

SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

Ritual, Gender, and Emotions

Edited by
MATTHIAS POHLIG

*Spätmittelalter, Humanismus,
Reformation*
131

Mohr Siebeck

Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation

Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation

edited by Volker Leppin (New Haven, CT)

in association with

Amy Nelson Burnett (Lincoln, NE), Johannes Helmrath (Berlin),

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Susan C. Karant-Nunn

Ritual, Gender, and Emotions

Essays on the Social and Cultural History
of the Reformation

edited by

Matthias Pohlig

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 978-3-16-161329-6 / eISBN 978-3-16-161330-2

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-161330-2

ISSN 1865-2840 / eISSN 2569-4391 (Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie*; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen, printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

Hardly anyone represents the cultural turn in Reformation history better than Susan Karant-Nunn. Over the course of the last fifty years or so, Reformation historiography has changed and pluralized to a great extent. While the 'old' Reformation history was mainly interested in theology and politics, from the 1960s onward, historians drawing on the new discipline of social history undertook a revision of the field which placed the social actors of the Reformation as well as the dissemination of the Reformation message at the center of research. The urban Reformation and the conflicts that came with it, printing and pamphlet literature, and the question of the popular reception of Reformation ideas are only three examples of this expansion of topics. Since the 1980s, the social history of the Reformation has been supplemented and extended by cultural history. Today, Reformation research examines, for instance, rituals, the body, and emotions. The impressive work of Susan Karant-Nunn is above all an example of such a cultural history, which nevertheless has firm roots in social history.

Reformation history today is a complex, polyphonic field of research. In spite – or perhaps precisely because – of the public presence of the Reformation anniversary in 2017, its future is anything but clear. There is a certain marginalization of European history, especially at American universities, that might sideline the study of Reformation history in the long run. And even within European history, the role of the Reformation is no longer as clear as it once seemed: If it was long assumed that the Reformation was the starting point of modernity and rationality, hardly any Reformation historian today would make such a claim without a plethora of qualifications.

This volume of essays by Susan Karant-Nunn cannot, of course, answer the future questions of Reformation research. However, it showcases the topics and problems that have been at the heart of the history of the Reformation in recent decades. What is more, Karant-Nunn's texts demonstrate the important insights which methodologically open and versatile research into the Reformation is able to achieve. Her essays hint at a variety of institutional and substantive problems such as, for example, the often difficult cooperation between church historians and historians, the sometimes tense relationship between German and American Reformation research, and above all the tensions that have arisen and continue to arise between a more traditional historiography and theory-conscious scholarship that takes up approaches, concepts, and models from anthropology and sociology. Like few others, Susan

Karant-Nunn's work exemplifies the merits of a historiography that combines a close reading of the sources with methodological innovativeness.

For the present volume, I have collaborated with Susan Karant-Nunn in selecting a small number of essays from her large and rich oeuvre. Although all have been published elsewhere, though often in relatively remote locations, the present volume, for the first time, gathers them in one place, thus offering the chance to reread some of the important studies by Karant-Nunn or, indeed, making it significantly easier for those new to the field to become acquainted with them for the first time. Many of the essays collected here were written in the context of Karant-Nunn's work on her major monographs such as *The Reformation of Ritual* (1997) and *The Reformation of Feeling* (2010). Still, the essays are important contributions to the field in their own right. Indeed, many of Karant-Nunn's influential interventions in the scholarly discussion have taken the form of shorter, exploratory essays. In all these interventions, Karant-Nunn has engaged in attentive and appreciative dialogue with the work of fellow historians, taken care to reveal her methodological premises, and gone to great lengths to mark the boundaries of our knowledge. For this reason, too, the essays are not only instructive, but also illustrate her great wisdom and her sympathy to historical actors and historical phenomena as well as the interpretations of her colleagues. Even when the findings which they convey are no longer as surprising today as they were when they were first published (and this in itself is evidence of Karant-Nunn's influence), they are nonetheless impressive for their reflective stance and broad knowledge of sources.

