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## Johann Heinrich Hummel, Elizabeth Penington and the English “Godly”: Further Thoughts on Religious Cross-currents in the Mid-seventeenth Century

Johann Heinrich Hummel was among numerous Swiss to visit England while a student in the 1630s. During his eighteen-month stay, as his autobiography and subsequent correspondence reveal, he became immersed in the lives of leading members of the “godly” community in the City of London and its suburbs. He was thereby introduced to the spiritual dilemmas they faced in responding to the demands of the ceremonialist and authoritarian regime of Archbishop William Laud. On his return to Switzerland, letters from his friends provided insight into the struggles with conscience and justifications for conformity or nonconformity as they negotiated the religious upheaval that accompanied the British civil wars. Although this enabled him to understand, as *dekan* of Bern, the scruples of the exiled English regicides about engaging with their local church, the chief effect of his interaction was to feed his enthusiasm for and dissemination of moderate, mainstream puritan piety in his native country.

Keywords: Hummel; London; puritanism; conscience; ecumenism

### 1. What Did Hummel Know?

In his unpublished memoirs, the English regicide Edmund Ludlowe (1617-1692) described two issues in the 1660s on which he and his fellow exiles in the Pays de Vaud offended their hosts by their dissent from local religious practice.<sup>1</sup> First, they refused to participate with the community

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<sup>1</sup> As Blair Worden demonstrated (Ludlow), previous published and widely-circulated editions of Ludlowe’s memoirs were heavily redacted, concealing his religious radicalism and compressing his life in Switzerland. Reference here is to the surviving portion of the original manuscript, held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Ludlowe himself spelled his name thus.

in the eucharist, the Lord’s Supper, because there had been no examination of people’s eligibility beforehand (Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.487, p. 1184).<sup>2</sup> Then, at least three times, they declined the honour of being godparents to the child of a local notable because of scruples about infant baptism, raising suspicions they were Anabaptists (Bodeian MS Eng. Hist. c.487, p. 1286).<sup>3</sup> But not for the first time, the chief minister of the church in Bern, Johann Heinrich Hummel, came to their rescue, explaining and justifying the peculiarities of these foreign guests: “As he was pleased to write,” reported Ludlowe, “he well understood the Customes and conscientious Reasons of the Independents in England” (Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.487, p. 1184).

But what, in fact, did Hummel know about that strand of English Protestantism which came to be labelled “Independency,” and to what extent did he sympathise with its reasoning? What, indeed, did he know of the English church more generally? English religious thought and practice developed and diversified rapidly over the mid-seventeenth century. As one of several Swiss students who visited England in the 1630s, how had his understanding developed thereafter? In an earlier article I traced the contacts Hummel made during his youthful trip, characterising them simply as “godly”, “pious” or “puritan” (Larminie “Johann Heinrich Hummel”). Here I explore further the *variety* of opinions that he encountered, what he learned of them, and hint at how that fits into the broader impact of English piety on Switzerland.

## 2. Experiencing London

Johann Heinrich Hummel was born in Brugg in 1611 (Ryter). According to his autobiography, in the early 1630s he spent about two years studying in the Netherlands, before travelling on to England with Heinrich Lavater of Zürich, the future physician and natural scientist (Erni 30–32). As Hummel recounted, arriving in London in the late summer of 1634, he stayed briefly with a Swiss-born craftsman—“*ein Tischmacher*” (Erni 32)—who introduced him to Willem Thilenus, pastor of the Dutch Church,

<sup>2</sup> A contentious issue in England, it cut across Episcopalian/Presbyterian/Independent divisions, as well as complicating relationships with continental Reformed churches: Milton, *England’s Second Reformation*, 227–228, 235, 239, 250, 305, 328, 353, 360, 365–367, 463.

<sup>3</sup> Ludlowe has often been described as a Baptist, but it is difficult to track the development and precise extent of his commitment (Larminie “Ludlowe”).

