

Sounds and Silence

Ringing of the Bells in the Period of Reformation

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Abstract

The article explores the changes that Protestant theologians and church officials introduced to bell ringing in the Reformation. They concentrated bell ringing on the announcing of all types of services. They abolished all sorts of bell ringing that they suspected to be magical or Papal. Yet, they couldn't push through all their reforms because the believers in the parishes resisted, especially in the case of weather ringing (*Wetterläuten*) and ringing against the Turks (*Türkenläuten*). In some cases, the Reformation theologians gave new interpretations to established forms of ringing, especially in the case of the Angelus ringing (*Angelusläuten*). At last, it is considered how these changes in the Reformation era still apply to bell ringing in present Protestant churches.

Samenvatting

Dit artikel gaat in op de veranderingen die protestantse theologen en kerkfunctionarissen tijdens de Reformatie aanbrachten in het luiden van klokken. Zij concentreerden het luiden van klokken op de aankondiging van alle types van diensten. Zij schaften alle soorten klokgelui af waarvan zij vermoedden dat het magisch of paaps was. Toch konden zij niet al hun hervormingen doordrukken omdat de gelovigen in de parochies zich verzetten, vooral in het geval van het luiden om onweer te verjagen (*Wetterläuten*) en het luiden tegen de Turken (*Türkenläuten*). In sommige gevallen gaven de theologen van de Reformatie nieuwe interpretaties aan gevestigde vormen van luiden, vooral in het geval van het luiden van het Angelus (*Angelusläuten*). Tenslotte wordt nagegaan hoe deze veranderingen in de tijd van de Reformatie nog van toepassing zijn op het luiden van klokken in de huidige protestantse kerken.

Keywords: bell ringing, Reformation, Protestant

1. 500 years of Reformation

In 2017, Protestant churches worldwide took strong efforts to celebrate 500 years of the beginning of reformation. In Germany, the Protestant church called out a '*Reformationsdekade*' (decade of Reformation). The ten years prior to 2017, one special topic was assigned per year, including ecumenical relations, the relation between church and state, education, confession, or church music. Even in the year dedicated to church music, nothing was said about bell-ringing in the Reformation period. Books on the Reformation period, written by prominent church historians, do not contain any details on the practice of bell-ringing.¹ On the other hand, bell-ringing in the Middle Ages and in the Reformation period was a crucial part of everyday life. And for that reason, some issues seem to be of special interest: did the theologians of the Reformation, pastors, professors, church-reformers, reflect on the culture of bell-ringing and its theological implications? Did they change the bell ordinances of the congregations? Did they recommend to destroy bells or bell towers? Did they introduce new interpretations of bell-ringing practices? A closer look at the regulations and reflections of Reformation theologians concerning bell-ringing reveals astonishing results. The following reflections summarize part of a more detailed study published in 2017 with the title '*Sono auribus viventium. Kultur und Theologie des Glockenläutens in Reformation und Moderne*'², based on the examination of the Protestant '*Kirchenordnungen*'³ (church ordinances) of the sixteenth century. The publication of the Protestant church ordinances in the Reformation age was begun in 1899 by the jurist Emil Sehling, and this enterprise continues up to the present. For bell-ringing in this period, they serve as the most important source.

2. The soundscape of Reformation

In general, bells are an integral part of the 'soundscape'⁴ of a city, a village or a small hamlet. Of course, modern historians do not have audio files from the soundscape of that period. Yet, they are able to make a few remarks. The sound of bells was designed to give a wide range of signals warning of risks. Bells

1 See e.g. Kaufmann 2009.

2 Vögele 2017.

3 Sehling 1902.

4 Schafer 1988.

indicated the beginning and the end of work as well as times for prayer. Bells indicated important changes in the biography of each person: birth/baptism, marriage, death/funeral. These functions of bells apply as well for the Middle Ages as for the Reformation period. The various functions of the bells distinguish the European world of the sixteenth century from modern life. There are still bells in today's life, but in the present people wear watches and they use their smartphones for all the functions in former times granted by the bells.

