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Making Lutherans

In 1572 the first volume of a chronicle of the Saxon territory of Grafschaft Mansfeld appeared in print, penned by a Lutheran pastor whose credentials for writing the work could hardly be bested.¹ Cyriacus Spangenberg was born there, he worked as the town and court preacher, and his father Johannes had been granted the honour of the first superintendent of the region by none other than Martin Luther himself. To accompany the chronicle, fellow Lutherans Johan Mellinger and Tile Stellman produced a rich, detailed map.² The cartographic companion to the historical work depicted a deeply confessionalised imagining of the space of central Germany, and no casual observer could have mistaken this as anything other than a product of Lutheranism. Prominent on the bottom right of the map was the recognisable face of Luther, whose image has been so deftly analysed by historians such as Robert Scribner and Lyndal Roper. This was the Luther of later years, the heavy-built, monumental academic of Wittenberg who dominated images produced by Lucas Cranach's workshop from 1530 onwards and whose figure set the visual tone for what a Lutheran pastor should look like.³ A woodcut of Spangenberg's own father Johannes eerily mirrored Luther with his academic attire, thick-set authoritative features and bulky stature.

Luther's cameo on the map was no real surprise. The man seemed to be the mark of the confession, and here his image was fixed on the margins of a map to frame the landscape, guarding the borders of the region where he had been born. Below the vignette was a dedication written by the theologian Zacharias Pretorius, which praised the land of Mansfeld as Luther's birthplace, and on the map, Eisleben was marked with a star and labelled as the 'patria' of the 'blessed' Martin Luther. Luther had also died in his hometown, and the neatness of this narrative was almost too good to be true for biographers and chroniclers, who could construct the final journey of his life as a form of ordained homecoming for the prophet of the true Church. Place was important to how Spangenberg and the mapmakers thought about Lutheranism, as a confession embedded in spatial networks. As cultural objects the chronicle and map functioned on several registers, relying on memory, concepts of space, time and history, accepted visual conventions, as well as a deep emotional connection to the life and death of Luther. These men painted a picture of Lutheranism which drew on a varied palette of cultural resources.

The essays in this volume emerged from a conference uniting scholars all working on diverse aspects of this rich Lutheran culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But why do we need a new cultural history of Lutheranism and why now? What can be added to the story of the Reformation? 2017 is 'Lutherjahr', and the current interest in histories of the

¹ Cyriacus Spangenberg, *Mansfeldische Chronica Der Erste Theil: Von Erschaffung vnd Austheilung der Welt, vnd insonderheit von der Graueschafft Mansfelt vnd den alten vnd ersten Deutschen Koenigen vnd Fuersten, der Schwaben vnd Marckmannen, Cherusken, Francken vnd Sachsen* (Eisleben, 1572). On the life and career of Spangenberg, see Stefan Rhein and Günther Wartberg, eds., *Reformatoren im Mansfelder Land: Erasmus Sarcerius und Cyriacus Spangenberg* (Leipzig, 2006); Robert J. Christman, *Doctrinal Controversy and Lay Religiosity in Late Reformation Germany: The Case of Mansfeld* (Leiden, 2011).

² *Die Ältesten gedruckten Karten des Sächsischen-Thüringischen Länder* (1550-1593), ed. Viktor Hantzsch (Leipzig, 1905), fo. 7.

³ R.W. Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther: The Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany', *Past and Present* 110 (1986); Lyndal Roper, 'Martin Luther's Body: The "Stout Doctor" and His Biographers', *American History Review* 115 (2010).

Reformation evoked by the 500-year anniversary of 1517 invites an opportunity to re-examine the reformer's legacy and construct a new cultural and indeed collaborative approach to the history of the Lutheran Reformation. What made something or someone Lutheran? Was there a Lutheran culture? And if so, how was it expressed, defined and articulated? As the insights of the social and cultural history of the last ten years are being brought to bear on the Reformation, these questions have been thrown into sharp relief. Accounts must go beyond the existing scholarship on the Lutheran Reformation which has examined theological arguments and confessional controversies, social disciplining, ritual life, or ecclesiastical institutions, and think instead about how Lutheran culture remoulded men and women's experiences and forged new identities, how the Lutheran Reformation transformed individual identity and subjectivity, and how Lutherans were 'made'.

Luther looming large over the landscape of his birth seems a fitting metaphor. Any account of Lutheran culture must take account of the life and legacy of the reformer. His personality and psyche shaped the new confession, and those who professed themselves Lutheran negotiated their narratives in relation to his story. When we think of Luther an image like that on the map immediately springs to mind, of the 'stout doctor', maybe in preaching mode, or next to his wife Katherina von Bora or perhaps his fellow reformer Melancthon, whose sallow, thin frame contrasts with the bulk of Luther. But how did sixteenth-century Lutherans imagine and experience Luther? The map was one of many depictions of the Wittenberg theologian. From the very beginning of his reforming career, creating Luther's image was part of the work of the Reformation, and his face popped up everywhere in early modern Germany – on books and altar pieces, on coins or oven tiles, or in miniature portraits.⁴ Visual portrayals were one way of encountering Luther; texts and words were another. Theologians and intellectuals poured over Luther's works, racing to print editions of his writings, or collecting his prophecies, dinner time conversation, or letters; for the laity, shortened and simplified versions of his writings existed, Luther-lite as it were; pastors staged plays where Luther was made to speak again against his naysayers.⁵ Sometimes this pseudo-resurrection went even further. Casts were taken of Luther's face and hands soon after his death in 1546, and these were made into a Luther doll in the town of Halle, a somewhat disconcerting effigy complete with glass eyes and hair which installed in the library of the Marienkirche in the early seventeenth century.⁶

No sufficient account of Lutheran culture can make Luther the sole focus but the range of ways that Lutherans possessed of representing and remembering Luther provides an insight into what we might call repertoires of Lutheranism. To understand these repertoires,

⁴ Scribner, 'Incombustible Luther'; Roper 'Martin Luther's Body'; Roper, 'Venus in Wittenberg: Cranach, Luther, and Sensuality', in Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer and Robin Barnes (eds.), *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany: Essays in Honor of H.C. Erik Mitelfort* (Farnham, 2009), 81-98; Roper, 'Luther Relics', in Jennifer Spinks and Dagmer Eichberger (eds.), *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: An Album Amicorum for Charles Zika*; Harald Meller (ed.), *Fundsache Luther. Archäologie auf der Spuren des Reformators* (Stuttgart, 2008).

