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INTERNAL POLITICS AND CIVIC SOCIETY  
IN AUGSBURG DURING THE ERA OF THE  
EARLY REFORMATION, 1518-37

by

PHILIP BROADHEAD

ABSTRACT

In the early sixteenth century civic society in Augsburg was divided between an oligarchy of merchants, which dominated economic and political life, and the majority of townspeople who had lost their political rights and were experiencing declining standards of living. Support for the Reformation was soon voiced by the lower orders, but events demonstrated the mixed motives of the populace for pressing for religious reform. They saw in the Reformation a means of redressing their grievances and restricting the political power of the oligarchy. In the riots of 1524 and during the subsequent unrest the popular demands included religious and social reform. The oligarchs resisted change as they wished to protect their political dominance in Augsburg and their trading interests in Habsburg lands. It was largely in response to this conflict that popular religious allegiance was given to the Zwinglians after 1525. The Zwinglian pastors demanded the establishment of a theocratic form of government which was responsive to the needs of the townspeople. This measure would force the Council to concede political influence to the pastors and to accept popular demands when formulating policy. It would not consent to this. As a result of unrest amongst the lower orders in 1533 the Council was forced to give the Zwinglian pastors a monopoly of preaching in the city but this concession was not an official Protestant Reformation. The Council, in return for its support of the pastors, forced them to accept a contract in which they acknowledged the sole authority of the Council over the political and religious life of the city. The Protestant Church therefore no longer constituted a political threat to the oligarchy, but rather encouraged obedience to the Council. It was against this new background that the Council enforced a Protestant religious settlement in 1537.

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

E.W.A.	Evangelisches Wesenarchiv.
Schmollers Jahrbuch	Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich.
St. A. A.	Stadtarchiv Augsburg.
W.A., Br. W.	D. Martin Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel.
ZHVSchw.	Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN USE IN AUGSBURGIN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURYCURRENCY

1 Pfund = 20 Schilling = 60 pfennig = 120 Heller

1 Groschen = 8 Pfennig

1 Batzen = 14 Pfennig

1 Plappart = 10.5 Pfennig

In 1500 1 Rechnungsgulden was worth 3.5 Augsburg Pfund Pfennig  
(approx.)

CAPACITY

1) Wine/Beer 1 Mass = 1.5 litres (approx.)

1 Eimer = 1 Viertel = 18 Mass

2) Corn 1 Schaff = 205 litres (approx.)

1 Fass = Unknown

WEIGHT

1 Pfund = 490 grammes (approx.)

## INTRODUCTION

Recent years have seen an increase of interest in the urban history of Germany in the Reformation period. In the towns and cities of Germany the Reformation made its most rapid advances, affecting the lives of all ranks of society. The motivation and results of the urban Protestant movements have consequently been the subject of intense investigation. Recent studies have either researched events in particular cities or, alternatively have been more general investigations into the nature and characteristics of the civic reformations. They have served to emphasise that there are three complementary historiographical problems which require careful consideration if the Reformation in the German cities is to be understood. There is, firstly, the need to decide whether the Reformation was an evolutionary process which developed from movements and ideas already prevalent in the late mediaeval period, or whether the Reformation created new and revolutionary concepts which fundamentally changed civic life.<sup>1</sup> It is secondly necessary to consider whether there were certain groups within urban society to which the ideals or promises of the Reformation had special appeal, and what part, if any, those individuals or groups played in advancing or shaping the course of the religious reforms. Thirdly, it is necessary to evaluate the role played by the Protestant pastors and preachers in the introduction of the doctrines of the Reformation and to decide whether they exercised political as well as spiritual influence within the cities.

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1 The clearest statement of these views is in, M. Steinmetz, 'Die frühbürgerliche Revolution in Deutschland (1476-1535 in Reformation oder frühbürgerliche Revolution, ed. R. Wohlfeil (Munich, 1972) pp.42-56. Translated as, 'Theses on the Early Bourgeois Revolution in Germany, 1476-1535' in The German Peasant War 1525, New Viewpoints, ed. R. Scribner and G. Benecke (London, 1979), pp.9-19.

Crucial for these debates is the pioneering essay of Bernd Moeller: Imperial Cities and the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> In this work Moeller developed a theory already expounded by Franz Lau using evidence from North German cities,<sup>2</sup> that the impulse in favour of the Reformation came from the lower orders, who were able to force the acceptance of Protestantism on the authorities. This was the case even after 1525, when events had apparently diminished the popular support for Luther. When he applied this model to the imperial cities of South Germany,<sup>3</sup> Moeller was able to represent the movement as a popular rather than magisterial Reformation.<sup>4</sup> Moeller further refined and developed this theory by demonstrating the connection between the concepts of the corporate nature of civic society and the manner in which Reformation doctrines were received and utilised by the cities. Building on the description by Hans Planitz of the corporate nature of German civic life in the Middle Ages,<sup>5</sup> Moeller demonstrated the importance of communal idealism amongst the citizens in South Germany.<sup>6</sup> These beliefs affected the

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1 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation (Philadelphia, 1972). Originally published as, Reichstadt und Reformation (Gütersloh, 1962).