Bells at that time had an eminent social function. Firstly, with their help people were able to structure time, the whole day, weeks and the whole year. Everyday life, church life and community life and the life of the individual were deeply intertwined. For all these realms bell-ringing provided the necessary structure. And these eminent functions of bells had social consequences. People wanted to live in the realm of the bell sounds. If one could not hear the bells one was deprived of important information (both secular and congregational). Secondly, the sound signals of the bells presupposed a certain code. People had to know the language of the bells. They had to distinguish bells and sounds, the length of ringing, the type of ringing, in order to distinguish a warning issued because of an incoming thunderstorm or the beginning of a church service within half an hour. And, thirdly, bells constituted a question of power. The person who rang the bells (*Glöckner*) had to be very reliable. European history shows that the clergy and state or community officials, congregations and citizenship often quarrelled on the question of bells as Alain Corbin showed in his famous book on bells in post-revolutionary France in the early nineteenth century.⁵ But this was not the case in sixteenth century Germany, especially not in the Protestant regions, because of the *'landesherrliches Kirchenregiment'* that united church and state. Yet, there were conflicts over bell-ringing. But these conflicts separated ordinary people, the members of the congregation from theologians and the clergy. Before the Reformation started one can reckon with an established social and acoustical system of bell-ringing being of great importance to all those who lived in civil communities and congregations. People in cities and villages knew the sounds of their bells and they could distinguish the different signals. Was there any need for the Reformation theologians to change anything?

For Martin Luther⁶, the eminent chief theologian of the Reformation period, bells were not an important theological issue. Rather, he counted

5 Corbin 1995.

6 Luther 1909: 509: *'Bilder, glocken, Messegewand, kirchenschmück, alter liecht und der gleichen halt ich frey, Wer da wil, der mags lassen, Wie wol bilder aus der schrifft und von guten Historien*

bells among the *'adiaphora'*, the Greek word for *'middle things'* that are not relevant for confessional texts and dogmatics. Bells were not situated at the centre of the Protestant beliefs system, they had nothing to do with the famous theological theory of justification (*'Rechtfertigungslehre'*). Together with this, Luther stressed that he didn't approve of the extremist iconoclasts (*'Bilderstürmer'*) who destroyed wooden figures of saints, altar decorations and other church furnishings. He was ready to keep in practice what did not contradict his new belief system. And probably, before the Reformation, there was no theological reflection on bells as a topic of its own. Bells were integrated in the common church culture.

Bells and bell-ringing became much more important when, after 1530, it became clear that the Protestants would separate from the old Papal church. At that point of separation, it was necessary to establish new church ordinances. Before 1530, Melanchthon issued a pattern and model for a church ordinance, designed for Saxonia. After this initiative a great lot of church officials, theologians and clergymen developed church ordinances for counties, principalities, cities, congregations. All the texts, be they critical reports, legislative descriptions of church life, or catalogues of questions to be asked during visitations, offer the picture of a normative establishment of church institutions under the auspices of the new theology. And, of course, these ordinances contain provisions on bells and bell-ringing. In the Reformation age, with very few exceptions, one finds no bell-ringing ordinances (*'Läuteordnungen'*), as it is common today in churches with bells all over the world. The provisions on bells and bell-ringing were still part of the church ordinances. And already this detail shows that Reformation theologians thought of bells as an integral part of congregational church life.

3. Ringing for services

But there is another important change in the cities and villages where the new Protestant theology was introduced. The British church historian Diarmaid MacCulloch writes:

The difference between Catholic and Protestant Europe would be instantly obvious to any traveller bundled up, blindfolded, set down at random in a street on a Sunday morning, and to listen to the church bells. During the Reformation Protestants had culled countless unwanted

ich fast nützlich, doch frey und wilkürlich halte, Denn ichs mit den bildestürmen nicht halte.'

bells to be melted down for armaments and for sale, adroitly combining profit with iconoclastic destruction of popish superstition. Nevertheless, Protestants had not dispensed with bells altogether, because before the invention of the electric telegraph, bells were only rivalled by fire-beacons as the most effective means of communication over a long distance. [...] But after the Reformation, the sound on the Catholic and on the Protestant street would be very different. A Sunday morning in Catholic Europe would be full of the competing clangour of a bewildering variety of encounters with God. Just before Martin Luther's agonized rebellion, the parish churches, the cathedral, the collegiate chapters, the monasteries, the nunneries, the hospitals, would all still be sending up their cacophony of noise [...].⁷

