

instances were meant to incite a war between the *Reich* and France, leaving the imperial estates with no third way to consider. Turning to the two decades preceding the Thirty Years War, Peter Rauscher highlights the disastrous financial situation of the imperial court. The emperor's debts grew worse as each attempt at reform failed, leaving that prince with compelling reasons to embrace peaceful tactics in dealing with imperial Protestant princes and the Ottoman Turks. Peter Arnold Heuser argues that the authorship of the 'Dialogus de Pace', an anonymous document influential at the peace conference in Cologne in 1579 properly lies with a pacific, humanist scholar, Pedro Ximénez, rather than the statesman Kaspar Schetz von Grobbendonk. Turning to Istanbul, Arno Strohmeier analyses the theatrical gestures of a grand, imperial, diplomatic mission, performed by Damian Hugo von Virmont and several hundred companions, for peace between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Matters of rank and religion were to be avoided at all cost. Last but certainly not least, Heinz Duchhardt provides an engaging little essay relating Gerard Ter Borch's famous commemorative painting for the Peace of Westphalia to Jean-Baptiste Isabey's copper engraving from the Congress of Vienna.

Regardless of whether the reader might wish for greater topical and analytical consistency and coherence in such collections, this one on the whole serves as an antidote to the widespread misperception of the Holy Roman Empire as a relic, a backward, medieval, political entity persisting in spite of itself in early modernity. Peace within the early modern *Reich* was by no means absent for lack of trying; few neighbouring realms, if any, fared much better. Armed conflict plagued all parts of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and indeed every other one that historians can account for. All this notwithstanding, this Festschrift should bring well-earned satisfaction to its honouree.

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***Göttlicher Zorn und menschliches Maß: Religiöse Abweichung in frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgemeinschaften.* Edited by Gerd Schwerhoff and Alex Kästner. Constance: UVK, 2013. 218 pp. €29.00 (paperback).**

This book presents six essays by researchers associated with the Technological University of Dresden's collaborative research centre, *Transzendenz und Gemeinsinn*, on the interesting theme of religious deviance in early modern cities.

As Gerd Schwerhoff and Alexander Kästner make clear in the introduction, early modern religious deviance is a broad concept, and one difficult to delimit, particularly because most early modern secular crimes—thief, adultery, witchcraft and magic, blasphemy—were also sins. Should such offences fall under the rubric of secular or religious deviance? Historians have traditionally approached these offences as secular (and indeed, they were commonly prosecuted in 'secular' courts), but one cannot help but see their religious roots. Moreover, religious deviance also encompassed divergence over confessional practices and doctrinal beliefs among Catholics, Protestants, Anabaptists, Calvinists, and so on. To try and demarcate this broad field, Schwerhoff and Kästner advocate using the 'labelling approach', drawn from sociology and previously used in Schwerhoff's work: that is, behaviour only becomes deviant when contemporaries classified (or labelled) it as such (p. 27).

The articles in this volume fall into two groups. The first, with articles by Sebastian Frenzel and Annette Scherer, takes a more macro-historical and top-down approach. Picking up on

the work of Helga Schnabel-Schüle and Heinrich Richard Schmidt, Frenzel investigates fears of Godly wrath and collective punishment in Ulm from 1492 to 1630. He examines the rhetoric of city council ordinances on blasphemy, illicit sex (*Unzucht*) and excessive alcohol consumption, and shows that the council believed that these deviant behaviours threatened to bring God's wrath down on the entire community, not merely on the perpetrators. (Godly wrath figures also as a sub-theme in Eric Piltz's contribution.) Scherer shifts the focus northwest to Nuremberg where she analyses legal opinions prepared for Nuremberg city council from 1603 to 1612. She pays particular attention to how the term 'godless' (*gottlos*) was used by jurists: not to describe a person who did not believe in God, but rather to label a sinful, immoral or deviant lifestyle.

The articles in the second group are microhistories and much more concerned with religious beliefs and practices. Franziska Neumann investigates how the city council of the Saxon mining town of Schneeberg sought the help of its territorial co-overlords, the Ernestine and Albertine dukes of Saxony, to deal with the rabble-rousing preacher Georg Amandus. Neumann stresses how the council sought to label Amandus's behaviour and sermons as deviant, and how this label was understood, albeit quite divergently, by the parties involved. Eric Piltz contrasts two separate cases of religious deviance in Antwerp in 1564. The first concerns an Italian merchant, Agostino Boazio, who was arrested over suspicion of heresy. Against the wishes of Margaret of Parma, governor of the Netherlands, Boazio was released, and emigrated to England. The second concerns the reformed predicant, Christoffel Fabritus, who was executed for heresy. Piltz unpacks the cases to show how legal and especially extralegal factors and considerations—such as the importance of trade, and the Spanish Habsburgs (via Margaret of Parma)—influenced legal proceedings in Antwerp.