Austin Friars.<sup>4</sup> Thilenus then recommended him to the biblical scholar Jeremy Leech, rector of St Mary le Bow in Cheapside, a fairly wealthy parish at the heart of the City (Liu *Puritan London*, 98–99). Leech in turn introduced him to Francis Taylor, the vicar of Clapham and stepson-in-law of Thilenus' former mentor, Thomas Gataker, the eminent vicar of Rotherhithe.<sup>5</sup> Hummel lodged with Taylor at Clapham, a few miles south of the Thames in Surrey, for nine months, during which he pursued his acquaintance with Gataker, before being welcomed into the household of Daniel Penington, a member of the Fishmongers' Company and a merchant trading internationally, and his wife Elizabeth, who had homes both in Cheapside and in Clapham.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that during his stay Hummel met a range of scholars, ministers and pious laypeople. After he returned to Switzerland in the spring of 1636, he maintained contact with his former hosts. There survives in Bern what is apparently only a fraction of correspondence between the later 1630s and the 1650s with the Peningtons, Taylor and Gataker, but this reveals that he was updated on his friends and on wider developments in the English church (Staatsarchiv, B III 63).

While in England, apart from trips to Cambridge and Oxford of which his autobiography gives fleeting mention (Hummel 33), Hummel was based around London.<sup>7</sup> Unlike other Swiss visitors of the late 1620s and 1630s—among them Johann Jacob Frey, Johann Schönauer, Johann Jacob Stocker and Johann Rodolph Wettstein—he did not linger to sign the Bodleian Library visitors' book (Bodleian, Library Records e.533, fols. 166, 170–171).<sup>8</sup> Unlike for Frey or Jacob Battier, there is no evidence that

<sup>4</sup> The Dutch Church, along with the French Church, Threadneedle Street, and the Italian Church, housed at the Mercers' Chapel, Cheapside, was established following a dispensation granted by King Edward VI in 1550 to Protestant "strangers" to worship in their own languages and according to their own Reformed liturgy. The Dutch Church, rebuilt after World War II bombing, still exists in its original location; the French Church is now in Soho Square. The failure of the small Italian Church to survive past the 1660s is explored in Villani (chapter 3); his study reveals interesting contrasts between Anglo-Italian and Anglo-Swiss religious interactions.

<sup>5</sup> For Thilenus' link to Gataker and ministry in England, see: Clarke 146; Grell 57–61.

<sup>6</sup> The hospitality of "*Danieli Poeningtono, mercatori praediviti et pio,*" and his wife "*Elizabetha Risbi*" were also mentioned by Johann Heinrich Ott in his funeral oration for his friend (Ott 18–21). On lodgers in London, see Harding 612–613. The property in Cheapside is identified in Keene and Harding.

<sup>7</sup> On 24 August 1635 Gataker supplied Hummel with a letter of introduction to be presented in further travel (Staatsarchiv, B III. 63.48).

<sup>8</sup> For a survey of Swiss student visitors to England, see Lätt.

Hummel sought employment or long-term residency (Hohl Trillini). Furthermore, unlike Johann Heinrich Ott in 1641, he did not describe places and events in his memoir (Huguenot Library, MS F Ot). But there is no doubt that he immersed himself in English culture. Although (or because) London has been recognised as a multilingual city, with a significant immigrant—especially Dutch-speaking—minority population (Gallagher; Harding 602–603), Hummel rapidly acquired a working knowledge of English: he took morning prayers and was invited by Taylor to preach at Clapham on Psalm 10 verse 1 (Erni 35).<sup>9</sup> The Peningtons, who (unlike Taylor and Gataker) later wrote to him in English, contrasted his linguistic skills and those of sometimes fellow guest Martin Schönauer of Basel with those of Albert Rüttimeyer, a third Swiss who, when he came to their house, could speak only Latin (Staatsarchiv, B III 63.49).

Dividing his time between the metropolis and the suburbs, Hummel was immersed in the religious practices and scholarly activities of both. With the Polish Victorinus Bythner, he studied in Holborn under the scholar, reformer and educationist Samuel Hartlib and, having been lent “a catalogue of choice English books” by Gataker, Leech, Taylor and one “Simons,” perused Bishop Andrewes on the Ten Commandments and took notes from Cartwright on the New Testament (Hartlib Papers, 4/3/25A, 29/3/27B).<sup>10</sup> There he also met the Scottish ecumenist John Durie (Hartlib Papers, 4/3/25A, 29/3/27B.).<sup>11</sup> It is very plausible that Hummel attended, at least occasionally, the informal seminary for English and foreign students kept by Gataker in his house at Rotherhithe (Clarke 146).<sup>12</sup> Moving in these circles, he presumably made the acquaintance, at least by repute, of the scholarly archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher, although there is no evidence of direct contact (as there is for other Swiss like Frey).