This volume of essays provides a broad insight into Karant-Nunn's fields of research. It brings together contributions dealing with the social and cultural history of the Reformation, the problem of ritual and ritual change, gender relations, and finally the significance of the Reformation for emotions and vice versa. All essays are interested in both theology and society, combine classical social history approaches with an interest in cultural semantics and interpretations, and, finally, evince the author's reception of anthropological theory. Thus, although this collection does not cover Karant-Nunn's oeuvre in its entirety, the texts presented here offer fascinating insights into the work of one of the leading historians of the Reformation.

Without the friendly cooperation of Susan Karant-Nunn this volume would not have come into being, of course. I therefore thank her very much for her time and commitment. I would also like to thank the staff at Mohr Siebeck, first and foremost Elena Müller and Matthias Spitzner, who always provided quick and competent assistance. And finally, I am grateful to Marna Schneider and Grisca Nehls, without whose tireless efforts in proofreading, adjusting the formatting of the text, as well as creating the indexes this book would not have been finished.

Allow me a few final remarks about this collection: Since text files of most of Susan Karant-Nunn's articles were unavailable, the typescripts had to be reconverted from scans of the printed essays. In the process, we have standardized the formatting of the originals, for example with regard to footnotes. In view of these technical difficulties and despite the best efforts of all those involved, it is possible that errors have remained. Responsibility for these lies with me as the editor and I humbly ask for your understanding.

Berlin, 29 May 2022

Matthias Pohlig

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Introduction

I was surprised when, several years ago, Professor Matthias Pohlig, whom I do not know personally, asked me for assistance in deciding which of my English-language essays ought to be included in a volume that he was undertaking to compile and edit for publication in Germany. I regarded this enterprise as so far-fetched that I (rudely) did not respond to him for up to months at a time. To this day, I do not know where the impulse to do this came from. I can only assume that such a book would make some of my obscurely published essays – such as in *festschriften* – more readily accessible to my German colleagues. But why did they wish to peruse them?

Before I speculate on this, allow me to beg readers' pardon for discoursing about myself. It has long been a convention that scholars did not write about themselves in their works of scholarship. They studiously avoided the first-person pronouns. This detached approach underscored a then-prevalent ideal that historians studied the past and produced a *truer*, more nearly *objective* account of some phenomenon.¹ This ideal may still prevail in Germany, but under pressure of interdisciplinary tactics it has given way in newer Anglophone history – and I suspect in newer Germanophone accounts too – to the admission that the scholar as a *person* is present in every rendition of past persons and events. Individual personality and circumstances, perspective and agenda will inevitably bear upon writings under production on the academic's desktop. The scholar is intimately involved in interpreting what has occurred; she and he are engaged in acts of creativity.² Of course, without first admitting to it, no historian should cross the line between nonfiction and fiction, for her purpose remains to illuminate what has long ago transpired in fresh ways, ways that stimulate yet further thought on matters that have seemed till then to be entrenched in our shared intellectual repertoire. I hereby admit to having inserted myself in all my retellings of historical events and my depictions of departed persons. Thus, I beg your indulgence in referring to myself in this preface.

During my fifty-year career, with few exceptions my German counterparts in specifically *church* history showed the least interest of any group in my

¹ I now recall with some amazement the ferment that Peter Novick caused 30 years ago with his book, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

² See the insightful essay of Susan A. Crane, "Historical Subjectivity: A Review Essay," *Journal of Modern History* 78, no. 2 (June 2006): 434–56.

work, as well as the work of others who drew on anthropology (especially ethnography), sociology, psychology, semiotics, and art history.³ Initially, not even Robert Scribner was immune to their disapproval. Even my *Doktorvater* Gerald Strauss (an outstanding historian, whose memory I revere), a German by birth and childhood education, urged me before his death to omit all “theory.” With the exception of women at work (on the academic fringes) on gender history, thirty years elapsed before a German church historian or historian invited me to make a presentation on a non-gender-related topic.⁴ That first host, in June 2000, was Heinz Schilling; I read a paper in his *Oberseminar*.⁵ I am now touched that even that previously indifferent cluster within my professional cohort should give rise to this enterprise.