2 F. Lau, 'Der Bauernkrieg und das angebliche Ende der lutherischen Reformation als spontane Volksbewegung' in Luther-Jahrbuch, vol. xxvi (1959), pp.118-9.

3 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.57.

4 Ibid., p.61.

5 H. Planitz, Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter (Cologne, 1954).

6 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.45. 'The town was not, therefore, a purely utilitarian association but was rather the place to which the life of each citizen was bound.'

religious as well as the political life of the community, for according to Moeller:

Material welfare and eternal salvation were not differentiated and thus the borders between the secular and spiritual areas of life disappeared. We can grasp an essential trait of the late medieval community if we characterise it as a "sacred society".<sup>1</sup>

The merging of the spiritual and material interests of the city had also led to the distinctions between spiritual and secular jurisdictions becoming blurred so that prior to the Reformation there was, in many cities, a history of lay interference in the church, particularly concerned with the appointment of preachers.<sup>2</sup> Alongside this, however, Moeller noted in the century prior to the Reformation a weakening in the civic corporate ideal, especially concerning the participation of the citizen in the city government, which became the preserve of oligarchies. In this respect the Reformation was seized upon by the lower orders as a means of retrieving some of the influence it had lost. This explained for Moeller the preponderance of support for Zwinglian and Bucerian doctrines in the cities in southern Germany, since these were particularly relevant to the needs and aspirations of the citizens at that time. Unlike Luther, who drew a sharp distinction between spiritual and secular authority, Zwingli and Bucer emphasised the connexions between society and the church, and the citizens and their rulers, to produce what Ozment has described as '...salvation by faith and social responsibility'.<sup>3</sup> These beliefs served to

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1 Ibid., p.46.

2 Ibid., p.47.

3 S. Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities (New Haven and London, 1975), p.7.

revitalise the corporate aspects of civic life and were attractive to the lower orders because they ran against the current of social and political developments. The emphasis on social responsibility and communal salvation could provide a curb against the oligarchical trends and lead to the restoration of the role of the citizen in the political and spiritual life of the community.<sup>1</sup>

The theories of Moeller have stimulated considerable discussion and some of his assertions have prompted important criticism. S. Ozment in his book, The Reformation in the Cities, looked closely at the motives which persuaded large numbers of townspeople to reject the Catholic Church and accept the doctrines of the Protestants.<sup>2</sup> He did not believe that this was inspired by a desire for a stronger spiritual regime, which could enforce spiritual and moral values more efficiently. On the contrary he believed it stemmed from a desire to free the individual and remove from the conscience of the citizen the burden of religious observance which had been imposed by the Catholic church, particularly through the use of confession.<sup>3</sup> In the view of Ozment, therefore, the Reformation was attractive to the laity because it offered psychological release, rather than renewing the obligations and restrictions of the sacred community. The interpretation of Ozment also differed from that of Moeller concerning the appeal of the doctrines of Bucer and Zwingli for the cities. When considering the process by which the Reformation was

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1 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.103.

2 S. Ozment, op.cit.

3 Ibid., p.9.

established, Ozment noted an important change in the attitude of the reformers, which placed in doubt the concept of Reformation legislation being passed as a result of demands from the lower orders.<sup>1</sup> Although the development of popular support was essential in the early stages of the Reformation, Ozment believed that in order to secure magisterial approval the Protestant reformers were forced to modify their views. Consequently the reformers, with the exception of the radicals, emphasised the aspects of their doctrines which maintained the supremacy of the magistracy and denounced views which would undermine the social and political order.<sup>2</sup> This adaptation of Moeller's views shows that the Protestant message could be adapted for the benefit of secular authority, to control rather than revitalise the role of the citizen in the community.

The importance of the growth of oligarchical government to the form in which the urban Reformation developed was shown by E. Naujoks in 1958.<sup>3</sup> In a comparative study he demonstrated the oligarchical nature of the governments of Ulm, Esslingen and Schwäbisch Gmünd in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The civic oligarchies had been able to survive the guild revolutions of the fourteenth century and indeed to extend their power, but this

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1 Ibid., pp.121-3.