Of course, this confessional difference did not mean that the Protestants abolished bell-ringing altogether. Rather, they reduced the number of churches, chapels, and secondly they concentrated the function of bell-ringing on the announcement of church services. For all services, Sunday morning and afternoon, the evening prayer (*Vesper*) on Saturdays and on other workdays, it was most important to ring the bells for the service: one hour before, half an hour before the beginning, at the beginning, and after the service had finished. The time tables of services could vary, in winter Sunday service would often start one hour later than in spring and summer. The members of the congregation were obliged to attend the services on Sundays. Many church ordinances warned the clergy to deliver sermons lasting longer than two hours. And Protestants were expected to attend the Sunday service twice, in the morning and in the afternoon.⁸ This has, of course, changed in modern times. But the crucial point is: Protestant church reformers in the sixteenth century concentrated bell-ringing on the announcement of the variety of services the members of the congregation were required to participate in. For Protestants bells ringing for the service in church were a priority.

Of course, bells accompanied the major events in the life of congregation members: birth and baptism, marriage, death and funeral. One can say that the services, the bell-ringing and the biographical events form a unit in its own right. Ritual, acoustics and biography are concentrated in one event for reasons of thanking God and of praying for God's blessings in future life, at the funeral of praying for eternal life. A baby, a couple and a dead body

7 MacCulloch 2003: 224.

8 Vögele 2017: 71-83.

are part of Christian ritual, and the bells announce these rituals. Thus, in remembrance the bells are intimately connected with this ritual. They stand vicariously for the ritual itself.

4. Funeral ringing

Among these, the death of a member of the congregation was most problematic in its connection with bell-ringing.⁹ Quite a number of church ordinances abolished the ringing of the bell immediately after a person had died. On the other side, bell-ringing indicating the start of a funeral service or a funeral procession was not considered problematic. The bells in the interpretation of Reformation theologians would announce to the congregation that somebody had died, they should invite people to prayer and remind them of their own death. But these theologians criticized all magical interpretations of bell-ringing. Some church ordinances expressively say that the bells do not ring *for* the dead. It was considered a Papal superstition that the sound of the bells carries dead souls through the air to purgatory or to heaven and hell.¹⁰

Reformation theologians tended to reduce bell-ringing to its pure signal function. All magical interpretations and practices were declined. But it was not without conflicts that these new regulations or the abolishment of bell-ringing for the dead were pushed through. People stuck to their old liturgical funeral routines even when educated in the principles of the new Protestant beliefs, by sermons, catechisms and chorales.¹¹ It seems noteworthy that the abolishment of bell-ringing upon death caused more uproar than the mere new interpretation of bell-ringing before funerals. Of course, it was beyond control of the clerical supervisors what mourning people thought when a bell rang to notify the congregation upon the death of one of its members. But the official interpretation of bell-ringing was adapted to the new Protestant belief system.

It was beyond doubt that bells were only ringing after a *member* of the congregation had died. Non-Protestants were not allowed to be buried on a Protestant graveyard. Sometimes church ordinances made a difference between children who had not yet taken part in the eucharist and persons who already had. Congregations would grant bell-ringing on both groups

9 Vögele 2017: 84-95.

10 Vögele 2017: 89.

11 Vögele 2017: 91.

but those who had taken the holy communion received the ringing of a larger and louder bell. Sometimes church ordinances permitted bell-ringing for the funeral of little ones who had been born dead or who had died immediately after birth, and there had been no time to baptize them.¹² Some church ordinances allowed the funeral of unbaptized babies and accepted bell-ringing for their funeral, thus making an important difference with the Catholic church which at that time refused both.

And a last remark concerning the pragmatism of the new Protestant churches: in some congregations it was clear that the bell would be rung without a fee. Sometimes a facultative donation was expected, sometimes congregations demanded a fee – varying according to the size of the bell.

Bell-ringing for baptism services or for marriages was far more unproblematic since it was not connected to magical practices. Everybody knew that a baptism or a marriage was announced when the baptism bell or the marriage bell were rung.

There were other cases in which the theologians and jurists who compiled church ordinances faced conflicts with the ordinary people in the congregations: the Angelus ringing (*Aveläuten*), the *Türkenläuten* (ringing against the Turks) and the *Wetterläuten* (ringing in case of thunderstorm or hail).