⁵ Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher and Hero* (Grand Rapids, 2009). Luther's dinner conversations were recorded into the famous Tischreden (Table Talk). For a recent discussion of this collection see Katharina Bärenfänger, Volker Leppin, und Stefan Michel (eds.), *Martin Luthers Tischreden: Neuansätze der Forschung* (Tübingen, 2013). Examples of works such as Luther prophecies and plays are numerous. For examples see. ADD

⁶ Birkenmeir, 'Luthers Totenmaske?', 189. See Ulinka, Rublack, 'Grapho-Relics: Lutheranism and the Materialization of the Word', *Past and Present* 206, 163-4.

historians need to think about culture across a variety of genres, not just in theology, sermons, treatises, or chronicles, but song and drama, image and object. Culture was born not only from intellectual engagement with new understandings of faith and theology, but engaged the senses and emotions. It involved seeing images of Luther, listening to songs, handling a miniature portrait, or even experiencing physical sensations or feelings in new ways. From the theological to the sensual, the visual to the spatial, this volume explores the project of early modern Lutheran culture, as Luther himself constructed his own identity, as Lutheran pastors like Spangenberg and the laity expressed a sense of belonging, and as Lutheranism emerged as a confessional community.

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Diversified approaches to the history of the Reformation have replaced the master tale of *the* European Reformation which gave birth to modernity. As Carlos M. Eire has indicated in his recent sweeping account of the Reformation world, Karl Holl's grand narrative, which grew out of the German school of *Geistesgeschichte* and focused on ideas as the drivers of change, now seems 'horribly ludicrous'.⁷ The Reformation, or perhaps more accurately 'reformations', are now seen as inconsistent and diverse, with no central point of origin; they have long-reaching effects and global implications; and they did not create fixed endpoints and identities, but were a series of processes full of possibilities and permutations.⁸ The Reformation undoubtedly changed the face of world history but it is misleading to see this as an inevitable story of nationalist, intellectual, or political-material crisis and progression, which resulted in modernisation, secularisation or disenchantment is misleading. The paradigm shift of the Reformation era might rather be understood as the transformation of cultural systems that shaped attitudes to the body and the soul, the living and the dead, gender, images, poverty, and much more. In this respect, the Reformation can be placed in the context of much broader shifts of the later medieval and early modern world.⁹ These complex and diverse narratives are persuasive and compelling in their challenging scope, but all-inclusive and ecumenical approaches do not entirely solve the question of the evolution of different confessional communities and cultures. Accepting all the insights of this scholarship, historians might question whether it is still possible to write a history of Lutheranism, or any other confession, without reverting to crude generalisations, and if so, what a history of changing, dynamic Lutheran culture would look like within the broader picture of reformation histories.

A series of interrelated problems have dogged the study of the Lutheran Reformation. First, perhaps understandably but particularly pertinent as the anniversary of the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses approaches, Luther has dominated accounts of Lutheranism. From the first biography written by his bitter, obsessive opponent Johannes Cochlaeus which dissected Luther's pride and anger, to the slew of accounts in the twentieth century, Luther has

⁷ Carlos M.N. Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World* (New Haven, 2016)

⁸ Ulrika Rublack, 'Introduction', in Rublack (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations* (Oxford, 2016), 4-7.

⁹ Eire, *Reformations*, 744-50; Craig Koslofsky, 'Explaining Change', in Rublack (ed.), *Protestant Reformations*, 587-9.

possessed enduring fascination.¹⁰ Although Lyndal Roper's recent incisive biography can make a claim to be the definitive account of Luther's life, interest in telling Luther's story will endure.¹¹ Thomas Kaufmann's recent contribution to the *Oxford Handbook of the Reformation* provocatively reiterates that even in the face of countless accounts which examine autonomous reform movements and independent reformers, 'without Luther, no Reformation!'¹² Though Roper's methodological framework differs from Kaufmann's, she would not contest Luther's importance. But as she reminds us, even if we do make Luther central, he could never be an easy hero. He is full of contradictions, inspiring, dogmatic, vulgar, emotional, and undoubtedly essential to the success of the Reformation. As scholarship is coming to realise, his personality shaped the Reformation in profound ways, but this only underscores the need to go beyond Luther and to fully realise the legacy created by such a complex figure. A broadsheet produced on Martin Luther's death in 1546 exemplified a typical example of the commemorative public mourning that followed the demise of the Wittenberg reformer. Although shown in death, nevertheless Luther's personality seems to come across the page – the 'stout doctor', the heavy, jowly face, and clasped hands, Luther's bulk which was so familiar and seemed to echo his personality. These widespread images of Luther resting in death which were based on the hastily produced sketches drawn at his deathbed were contradictory in their presentation of a bombastic dominant personality and yet marking his loss and demise. Luther was present and absent all at once. Related questions of memory and authority are essential in a confessional culture which was so bound up with the life and personality of one man. His energy gave Lutheranism its drive while the Wittenberg reformer lived, but also presented a challenge when he died. Contemporaries worried about Luther's legacy and how to remember him, as well as who could now lead the work of the Reformation. Luther's absence as much as his presence was integral to the dynamic of Lutheranism.

Secondly, and perhaps a consequence of the focus on Luther and the desire to dissect his intellectual journey, most traditional accounts of Lutheranism have focused on theological traditions, particularly in German scholarship. Leopold von Ranke's claims in the nineteenth century that Luther essentially gave birth to modernity with his intellectual revolution, continued to some extent by Holl and his emphasis on the German *Sonderweg*, identify theology and ideas as the prime mover and the key to unlocking the Reformation. By the late 1970s, however there was a divergent approach from social historians who subordinated faith to other narratives of material and social contexts. Above all, Robert Scribner's work transformed our view of the Reformation and made it a social event, and the research of scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davies, Tom Brady Alexandra Walsham, Alec Ryrie, and Bridget Heal (to name but a few) has broadened the horizons about what religious change

¹⁰ *The Commentary on the Life of Luther* was published at the end of Cochlaeus' life, although most had been written by 1534. For an English translation and a short biography see Luther's Lives: Two Contemporary Accounts of Martin Luther, ed. and trans. Elizabeth Vandiver, Ralph Keen, and Thomas D. Frazel (Manchester, 2002). There are too many Luther biographies to list but the prominent studies have now become familiar to Reformation historians: Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther*; Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*; Michael Mullett, Robert Kolb. Thomas Kaufmann

¹¹ Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (London, 2016).