2 Ibid., pp.133-4.

3 E. Naujoks, 'Obrigkeitsgedanke, Zunftverfassung und Reformation Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Ulm, Esslingen und Schwäbisch Gmünd' in Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, vol.iii (1958).

form of government was put at risk during the Reformation. The upsurge of popular unrest when coupled with the demands raised in the Reformation for a theocratic form of government threatened the dominant position of the councils.<sup>1</sup> As a result the city councils did their utmost to slow the progress of the Reformation and conceded changes only when they were in a position to limit the political implications of reform.<sup>2</sup> This interpretation of the religious changes is supported by the detailed account of the early Reformation in Strasbourg given by M. Chrisman.<sup>3</sup> She reveals that the reformers were quickly able to establish enthusiastic support for their cause amongst the lower orders, and that this proved crucial for ensuring the establishment of the Reformation in Strasbourg.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike the Moeller model, however, this was not sufficiently strong to determine the course or form of the Reformation for these decisions remained firmly in the hands of the Council. Although the magistrates were constrained to introduce religious changes as a result of popular pressure, they successfully resisted the attempts by Bucer and the other pastors, to win for the new church the power to police the morals of the community independently from the jurisdiction of the Council.<sup>5</sup> The latest application of the model

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1 Ibid., pp.76-8.

2 Ibid.

3 M. Chrisman, Strasbourg and the Reform (New Haven and London, 1967).

4 Ibid., pp.141-2. This account of the Reformation in Strasbourg has been attacked by T. Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520-1555 (Leiden, 1978). See below pp.7-8.

5 Ibid., p.224.

for the civic reformations provided by Moeller was made by G. Locher in a wide-ranging comparative study designed to show the influence of the Zwinglian doctrines in Europe.<sup>1</sup> A comparison of the major German towns and cities which accepted Zwinglian teachings, including Augsburg, Ulm, Kempten, Kaufbeuren and Memmingen, confirmed for Locher the importance of the political nature of Zwinglianism with its emphasis on theocratic government and corporate values.<sup>2</sup> Locher also emphasised that Zwingli's doctrine contained, alongside its belief in communal salvation and service to the community, a demand for the increase of Christian discipline and authority over the secular and spiritual affairs of every citizen.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most important criticisms of Moeller's depiction of the 'role played by ... the vital communal spirit in Upper Germany' was made by T. Brady in his study of the ruling oligarchy of Strasbourg in the Reformation period.<sup>4</sup> By the use of prosopographical methods Brady demonstrated the extent of the domination of the ruling families over the political institutions of the city. By the 1520s the guild constitution of Strasbourg had become ineffective and totally subjected to the control of the oligarchy.<sup>5</sup> According to Brady the organs of corporate government had been destroyed in Strasbourg long before the Reformation and were incapable of revival.

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1 G. Locher, Die Zwinglische Reformation im Rahmen der europäischen Kirchengeschichte (Göttingen and Zürich, 1979).

2 Ibid., p.619.

3 Ibid., pp.224-5.

4 T. Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520-55 (Leiden, 1978).

5 Ibid., pp.178-80, pp.195-6.

The impulse behind the support for the Reformation did not therefore come from an attempt to revitalise the corporate spirit of the community but from a social and political conflict between the ruling oligarchy and the citizens based on the popular resentment created by the domination of political and economic life by a small aristocracy. This class conflict flared in 1525 when the government bought peace at the cost of granting religious reform.<sup>1</sup> When the conflicts between the interests of the rulers and populace occurred again in 1548 the oligarchs were forced to abandon the control of the city rather than be forced into opposition to the Interim of Charles V.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of class conflict in Strasbourg in the Reformation period was further developed by E. Weyrauch in his study of the reaction of the city and its population to the enforcement of the Interim.<sup>3</sup> This again attacked the concept of a corporate unity between the interests of the Council and its subjects. Instead Weyrauch emphasised the crucial role played by social conflict and disorder in civic life which was prompted by the pressure placed on civic society by the changing conditions of the period. Any equilibrium within the city he believes was a result of actual or threatened popular unrest rather than a spirit of communal consensus and cooperation.<sup>4</sup> The fear of social violence acted both to curb the ambitions of the government and make it respond to the wishes of

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1 Ibid., pp.233-5.

2 Ibid., pp.280-90.

3 E. Weyrauch, Konfessionelle Krise und soziale Stabilität (Stuttgart, 1978).

4 Ibid., p.291-2.

the populace. The role played by social disorder in the cities and the fear it created amongst the authorities is also illustrated by the account by H-C. Rublack of unsuccessful movements for civic Reformations in Würzburg, Bamberg and Salzburg.<sup>1</sup> In these cases it was the fear of social and political rebellion which was ultimately to lead the authorities to crush the reform movements.

Moving away from the direction of this research Professor Moeller has recently altered his views concerning the introduction and impact of the Reformation in the cities and rejected some of the theories he held in his original essay. In 1977 Moeller expressed the belief that in many cities the civic authorities were the motive force for change, rather than the populace, for the councils played a crucial role in supporting the new doctrines and encouraging and controlling the Protestant preachers.<sup>2</sup> Another fundamental revision occurred in 1980 in an essay which compared the course of the Reformation in Basel and Lübeck.<sup>3</sup> Here Moeller asserted that the popular support for the reformers, prompted by social unrest, was only of initial importance, and it was the religious message of the preachers which ensured the eventual successes of the Protestant movement in the cities.<sup>4</sup> The spiritual content of the Protestant

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1 H-C. Rublack, Gescheiterte Reformation (Stuttgart, 1978).

