, 'Memory in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period', *Memory: A History*, ed. Dmitri Nikulin (Oxford, 2015), 131–75.

[11] Richard Day's *A booke of Christian prayers* (London, 1608), which is a reissue of John Day's *Christian prayers and meditations* (London, 1569), depicts memory as a record keeper (see 68).

[12] *OED*, 'Memory, n.'.

[13] On the Renaissance arts of memory, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966); Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1992); Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998); William E. Engel, Rory Loughnane and Grant Williams, eds., *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge, 2016). See also Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Arts of Memory* (Cambridge, 2011); Francis S. Belleza, 'Mnemonic Devices and Memory Schemas', in *Imagery and Related Mnemonic Processes: Theories, Individual Differences, and Applications*, ed. Mark A. McDaniel and Michael Pressley (New York, 1987), 34–55;

Grafton has recently observed, contemporaries perceived the printed book as the most robust and secure of archives.[14] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries constituted a significant stage in a broader transition 'from memory to written record'.[15] It was a growing sense that information passed down by word of mouth was evanescent that compelled Tudor and Stuart antiquarians and their folklorist successors to pin it down on paper lest it disappear forever. Indeed, the very emergence of 'oral tradition' as an abstract idea dates to the early modern period. As Paula McDowell has shown, the prejudices against 'superstition' embedded in Reformation polemic lingered on into the eighteenth century, merging with concern about the rampant proliferation of print to engender this concept.[16]

The entrance of the English Reformation into the official ledger of History was a function of the workings of human memory. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, History was above all a rhetorical craft. Understood as a didactic device for teaching virtue, it was often paired with Poetry and regarded as a strand of Literature.[17] Historians, like poets, were masters of *inventio*, a mode of discovery involving memory, reason and the imagination in equal measure. The truth they pursued was, at root, moral rather than empirical.[18] Historiography was an elevated pastime sharply distinguished from the more mechanical tasks of searching dusty records and gathering up material remnants of the past undertaken by 'antiquaries'.[19] The self-congratulatory accounts of the birth of History as an objective, scientific discipline that continue to constrain our understanding of its

Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996); William West, '"No Endless Moniment": Artificial Memory and Memorial Artifact in Early Modern England', in *Memory Cultures: Memory, Subjectivity, and Recognition*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Katharine Hodgkin (London, 2006), 61–75; Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2010); Andrew Hiscock, *Reading Memory in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2011).

14   Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2017), 15–50.

15   Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record in England, 1066–1307* (London, 1979).

16   Paula McDowell, *The Invention of the Oral: Print Commerce and Fugitive Voices in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London, 2017). See also Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007).

17   Philip Sidney, *The defence of poesie* (London, 1595).

18   Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 10–14; Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks, *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1997).

19   On antiquarianism, see Stan A. E. Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto, 1989).

evolution in the early modern period reversed this priority. Scholars such as F. Smith Fussner and F. J. Levy privileged the development of techniques that corresponded with professional academic practice in the twentieth century. They located it at the top of a hierarchy of practices of remembrance, denigrating alternative methods as inferior and disparaging their reliance on unwritten sources as backward and primitive. They saw its triumph in teleological terms as an index of intellectual progress.[20]

The tension between History and Memory implicit in discussions of the early modern 'historical revolution' is mirrored in the theoretical literature that launched the field of Memory Studies.[21] Jacques le Goff and Pierre Nora presented history as the nemesis of memory, an over-powering, manipulative process that overrode the spontaneous creation of custom and tradition characteristic of ancestral societies. Where (oral) memory established a bond between the past and present, (written) history disrupted it, cutting them adrift.[22] Accordingly, memory was regarded as a mode of subaltern resistance, invoked against the hege-monic public discourse composed by the victors and enshrined in textual form.[23] Nora situated the two in antagonistic opposition, speaking of the 'uprooting' and 'eradication' of memory by 'the conquering force of history', whose 'true mission' was to demolish and destroy it. For Nora, like Friedrich Nietzsche before him, historical scholarship is a cata-strophic force that erodes the sources of living memory and collective identity.[24] He presents the demise of memory as a temporal develop-ment. This model of its supersession by history is echoed in Reinhart Koselleck's *Futures Past*, which sees the passage from the present past (of experience) to the pure past (of the archive) as a product of the notion, provoked by the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revolutions, that time itself was rapidly accelerating. What this engendered was a new

[20] For different versions of this narrative, see F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580–1640* (London, 1962); F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, 1967); Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London, 1969); May M. McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971); Joseph Preston, 'Was There an Historical Revolution?', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38, no. 2 (1977) 353–64; Arthur B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC, 1979).