¹² Thomas Kaufmann, 'Luther and Lutheranism', in Rublack (ed.), *Oxford Handbook*, 149.

meant, and how it was experienced and enacted.¹³ Yet it is unsurprising that the need to understand religious change as an intellectual and theological process has not waned, and this is particularly pertinent in the case of Lutheranism, since it made the primary intellectual break which split Christendom.¹⁴ Recognising the important of ideas and theology without making it the prime mover, or seeing religious change as something done to people from above, remains the challenge.

The legacy of confessionalisation has further distorted the account of theological and intellectual traditions. Schiller and Reinhard's famous thesis argued that confessional change was ineluctably intertwined with a play for political influence, power and disciplinary control, and as such it has created two major problem. First, it sharpened the lines of denominational and theological division in a way which did not reflect the reality of experience, equating confessional frameworks with identity. Moreover, it makes theology the tool of statecraft; ideas and practice align in an authoritarian model. Nearly every historian of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe accepts that this model, which argues that confessional change was ineluctably intertwined with a play for political influence, power and disciplinary control, does not provide an adequate account of religious culture. Confessionalisation was not the natural bedfellow of modernisation and state formation.¹⁵ The debate has become tired, yet the 'age of confessionalisation' has become a convenient shorthand for the later sixteenth century and is still used to describe the period following the Peace of Augsburg after the initial burst of reform and before the Thirty Years' War. It has left an indelible mark on reformation histories. It has made 'confessions' (if not always confessionalisation) the way scholars think about religion, it has side-lined the radical Reformation, and focused energies on 1555 as a turning point when the dogma 'cuius regio, eius religio' irrevocably altered the religious map of Europe.¹⁶ The narrative of later Lutheranism in particular has pinpointed how later Lutheran culture defined itself internally and in contrast to other confessions post-Luther and post-Augsburg. We know much about the theological arguments in this era – a dizzying array of factions based on theological principles and inclinations: Philippists, Gnesio-Lutherans, Adiaphorists, Flacians, Pseudo-

¹³ Natalie Zemon Davies, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975); Robert Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden, 2001); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2011); Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013); Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety 1500-1648* (Cambridge, 2007).

¹⁴ One need only look at the recent programmes for conferences such as the SCSC. There has been much recent excellent work picking apart the intellectual roots of the Reformation and Reformation thought such as Amy Burnett's work on Karlstadt.

¹⁵ Wolfgang Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa", in Wolfgang Reinhard, (ed.), *Bekenntnis und Geschichte: Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang* (Munich, 1981), 165-189; Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire. Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620", in Heinz Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden, 1992), 205-245.

¹⁶ For recent studies which draw on the confessionalisation thesis but also critique it see Christman, *Doctrinal Controversy and Lay Religiosity*; Christopher Ocker (ed.), *Politics and Reformations: Histories and Reformations : Essays in Honour of Thomas A. Brady, Jr* (Leiden, 2007).

Calvinists.¹⁷ However, whilst we have many accounts of Lutheran and confessional culture, we do not have a cultural history of Lutheranism as a confession.

Thirdly, these historical approaches have had the effect of splitting early from late Lutheranism, before and after Luther. If Scribner captured the early energy of the Reformation, the confessionalisation thesis posited that his died out by the later sixteenth century. Undoubtedly the movement changed after the reformer's demise but we need to understand how the story of Luther's life shaped the pattern of the later Reformation. The cumulative weight of this historiography, focusing on an apparent demise after 1546 or at least a mid-century slump, has meant that scholarship too often writes the story of Lutheranism as one of success or failure: failure to convert the energy of Luther into a dominant confession worldwide, failure compared to Calvinism which proselytised more successfully, failure to educate the pastorate, failure to break free of the patterns of worship and of organisation of the Catholic Church, though scholars have pointed to success too in the way Lutheranism maintained its hold in the Lutheran heartlands and weathered the storm of the difficult years of the middle of the sixteenth century. Whether success or failure, such an approach leaves very little room to produce an account of the impact of Lutheranism which has nuance and shade, or understands it at the level of experience.

These dilemmas demand a new approach, a cultural history which can move beyond biography, theology, and success and failure to understand how Lutheranism became a dynamic, lived reality. Rublack's volume provides new pathways for understanding global, diverse reformation movements as continuing processes, and the cultural roots and cultural effects of reform. However, it is not always clear what, if anything, Lutheran culture might mean specifically or how specific cultural matrices caused change or came into being. The concept of a distinct Lutheran 'culture' might not seem a helpful way of thinking about early modern religiosity. 'Culture' can flatter to deceive, perhaps proving to be an empty label which cannot be defined in any meaningful way. Part of the problem is, as Gadi Algazi reminds us, that we seem forced to choose between 'Culture' or 'culture', neither of which seem very satisfactory.¹⁸ High culture, 'Culture' with a definitive big C, implies activities that are officially or notionally accepted in social hierarchies as culture and cultural. The nature of the actions and objects that fall within this official remit of 'Culture', and the very spaces where they are enacted and displayed, can mark the boundaries between elite and popular, wealth and poverty, power and powerlessness. Culture in the modern world is often - somewhat disparagingly - described in such terms as elitist: literature, theatre, or opera. Culture with a big C is problematic to historians since it restricts culture to a defined catalogue of activities and objects, the official signifiers of culture, as well as implying moral, social or aesthetic judgement. A less dogmatic approach would be to see culture as clearly circumscribed yet not directed exclusively from the top down but rather enacted by a variety of agents. These individuals define structures of cultural organisation which demarcate between culture and non-culture.¹⁹ Even this approach, however, excludes much that

¹⁷ Robert Kolb, 'Dynamics of Party Conflict in the Saxon Late Reformation: Gnesio-Lutherans vs. Philippists', *Journal of Modern History* 49 (1977); Randolph Conrad Head and Daniel Eric Christensen, *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture: Order and Creativity, 1500-1750* (Leiden, 2007).

¹⁸ Gadi Algazi, 'What is culture, anyhow?', presentation at 'Cultures of Lutheranism', conference held at TORCH, Oxford, February 2015.

¹⁹ G.J. Dorleijn and Herman L.J. Vatiiphout, *Cultural Repertoires: Structure, Function and Dynamics*, xi.

historians might want to talk as belonging culture, everyday objects, gestures, emotions, food, or spaces.