2 B. Moeller, Deutschland im Zeitalter der Reformation (Göttingen, 1977), pp.84-5.

3 B. Moeller, 'Die Basler Reformation in ihrem stadtgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang', in Ecclesia semper reformanda, ed. H. Guggisberg and P. Rotach (Basel, 1980).

4 Ibid., p.23.

message had, according to the new view of Moeller, been underestimated by historians. He now saw the spiritual impulse for change outweighing the political and social motivation.<sup>1</sup>

The clearest examples of magistrates introducing religious changes for their own advantages is the interpretation of the Reformation in Nuremberg by G. Strauss.<sup>2</sup> The decisive action taken by the Council in 1525 in organising a religious disputation after which Lutheran reforms were introduced to Nuremberg, was not prompted, according to the view of Strauss by the need to appease popular unrest. Even though a high level of dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church undoubtedly existed in Nuremberg Strauss maintained the decision to support the Lutheran Reformation was consciously taken by the Council, which could see favoured aspects of its own political philosophy mirrored in the doctrines of Luther. The emphasis on the depravity and sinfulness of mankind and its need for authority, discipline and obedience provided for the Eltern of Nuremberg a religious justification for their rigorous methods of enforcing social discipline.<sup>3</sup> This ingenious interpretation, however, seems to pay too little regard to the social problems, which afflicted Nuremberg as they did all other

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1 Ibid., p.24.

2 G. Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century (Bloomington and London, 1976). First published in 1966.  
G. Strauss, 'Protestant Dogma and City Government: The Case of Nuremberg' in Past and Present, vol.xxxvi (1967).

3 G. Strauss, 'Protestant Dogma and City Government', pp.45-57.

cities, and which Strauss overlooks.<sup>1</sup> It also does not take sufficiently into account the emphasis placed by Luther on the individuals' faith, rather than community responsibility, as a key to salvation.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of this recent interest in the Reformation in the cities, the history of Augsburg has not received the attention it warrants from modern scholars. The aim of this investigation is to study in detail the early Reformation period in Augsburg, to consolidate and extend the available knowledge of the urban response to religious reform in the early sixteenth century. It will study the reactions of society in Augsburg to the changing economic and social conditions of the period and will seek to describe how the doctrines of religious reform which spread in the city owed their eventual success both to their relevance to the needs and aspirations of the majority of inhabitants and to the determination of the pastorate and their lay supporters to win acceptance for their demands. It will also examine the reactions of the ruling oligarchy to the acute social and economic problems of the city, and assess whether the Reformation in Augsburg brought about a reduction or increase in the power of the oligarchy.

The main feature of the history of Augsburg in the early sixteenth century is one of disunity, which sometimes erupted into violence but which always threatened the peace and cohesion of the

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1 G. Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century, p.22 and pp.200-1. A wider discussion of the economic difficulties facing the citizens of Nuremberg is given by, C.L. Sachs, Nürnberg's Reichstädtische Arbeiterschaft, 1503-1511 (Nuremberg, 1915), pp.40-44.

2 H. Bornkamm, Martin Luther in der Mitte seines Lebens (Göttingen, 1979), p.75.

community. The ruling merchant oligarchy was aware that it faced challenges to its authority and changes to the economic and social organisation of the city, and it employed both repressive and placatory measures to maintain unity and its control of Augsburg. The development of the Reformation aggravated these problems and brought them to crisis point. In this respect the study of Augsburg will provide information which will assist in the evaluation of the existence and importance of corporate civic ideals, as advanced by Moeller, as they developed in cohesion with the Reformation.

In the early years of the sixteenth century Augsburg was prosperous and commercially important; outwardly successful in resisting the decline which affected many other cities. Merchants from Augsburg traded as far afield as Hungary and Venezuela, and its bankers played a prominent role in the lucrative business of political finance, in particular in their provision of financial support for the political schemes of the Habsburgs. In these years the major churches and many municipal buildings were richly rebuilt, and the new houses of the merchants attested to their new wealth. By skilful business methods and often unscrupulous exploitation of monopoly privileges and usurious contracts, certain merchant families, notably the Fugger, Höchstetter, Welser, Baumgartner and Rehlinger, achieved massive fortunes and a degree of civic and international influence which had never previously been experienced in Augsburg.

This conspicuous prosperity was enjoyed by only a small percentage of the citizenry. The majority of the inhabitants of Augsburg faced the problems of a decline in the staple industry,

weaving; stagnant or falling wage rates, and overpopulation. At the same time, ordinary guild members had lost their political power to an oligarchy formed from the wealthiest merchants. The early sixteenth century witnessed a polarisation of civic society between the rich and the poor and was marked by growing distrust and hostility between the two groups. As the economic gap increased between the few wealthy families which controlled the government and the vast majority of the population, so too there developed a division of interests which was increasingly to sever society. The merchants were preoccupied with international trade, monopoly privileges and high finance, none of which brought significant prosperity and employment to the labouring classes who felt the Town Council was interested only in furthering the business of the merchants and was not concerned with the situation of the populace.