5. The Angelus ringing (*Aveläuten*)

Bell-ringing in the Reformation age has a second important function: bells invite for prayer. The Angelus ringing invited the congregation for prayer two or three times a day and thus gave the normal weekday its specific time and belief structure. Reformation theologians knew the Angelus from the old, traditional church. It goes back to the monasterial structure of the day constituted by the regular change of prayer and work, as it was laid down in the *Regula Benedicti*. Popes of former centuries had sought to establish such a time structure also for lay people in cities and villages, but in a more practical and thus reduced form. For that reason, the Angelus ringing was practiced in Protestant regions as well. Its purpose was to invite people to prayer, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. Exact time tables varied from region to region. Hearing the Angelus bell people would turn to prayer and speak the Angelus (Luke 1,28). This Angelus prayer was accompanied by christological or mariological interpretations. Christologically, the three Angelus prayers represented Christ's birth, crucifixion and resurrection.

¹² Vögele 2017: 93.

Of course, these theological interpretations differed from region to region. More importantly, Reformation theologians strictly rejected all mariological interpretations. It was basic theological knowledge of the Reformation that Christ was the *only* salvation figure in the process of justification. Mary, as Christ's mother, was not neglected, but she was not at all accepted as a salvation figure (*Heilsmittlerin*).

For this reason, the Angelus ringing was very controversial for Reformation theologians because they did not want the Angelus prayer (and the bell-ringing connected with the prayer) to be confused with Papal traditions. At this point the theologians of the church ordinances were very clear and strict. Everything in Protestant parish and individual life had to be weeded when it appeared to be Catholic. In all these cases, theologians of the sixteenth century strongly insisted on differences. In individual cases Angelus ringing – and the prayer as well – was abolished. At least the authors of church ordinances tried to give the old and usual habit of Angelus ringing a new theological interpretation, beyond Mariology, beyond all magical thinking, beyond Papal traditions. The church recommended the continuation of the Angelus ringing as an invitation for prayer. Angelus ringing was important not only in a theological perspective: The bell-ringing three times a day gave life in a village a regular time structure. Angelus ringing invited to prayer, but at the same time it could indicate the beginning and end of work, it could indicate lunch breaks, or whatever people in the local community had agreed upon.

And, by the way, the same theological changes were applied to the so called *Pacem-Läuten*¹³, the peace ringing which was frequently considered to be one of the three Angelus ringings of the day. The peace ringing was designed to ask people to pray for good governance, for the prince or the government, and, above all, to pray for peace and for the protection against enemies. Church ordinances allowed this type of bell-ringing, but as in the Angelus ringing they tried to omit all allusions to Catholic practices. The *Pacem-Läuten* is closely connected with the ringing against the Turks (*Türken-Läuten*).

6. *Türken-Läuten* (ringing against the Turks)

Ringling a bell against the Turks, each day at noon, was a common practice in the sixteenth century. It had been introduced by Pope Calixtus III in the

13 'Pacem' derives from the Latin word *pax*, meaning peace.

fifteenth century. In Western Europe the fear of Turkish invasions was spread all over the continent. The fear of a military invasion was connected with the fear of the Islam.¹⁴ The Protestants transferred this practice into their parish life. The church ordinance of Neuenstein (1594) says that bell-ringing helps the German Emperor against the *'teuflichenschen mochametischen glauben'*, against the 'devilish beliefs of Mohammed'¹⁵. But this was not a consensus. Some theologians like Jakob Andreae from Tübingen said that they did not approve of the ringing against the Turks, and Andreae recommended repentance as an option to better cope with the Turks.¹⁶

Generally church ordinances abolished everything in the prayer for protection against the Turks that was connected with the worship of saints which was of course regarded to be a Papal heresy. Among ordinary people the fear of a Turkish invasion was widespread. For that reason, the Protestants widely kept this tradition. Later, after the Turkish danger had shrunk this bell-ringing was renamed as bell-ringing for peace. This tradition is kept in Protestantism in some congregations until today. For instance, the large rd bell of the Christuskirche in Karlsruhe, Germany, is rung each day at noon for ten minutes to remind people in the city and in the world of prayer for peace.

It is also noteworthy that up to this day there are special *Türkenglocken* (Turk bells) which were cast from melted canons troops had conquered from the Turkish army. The famous *Pummerin* bell which is rung regularly at new year's eve at St. Stephan in Vienna, Austria, was such a *Türkenglocke*, although the original was destroyed during an air attack in World War II. In the little village of Unteröwisheim in the Kraichgau, Germany, near Karlsruhe, one also finds such a *Türkenglocke* and the bell rings up to the present, but of course it is not rung against the Turks.