Culture with a small 'c' on the other hand does not draw these lines of inclusion and exclusion. The culture of a certain society or community can include almost anything. The idea of a 'thick description', made so famous by anthropologist Clifford Geertz, has paved the way for numerous historians to excavate the cultural, symbolic systems that lie behind a community's actions and behaviours. It has proved so enduringly popular because it seems to offer privileged insights into previously closed cultural matrices, if only we look hard enough and provide a sufficiently thick description. Yet 'culture' with a small c will not provide all the answers either, even though it allows historians to talk about more quotidian concerns. Furthermore cultural historians and historians of the reformation who have adopted a cultural approach, such as Scribner, which includes this broad range of cultural insights still tend to split between popular and elite. Equally problematic, it can become so broad as to be apparently meaningless, including anything from noses to cats, rivers to cities. Whilst fascinating and stimulating, such a notion of culture loses analytical insight, cataloguing phenomena rather than explaining change or providing explanatory frameworks. This perhaps remains the problem with the Cultural approach Koslofsky.

Algazi's answer to his own question – Culture or culture – is neither. He argues that the most productive way to understand and use culture as a dynamic concept is to adopt a framework that does not just reduce the world to texts and symbols but to understand culture in terms of social usages. Culture can be seen as a series of productive options, so rather than decoding what things mean, culture is about what to do. Culture necessitates action as well as making it possible. Instead of deciphering forms of cultural expression - meanings of which individuals would have been unaware anyway in day to day life, Algazi argues - he proposes that culture is to be seen as a series of repertoires for action.²⁰ Using this model of culture we can pose the question: what repertoires did Lutherans have available? This approach does not restrict historians of Lutheranism to high culture alone nor force us to overload everyday actions with excessive meaning. At the same time, it does allow us to consider the range of human experience and the productive nature of culture.

It also helps to tackle the equally difficult issue of identity, and how and if culture and identity are related. Identity suggests many ideas about belonging, the individual, and communities, but also promises few concrete answers since it is so hard to define. Identity is often apparently contingent and changeable, dependent on and negotiated with reference to circumstance, context and other people. But if identity is so nebulous, questions arise about how incisive it can be as an analytical tool. Identity may also not be a historical constant. Identity understood as an inherent sense of self or individuality might seem to be a modern creation, which does not equate to early modern categories. We have to be sensitive to past notions of identities, as well as to communal and corporate identities. Identity was not necessarily coterminous with the self or the individual, and a range of ways of enacting identity existed. Furthermore, recent cultural theory from a scholar such as Appiah would argue that culture understood in broad terms does not necessarily help us understand identity.

²⁰ Gadi Algazi, 'Kulturkult und Rekonstruktion des Handlungsrepertoires', *L'homme. Zeitschrift für Feministisches Geschichtswissenschaft* 11 (2000); Algazi, 'What is culture, anyhow?'; Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*; Elisabeth Waghall Nivre, *Women and Family Life in Early Modern German Literature*, 17

The work of anthropologists who avoid relative evaluations of different cultural systems is opposed to a more value based notion of civilisation, or culture which includes notions of values. However, these values, the practices and institutions say of modern American civilisation which constitute its 'culture', are not actually shared by every subculture or community; culture and identity are not synonymous, nor does culture simply 'belong' to certain groups. Appiah's interest is to provide the basis for a workable understanding of multiculturalism and respect in the modern world, and his theory will not provide all the answers, and draws a stark line between what we are and what do, but his analysis is relevant to debates about early modern identities and culture. If historians want to talk about Lutheran culture, or Catholic culture, scholars have to develop a notion of culture with values and standards, without insisting on strict, immovable, or hermetically sealed notions of culture, and even if we accept these did not map onto experience and identity. Being too emphatic about culture with a small 'c' and relying too heavily on an anthropological framework, seeing culture in totalising terms as the products of all human effort it does not allow a cultural model which evokes identity. Koslofsky characterises the reformation as a cultural revolution, a movement which can be characterised as a series of cultural solutions to problems in many ways convincing but it does not start to explain why different groups developed different cultural solutions. The early modern era witnessed competing notions of culture, identity, community, civilisation, nation (or at least regional or national belonging), as Lutherans deployed some of the same expressive resources as other confessional communities but came to form a culture which

The problem of Lutheran culture necessitates an understanding of how religious identity was embodied. It might be particularly marked at times of devotion when marked out by the liturgical rhythm of worship, or times of confessional conflict. As Rublack reminds us, 'beliefs about a truthful religion were informed by and gave shape to personal experiences. Acts embody and build up specific ideals about the way in which communities of believers locate themselves on earth in relation to the divine. The ways in which Protestants made religion "happen in their world" and relevant to truth claims about their religion therefore can be studied through concrete acts which involve their bodies, material culture, gendered identifications, spaces, and texts through which religion becomes present in imaginative forms.'²¹ Yet for a Lutheran, not every waking moment was spent thinking about Lutheran ideas. A defining sense of participation in a Lutheran community might seem the obvious corollary of belief in Lutheran theology. However, the reality of the connection between belief and belonging was more complicated.²² Alec Ryrie's recent work on the lives of Protestants in early modern England decries an approach which focuses too much on doctrine. Human beings are, he writes, more than 'credal statements' on legs, and his magisterial work aims to answer the question of what Puritans did day to day, and not just when they considered deeper questions of theology. We might well ask the same questions about the life of a pastor like Cyriacus Spangenberg.

Ryrie focuses on habitual devotional practices not just doctrine to understand the daily existence and experience of English Protestants. Yet this approach still leaves us with a problem: how confessional identity and belonging were expressed in other subtler ways,

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²² Ryrie, *Being Protestant*; Kat Hill, *Baptism, Brotherhood, and Belief in Reformation Germany: Anabaptism in Lutheran Central Germany, 1525-1595*. Theology and ideas were essential but as Caroline Walker Bynum's recent article illustrates the trickle down of intellectual concepts, in this case the permissibility of *adiaphora*, to material and cultural practices could be slow.

ways which did not look strictly confessional. When Spangenberg wrote about noble practice in his *Adespiegel* or hunting in the *Jagdspiegel*, or indeed when he wrote a history chronicle, how Lutheran was it? When Friedrich Dedekind penned his gross, moralising work *Grobianus* (an anti-mirror for behaviour) was it espousing Lutheran theology? When people performed a Lutheran song did they feel Lutheran? Lutherans were not the only ones to write histories or disciplinary works, Dedekind's carnivalesque moralising was arguably part of a sixteenth and seventeenth century Rabelaisian literary rhetoric; and singing was a sensory as well as a confessional experience. The question becomes even more fraught when we consider more prosaic expressions of Lutheran identity. Luther was a popular design choice for oven tiles but so were biblical figures, historical heroes, or nobles. So, did ordinary Germans think of Lutheranism every time they warmed the house? To make totalising claims about these experiences would be reductionist but they were part of the Lutheran world of experience. If we acknowledge, as Algazi insists, that not every day to day action was imbued with meaning to be uncovered, we must be careful about how we interpret quotidian rhythms. Using the prism of culture can be like a diagnosis after the fact, uncovering what was possibly meant by a deed, rather than examining how the fact of doing created culture and identity. Motivations are complex, sometimes irrational, laced through with many different concerns, and they are not always clear consequences of an individual's community and culture, or confessional choices. Likewise, the effects of actions are not always predictable. Action itself formed community and identity, and did not simply reflect it.