Throughout the period 1520-1537 the issues raised by the religious reformers must always be seen against this background of acute social and economic division if they are to be fully understood. Reforming doctrines were seized upon by the lower orders as a new and dynamic way of expressing their grievances; whilst at the same time the manipulation of the religious debate by both the populace and the authorities ensured that the Reformation in Augsburg took on its own individual form, in which the interests of rival sections of society always took priority over purely theological issues. The Reformation served to increase the divisions in the city as, in general, the lower orders supported the reformers and demanded religious change, while the Town Council attempted to obstruct and prevent reform for as long as possible.

The magistrates considered it essential to the prosperity of the city that Augsburg should remain on good terms with its powerful Catholic neighbours and that the city's lucrative trade with Habsburg lands and the considerable loans made to the Habsburg dynasty by Augsburg merchants should not be jeopardised by an outright espousal of the Protestant faith. The placing by the Town Council of their commercial interests above all others was resented in the city. This was the case for example, when the Council agreed to the terms of the 1529 Speyer Reichstag when, according to the chronicler Georg Preu, it was popularly believed that religious principle had been sacrificed to the interests of trade.<sup>1</sup>

The motives behind the vigorous support given to the cause of religious reform by the populace are more complex and diffuse, and they have never been given consideration despite their key role in shaping the Reformation in Augsburg. It is towards an understanding of the relationship between popular unrest and the Reformation in Augsburg that this study is directed. In particular it will investigate the reasons why the populace gave its support to the Zwinglian rather than the Lutheran pastors, to decide whether their popularity was based upon the spiritual content or the secular implications of their doctrines.

There is no modern history of the Reformation in Augsburg. The most comprehensive study of the city to date was by F. Roth,

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1 'Die Chronik des Augsburger Malers Georg Preu des Älteren 1512-37' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 29 (Leipzig, 1906), p.45.

published in four volumes between 1901-11.<sup>1</sup> He made use of archive material and in some cases provided transcriptions of documents. Roth's work remains a useful account of events and has been referred to by historians including Baron,<sup>2</sup> Moeller<sup>3</sup> and Wettges<sup>4</sup> who have not however taken sufficient account of the limitations of his work. Roth intended to write an account of religious life in Augsburg during the Reformation, which he did with scarcely any regard for forces other than religion which were being experienced in the city at that time. This creates an imbalance in the work and in the view it provides of the Reformation in Augsburg, which this study will seek to correct. Roth largely ignored the major political and governmental changes which had taken place in Augsburg in the period immediately prior to the Reformation and were still being consolidated in the 1520s and 1530s. These had successfully concentrated the control of the government into the hands of a few families but caused antagonism and division in the city. The determination of the oligarchs to defend their power against popular attack was an essential feature governing the pace and nature of reform in Augsburg, but which is omitted by Roth. He also fails to consider the profound economic changes and

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- 1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte (4 vols., Munich, 1901-11). This is a revised and extended edition of a single volume: F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte (Munich, 1889).
  - 2 H. Baron, 'Religion and Politics in the German Imperial Cities during the Reformation' in English Historical Review, vol. lii (1937).
  - 3 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation.
  - 4 W. Wettges, Reformation und Propoganda (Stuttgart, 1978).

difficulties which affected Augsburg during the period and which were responsible for provoking the social unrest which was to be a potent factor in encouraging popular support for the early reformers.

Roth recounted the religious events in the Augsburg Reformation but made little effort to explain them. Consequently major questions remain unanswered: why the Zwinglian doctrines were more influential than the Lutheran; why the Anabaptists were able to establish a following, even though they were subject to rigorous persecution by the authorities; and why, after having resisted the Reformation, the Council eventually proceeded with measures for reform in the 1530s. His preoccupation with narrative and almost total lack of analysis, leads Roth to distort certain crucial events in the Reformation in Augsburg. A few examples may here serve to indicate the major shortcomings of the account by Roth, and these will also be pointed out where they occur, later in the text.

To take one example, Roth failed to perceive that circumstances had changed between the introduction of religious legislation in 1534 and the completion of the Reformation in 1537. Roth interprets the legislation passed in both these years as the direct result of the Council bowing to popular demands for reform:<sup>1</sup> in fact, although this is an accurate explanation of the first year in question,<sup>2</sup> Roth, by failing to give sufficient consideration to Council minutes and records, fails to see that by 1537 the Council

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol.2, p.309.