When with the Peningtons in Cheapside, Hummel had easy access to Leech, the minister of their parish. A comparatively obscure figure, his

<sup>9</sup> Whether the prayers were *extempore* or the service of Morning Prayer, as in the *Book of Common Prayer*, is not specified; nor is the person who chose the text, “Why standest thou afar off, O Lord? why hidest thou thyself in times of trouble?”

<sup>10</sup> Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), bishop of Winchester, and the Presbyterian-inclined Thomas Cartwright (c.1535-1603)—men of different ecclesiological outlooks but both with international contacts and reputations.

<sup>11</sup> Gataker, with Josias Shute and William Gouge (for whom, see below), expressed public support for Durie’s schemes during this period: BL, Sloane MS 1465. I owe this reference to Professor Anthony Milton.

<sup>12</sup> On household seminaries, see Webster 15–35.

influence is difficult to gauge. He took Hummel into his house when the latter temporarily ran out of money and “enlisted [him] to writing” (Erni 33), but he himself published only one work, *St Pauls Challenge*, in 1644, the year of his death. No letters from him survive, although he was mentioned occasionally by Elizabeth Penington, notably for taking the unusual step of preaching a funeral sermon for her son Isaac, despite his dying at under one year old (Staatsarchiv, B III.63.57, fol. 2). But with 110 parishes in the City of London itself (Liu *Puritan London*, 23), and more in Westminster and south of the Thames accessible via London Bridge or by boat, getting to know multiple English ministers was not difficult. “Gadding to sermons” was a popular pastime, albeit one distrusted by some ecclesiastical and civic authorities who preferred that people worship in their home parish (Highley 64–66). Moreover, as Arnold Hunt has observed, “preaching played an important part in the transmission of news and formation of public opinion” (*The Art of Hearing*, 3, 390).

### 3. Encountering the “Godly”

Among the many preachers mentioned in subsequent letters to Hummel, it is clear that he had encountered a selection of the most celebrated. At St Anne, Blackfriars, the “charismatic and outspoken” Dr William Gouge, a popular devotional writer, presided over a parish which included (and welcomed) many French and Dutch immigrants (Highley 56–57, 66). There was also Obadiah Sedgwick, curate and lecturer at St Mildred, Bread Street, Richard Holdsworth, rector of St Peter le Poer, Broad Street, and a notable scholar, John Goodwin at St Stephen, Coleman Street, the church of Daniel Penington’s eminent brother Isaac Penington, the combative George Walker, rector of St John the Evangelist, Watling Street, and Josias Shute, rector of St Mary Woolnoth in Lombard Street whom, as Elizabeth Penington reminded Hummel later, “you and I did use to here” (Staatsarchiv B III 63.56, 63.55, fols. 2, 5v, 6). Their views will be examined below.

Meanwhile, Hummel encountered some leading godly laity, including at Clapham Elizabeth Penington’s uncle Francis Bridges and lord of the manor Sir Henry Atkyns (Larminie, “Johann Heinrich Hummel”, 10, 18). Bridges, a prominent member of the Salters’ Company, Atkyns’ lawyer brother Edward, and William Gouge had all belonged to the Feoffees for Improvements, a small group which had operated to buy up the patronage of church livings across England and Wales in order to install pious

preaching Calvinist ministers—until it was suppressed by Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud in 1633 (Calder; Kirby; Larminie “Feoffees”). Since Daniel and Elizabeth Penington had been married at the London church which was the Feoffees’ base, St Antholin, Budge Row, it seems highly likely that the very recent history of this was discussed with Hummel at the dinner table (Larminie, “Johann Heinrich Hummel” 9).<sup>13</sup>

