theology was popular precisely because it resonated with widespread German "communal, associative, corporate, and republican models" (147).

The most detailed and thus persuasive section of the book is "Memmingen—A Center of the Reformation" (16–79). In this hometown of the Twelve Articles, we see the interactions of clergy, artisans, and peasants. Only in this chapter can we peer into the inner dynamics, including the hierarchical structure and the tensions, that Blickle elsewhere obliterates with his overblithe application of such terms as *common man*, *commune*, and *burgher*. In Memmingen, real people, unconstrained by modern model-building, were divided as discord swelled among fellow craftsmen and between commune and councilors. Christoph Schappeler was, as is well known, one of the lightning rods. Under his influence, and against a background of growing disparities in wealth, the unrest of the early Reformation spread and undermined the urban peace. Having set all this out for the reader, Blickle is compelled to admit that his claim "that the 'commune' brought about the Reformation is not meant to obscure the complexity of the process" (47).

Frequently, in these theory-based treatments, complexity yields to overarching constructs. The less initiated could lay down this collection believing that liberty, fraternity, and equality guided peasant/artisanal/burgher transactions. Indeed, Blickle has gone so far in a more recent article as to claim that the rebels of 1525 foreshadowed the republican ideologies of the eighteenth century ("Republiktheorie aus revolutionärer Erfahrung [1525]," in *Verborgene republikanische Traditionen in Oberschwaben* [Tübingen: Bibliotheca academica Verlag, 1998], 195–210, and 7–10). To this writer, who labored for decades in the realm of the *frühbürgerliche Revolution* with its accompanying rhetoric of the visionary common man, such encompassing claims are suspect.

Blickle's work will long stand on its very substantial merits. But its durability must lie not alone in the broad theories it advances but also in the distinctions it detects, as in Memmingen, within the early modern social corpus.

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The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany. By **Susan Karant-Nunn**. Christianity and Society in the Modern World. London: Routledge, 1997. x + 282 pp. $85.00 cloth.

A fitting eulogy to the pathbreaking historian of early modern Central Europe, Robert W. Scribner (*seliger gedechtnis*), this book acknowledges a debt to cultural anthropology, a latecomer to German Reformation studies : "Some will think it strange that such an obvious research project has not already been undertaken" (1). Changes in Protestant liturgical ritual are presented here as part of a disciplining process. Karant-Nunn commences with the domestication of marriage, defending Luther's elevation of its status while acknowledging that he ensured male dominion. Her treatment of rural nuptial festivities (accompanied by lewd dancing, inebriation, and ritualized rape) verifies Breit's thesis on the rape-like character of courtship in rural Bavaria. Surprisingly, clandestine marriage is passed over, although Robisheaux's brilliant thesis on parental control supports her conclusions. The second chapter recognizes Luther's discontinuation of sex distinctions at baptism. A nexus with civic communalism in southwest German theology is argued convinc-

ingly on the basis of Bucer's baptismal liturgy, a more complete break with medieval patterns than Luther's. However, popular attempts to retain Catholic practices (exorcism, for example) represented a deviation from the theological norm.

Churching is a frequently ignored custom; Wilson and Zemon-Davis depict it as ritual inversion of gender roles. Karant-Nunn explains how the expectant mother, sequestered at the nucleus of a sororal "cell," took a privileged position that loosened normal ritual bonds to household and husband, giving rise to male unease. Churching (retained by Luther) functioned to reintegrate the mother into the society of men, placing her back under the dominion of pastor and husband after childbirth. Her hypothesis should interest historians of witchcraft; simply replace "cell" with "coven." The subsequent chapter explicates auricular confession and Communion in Lutheranism. The rejection of the keys, central to Luther's ideology, is traced from the 95 Theses to the Saxon visitation of 1528–29. Confession, a purifying ritual taken in preparation for Communion, disciplined adults who "might fall asleep during the sermon, but they could not do so in a private, personal consultation" (97). Karant-Nunn consciously steers clear of Ozment's "Protestant" analysis (101 n. 58, 105 n. 72) of Confession as onerous, but still stresses discipline over consolation as opposed to Tentler. Confidentiality notwithstanding (I corroborate her assertion [102]—this was never absolute in Catholic regions either), her disciplinary argument is difficult to reconcile with Confession's continued popularity (as Rublack and Myers indicate) underscoring consolation and (as Foucault and Hahn argue) suggesting a modern narcissistic obsession with identity formation through self-analysis. If Luther changed the celebration of the Eucharist, Karant-Nunn detects slight but evident doctrinal continuities with Catholicism constituting a line of structural demarcation between evangelicals and reformed. However, the theoretical claim that the elimination of the mass contributed to social individualization, more pronounced among Calvinists, is tendentiously Weberian and requires substantiation in the face of Schilling's findings on the Lutheran merchants of Lemgo. This theme continues in the final chapter on death and dying (*ars moriendi*). Karant-Nunn accents the medieval familiarity with death and the blurred boundary between the cemetery and the community of the living. Protestant reformers sought to separate them thoroughly, encouraging less emotional funerary rites, less ostentatious burials. However, parish visitations complained of status symbols attached to the proceedings (better shrouds and coffins, indulgent meals at inns, and so forth). In their attempts to segregate the dead from the living and thereby distance popular practices from earlier customs, the reformers failed.