The final two essays engage with what on the surface appear to be relatively benign conflicts. Tim Deubel investigates a doctrinal disagreement between Antoine Lescaille and the French-speaking community in Basel from 1590 to 1592 that escalated to the point that Lescaille renounced his Basel citizenship. Deubel concludes that the case demonstrates that Basel was not as religiously tolerant as scholars have previously portrayed it. Alexander Kästner probes a conflict among neighbours that occurred in the Leipzig suburb of Nauendörfchen between 1638 and 1640. Kästner masterfully recreates the village dynamics, and demonstrates that what appeared—legally—to be an accusation of heresy was really a village fracas that boiled over.

Taken together, the articles engage with the topic thoroughly. The volume effectively employs different historical approaches (quantitative versus qualitative), and oscillates among different historical actors (nobles, elites, preachers, jurists and ordinary burghers). That said, with the exception of Piltz's contribution on 'nominally' Catholic Antwerp, all the entries in this volume deal with reformed (or reforming) Protestant cities. As Schwerhoff and Kästner note in the introduction, the selection of cities was in part, like any historical project, restricted by the available sources (p. 35), and the existing historiography. This concession aside, the volume would have profited from a broader confessional net. Furthermore, in the introduction, Schwerhoff and Kästner declare the 'labelling approach' to be the project's 'central methodological perspective to research deviance' (p. 27). Leaving aside the concept's value (here is not the place for a thorough assessment), it strikes this reader as odd that only one of the articles (that by Neumann) explicitly employs this methodology. The rest of the articles either ignore or mention it only in passing. This is not quite what one expects from a 'central methodological perspective'.

Overall, the articles demonstrate that religious deviance is a useful category for early modern European historical analysis. While this volume would have benefited from a general

conclusion, it does make reference to a forthcoming book on religious deviance, based on a 2012 conference held in Dresden on the theme. One expects this next volume will continue this illuminating and rewarding line of research.

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***From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation.* By Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer. Farnham: Ashgate. 2012. xv + 340 pp. £58.50 (hardback).**

Katharina von Bora and Martin Luther may have been the last major evangelical figures in Wittenberg to wed, but their marriage in 1525 marked a significant turning point in the Reformation—doctrinally, politically, socially and sexually. Over thirty years ago, Steven Ozment lauded the reform of clerical marriage as the most visible and successful aspect of the Reformation but, apart from Stephen Buckwalter's 1998 analysis of early Reformation printed pamphlets, it has received relatively little substantive attention. For this reason alone, Plummer's magisterial archival study represents an important milestone in our understanding of the social impact of Protestantism. Her long-anticipated monograph is the product of broad-ranging research in over forty archives in Germany, Austria and France. Plummer not only succeeds in her critical reexamination of the usual sources, but also uncovers new records to support her thesis on the centrality of clerical marriage reform as a harbinger of theological and social change; so central, in fact, that more than 100,000 visitors continue to attend the annual re-enactment of Katharina and Martin's wedding, compared with only 15,000 for the annual celebration of the publication of the 95 theses (p. 1, fn. 1).

An opening discussion of sacerdotal celibacy and synodical decrees also presents archival evidence from contemporary court cases brought against concubinaires to illustrate the existing level of conflict between secular and ecclesiastical authorities on the one hand and the female and clerical litigants on the other. This is telling, since many reformers (including Luther) feared a tide of adverse public reaction against priests, monks and nuns who broke vows and married, but previously we knew very little about that actual response. Trial records of attempted abortion, molestation of penitents, adultery and even murder substantiate the willingness of secular authorities to intervene directly and incarcerate errant priests in violation of episcopal prerogative. These cases document obvious manifestations of existing lay discontent with clerical abuses during the early stages of the Reformation. When faced with ecclesiastical opposition, town councils began targeting female partners. As a source of communal disharmony, concubinage flouted authority and enraged the 'common man', resulting in gossip and social tension.

In Saxony, the first territory of the Empire to witness widespread clerical marriage, Duke Friedrich sheltered evangelicals from prosecution by their bishops, while Duke Georg mediated episcopal intervention and undertook his own investigations. The phenomenon quickly moved out of Wittenberg into the Saxon countryside and beyond, with much support for clerical marriage radiating from local parishes. Meanwhile, Luther, Karlstadt and Eberlin vociferously attacked the 'false' vow of celibacy on the grounds that it went against human nature. As a result, public discourse and pamphleteering provided essential supports for the successful reform of clerical marriage, sowing confusion at the imperial level especially during the Peasants' War of 1525. In polemical reaction to fear of public disorder and