The definitions of culture and identity are far from straightforward, and deploying them has potential pitfalls. However, dispensing with such notions in despair leaves few tools to explain what made Lutheranism Lutheran. An iconoclastic assault on terms and frameworks runs the risk of eroding the power for analytical interpretation. Blurred boundaries, interconnectedness, permeability, and multiple meanings are all essential elements when we consider the nature of cultural and religious identities, but we should not lose sight of the differences and distinctions between confessions or how boundaries were drawn in confused contexts. In short we need to understand the cultural repertoires and modes of interaction which gave force to Lutheran communities.

The essays in this volume problematize these concepts of Lutheran culture, identity and belonging. Some deal with Martin Luther himself, others his memory, but they also range from the meaning of music to deconstructions of the urban space of Wittenberg, from ideas about the landscape in the work of Hans Sachs to notions of filth and the body in Lutheran literature, even the influence of Lutheran ideas on Catholic communities. They all share a desire to understand the modes of thinking and acting offered by Luther and available to individuals as they sought to negotiate the world of theology and intellectual practice, sex and family, the past and future, and everyday experiences. The essays go beyond cultural history with a capital 'C', which in the sphere of the history of religion has traditionally meant a focus on theology, liturgy and official forms of devotion. The collective approach taken in these chapter to cultural history permits a study of the substantial structures of Lutheranism without eliminating the individual by examining a catalogue of repertoires whilst acknowledging that the way men and women deployed such repertoires might not be the same. And finally, it also provides a model for change, helping to bridge the gap between early and late Lutheranism by understanding how cultural options were used, altered and transformed.

The intellectual and theological profile of Lutheranism might seem an obvious starting point. An ideological revolution against the Catholic church lay at the heart of the Reformation, and as Ryrie has indicated, Protestantism was a faith which aimed to realise an ‘impossible vision’ of making every Christian a theologian.²³ Luther’s intellectual breakthroughs were the cornerstone of the faith, and after his death the movement disintegrated into bitterly bickering groups who wanted to establish the theological legacy of the Wittenberg reformer. Intellectual repertoires were essential to Lutheran culture, but they were not one dimensional. In an original approach to Luther’s theology of the body, Susan Karant-Nunn’s chapter connects three strands of Luther’s thought: his endorsement of marital sexuality, his emphasis on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and his desire to retain certain elements of visual imagery in worship. In doing so she illustrates how the theological principles which reconciled the body and the spirit were played out across various arenas, not just the written word, but in the corporeality of marriage and sex, in the liturgy and practise of the Eucharist, and through material culture. Ron Rittgers examines the way in which theology provided a new register and vocabulary to understand distress and emotional suffering. Whilst anguish could no longer be considered a form of penance, the consolation literature of Lutheranism reimagined the role that the suffering body had to play in piety. Theological and intellectual repertoires were not just reserved for the world of writing, reading, and the mind but affected the bodily and emotional worlds of Lutherans who used the frameworks interpret their daily worlds.

Lutheran funeral sermons exemplify this reality. The funeral sermon has been studied as a distinctly Lutheran phenomenon, with its origins in the copious letters of consolation that Luther composed. Writing a funeral sermon was a chance to espouse proper intellectual attitudes to death, and by mirroring Luther’s own works, which aimed to provide insight and comfort in times of tragedy, the author could perform an act of theological and devotional conformity. Yet these were also highly charged, emotional displays of a culture embedded in certain patterns of thinking and feeling. In the Thuringian town of Mühlhausen the pastor Ludwig Helmbold lamented the death of Hieronymus Tilesius in 1567, the first superintendent in the region. The sermon on his death exemplified the localized copycat orations which followed Luther’s ideas on death as well as the funeral sermon given by Melancthon himself on Luther’s passing. Epitaphs written for Luther emphasized that he was sent as a prophet to spread the light of the gospel but came in ‘danger and fear’.²⁴ Likewise Helmbold wrote how Tilesius had come at an opportune moment, when the light of the gospel was fading but that he had been called (prophet-like) to this apostolic office. Beset by insults and blasphemous attacks from the Catholics, nonetheless Tilesius persevered, and Helmbold celebrated his achievements, as well as mourning his death. Struggle against adversity was also intimately linked to the importance of the experience of *Anfechtungen* in Lutheran theology, the idea that the prophets of the true church would be tried and tested when they suffered temptations and despair, so that they could understand the profound value of God’s promise of salvation. Creative cultures of remembrance were constructed around Luther and other figures, which incorporated all sorts of losses, trials, and tribulations by mobilising emotional registers as well as theological principles.

²³ Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, 1

²⁴ Des D. Just. Jonas und Mich. Coelius Bericht von Lutheri Absterben, ed. G.A. John (Magdeburg, 1846); Philip Melancthon, *Oratio über der Leich des Ehrwerdigen Herrn D. Martini Luthers* (Wittenberg, 1546).

Lutheranism's new emotional repertoires focused around narratives of hope and despair, and these could be used to evoke suffering and distress but also laughter and mocking. Kat Hill illustrates that Lutheranism's equivocal attitude to the body and bodily processes was a source for creative, literary humour. Luther used coarse and vulgar language, often referring to sexuality and anality, filth and excrement to insult his enemies, or poke fun at friends and adversaries. As Lyndal Roper has argued, analysing this type of thinking is essential to getting inside the psychology of Luther but if so, it is also fundamental for understanding how memories of Luther functioned in the later sixteenth century, and how they drew on new emotional and bodily understandings. Crude mocking, laughter both in Luther's own writings or later literary creations was intimately related to a culture which luxuriated in materiality and the body, but was also uneasy with excess. Such literature was supposed to be entertaining and enjoyed, but satirical works of fiction which deliberately explored different responses to the body and material objects, also captured some of the complex emotional ambiguity of Protestant moralising which operated without the Catholic cycle of sin and penance.