[21] See Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007), chap. 1; Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans. Sara B. Young (Basingstoke, 2011).

[22] Jacques le Goff, *Histoire et Mémoire* (Paris, 1988). See also Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2017), 189–90.

[23] See, for example, Luisa Passerini, 'Memory', *History Workshop* 15 (1983), 195–6.

[24] Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Paris, 1984–92); Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989), 7–24, esp. 7–9.

sense of distance between then and now, a historical consciousness symptomatic of modernity itself.[25]

Judith Pollmann's *Memory in Early Modern Europe* (2017) has vigorously challenged this thesis. The story of 'memory before modernity' she tells is one in which heightened senses of novelty and disruption are regular, but also temporary and reversible features of human history and cultural experience.[26] Converging with the insights that have emerged from studies of earlier disjunctures, including the Norman Conquest,[27] her work alerts us to the ways in which memory cultures are repeatedly remade in response to dislocating events. The English Reformation, like its European counterparts, was one such rupture *par excellence.* In conjunction with other developments, it prompted a sense that the past was slipping away from the present and disappearing into oblivion.[28] In some this provoked sentiments of pride and jubilation; in others, as Margaret Aston argued in a seminal essay, longing for the medieval world they had lost. Paradoxically, this was partly a by-product of the process of casting it off.[29]

If the current surge of interest in early modern memory refuses the false dichotomy between History and Memory, it also rejects the equally misleading distinction between individual and collective memory. It is now well established that we remember not as isolated agents but as social beings ineluctably moulded by our surrounding environments. Inspired by the path-breaking work of the French sociologist and philosopher Maurice Halbwachs, remembering has been successfully reconceptualised as a social phenomenon.[30] As James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Paul Connerton

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[25] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York, 2004).

[26] Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen, eds., *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2013); Pollmann, Memory.

[27] See esp. Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994); Siobhan Brownlie, *Memory and Myths of the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 2013).

[28] See Daniel R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500–1730* (Oxford, 2003), chap. 1; Andy Wood, 'History, Time and Social Memory', in *A Social History of England 1500–1750*, ed. Keith Wrightson (Cambridge, 2017), 373–91 (375).

[29] Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 231–55; repr. in *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London, 1984), 313–37.

[30] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Berkeley, 1992). Another important early intervention was Frederic Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (New York, 1932). See also Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, 2012 ed.); Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed.

and Barbara Misztal have emphasised, studying memory requires investigation of the acts of transfer and circulation between individuals and the communities, real and imagined, of which they are members.[31] It involves paying attention to how the past is perceived through the prism of a person's inherited conceptions and the forms of mediation and transmission that create both vertical and horizontal senses of shared identity with other people. These delicate transactions and dynamic negotiations are the stuff of social memory. As they travel in time and across the generations, they change, passing out of the realm of lived experience into the domain of received wisdom. Jan Assmann's discussions of the transition from 'communicative' to 'cultural memory' have been particularly helpful in highlighting memory's diachronic as well as synchronic dimensions.[32] They have helped us to recognise the importance of examining how it was formed *at* the time in tandem with how it evolved *over* time. These scholarly developments serve as a crucial bedrock for *Memory and the English Reformation*.

The Memory of the Reformation

A further important foundation for this volume is recent work on the cultures of remembrance generated by the Lutheran Reformation in Germany and Scandinavia, the French Wars of Religion and the Revolt of the Netherlands.[33] The multiple ripples cast by the partly apocryphal

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Thomas Butler (New York, 1989), 97–113. See also Cubitt, *History and Memory*, chap. 3.