In this preface, then, I can hardly avoid self-references. My obvious line of discussion is bound to be why I took the approaches I did in the essays that Matthias Pohligh suggested as candidates for inclusion and that I ultimately agreed to. I readily assented to the larger categories that Pohligh perceived that the essays naturally fell into.

Certain compositions are the products of the traditional activity of gathering and featuring “new facts.” When I was a doctoral candidate, this expectation prevailed. A half century later, the gaps in our knowledge yawn, and we know that in some sense they always will. *What Was Preached in German Cities in the Early Years of the Reformation* purports to be a corrective of facts. As I had labored in the archives on the first generation of Lutheran clergy in electoral Saxony, I had noticed the high individualism that reigned among early candidates for leadership in the churches, until the princes assumed control of spiritual life. Bernd Moeller, who inspired my generation of Reformation

³ In Germany, colleagues exploring religious history are often employed as members of theology faculties, either Catholic or Protestant. These are described as church historians. In my experience, they are often committed to a denomination and, indeed, are frequently ordained clergy. In my generalization, I do not include faculty in modern history departments (oriented toward 1500 and after) who have been named to chairs in early modern history. They tend to work on a variety of subjects of their choice, which may or may not include the Reformations. Whether they are privately devoted to a faith position is not clear in their scholarship, and they are not clergy. In the United States, the range of types of institutions of higher learning is greater, and the distribution of the faithful among them cannot be readily summarized. In seminaries and fundamentalist-funded colleges and universities, one may generally assume confessional requirements for the right to teach, including that a faculty member’s publications be compatible with her or his creed. Faculty in religious studies departments, in my view, vary according to the type of institution of which they are a part. In the U.S., the label of *church historian* will be applicable or not, depending on these several factors.

⁴ As my *vita* would reveal, I did lecture on non-gender subjects and take part in conferences in Germany before 2000, but these occasions were organized by men and women of other, including other European, nationalities.

⁵ I actually spoke on a gender-related topic, “Zwischenräume: Die Selbsterfindung der Frauen im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts” (à la Stephen Greenblatt on Renaissance self-fashioning); but in his invitation Professor Schilling did not specify any area.

researchers with his article, *Probleme der Reformationsgeschichtsforschung*, found common theological elements in the sermons of Luther's early followers (*lutherische Engführung*), a conclusion that I could by no means replicate.⁶

With the social revolutions in the Western world in the late 1960s, including the so-called "Women's Liberation Movement," social history laid claim to our profession.⁷ The quest of the *Annales* school for *histoire totale* captured the North American imagination. The hotel ballroom in Toronto at which Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie spoke at the meetings of the American Historical Association in 1967 was packed beyond capacity. Especially we younger scholars began to search for historical people who had been excluded from the accounts of many established historians, altogether referred to as subalterns. This category, originating in the British military, included any low-status and marginalized group, including women of many standings, rural clergy, servants, laborers, and miners, even executioners. In the archives where I was reading on a range of other topics, I began to record exceptional anecdotes related to females. It was easy, and genuinely appealing, to begin to include any non-prestigious sector of early modern society in my work; already my dissertation on the rural pastors of Ernestine Saxony showed my attraction to such people. At least three essays in this collection offer further evidence of that appeal: *Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany*, "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*": *Social Ideology in the Sermons of Johannes Mathesius*, and *Reformation Society, Women and the Family*. While I could not avoid interpretation, I see these three as manifesting a shorter distance between textual sources and my recounting of them – as being preponderately factual. Social history remains till today a significant component of my telling of the past. And factual gathering must never go out of style.

But other currents were abroad. At a conference in Flagstaff, Arizona, in 1977, Natalie Zemon Davis, in her comments on a paper I had given, thought that I should consider the framework of Victor Turner in seeking to understand popular culture in Reformation Saxony. My transition to this manner of thinking took several years; I was slow in making it, partly because my colleagues who concentrated on church historical subjects were less friendly to it

⁶ Bernd Moeller, "Probleme der Reformationsgeschichtsforschung," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1965): 246–57; translated into English in Bernd Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, eds. and trans. H.C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 3–16. Moeller's assertion to which I responded appeared as "Was wurde in der Frühzeit der Reformation in den deutschen Städten gepredigt?," *Archive for Reformation History* 75 (1984): 176–93.