As well as different emotional regimes, Lutheranism created new sensory repertoires. Perhaps this was unsurprising to be expected as the rich sensual world of Catholicism was deconstructed – its smells, tastes, sounds, and sights all altered. However, the transition to a new sensory environment was not linear or uniform. As Philip Hahn's excellent recent articles has shown, the Lutheran sonic landscape varied from territory to territory depending on the proximity to Calvinist or Catholic territories, and over time as practices of bell ringing evolved. The 1617 Jubilee accorded occasion for the full peal of bells to be rung in the Minster in Ulm as a boon to the Lutheran cause and because it gave the parishioners pleasure.²⁵ Hahn expands his investigation into the sensory world of Lutheranism with his contribution in this volume, examining the intersensoriality of experience and how far this was confessionally determined. Sensing or talking about the senses differently could be an intellectual act as well as an experiential one. Mark Jenner's work emphasises that sensory regimes in seventeenth-century England were intellectual choices, for sense was a way for Galenic physicians to refute Helmontians.²⁶ As Hahn's work, as well as the chapters from Karant-Nunn, Rittgers and Hill emphasise, Lutheranism involved an ideological refutation of Catholic and indeed Calvinist attitudes to the body, the senses and feelings, but they also probe the more profound question about whether Lutherans smelt or saw, tasted or touched differently from Catholics or Calvinists. Arguably sensory, emotional and bodily experience could actually be altered by confessional culture. Recent work has investigated the way in which the neurological processes by which we recognise racial difference might actually be conditioned by cultural frameworks; the same may be true for sensory perception, feelings and emotions.²⁷

Matthew Laube also explores the sensory world of Lutheranism, examining a tablecloth which was presented as a wedding gift to Graf Poppo XII of Henneberg-Schleusingen and his wife in 1562, embroidered with images of music being made as well as

²⁵ Philip Hahn, 'The Reformation of the Soundscape: Bell-ringing in Early Modern Lutheran Germany', *German History* 33 (2015), 525-45.

²⁶ Mark S. R. Jenner, 'Tasting Lichfield, Touching China: Sir John Floyer's Senses', *Historical Journal* 53 (2010), 647-70.

²⁷ Cristian Berceo, 'Perception and the Mulatto Body in Inquisition in Spain: A Neurohistory', *Past and Present* 231 (2016), 33-60.

musical notation. Domestic music making, which was centred around such objects, developed Lutheran confessional identity and ordered the Lutheran household. What is striking about Laube's work is his analysis of both the sounding and material dimension of music. The notation was meant to be sung, but the object's visual and tactile reality was also essential to its cultural meaning. Lutheranism created a new repertoire for material culture, whether moving music to new domestic settings or making new images for churches. Confessional objects like liturgical apparatus or devotional images might obviously express Lutheran belonging but the meaning of more mundane and quotidian material culture is more complicated. Mirko Gutjahr's chapter examines how Lutheran was the rubbish from Luther's home. Reconstructing the finds from the family household, Gutjahr asks us to think about how the daily rhythms of life might reflect and express Lutheran identity, embodied in the domestic spaces and material objects. Roisin Watson addresses similar questions about the embodiment of confessional identity in material objects and spaces, focusing though on the rhythms of death, and the changes surrounding the materiality of death and dying in seventeenth-century Württemberg as baroque Lutheran piety evolved.

Material objects and sensory experiences did not exist in a vacuum, and both Watson and Laube explore Lutheran uses of place. The work of scholars such as David Luebke and Alex Walsham has so deftly shown that spaces, both natural and artificial, were contested and given confessional meaning. Lutherans occupied existing spaces in different ways, and created and imagined new spaces, as Lutheran identity was expressed by places. Lutherans used space differently from Catholics and Calvinists but there were also different ways of imagining and representing it. Anna Linton analyses the Lutheran construction of place in the work of the Lutheran writer and poet, Hans Sachs, examining his shifting use of landscapes, cityscapes and dreamscapes to express Lutheran theology. Accompanying literary and theological works, these depictions helped Lutherans think about space in new ways as the traditional Catholic landscape was refigured.

Spatial repertoires changed with the Reformation but so did temporal ones. Lutherans remembered Luther's life, constructed their own past and celebrated new anniversaries. Scott Dixon's contribution emphasises the way in which the break of the Reformation was not just a separation from the theology of the Catholic Church but also its past. A whole new way of thinking about history was created, often localised rather than part of just one great narrative, and a distinctly Lutheran and indeed German sense of history evolved. Future time and prophecy were also important to Lutherans, as they interpreted signs and wonders to work out where time was headed. Jenny Spinks explores these themes in the work of the Lutheran pastor and historian Andreas Engel whose *WiderNatur und Wunderbuch* (1597) drew upon decades of Lutheran wonder books that had polemically identified and interpreted bizarre natural phenomena. Wonder books were often shaped by an explicitly apocalyptic approach to reading and establishing patterns across the growing numbers of abnormal signs as heralds of the Last Days, especially in German lands. Engel's work remained deeply local in content and concerned with Lutheran culture and identity in Brandenburg, but it was also shaped by the larger context of changes in Protestantism, and in particular Calvinism in its German, French and Swiss manifestations.

Spinks asks us to think about how specific Lutheran culture was and how it related to other confessions. Perhaps nowhere was this more obvious than in pluriconfessional or biconfessional communities. From mixed confessional cities to *Simultantkirche* (shared

devotional spaces), cultural arenas were often not exclusively Lutheran, so groups in these communities explored a variety of repertoires to shore up or delineate a sense of belonging. Beth Plummer's chapter examines the use of sacred space in the pluriconfessional convent of Fröndenberg in Westphalia, where Calvinist, Catholic, and Lutheran nuns had to occupy the same location. Plummer analyses the rules established for singing in the choir and illustrates each group developed confessional markers to give themselves a sense of belonging and identity beyond that already inherent in their confessional choice. The necessity for such boundaries, especially in the seventeenth century after the nuns had lived side by side for many years, reminds us that theological choices were not always sufficient nor stable enough markers to establish identity and that the cultural resources used to establish belonging could change over time. Martin Christ's chapter pushes the problematisation of Lutheran culture even further by examining the uptake of Lutheran ideas by Catholics in the East Saxon region of Upper Lusatia. The Reformation did not just change the cultural options for Lutherans but altered the whole dynamic of religious experience by forcing questions of confessional difference, sometimes resulting in confrontation, sometimes collaboration.