7. Weather ringing (*Wetter-Läuten*)

One of the most interesting cases concerning the relation between the Reformation and its bell-ringing practice is the weather ringing (*Wetter-Läuten*). The bell-ringer was obliged to ring the bells when he detected a nearing thunderstorm, hail, fog or everything that could cause damage for

14 Concerning the relation between Reformation and Islam see Kaufmann 2012: 102-120.

15 Sehling, vol. 15: 546. Note that the words in sixteenth century German cannot be reproduced in modern English. The original German is meant to be disparaging.

16 See Kaufmann 2012: 104.

the harvest in summer and autumn. In an era that didn't know supermarkets and refrigerators and had only few methods to preserve food for a longer period, the destruction of the crop could cause serious starving in winter. For that reason the rural population was very keen on urging the bell-ringer to observe the local weather conditions and to ring the bells in all cases of meteorological danger. He was also obliged to continue with the ringing until the thunderstorm or the hail had passed. People believed that the sound of the bells was able to evict the witches and ghosts who had caused or sent the thunderstorms. Again, the bell-ringing was not a signal to warn people of coming danger. Everybody heard coming thunders and the bell-ringer meticulously observed the sky for signs of bad weather. Bell-ringing was thought to have magical powers, since physical and meteorological presuppositions of weather phenomena were not known at that time.

Reformation theologians opposed against this magical understanding of bell-ringing. For that reason they forbade weather ringing, but in a lot of cases they could not prevail because weather ringing was deeply rooted in the habits and the thinking of the rural population who feared the loss of the crops. Therefore weather ringing remained in use for a long time, even when church ordinances prohibited it, and even after the parish pastors were asked to preach regularly on the topic of bell-ringing against bad weather conditions.

Some church ordinances did not prohibit weather ringing but they urged theologians and church officials to spread a new interpretation: weather ringing does not prevent thunderstorms and hail. People should hear it as an invitation for prayer. Up to the present the Protestant hymnal contains hymns written as a prayer for better weather conditions, e.g. prayer for rain after periods of dryness.

Bell-ringers received the *Läutegarben* (the ringing sheaves) for the special service of weather ringing from the local farmers, since they were continuously occupied with observing the weather to be ready to ring when the conditions provided the necessity. And in a number of regions they received these ringing sheaves long after the weather ringing had been stopped because of the progress in meteorological knowledge.

In the present time, I was told, that in some Catholic regions of the Alps, weather ringing is still common practice. Farmers in the Swiss alps seem to use bell-ringing to predict local weather conditions. Everyone knows that the acoustic realm where bell sounds can be heard is by far augmented by a favourable wind, but this is a kind of weather ringing in the metaphorical sense of the word.¹⁷

¹⁷ See Winkler 2010: 3-10.

8. Reformation theology and the bells – conclusion

The bell-ringer was an important person within the parish and an assistant to the local pastor. If he was not busy with ringing he had to provide other tasks, e.g. helping the congregation in the singing of hymns, calling young people to order during the service, running errands for the pastor. These tasks varied in individual parishes. The bell-ringer, church ordinances said, had to be a reliable person, willing to cooperate with the pastor and the elders.

Bell-ringing was an important issue for parish life, but for Reformation theologians it was not in the centre of their thinking and preaching. In the theological centre there were the Bible, listening to the Scripture, holding sermons, the theology of justification of the believer and other topics.

Bells were important if they served the purpose of calling people to the service and of demanding them to pray. We need bells, said a church ordinance of Lauenburg Hadeln from 1585, that *'die leute damit zum gehör göttlichen wortes und gemeinem gebete gefodert werden'* (that people are asked to hear the Divine word and are required for common prayer).¹⁸ Protestant bell-ringing in the sixteenth century was concentrated on these two purposes. Everything that did not correspond with these two tasks was abolished or reinterpreted. If not necessary church ordinances did not change the old provisions of bell-ringing taken over from the traditional church.

Bell-ringing in the Reformation period gave a spiritual time table for everyday purposes, for weeks, for the whole year and for the calendar of holidays such as Good Friday, Easter, and Christmas. In the Reformation period it became more and more a spiritual time table, dedicated to the main purpose, the spreading of the Gospel.