⁷ I urge people reading my account to see Charles Zika's longer, more detailed revelation of his own scholarly development during the same period in "Reformations Past and Future: Global, Multidisciplinary, and Experiential," in *The Cultural History of the Reformations: Theories and Applications*, eds. Susan C. Karant-Nunn and Ute Lotz-Heumann (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2021), 23–38. Lotz-Heumann and I are grateful for his candor.

than those specializing in other fields. The first time I read David W. Sabeau's *Power in the Blood*, I wrote incredulously on the title page of my copy, "Historian as writer of fiction!"⁸ But later on, I undertook to imitate Bob Scribner and other colleagues whose work I came to regard as providing a model. With Scribner's express encouragement, I took greater interpretive liberties with the rite of women's churching after childbirth. The initial audience, at a summer seminar at the Herzog August Bibliothek, was similarly oriented and thus receptive. The resultant essay, *A Women's Rite. Churching and the Reformation of Ritual*, appears here. A subsequent paper, *Neoclericalism and Anticlericalism in Saxony, 1555–1675*, was rejected by the editors of *The Sixteenth Century Journal* on the grounds that its theoretical analysis, generally anthropological, was unacceptable. Ethnography was evidently to be confined to "primitive" and mainly non-Western societies. The article appeared in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. It too is reproduced here.

From that time forward, looking at the past from an interdisciplinary perspective was encouraged within the Anglophone world, although with less enthusiasm among Reformation historians. The ethnographer's approach to human society colored the way a number of historians looked at past social groups: these were embedded within a multi-faceted culture, which shaped them and from which they could by no means break free.⁹ Lutheran clergy were no exception. They carried into their sermons themes and values that had also shaped the homilies of their predecessors. In both theology and praxis, they were heavily indebted to medieval predecessors. Catholic culture decidedly did not dissolve and dissipate around 1500; the Protestant Reformation too carried significant aspects of it forward.¹⁰ Examples of my perception are included here in *Preaching the Word in Early Modern Germany*, and "*Fragrant Wedding Roses*": *Lutheran Wedding Sermons and Gender Definition in Early Modern Germany*. Yet, the Reformation did effect some changes, and the challenge was, and still is, to reconfigure, to make more porous, the church historians' traditional line between late medieval Catholicism and the emerging dissident positions. The new creeds' polemical representatives notwithstanding, the modern researcher can well note the commonalities that bound both, and indeed all, Christian faith groups in that era. One of the clear locuses of innovation is to be found at the heart of every community in

⁸ David W. Sabeau, *Power in the Blood. Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁹ The limitations culture places on a people is already an underlying theme in Le Roy Ladurie's *Paysans de Languedoc*, 2 vols. (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1966), and several subsequent editions.

¹⁰ Volker Leppin's varied works are at the forefront in demonstrating this point today. I shall provide only one example: "Mysticism and Justification," in *The Medieval Luther*, ed. Christine Helmer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 181–93, which ends succinctly: "Martin Luther is to some degree a late medieval mystic."

the Protestant parsonage, which I have observed in *The Emergence of the Pastoral Family in the German Reformation: The Parsonage As a Site of Socio-religious Change*.

The themes of ritual and emotion are themselves the offspring of an interdisciplinary manner of thinking. The older anthropological literature is replete with ritual studies, including those by that very Victor Turner whom Natalie Davis had found helpful. The cultures of ritual actors provided a symbolic vocabulary that may or may not have been understood literally by all observers. But not all members of a society have the same interests or share an identical world view. Catherine Bell opened to me the idea that hegemonic designers of ritual, as, for example, in the early modern Catholic and Protestant churches, might even miss their marks as bystanders and participants understood ecclesiastical acts in ways that coincided with their own places in the local world.¹¹ I was under the influence of Bell's ideas when I wrote *Liturgical Rites: The Medium, the Message, the Messenger, and the Misunderstanding*. Indeed, the laity outright resisted certain disciplinary rites imposed by the emerging Lutheran prelaty, described in "*They have highly offended the Community of God*": *Rituals of Ecclesiastical Discipline and Pastoral Membership in the Community in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century German Parishes*; and echoed recently in "*Sing unto the Lord*": *An Anthropology of Singing and Not-Singing in the Late Reformation Era*. Ultimately, most parishioners, under the guidance of pastors and with the facilitation of new media, appropriated remodeled rituals and made them their own.¹² Not even the strictest oversight, as in Calvin's Geneva, could enforce complete conformity. *Babies, Baptism, Bodies, Burials, and Bliss* reflects the irreducibility, indeed the ongoing vitality, of folk belief. In some settings, ongoing folkish practices found themselves pitted against the new creeds. I have explored this problem in *Popular Culture as Religious Dissent in the Post-Reformation Era*. *Ritual in Early Modern Christianity* is a summation written for a survey of early modern Christianity.