Daily conversations tend to escape the written record, but later letters to Hummel take for granted his knowledge of and interest in the personal tribulations and the public dilemmas of his English friends, and in the process reveal the subtle complexity of the English religious news that reached Switzerland. Elizabeth Penington did not always grasp the full significance of the events she related. When in 1638 she reported that George Walker, who had a long history of disputes both with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities and with fellow ministers (requiring adjudication by Gouge, Gataker and others), had been deprived of his parish, she naively observed that “the cause I know not, nor I think they that have done it” (Staatsarchiv, B III 63.56; “Walker”, *Oxford DNB*). In general, however, she offered vivid insights, if not necessarily a balanced perspective. She revealed the puritan conscience at work in the life of their mutual friend Josias Shute. Here was a man who had “proved himself a pious minister [:] I wish we had more of such”. Summoned to see Archbishop Laud, who intended to offer him a promotion, probably hoping to win over moderate puritans, Shute at first “did not goe”. When Laud sent to him again asking “what he would have him do for him,” Shute thanked the archbishop, but modestly “saide he had enough, nether would he have any more”. He “did refuse it, well knowing the snares that attend preferment”, Elizabeth explained, and he persisted in his polite refusal even when offered a place in high commission, the highest ecclesiastical court (B III 63.55, fol. 6).<sup>14</sup> As Hummel knew, in the hands of Laud this controversial institution was a powerful tool for controlling the church and implementing his anti-Calvinist, clericalist and ceremonialist programme.<sup>15</sup> The temptation for Shute would have been that, from inside the commission, he might be able to mitigate this (Milton, *England’s Second Reformation* 40).

<sup>13</sup> On dinner table sociability, see Ryrie 389–397.

<sup>14</sup> For the background to this, see Milton, *England’s Second Reformation* 40; “Shute”, *Oxford DNB*.

<sup>15</sup> For the impact on the “godly” of the regime of Archbishop Laud, see Milton, *England’s Second Reformation* 62–89.

The hazards of falling foul of the court and the dilemmas that posed had been revealed to Hummel in a 1637 letter from Elizabeth. While Hummel was in London in 1635, John Goodwin, her brother-in-law Isaac Penington's pastor, had been summoned there to answer for an alleged breach of the Canons or rules of the church. In 1637, he was summoned again, this time for failure to enforce kneeling at the altar rail at communion ("Goodwin", *Oxford DNB*).<sup>16</sup> As Elizabeth related, she had heard that Goodwin had taken the "oath *ex officio* [*officio*] which scarce any of our ministers will take, and it is much wondered at yt he would doe it for hee must answere to whatsoever they aske him and against whomsoever". Doubtless it was under duress that Goodwin had been induced to take the controversial oath which laid him open to incriminating himself and others, and which, as Elizabeth said, some ministers balked at. She prayed for Goodwin that God would "keepe his hart aright, and free him from these trubles" (Staatsarchiv, B III 63.55, fol. 2).<sup>17</sup>

It will have been evident to Hummel that Elizabeth herself took her faith very seriously. She was humble before God but sufficiently confident in her calling to develop her own independent understanding of what God required of her. She acknowledged that she was not a scholar and believed her pastors were there to guide her, but that did not remove individual responsibility.<sup>18</sup> As she observed to Hummel in 1637,

God yt hath made us free, I trust he will ever keepe us so, for we know whome we have beleived, yt he is able to keepe what we have committed to him, upon this corner stone o God let our faith ever rest, yt so laying our foundation ferme upon this rocke, nether ye windy blasts of falce doctrine, nr ye stormie waves of persecutions may ever prevaile against us (B III 63.55, fol. 1)<sup>19</sup>

Frequently ill, she struggled with the competing desires for eternal release with Jesus and life on earth with her family; constantly pregnant and bearing children, and regularly losing them, she wrestled with what she had learned about wifely subjection from the Bible—and probably also from William Gouge's bestseller, *Of domesticall duties*, first published in 1622

<sup>16</sup> This requirement by Laud was justified by some puritan ministers, such as Gouge, for reasons including decency and obedience in matters which were 'indifferent': Highley 69; Hughes 776.

<sup>17</sup> For the *ex officio* oath, see Milton, *England's Second Reformation* 23 and *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> For context, see Ryrie, especially 268–270, 451–452.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Timothy 1 verse 12.