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A visitor to Wittenberg this year can experience Luther in the wonder of a 360-degree, 175-metre-high cityscape. The Viennese artist and architect, Yadegar Asisi, has spent the last six years with a team of collaborators and specialist advisers devising a panoramic visual portrayal of the reformer's life and town when he posted the Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the church in Wittenberg.²⁸ Without dispute, this is part of the hero cult of Luther. Luther occurs in the scene at numerous points across the scene, berating indulgence sellers, courageously presenting the iconic theses, or turning a blind eye as the Jews are expelled from the town. Painted sunbeams shine on the historical landscape lighting up the most essential moment of the narrative, Luther's challenge at the church door. The hyperrealism of the scenes appears to attempt to make Luther relevant for the present day, a figure 'of the now'. In what seems a direct riposte to the Werner Tuebke panorama in Frankenhausen, a rainbow soars across the sky, a rainbow of course being the image that appeared on banners of Thomas Müntzer's League of the Chosen and which was the iconic symbol of the Peasants' War. Yet here, and as emphasised by Asisi's own interpretations of his work, it seems to represent the dawning of a new era ushered in by the theological arguments posited by the Wittenberg reformer. For the Berlin born artist, he is an individual whose actions irrevocably shaped the shape of religion and human experience. Asisi says he seeks to present Luther as man of his time, hostile to Jews and condemning witches - In a clear homage to the Cranach woodcut one of the background scenes is the burning of four witches - but he also celebrates Luther's transformative career.²⁹

The immersive 360 Luther is in some ways deeply typical of the cult of memory surrounding 2017 and Lutheran culture in general. It is concerned with place, biography, and narrative, it is visual, and has an element of material culture and physical engagement. It places Luther at a particular place and at a particular time to remind us of the importance of this date. Certainly, it would seem churlish to deny that the Reformation irrevocably shaped

²⁸ <http://www.asisi.de/de/panoramen/luther-1517/photo-gallery-de.html>

²⁹ <http://www.dw.com/en/yadegar-asisi-luther-1517/av-36148599>

the religious map of the modern world. However, this type of memorialisation also sits rather uncomfortably with other cultural expressions of Lutheranism and the 2017 anniversary, as well as the diverse scholarly approaches to reformation movements as cultural and social processes that went beyond grand narratives. It is hagiographical and serious, whereas Lutheran culture from its earliest days seems to have had an element of the comic, the brash, and the irreverent. Serious eulogies or theological debate went alongside cut-out Luthers and crude mockery of opponents. Perhaps more in keeping with this view of the cultures of Lutheranism, is the German tourism's website virtual tour of 'Lutherland' filmed with the Luther Play Mobil figure in the scenes, humorous and playful.

Moreover, there is little room for anyone other than Luther in the Wittenberg panorama nor a broader story of the Reformation beyond Luther's revelation. The fact that it seems to be a response to the Frankenhausen panorama suggests a counter message too. This placed Müntzer and the Peasants' War in a prominent position, suggesting that his reformation represented a failed but noble attempt at change. The claim echoed political sentiment in the DDR at a time when its communist ideals seemed to be waning. In Gillen's words, "the crumbling state had involuntarily set the seal of approval on its own mausoleum, the last resting place for all its promises of progress."³⁰ Timed to coincide with the 500-year anniversary of Thomas Müntzer's birth, the opening of the panorama evoked a political message about the intellectual and geographical ownership of the Reformation, as well as its legacy. Political and intellectual discussion has always focused and continues to focus on the question of to whom the Reformation belongs. The anniversary of Luther's birth had already prompted the DDR regime to hold a celebration at the Wartburg, hailing Luther as Germany's most famous son.³¹ 2017 has evoked similar questions of ownership. In the Asisi Luther panorama, the centrality of the Wittenberg reformer excludes all others, and the lauding of Luther leaves no room for Calvin and Zwingli, let alone the myriad diverse offshoots of the Reformation.³² Its hyperrealism also leaves a slightly uneasy feeling. One woman says she is impressed since this is how it was, and the concessions to some negative aspects of Luther's persona seem to only reinforce that here there is the real Luther and the real story of Lutheranism. Kaufmann....149

Consideration of this installation, which will be in situ for five years, is perhaps a timely reminder as the celebrations in 2017 gather apace, that we need to be careful of how and in what ways we talk about Lutheran culture and Lutheran memory. As Carlo Eire writes 744. . There are many things missing from the 2017 narrative. What might we say about what Lutheran culture was and what we might want to remember in 2017? Contemporary communities celebrating 2017 inevitably look to Luther as leading light. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America is encouraging Lutheran churches over the whole Reformation year to read from Luther's Small Catechism, a 'treasure' not only for adolescents, in the words of Presiding Bishop Elizabeth Eaton, the aim being to create a communal experience

³⁰ Eckhart Gillen, "One Can and should present an artistic vision...of the end of the world": Werner Tübke's Apocalyptic Panorama in Bad Frankenhausen and the End of the German Democratic Republic', *Getty Research Journal* 3 (2011), 99-116.

³¹ Stephen P. Hoffmann, 'The GDR, Luther, and the German Question', *Review of Politics* 48. 2 (1986), 246-263; Tom Scott, 'The Luther Quincentenary' in the GDR', *German History*

³² Siegfried Fornerod, 'Who does the Reformation belong to anyway?'

of the remembrance of Luther's words and take heed of Luther's own words in the preface to the Large Catechism "I must still read and study the catechism daily, yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and a pupil of the catechism, and I do it gladly." There is even a smart phone app to download the text and read along.³³ Although this type of reverential remembrance may seem to be obvious for Lutheran churches in 2017, Lutheranism can never be equated simply with the cult of Luther. Lutheranism was and is about Luther, but it was not his tale alone, and nor was there a straight or clear connecting 1517 and 2017. The repertoires for expressing identity existed in all sorts of places and many levels of society, not simply in official institution, beliefs or practices. Contingency of circumstance, individual experience, events, different spaces all moulded the shape and story of Lutheranism in more complex ways.

This much is obvious. Gathering these diverse experiences together into some definition of Lutheran culture is much less straightforward. It is perhaps easier to say what Lutheranism is not. It was not the rich, material culture of Catholicism and did not accept an economy of salvation which accepted good works faith. It did not rely on a martyr culture like the Anabaptists did or the English Protestants. It did not take the more fierce, proscriptive line on salvation, practice and decoration or reformed Protestantism or Calvinism. Even if there were Lutheran exiles, it did not build its identity on the experience of exile and migration. But to say it occupied some kind of halfway house between Catholic and Reformed is entirely unsatisfactory. Both Luther and the theology are important but not just in the way the Asisi panorama would suggest.