[31] Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead and Philadelphia, 2003). See also Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford, 2006) and Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge, 2011).

[32] Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin and New York, 2008), 109–18.

[33] For Germany, see Susan Boettcher, 'Late Sixteenth-Century Lutherans: A Community of Memory?', in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (Aldershot, 2008), 121–41; Susan R. Boettcher, *The Memory of Martin Luther in the Late Reformation, 1548–1580* (Oxford, 2010); Kat Hill, *Baptism, Brotherhood and Belief in Reformation Germany: Anabaptism and Lutheranism, 1525–1585* (Oxford, 2015), chap. 3. For the French Wars of Religion, see Philip Benedict, 'Divided Memories? Historical Calendars, Commemorative Processions and the Recollection of the Religious Wars during the Ancien Régime', *French History* 22, no. 4 (2008), 381–405; Eric Nelson, *The Legacy of Iconoclasm: Religious War and the Relic Landscape of Tours, Blois and Vendôme, 1550–1750* (St Andrews, 2013); David van der Linden, 'Memorializing the Wars of Religion in Early Seventeenth-Century French Picture Galleries: Protestants and Catholics Painting the Contested Past', *RenQ* 70, no. 1 (2017), 132–78. For the Dutch revolt, see Erika Kuijpers, 'Between Storytelling and Patriotic Scripture: The Memory Brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in *Memory before*

story of Luther's posting of ninety-five theses against indulgences on the door of the Castle church in Wittenberg have attracted critical scrutiny in the wake of the commemorative events marking the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's protest against the Church of Rome in 2017.[34] In other respects, however, the quincentenary has served to perpetuate the celebratory Protestant paradigms that continue to shape our interpretation of the Reformation. Instead of lamenting the lingering influence of confessional perspectives on writing Reformation history,[35] this collection suggests that we should interrogate their genesis and development. It hopes to make a broader methodological intervention by fostering renewed awareness of the hidden debts that modern scholarship owes to contemporary memory-making and its subsequent mutations.

The pendulum swings in interpretation that have marked the historiography of the English Reformation over the last half-century illustrate this point. A. G. Dickens' optimistic vision of a Reformation driven by a positive evangel from below that took hold swiftly and efficiently visibly bore the imprint of the upbeat account of the beginnings of Protestantism encapsulated in John Foxe's famous *Actes and monuments*.[36] In turn, revisionism's insistence on the Reformation's vulnerability to Henry VIII's personal whims and factional manoeuvring at court found a template in Nicholas Sander's savage history of the Anglican schism first published in 1585.[37] Christopher Haigh's emphasis on Protestantism's uphill struggle to communicate its core theological doctrines and the active and passive resistance with which it met along the way echoed the despondency of Elizabethan complaint literature. It correlated with the picture that early modern puritans painted of

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[34] *Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden, 2013), 183–202; Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden, 2016); Johannes Müller, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750* (Leiden, 2016); Erika Kuijpers, *Trauma, Memories and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (in press).

[34] C. Scott Dixon, 'Luther's Ninety-Five Theses and the Origins of the Reformation Narrative', *EHR* 132, no. 556 (2017), 533–69; Peter Marshall, *1517: Martin Luther and the Invention of the Reformation* (Oxford, 2017). See also Thomas Albert Howard, *Remembering the Reformation: An Inquiry into the Meanings of Protestantism* (Oxford, 2016). For an early discussion of this event as a legend, see Erwin Iserloh, *Luthers Thesenanschlag: Tatache oder Legende?* (Wiesbaden, 1962). See also Bruce Gordon, 'History and Memory', in *The Oxford Handbook of Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford, 2016), 765–86.

[35] See 'Focal Point: Post-Confessional Reformation History', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/ Archive for Reformation History* 97 (2006), 277–306.

[36] John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (London, 1563 and subsequent editions).

[37] Nicholas Sander, *De Origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani* (1585), translated by David Lewis as *Rise and growth of the Anglican schism published A.D. 1585, with a continuation of the history, by the Rev. Edward Rishton, B.A. of Brasenose College, Oxford* (London, 1877).