2 See p.344.

itself was directing religious policy.<sup>1</sup>

On occasion Roth is insufficiently scrupulous in his use of sources. For example, in his account of the events of August 1524, he uses what is almost certainly a much later account of dubious accuracy,<sup>2</sup> without acknowledging the weakness of this source. In dealing with the same year, Roth makes a further important error when he depicts the two insurrectionary leaders, Kager and Speiser as followers of the radical friar, Johann Schilling. In fact their protest was unconnected with religious grievances, and was instead a manifestation of the economic hardship suffered by the lower orders in the city.<sup>3</sup> Roth here shows his inability to comprehend the complex interaction of religious, political and economic motivation amongst those calling for reform in the city. This study reappraises the history of the Reformation in Augsburg from detailed consideration of the source material. Roth emphasised the importance of archival material,<sup>4</sup> but he consistently failed to place his findings in their wider perspective or to utilise the full scope of the material available. This study will extend the investigation into areas ignored by Roth and provide the interpretation and analysis which his work so notably lacks.

The events concerning the introduction of religious legislation in 1534 were described by K. Wolfart in a monograph published in

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1 See p.391.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., vol.1, p.161.

3 See p.146.

4 F. Roth, op.cit., p.vi.

1901.<sup>1</sup> The account he provided requires expanding and deepening by further and wider consideration of the material in the Stadtarchiv in Augsburg. His description concentrated on religious and political issues and lacked consideration of the economic and social factors which played a crucial role in the shaping and timing of these reforms. Wolfart also had difficulty in placing the events in perspective as he covered only an aspect of the protracted progress of the Reformation in Augsburg. The reforms of 1534 dealt with the control of preaching and the secularisation of parish property, and the most important religious legislation including the abolition of the Mass and the expulsion of the Catholic clergy was not considered by Wolfart.

The only modern study of the relationship between Church and society at Augsburg was produced by R. Kiessling in 1971, and it covers the late mediaeval period in the city.<sup>2</sup> In this valuable work Kiessling demonstrated the growth of secular interference in the Church in the century prior to the Reformation. The control of endowments, the appointment of preachers and the administration of monastic property was already in the hands of laymen in the early sixteenth century. This research strongly suggested that many aspects of the Reformation were the culmination of the general course of developments which had been evident in the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The current study will attempt fully to develop the

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1 K. Wolfart, Die Augsburger Reformation in den Jahren 1533-34. (Leipzig, 1901).

2 R. Kiessling, <sup>ii</sup>Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter (Augsburg, 1971).

3 Ibid., p.359.

major points made by Kiessling with regard to the evolutionary nature of change in Augsburg.

This aspect of the reforms brought about by the Reformation in the cities has recently been stated by W. Wettges.<sup>1</sup> However, he has relied heavily on secondary material, including Roth, and his arguments lack sufficient support from archival evidence. He contrasted the course of the Reformation in Nuremberg, Regensburg and Augsburg and decided that, although the lower orders were the motive force behind the events of the 1520s and 1530s,<sup>2</sup> the Reformation did not represent a class war or revolution in the cities, but the culmination of long term trends.<sup>3</sup>

Periodical literature of prime importance for the history of the early Reformation in Augsburg is contained in the journal of the Historische Verein für Schwaben und Neuburg, in constant publication since 1874, although often producing articles of chiefly antiquarian interest. However, there have been a number of scholarly contributions in the form of discussions of specific aspects of Augsburg's history and in the reproduction of important documents relevant to the Reformation. The most significant amongst these are transcriptions by Roth and C. Meyer of all the

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1 W. Wettges, Reformation und Propoganda (Stuttgart, 1978).

2 Ibid., p.117.

3 Ibid., pp.119-123.

Urgichten of Anabaptists apprehended in Augsburg;<sup>1</sup> the articles by Pius Dirr on the guild constitution of Augsburg,<sup>2</sup> and that by Vogt on the riots of 1524.<sup>3</sup>

Economic historians have tended to concentrate on the commercial history of Augsburg in this period often at a popular level. The best general accounts are by Ehrenberg<sup>4</sup> and Strieder,<sup>5</sup> although the history of the Fugger family and business has attracted much research at the expense of the wider economic history of the city. In this area the studies by Pölnitz are of particular value due to his scrupulous attention to archive detail.<sup>6</sup> Two articles