(Larminie, “Johann Heinrich Hummel” 18–19). These were commonplaces of early modern female piety.<sup>20</sup> But beyond this, Elizabeth had reasoned opinions about the church itself and was prepared to argue them in the face of alternative opinions expressed by her pastor, Francis Taylor. She wrote to Hummel in 1638 that she and the minister had had “some hote dispute” about a matter: “he did utter some words [...] which I was sorry to here”. Taylor was “a good scholler and hath a nimbell wit,” but “in this point so far as I can iudge I find him [to] leane ye wronge way.” The issue seems to have been her conviction that it was permissible to accede to the Laudian request that communicants bow to the altar, based on the reasoning that God was owed even more reverence than that commonly afforded to secular princes. This rather surprising conclusion was not falling into “errour and supertisious fopperies,” but the result of a desire for the “sincerity and simplicity of truth” (B III 63.55, fol. 5).<sup>21</sup>

In his contrary opinion on this, Taylor may have taken the conventional Reformed stance, but in a letter of 1637 he revealed to Hummel a point on which he and his colleagues differed from the Swiss. In a context where a preoccupation with and fear of epidemic disease appears constant, he asserted that God did not require a pastor to visit those suffering from the plague. It seems Hummel had previously expressed incredulity that this should be the opinion of all the pastors in England. But Taylor assured him that it *was*: to visit those infected would be to neglect the needs of the rest of the flock; visitation of the sick was secondary to the primary pastoral responsibility of preaching; there was no explicit command in scripture; the secular authority did not permit it (B III 63.50, fol. 1).<sup>22</sup>

The foregoing evidence indicates that Hummel was exposed to the idiosyncrasies and scruples of English puritans, but—returning to the initial premise of this article—it does not demonstrate that this was particularly linked to what became the Independent viewpoint. In the 1630s most of those who voiced opposition to Archbishop Laud’s regime did so from within the Church of England and in the hope that the national church would move as a body closer to other European Reformed churches (Milton, “Puritanism and the Continental Reformed Churches” 110–111;

<sup>20</sup> See for example, Ryrie 463, 472–473.

<sup>21</sup> For others justifying this practice, see Milton, *England’s Second Reformation* 33; Webster 175–177.

<sup>22</sup> For Elizabeth Penington’s fear of the plague, see Staatsarchiv, B III 63.55, fols. 2, 3, 4. For the privileging of preaching over other pastoral duties, see: Hunt 390.

Highley 72). Of the ministers Hummel encountered, only the unusually open-minded Goodwin was in the process of abandoning Calvinist predestination and only in 1643 did he and his disciples separate from his parish church and become congregationalists (“Goodwin”, *Oxford DNB*). Gouge—of whose son’s murder Elizabeth Penington wrote—kept his head down and his place at Blackfriars (B III 63.55, fol. 5v; “Gouge”, *Oxford DNB*). Sedgwick, whose wrestling with his conscience had usually resulted in conformity, was eventually suspended by the bishop of London but his aristocratic patron found him a parish where he had greater freedom (“Sedgwick”, *Oxford DNB*).<sup>23</sup> Gataker, like Archbishop Ussher, came to favour modified episcopacy (“Gataker”, *Oxford DNB*). Holdsworth, whose election as warden of Emmanuel, the bastion of Cambridge puritanism, was reported to Hummel (B III 63.55, fol. 6), was of the same mind and in 1641 was offered a bishopric, although he declined it (“Holdsworth”, *Oxford DNB*). Shute, a firm opponent of religious radicalism, became archdeacon of Colchester in 1642 (“Shute”, *Oxford DNB*). And in the late 1630s Taylor accepted a living in Kent from Archbishop Laud, who was impressed by his work as a Hebraist. Guilt at pluralism may have prompted his resignation from Clapham a couple of years later, but in his book *The faith of the Church of England concerning God’s work on man’s will*, published early in 1642, he argued for the restoration of Protestantism within it, as laid out in the Book of Common Prayer, rather than any kind of separatism (Larminie, “Johann Heinrich Hummel” 7–8, 16).<sup>24</sup>

#### 4. Diversity in a Changing Context

The political upheavals of the 1640s transformed organised religion in England and the ecclesiastical choices available to Hummel’s English contacts, while Elizabeth Penington died—apparently of the plague—some time after May 1642 (B III 63.82; Larminie, “Johann Heinrich Hummel”, 23). Gataker, Taylor, Gouge, Sedgwick, Holdsworth and Shute were all nominated in 1643 to the Westminster Assembly of Divines which was designed to devise a new church order, although Shute died before he could attend and Holdsworth was almost immediately arrested

<sup>23</sup> On Sedgwick’s conscience, see also Hughes 763, 767, 769–772.