Reformation theologians were highly critical of all forms bell-ringing that resembled magical practices or resembled traditions of the old Catholic church. In all these cases such forms of bell-ringing were radically abolished especially if those ringing-practices stood in connection with the reverence of saints or the Virgin Mary. The number of bell towers and bells was reduced.

The first Protestants reduced the number of bells and bell towers, because they closed a large number of churches, chapels and monasteries. In some cases they also reduced the duration of bell-ringing in order to make the code of bell-ringing more understandable. The most important item in the code of bell-ringing was the announcement of services. Bells in Protestant understanding served theological, especially liturgical functions. But this

¹⁸ Sehling, vol. 5: 423 (Lauenburg Hadeln 1585).

did not lead to the abolishment of established occasions for bell-ringing provided they were not mixed with Papal or magical elements.

9. Liturgical bell-ringing in a modern world

At the end of this essay, I will present some incomplete thoughts on the bell culture of modernity. In doing so, I am aware that European countries have each developed their own bell cultures, be they Protestant, Catholic, Anglican or otherwise denominationally determined. What is needed is a European differentiation of bell cultures – as well as an understanding and exchange of the various national bell sciences or campanologies. I am well aware that the examples I have presented here come from a German context. I hope to be able to present and justify the ideas presented here in context in a more detailed essay in the future.

Looking at the present bell-ringing habits one can make a few interesting observations: Weather ringing has completely vanished although it is said to have survived in some small hamlets in the Alpine region, in Switzerland and Austria.¹⁹ Bells are no longer used to warn against dangers like fire, enemy attacks and others. For that purpose modern societies use sirens, which are on the decline as well, or radio or TV alerts. In the age of smartphones people use danger warning apps on their touchscreens.

In the Protestant church, bells ring at the occasion of Sunday services, baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Yet, in case of funeral ringing, very often the bells of the parish church cannot be heard because there is a great distance between graveyard and parish church. Yet, people demand bells at the graveyard. As the pastor of a Protestant congregation I experienced that in graveyard chapels, where there are no bells, the employees played a CD with bell-ringing to be heard via speakers not only in the chapel but also on the graveyard. Thus it can be seen that mourning people – many Protestants among them – still regard bell-ringing as an important liturgical detail that should accompany a funeral service and a funeral procession.

Some churches still practice Angelus ringing, but it has lost much of the function it had in the Reformation period. It is no longer necessary to indicate the common start of work in a village or in a city. Angelus ringing is interesting for the reason that it is practiced although it lost its secular function which is establishing a time order for daily routine, and among this it also lost its theological function of calling believers to prayer two

¹⁹ Winkler 2010.

or three times a day. The bells ring, but the people at work do not hear it, because they are commuters. Working place and living place are divided.

Protestant churches regard the right to ring their bells for the announcement of services as an integral part of their right to religious freedom. German courts have confirmed this practice of bell-ringing after people living near the church had filed lawsuits on the grounds of *Lärmbelästigung* (noise pollution).

Besides that, bells in Protestant churches in Germany are often chimed to indicate the time of the day, usually every quarter of an hour. A lot of churches do not chime 24 hours a day. They cease tolling during night time, between 22.00 p.m. and 7.00 a.m.. Courts stated that this type of ringing has no theological or liturgical implications and for that reason is subject to noise abatement laws. If the bells ring too loud, either it has to be stopped or volume and sound intensity have to be reduced, for example by means of wrapping a leather cloth around the clapper or the hammer.

In a paradoxical way the changes Reformation theologians introduced to bell-ringing have been successful. Bell-ringing is widely identified with the announcement of a service. The complicated code of bell-ringing is no longer in practice because it is no longer understood – with the one exception of ringing for a service. But congregations have grown large and widespread. A lot of members live out of earshot of the bells. The few people who want to attend a service on Sunday morning do not need bells. They look in the newspaper when the service starts and they use their wrist watches or mobile phone to arrive in time. Nevertheless, most visitors of a service would say that they would not want to miss the bell-ringing which they feel to be an integral part of the service though the ringing has lost nearly all of its functions that were important to church reformers in the sixteenth century. This diagnosis – loss of functions versus emotional love of bells – represents a paradox of present times that still needs explanation.

About the author

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