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- 1 C. Meyer, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: die Anfänge des Wiedertäuferthums in Augsburg' in Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg, vol.i (1874).  
F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: zur Lebensgeschichte Eitelhans Langenmantel von Augsburg' in ZHVSchw., vol.xxvii (1900).  
F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: der Höhepunkt der wiedertäuferischen Bewegung in Augsburg und ihr Niedergang im Jahre 1528' in ZHVSchw., vol.xxviii (1901).
  - 2 P. Dirr, 'Kaufleutezunft und Kaufleutestube in Augsburg zur Zeit des Zunftregiments, 1368-1548' in ZHVSchw., vol.vi (1879).  
P. Dirr, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Augsburger Zunftverfassung, 1368-1548' in ZHVSchw., vol.xxxix (1913).
  - 3 W. Vogt, 'Johann Schilling der Barfüsser-Monch und der Aufstand in Augsburg im Jahre 1524' in ZHVSchw., vol.vi (1879).
  - 4 R. Ehrenberg, Das Zeitalter der Fugger (1896). Translated into English by H.M. Lucas as Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance (1928).
  - 5 J. Strieder, Zur Genesis des modernen Kapitalismus (Leipzig, 1904).
  - 6 G. Pölnitz, Jakob Fugger: Kaiser, Kirche und Kapital in der oberdeutschen Renaissance (2 vols., Tübingen, 1949).  
G. Pölnitz, Anton Fugger (4 vols., Tübingen, 1958-1967).

by J. Hartung are of importance in understanding the fiscal system in Augsburg and the manner in which the tax liabilities were apportioned.<sup>1</sup> They need to be read in conjunction with the recent study of the civic tax registers by C-P. Clasen, in which he investigates how the fiscal system, with its complex mass of exemptions and allowances, was administered.<sup>2</sup>

Insight into political practice and the influence of humanism can be found in the select correspondence of Konrad Peutinger, published in 1923<sup>3</sup> and the useful biography by H. Lutz.<sup>4</sup> Peutinger served as Stadtschreiber between 1497 and 1535 and played a crucial role in the history of Augsburg in the early Reformation period. His records are well informed and essential to the understanding of the events which took place in the city, for Peutinger was present at all meetings of the Large and Small Councils and the Council of Thirteen, which frequently called upon his advice. It was Peutinger who drafted the official correspondence of the city and he used his legal training in the preparation of memoranda<sup>5</sup> for the

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1 J. Hartung, 'Die augsburgische Vermögensteuer und die Entwicklung der Besitzverhältnisse in sechszehnten Jahrhundert' in Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich, ed. G. Schmoller, vol.xix (1895). Hereafter cited as Schmollers Jahrbuch.

J. Hartung, 'Die Belastung des augsburgischen Grosskapitals durch die Vermögensteuer des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts' in Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol.xix (1895).

2 C-P. Clasen, Die Augsburger Steuerbücher um 1600 (Augsburg, 1976).

3 E. König, Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel (Munich, 1923).

4 H. Lutz, Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie (Augsburg, 1958).

5 See p. 310.

government and questions to be used in the interrogation of suspected criminals.<sup>1</sup> Peutinger enjoyed a considerable reputation as a humanist scholar and always attempted to separate the religious debate from the political life of the city, for although he was critical of the failings of the clergy, he remained loyal to Catholicism. This study draws heavily upon the material left by Peutinger and draws together the scattered evidence concerning his diverse interests and influence.

The central issue for Augsburg, namely the relationship between civic unrest and the Reformation, still requires detailed investigation, which this study will provide for the first time, from the evidence of the archives in the city. The principle sources for the subject are all found in the Augsburg Stadtarchiv. Much of the official documentation of the city has survived, and three collections pertaining to this subject are of particular importance. The Literalien are a record of the city's correspondence and contain letters received by the magistrates and draft copies of outgoing correspondence. The collection is ordered chronologically, with no distinction between outgoing or incoming letters or in the nature of their contents. Also included in the Literalien are some letters of private individuals, including those of Ulrich Artzt, a mayor and Hauptmann of the Swabian League, a selection of Flugschriften and occasionally Urgichten, which were sworn statements of those apprehended by the authorities. Although frequently exacted under duress, the Urgichten proved the most detailed information about Anabaptism in the city. These

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1 See p. 247.

statements are contained in the Literalien for 1528. Despite gaps in the correspondence, the large quantity of material contained in the Literalien suggests that the major part of the official correspondence of Augsburg has survived.

The Augsburg Stadtarchiv has a complete sequence of the Ratsbücher for the period 1520-1537<sup>1</sup> and these contain a minute record of all the decisions reached by the Small Council. The entries were written by Peutingger and the neatness of the handwriting suggests that they were copied after the Council meeting from detailed notes. The Ratsbücher reflect the limitations on the authority of the Small Council and deal only with the internal affairs of the city: unfortunately there is no account of the discussions which took place during the Council meetings.<sup>2</sup> Certain important events, such as the Schilling riots of 1524, are dealt with at length, and the Ratsbücher contain reports which represent the official version of events. As in the case of the 1524 riots, these accounts presented only the point of view of the authorities and are strongly biased against those who opposed the Council.<sup>3</sup>

The Dreizehner Protokoll, the minutes of the meetings of the governing Council (the Council of Thirteen) exist incompletely from 1524 and record the debates within the Council, sometimes naming the various speakers. The Thirteen played the major role in directing

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1 The Stadtarchiv holds a complete sequence of these records from 1392 to 1806.

2 In this study when the term 'Council' is used alone it may be taken to mean the 'Small Council' (which included all members of the Thirteen).