Culture being a totalizing concept, it contains within itself vast possibilities for scholarly discussion.¹³ One of the most vigorous of the last 15 years has concerned the emotions. I have shared with a cadre of fellow historians distributed around the world an attraction to what has become a veritable sub-field.¹⁴ The essays in this anthology that represent this strain of my research are

¹¹ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), in particular chap. 9, "The Power of Ritualization," 197–223.

¹² See Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), on the role of images in fostering and consolidating Lutheran culture.

¹³ On this topic, see Ute Lotz-Heumann's and my introduction to *The Cultural History of the Reformations* (as note 7), 11–22.

¹⁴ A high volume of research on medieval and early modern European emotion has been

“With Covered Faces”: *Emotion Rituals in Early Modern Germany*, and *Postscript on the Religious Emotions in the Late- and Post-Reformation Era*.

I have inherently argued in these remarks that I am not alone in being related to and drawing on the currents that have simultaneously gained the professional attention of my disciplinary peers. We never work in an ideational vacuum, in a space devoid of the interests of others. I have continually taken inspiration from the work of colleagues whose books and articles I have read; whose papers I have heard; and whose probing questions in classrooms, auditoria, and book reviews have piqued my thought. In my view, the greatest originality has sprung from those who have crossed disciplinary lines in their considerations. Here I stand apart from the late Steven Ozment and from Brad Gregory, both of whom have taken a stand against the interdisciplinary reach in seeking to understand early modern religion.¹⁵ In effect, I reply to these colleagues in *Patterns of Religious Practice: Nontheological Features*. As I search the horizon for new questions to ask my sources and indeed for new kinds of sources altogether, I find the hope of innovation to lie in examining my extra-disciplinary counterparts’ intellectual frameworks. As I hope I have indicated, I am not among the pioneers in experimenting with their perspectives.

During the last generation, newer directions in Reformation-related research have shown the promise of astonishing new insights into our small field within early modern European history. A notable object of research is currently the *experience* of religion by the worshipper – how the ordinary attendee at divine services might have perceived the ecclesiastical environment and the ritual processes. Scholars such as Matthew Millner, Philip Hahn, and Jacob Baum have delved into the use of the senses in Protestant settings.¹⁶

lavishly supported by the Australian government through its creation of the consortial Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions 1100–1800 (CE110001011). Over the several years’ duration of its grant, it funded research, conferences, and publications on the subject. Online, see <http://www.historyofemotions.org.au/> and for current projects <http://www.historyofemotions.org.au/research/research-projects/> (consulted 29 July 2021).

¹⁵ Ozment wrote, “The aim of writing or reading about early modern Europe is not to prove or disprove the theories of some nineteenth-century psychologist or twentieth-century anthropologist; it is rather to obtain an understanding of what it meant to be a person in that age.” Steven Ozment, *Three Behaim Boys: Growing Up in Early Modern Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), xii. For a lengthy exposition on scholarly transgression, see Brad S. Gregory, “The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 4 (2006): 132–49, here 132, beginning: “The rejection of confessional commitments in the study of religion in favor of social-scientific or humanistic theories of religion has produced not unbiased accounts, but reductionist explanations of religious beliefs and practice with embedded secular biases that preclude the understanding of religious believers-practitioners.”