<sup>24</sup> A testament to the esteem in which Taylor was held by Hummel and Schönauer and to the traffic in books to Switzerland in 1641 is found in Daniel Featley, 86.

as a royalist delinquent (*Oxford DNB*). To lay politicians and others, the Assembly was suspect as a clericalist body with pretensions to Geneva- or Scottish-style Presbyterian settlement (Larminie “Diversity”), and so the *Directory for Worship* and other documents published in 1645-1646 proclaimed, but that settlement was no sooner imposed than ignored, and the Assembly contained different opinions (Van Dixhoorn). Gouge was a *iure divino* Presbyterian, believing it to be the only legitimate church order, but Gataker, Taylor and Sedgwick’s views were more nuanced, although they all deplored the rise of religious sects (*Oxford DNB*; Van Dixhoorn et al.).<sup>25</sup> In the Assembly, Taylor’s main contribution was on biblical scholarship, while his sermons to Parliament argued that the lay power had an important role and that there was a middle way between Arminian bishops and a free-for-all (Van Dixhoorn et al., vol. 2, 41, 52, 68–69, 184, 214, 331, 345; Taylor (1645, 1646)). In a very friendly letter to Hummel in February 1645, he pronounced the times “turbulent”. “Heresies, blasphemies are uttered almost everywhere among us. There are those who preach their own perfection; they need neither word, nor sacraments, nor prayers, but they are infallible through the spirit of God.” In the light of the new religious settlement that was coming, “many pious ministers fear[ed] for their position as pastors” (B III. 63. 82). An ailing Gataker withdrew from the Assembly and turned to publishing against the evils of Antinomianism; he opposed the execution of Charles I in 1649 and wrote to Hummel in 1650 of a dire state of affairs. “With smashed gates and broken bars, church discipline is dissolved and dispersed, with blasphemies, heresies, the most pernicious dogmas [...] the licence of mad magic rather than true liberty” (B III 63.81).

The intelligence that we know reached Hummel from England in the 1640s and 1650s clearly did not endorse free-wheeling separatism. He himself seems to have entertained some radical opinions in the years following his return to Switzerland, being briefly suspected of heresy, but that must have been resolved before the mid-1640s, when he began his rise to prominence in the church in Bern, although it is worth registering that in the 1660s he kept contact—as did Ludlowe—with the increasingly heterodox Jean de Labadie (Pitassi; B III 63.45; Larminie “Johann Heinrich Hummel”, 25). From Taylor and Gataker, and from the books that they continued to send him—the devotional works on Christian living that came from the “godly” wing within the Church of England—Hummel imbibed more moderate and more widely appealing ideas, including the

<sup>25</sup> In the *Minutes* there are multiple references to Gataker and Gouge, and many to Sedgwick.

desire not for exclusive righteousness but for closer union among the Reformed. That then informed his renewed contact with John Durie in the 1650s and 1660s.<sup>26</sup> It is telling that when, like some other Swiss captivated by English divinity, he translated some of it into German, Hummel should choose works by the very popular and uncontroversial Sir John Heyward—*The sanctuarie of a troubled soule*, composed while the author was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and  *Davids tears*, a meditation on the penitential psalms (“Heyward”, *Oxford DNB*: McKenzie, 255–256; Sträter; Welti). Hummel may have recognised the agonies of Edmund Ludlowe’s conscience and viewed his conduct more sympathetically than did others in Switzerland, but he was by no means a partisan. What he had derived from his English friends was a *selection* of subtly-argued and conscientiously-lived perspectives on the spiritual and ecclesiastical dilemmas which confronted them, but what he applied in pastoral life in Switzerland was influenced chiefly by its centre of gravity—the moderate puritan mainstream which still sat comfortably within European Reformed Protestantism and which contributed to the development of Swiss pietism (Larminie “Diversity”; Dellsperger).

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<sup>26</sup> There is not space to explore this here, but see: B III 63.11, 14, 15, 51, 90, 93; B III. 62, pp. 131, 134, 153, 154, 155; Larminie, “Johann Heinrich Hummel” 24; Léchet.

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