

of the individual, led to a veneration of the young Luther, and displayed inherently anti-Catholic features. Taken together, the essays on the nineteenth century suggest the presence of numerous varieties of nationalist sentiment. Though nationalist streams were in play, delay persisted between imperial propaganda efforts and their local outcomes. Hesitance he may indicate not so much resistance as lack of resources to fulfill them or a missing popular echo.

Two essays in *Lutherinszenierung und Reformationserinnerung* treat twentieth-century events. Horst Dähn treads familiar ground on the circuits of East German Luther commemoration, but Siegfried Bräuer delivers a detailed essay on Eisleben's preparation for and execution of Luther's 450th birthday celebration in 1933. The Nazi rise to power months before the festival required accommodation to Nazi propaganda themes—surprisingly easy, given intensive nationalist and *völkisch* motifs present in some Luther commemoration since the mid-nineteenth century. Bräuer's evidence of long-term thematic continuities further interrogates Treu's depiction of nineteenth-century Eisleben (replicated in this volume with an essay on Mansfeld): did the key themes of fascism erupt overnight in Luther's historical birthplace?

*Lutherinszenierung und Reformationserinnerung*, like *Preußische Lutherverehrung im Mansfelder Land*, includes occasional contributions where the relationship between interpretative detail and larger historical issues is not always clear. Here the details are expected to speak for themselves, a strategy at work to varying degrees in essays by Stefan Laube on J. Pierpont Morgan's gift of a Luther letter to Wilhelm II, Karl-Heinz Fix on debates over the Wittenberg museum's name, and Uta Kornmeier on the *Lutherschreck*, a gruesome seventeenth-century wax figure destroyed after propaganda attacks by Nazi sympathizers. Still, one essay in the volume demonstrates masterfully the significance of the sixteenth century to its observers and interpreters in the nineteenth century and after: Christian Wiese's contribution on Jewish views of Luther through the 1930s. Wiese shows that despite Luther's drastic pronouncements on the Jews, nineteenth-century German Jews as beneficiaries of emancipation and classical *Bildungsbürger*, were positively disposed to the reformer. Central figures of Reform Judaism in Germany and the United States viewed Luther as a harbinger of religious freedom, toleration, and Enlightenment; they were occasionally embarrassed by coreligionists who reminded them of Luther's publication record on Jews. The turn of Protestant theologians to an interpretation of Luther that emphasized nationalism, *völkisch* tendencies, and racism was not united; mediating figures such as Eduard Lamparter should be set against more notorious anti-Semites such as Erich Vogelsang. The tragedy of all of these figures was their failure to assess the centrality and consistency of Luther's anti-Judaism and its consequences for both Germans and evangelical Christians. The subtlety of Wiese's analysis of the meaning of a body of contemporary scholarship on Luther's attitude toward the Jews in the context of the nineteenth-century reception of these ideas by Jews and Christians is enviable.

*Das Lutherhaus Wittenberg: Eine Museumsgeschichte* is a historical home run: a fascinating history of the Wittenberg museum by Stefan Laube (with a chapter by Uta Kornmeier). Rooted firmly in extensive sources in the museum's own collections, Laube sketches for the first time the trajectory of its development. He analyzes the tension between the cloister building as a place of memory and a location for a commemorative collection. The portico of the cloister building which became the museum remained in use for some time. Fragmentary evidence suggests that it attracted visitors almost immediately. Aside from the *Lutherstube* however, a coherent collection of items, such as remains of visitor graffiti, is first noticeable in the seventeenth century; descriptions and inventories after the eighteenth-century cha

changes in the collection. Laube's characterization of material remains of Luther as "relics" may be controversial, calling to mind medieval uses of this term—his book fails to offer evidence of supernatural components of such objects and further suggests that their widespread "veneration" first became intense during the eighteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, too, the museum introduced guest registers to alleviate graffiti. Various objects, pictures and texts were always exhibited; tours were conducted by the sexton of the *Schloßkirche*, who was remunerated with tips. At mid-nineteenth century, Americans become recognizable as a distinct visitor group. After the Wars of Liberation, the Prussian monarchs became interested in Wittenberg as the location for their self-staging. A thirty-year renovation of the building was completed, and a collection of Luther memorabilia from Pastor C. F. B. Augustin was donated in 1860. Only in 1877, however, did a commission unpack it and consider how to present an official exhibition, which was opened during the 1883 Luther anniversary. At this point the museum received its first curator. Charging for tickets after 1906 expanded the museum's limited acquisitions budget. The 1911 donation of a Luther letter by Kaiser Wilhelm II sparked the development of a collection more remarkable for its representative qualities than its treasures (given the frequently meager budget). Security systems and regular hours were introduced. Nationalist aspects of the exhibit were accentuated after 1933 and revised only slowly under communist governance. The museum was the object of criticism following the GDR's politics of Reformation history, which emphasized Luther's reactionary quality, but he was rehabilitated in time for the 1983 anniversary.

Laube is most at home in the nineteenth century; here his description of the museum's collection and the politics surrounding its funding are detailed and convincing. His portrayal clearly captures the benign neglect that affected the museum well into the nineteenth century, and the conservative character of its curators. His account also engages many important themes in museum history such as aesthetics and pedagogy. The work is particularly strong with regard to local politics and the relationship of the museum to the provincial seminary located in the early modern addition to the building. With these strengths, we can forgive Laube for not answering all of our questions. The reader wishes for a larger comparison of the Luther museum to other Luther commemorations; this issue is acute when one considers the (well-researched) Prussian renovation of the *Schloßkirche* going on just down the street. Occasionally Laube tosses off theological schools such as "Luther Renaissance" without further explanation. Since a number of recent studies (by Notger Slenczka, for example) have considered the political and theological tendencies of this movement, a further elucidation could have been helpful. Given that museum directors were usually pastors or administrators rather than scholars, the impact of the theological views of Luther on the museum may have been minimal, but a consideration of the justifications for and outcomes of this tension between theological scholarship and the museum exhibits throughout the period covered by the book would have been enlightening. For example, Julius Köstlin, one of the leading Luther biographers of his age, evaluated the Augustin collection; his evaluation is discussed, but not in relationship to his scholarly views on Luther. Additionally, a more explicit discussion of the political streams in the territorial church would have provided a valuable background on both the museum's officials and its visitors.

Finally, the chapter on the museum in the GDR, feels as if it were not part of the original conception of the book. The lack of a biography of Oskar Thulin, who directed the museum through the entire National Socialist period and up until 1968, creates an irretrievable problem for the historian. Still, some loose ends could have been cleared up. For instance, Thulin's friendliness to Jochen Klepper (who was married to a Jew) in the National

Socialist period should probably be attributed to their mutual affinity for German conservative nationalism rather than resistance. Some of the GDR material may still be too sensitive to handle, but it would have been interesting to hear more about public events after 1988 such as the recent erection of a Katharina von Bora monument in the museum courtyard. The fact that such questions can now be raised, however, signals Laube's expert provision of a solid factual and thematic corpus for these issues. He has told us which questions to ask and his work both sets a high standard and charts the course for further research on the museum.

With these three volumes, the Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt lays promising and occasionally provocative foundation for further consideration of Luther commemoration in its political, religious, and cultural contexts locally, nationally, and internationally. Interested readers can anticipate two forthcoming volumes: Martin Steffen's dissertation on Reformation museums and Otto Kammer's catalog of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Reformation monuments.