Cultures of Lutheranism and the cult of Luther are not synonymous. No sufficient account of Lutheran culture can make him the sole focus, nor can we simply equate 1517 as an intellectual and ideological turning point in the history of western thought. . Scott Dixon rightly indicates that the relic culture of Catholicism was not merely translated into new forms and Luther was not the straightforward object of memorial worship as some have commonly assumed. The focus on Luther, his views and the official line and the lack of the individual has made it too neat, and clear, a turning point. We would be wrong to assume that the memory of Luther was all that mattered, yet the patterns of Lutheran culture could not help but contain him either directly or by implication through the impact of his legacy. But we should beware that memory was not an even or predictable phenomenon, nor simple matter which trod a clear path from his death to now. As Walsham's new work is revealing, the notion of generations and generational change was an active process which evolved from processes of remembering and forgetting through personal and communal legacies, and this was essential to the work of Protestant culture. This was not as simple as a cult of Luther, but understanding how the first generation of Lutheran reformers came to be perceived as a golden generation or hope that the 2017 generation, which sees itself as an ecumenical age, can use Luther's words to effect change, or indeed how the generations who did not remember Luther personally were not that concerned with Luther memorabilia and did not take care of the sites of his memory. What does this tell us? What does it matter that this could be collective forgetting as well as remembering of Luther or events in the Reformation, the vagaries of

³³ <https://www.elca500.org/>

personal memory and the evolution of generational understanding. – the struggle to make real the often-ambiguous legacy of was part of the dynamic of Lutheran culture.

A culture of memory, is how Susan Boettcher has described Lutheranism.. She is right in the sense that it was concerned with proving its lineage and its heritage, but this was a phenomenon that was common to other reformed and Protestant groups. Calvinists, Anabaptists, and magisterial reformers also sought out histories, legacies and pasts, and looked to the future. So, what was Lutheran about the culture of memory? Nor were the cultural repertoires explored in this volume simply about Luther. What is Lutheran about memory or writing history or indeed using satire. Old or existing repertoires could be used in new ways. As with fictions, Sachs landscapes or z. The memorial cultures that did evolve in the end cultures do have much to tell us, not Calvin play Mobil, not universal like Catholic, not serious like Mennonite. It was a culture of memory that used many of the same resources and repertoires but not in the same way and which permitted the development of a culture which did on the end make Luther oven tiles a Luther doll and even a Luther rock opera,

And here we must turn to the second element of what was essential to Lutheranism - theology. In similar way to the person of Luther, theology was undeniably essential but not perhaps in the way in which people would conventionally assume. Lutheranism had at some level to be about theology, a sense of commitment to the principles of sola fide and sola scriptura and perhaps above all Christian freedom. However, that does not mean that Lutheran culture was simply about ideas, nor that Luther must become a hero of freedom over captivity (though memorial coins minted showing Luther as superman flying over the Saxon landscape suggest otherwise). Yet Lutheran theology created a unique context: it emphasised the abject sin of humanity, the redundancy of good works, faith in God but also a lack of concern with precise proper practice or indeed certain behavioural codes. Indeed, unlike the theology of reformed Protestantism, the abject humanity of the flesh was fundamental to the theology. Ingrained in Lutheranism were indeed the ideas of Sola fide and sola scriptura but this does not mean ideas allow us to define Lutheran culture. Yet these ideas did provide the context for how individuals and communities thought about how to perform Lutheranism. It is not that Lutheran theology just that loosened the practices and provided freedom; indeed, while the ideas provided a shift this was not so much through revelation and clarity that came with the notion of Luther's freedom but the consequent ambiguity about enacting this., Humanness and objectionable behaviour were part of the dynamic of salvation and created an ambiguity and a disregard for convention that lived on. Culture in this sense, even if related to ideology, was not the preserve of Luther and theologians, and it was about more than belief.

In the recent Reith lectures, Appiah asked: would the theology mean anything without the ritual, the community or practices? Religion not something only practise on Sundays but in every aspect of life. Belonging was not just about orthodoxy and believing right, but orthopraxy, acting right. In relation to Judaism, the scholar Kaplan argues that 'Judaism is the folk religion of the Jewish people' so that Judaism as distinct from Jewish identity is

nonsensical. The Maimonides outlines 13 principles of Judaism, convinced and just reading the words. To the historian this is no surprise that actions and interactions are fundamental to belonging but raising such actions to the level of defining experience is important to explore the relationship between creed and custom, and how custom evolves. Furthermore, pinpointing the importance of custom does not mean downplaying the importance of theology but understanding how the two interact. We should it comes to Lutheranism we have perhaps a much less clear sense of the relationship between` people, religion and custom, but the relationship between creed and custom, practice and principle is no less pertinent for Lutheranism, and comes down to the fundamental question about how the principles of Lutheran theology did not contain the totality of definition but were part of the dynamic which Identity can be made up of many different. so, it was all contained in the way people enacted them, applied to sounds, spaces and texts,

Lutheranism generated a vast reserve of cultural repertoires but these were never simple or straightforward .Lutheranism did have its own customs, its own orthopraxis ways of doing things, but to suggest that any notion of orthopraxy was set or rigid does not get analysis beyond a rigid outline of theology. It is the relationship between the two that matters. In terms of Lutheranism, the theology itself implied ambiguity and malleability in custom and practice. This was not just a by-product of indecision or chance, but fundamental to what was orthopraxis. In its ambivalent relationship to the flesh, to what space embodied, to the timing of bell-ringing, or the domestic environment. It expressed one of the fundamental ways in which Lutheranism religion bridged the gap between the sacred and the secular, the cosmic and the terrestrial by providing a space between the inner and the outer. If we do see the reformation as solutions to problems, this was a Lutheran one. That is not to reduce religion to function but religion as custom, lived and enacted this relationship between idea and action is fundamental to understanding Lutherans. Luther himself in his life embodied these notions - a man who could be rigidly dogmatic about ideas and yet often seemed inconsistent and surprising. And in this it always contained the potential for humour, crassness, materiality and malleability. There was then something special about Luther and he legacy he has evoked, but And these repertoires continue to change. global reach of Lutheranism. Culture as change. In the search for a more forceful model of culture and identity we must also not reduce culture to a static world of symbols. Culture is a vital and important historical tool for analysis but only if we see it as a dynamic force for action and transformation, as something which created options to act but which was also moulded by individual actions and which played a role in historical change. Collectively these chapters : it becomes a viable way of thinking about religious transformation and a new way of thinking about the Reformation as a cultural event; problematize the relationship between culture and identity by exploring crossover, common shared resources, but do not deny; they recognise culture without denying ideas,; and most importantly they draw on the innovative ground-breaking work. Perhaps our biggest problem in the recent fragmentation and diversification of reformation histories has to be explain what if anything was distinctive about communities of faith with competing truth claims, how did people embody the truth claims of Lutheranism.