In some ways, the book is innovative. Karant-Nunn's conclusions reiterate discrepancies between the utopian motives of reformers and the persistence of custom, begging questions of social cohesion, community, individuality, and capitalism. Her interpretation of carnival as conservative refutes Bakhtin as a product of Russia in the 1920s–1930s. Overall, she strikes a harmonious chord between sectarian Reformation studies, ecumenical rapprochement, feminist criticism, and Weberian sociology through the mechanism of cultural anthropology, allowing her boldly to point out continuities with late medieval Catholicism. The real dynamic is tension between liturgical norm and popular practice. There are some internal contradictions. She ends chapter 1 with a plea for research on urban burghers, long privileged by Reformation scholars,

but concludes with suggestive generalizations about peasant culture. If Catholic baptismal rites are "ritual archaisms" (atavisms?) because they fail to keep pace with social reality, why is the disuse of confirmation interpreted as a missed opportunity (66)? Does the mention of unconsecrated burials for women dying in childbirth (78) contradict an earlier statement denying the existence of cemeteries for unbaptized children (54 n.58)? In other ways, this remains a traditional interpretation of the Luther Reformation. Long liturgical passages leave readers unsure about their translation into practice. Deviance is addressed either conjecturally, in unsystematic reference to a few actual cases, or as desiderata for future research. Finally, by comparing Protestantism only with pre-Reformation Catholicism, she accentuates the liturgical break, but creates the impression of a wider social chasm between Protestants and the people of Catholic Europe after 1517 than was the case. The late medieval church and Catholicism in general are so conflated as to give a less ecumenical appearance than perhaps intended (see for instance, 7, 212 n. 57). If indeed "we are inevitably post-Freudians" (7 n. 10), one might suspect a parapraxis.

If we still mourn the irreplaceable loss of Bob Scribner, it is in part because the application of anthropological methods to Reformation studies continues to be retarded by sectarianism, a concentration on great ideas, and historians who take to the pulpit. This archaic ritual perpetuates polemic myths, when we should search for anomalies that destroy stereotypes. Susan Karant-Nunn demonstrates this decisively. Her book contains valuable information on norms, the views of Protestant authorities, and just enough tantalizing references from visitation protocols to raise substantive questions for future research into the actual extent of changes in Protestant behavior, as well as the manner in which rituals were mutually constructed by reformers and their congregations.

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Deutsche Spätaufklärung und Pietismus: Ihr Verhältnis im Rahmen Kirchlich-Bürgerlicher Reform bei Johann Ludwig Ewald (1748–1822). By **Hans-Martin Kirn**. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus 34. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1998. 616 pp. 198 DM.

Historians of Christianity have traditionally given little attention to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, yet this period marks a turning point in Christian and Western history as theologians, biblical scholars, pastors, and lay persons began to come to process and incorporate new ideas arising from the Enlightenment. There is more to this story than the familiar figures of Kant, Lessing, Rousseau, and Schleiermacher. This was a period when the ideas of the elites made inroads into civic and popular life through periodicals, sermons, and school reforms. One of the key figures of this popular Enlightenment in Germany was the church official, preacher, publisher, and writer Johann Ludwig Ewald.

By focusing intensely on the career and intellectual development of Ewald, Hans-Martin Kirn demonstrates that Pietism, often portrayed as an enemy of the Enlightenment, actually contributed to the popularization of central Enlightenment concerns. Ewald, for instance, was able to combine Lessing's idea of the edification of the human race with Albrecht Bengel's theory of salvation history. Science, history, education, economics, and piety were seen