¹⁶ Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Philip Hahn, “Sensing Sacred Space: Ulm Minster, the Reformation, and Parishioners’ Sensory Perception, c. 1470 to 1640,” *Archive for Reformation History* 105 (2014): 55–91; Jacob Baum,

The reformed body, including its postures, begins to be of interest.¹⁷ I regret that Thomas Lentès's pathbreaking dissertation, *Gebetbuch und Gebärde*, about bodily position and prayerful gesture, has never been published.¹⁸

Another monument to imaginative thinking is Alexandra Walsham's treatment of the Protestant perception of and even the construction of the landscape in England through the post-Reformation early modern period, in her *The Reformation of the Landscape*.¹⁹ Walsham's approach could produce the excavation of mountainous material if applied to the German-speaking world. Or what about the personalities of Reformers and rulers, those who shaped the emerging non-Catholic religious topography? What perhaps even today do we owe to their unique temperaments, their experiences, their preferences? We could probably agree that Martin Luther and John Calvin, to name but two, were distinctive in taste and character. Did they imprint their features on the soft clay of weakening Catholic allegiance?

Years ago, when I was reading in the Evangelisches Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv in Stuttgart, I was surprised to notice the ambiguity in common Christians' religious identities and practices, in response to their altering geographic locations and their practical needs. I described my findings in *Confessional Ambiguity along Borders: Popular Contributions to Religious Tolerance in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Since that time, however, colleagues such as David Luebke (working on Westphalian parishes)²⁰ and Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer (in regard to interfaith convents throughout Protestant Germany)²¹ have shown that syncretism and hybridity were prominent features of the Reformation from its beginning in areas where faiths existed in close contact. Continuing attention to the reciprocal influences among the faiths will, I predict, yield yet deeper understanding of religious dynamics in this period.

A global perspective on the Reformation is developing apace, partly at the instigation of Merry Wiesner-Hanks. In the more recent parts of her ex-

Reformation of the Senses: The Paradox of Religious Belief and Practice in Germany (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019).

¹⁷ See especially chap. 8, "The Practice of Prayer," in Alec Ryrie's superb book, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 144–99.

¹⁸ Thomas Lentès, "Gebetbuch und Gebärde: Religiöses Ausdrucksverhalten in Gebetbüchern aus dem Dominikanerinnen-Kloster St. Nikolaus in undis zu Straßburg (1350–1550)" (PhD diss., University of Münster, 1996). I read it at the University of Tübingen. I have just learned of Lentès's death in 2020, a tremendous loss to all who try to reconstruct late medieval religious experience.

¹⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²⁰ For example, David Luebke, "Misremembering Hybridity: The Myth of Goldenstedt," in *Archaeologies of Confession: Writing the German Reformation 1517–2017*, eds. Carina L. Johnson et al. (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 23–44.

²¹ Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *Stripping the Veil: Convent Reformation, Protestant Nuns, and Female Devotional Life in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

pansive opus, she repeats that we shall have a better prospect on European religion if we place it within the context of contemporaneous trends outside its boundaries. European divines and lay devout, and not just members of Catholic orders, took the Great Commission of Matthew 28:19–20 very seriously indeed. As they undertook ever greater contact with the extra-European world, they not only bore their faiths with them but intended to fulfill the scriptural adjuration. Women, too, increasingly participated in these activities. Wiesner-Hanks observes that work on especially Protestant women's roles has only begun.²²

In short, creative thought is present not just among my interdisciplinary comrades but also within the ranks of stalwart conservatives, church historians of the Reformation, my esteemed colleagues. Having resisted for a while, even the latter feel the impulse toward innovation within the circulating literature that draws on the analytical concepts of other disciplines. And, I should gratefully add, previous church historians' works are indispensable points of consultation in every research endeavor of mine. Whatever our theoretical perspectives, our new books and essays are entwined, interdependent strands as in a braid.²³

Susan C. Karant-Nunn

²² Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Women in the Cultural History of the Global Reformation," in Karant-Nunn and Lotz-Heumann, *The Cultural History of the Reformations* (as note 7), 249–64, especially, on Protestant women, 258–64.

²³ In Britain called a plait; in German *geflochtener Zopf*.

I. Social and Cultural History of the Reformation

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