3 See p. 129.

the foreign policy and internal affairs of Augsburg, and these documents provide crucial insight into the methods of policy making, as they reveal the motives which prompted the actions of the Council, and frequently depict the alternative courses which were considered. Unfortunately, from 1534, these records have only survived in a very fragmented form. It is probable that many of the missing records for 1534 onwards were deliberately destroyed by Hans Hagk, who was Stadtschreiber from 1535.<sup>1</sup> The motive for this act probably lay in an attempt to prevent the apportioning of blame by the Emperor at a later stage for the introduction of the Reformation legislation.

It is around these official sources that this study is largely built. The detail they provide allows a close investigation into the aims of the ruling oligarchy, and reveals the reactions to the problems brought about for the government by the Reformation. In some cases the minutes of meetings of the Thirteen have survived as well as memoranda compiled to assist the Council in making major decisions, for example whether it should remain in the Swabian League in 1533<sup>2</sup> or, in 1533, whether the Council should legislate in favour of the Protestants.<sup>3</sup> This evidence should allow us to form a detailed understanding of the attitude of the Council, both towards its citizens and the Reformation. The majority of official documents prior to 1534 were written by Peutingger the Stadtschreiber, who drafted most of the correspondence; wrote the entries in the Ratsbuch; kept the minutes for the Thirteen and even in some cases drafted the questions to be put to criminals as well as writing down

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1 See p.352.

2 See p.294.

3 See p.309.

their testimony. On many occasions his handwriting and use of abbreviations makes the interpretation of the documents difficult. This is especially the case for the minutes of the Thirteen which appear to survive as the notes scribbled by Peutingen during its meetings.

After 1534 there is a sharp decline in the volume of official documentation available, due either to the loss or possible deliberate destruction of selected items.<sup>1</sup> This means a shift in the nature of the enquiry is necessitated. As the intimate internal detail concerning the events and the progress of decision making by the Council is missing, it is necessary to utilise different forms of source material, principally the correspondence of religious leaders and diplomatic correspondence. Of particular use is the correspondence of Luther and Bucer. The correspondence of two Lutheran pastors resident in Augsburg, Johann Forster and Kaspar Huber is useful in providing some local detail and was published by W. Germann.<sup>2</sup> These sources are principally concerned with religious developments in the city, and provide little information concerning the activities of the populace. Nor do they provide much insight into the intentions of the Council. For this reason consideration of the period after 1534 with regard to civic politics becomes uncertain and subject to conjecture but the importance of the events of that year require the task to be undertaken.

A number of sources, both official and unofficial are of

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1 See p.352.

2 W. Germann, D. Johann Forster der hennebergische Reformator, ein Mitarbeiter und Mitstreiter D. Martin Luthers (1894).

relevance at certain points of crisis. The Evangelische Wesenarchiv, is a collection of documents pertaining in general to a later period, but it contains an important anonymous chronicle account of the Schilling riots of 1524.<sup>1</sup> Apparently by an eye-witness, this is written in a sixteenth century hand and its accuracy is verified at many points by reference to the account in the Ratsbuch as well as versions in other contemporary chronicles.

As regards social and economic archives, of prime value are the Steuerbücher which exist in an unbroken sequence for this period. Yet despite recent scholarly advances, notably by C-P. Clasen,<sup>2</sup> the method of tax assessment, fiscal practice and the details of the book keeping methods remain a mystery which impairs the historical value of these sources. A substantial collection of public proclamations, Anschläge und Dekreten, has been preserved and these indicate the form in which the various regulations and edicts were imposed upon the populace and the manner in which they were broadcast.

The greatest omission from the archive is the lack of any guild records, as these were largely destroyed in 1552 on the command of Charles V who wished permanently to eradicate the influence of the guilds. Detailed information concerning the guilds is not contained in other sources and, consequently, the financial organisation within the guilds; the lists of serving officers; the methods of electing guild officials; the supervisions exerted over masters, and the function of the guild houses remain largely unknown. No reconstruction of any of this material is possible.

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1 E.W.A., 482.

2 See p.21.

There were three important chronicles written in Augsburg in the early Reformation period and these have been published in the series, Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte. The materials in the chronicles have been used in order to balance the version of events provided by the official sources of the Council and to demonstrate the attitude of the citizens towards government and the Reformation. The chronicles provide much detail of life in Augsburg and the events of the period and compliment each other and the surviving official source material. Each chronicle was written by an author of different religious views and from varying social and economic backgrounds, they depict a wide range of contemporary opinion. The longest chronicle is that by Clemens Sender, a monk at the monastery of St. Ulrich.<sup>1</sup> Sender remained a Catholic and was a bitter opponent of the religious reformers; his chronicle often dwells on disorder, iconoclasm and heresy. Due to this subjectivity his version of events must be used with circumspection. He provides, however, much detail on the activity of the Catholic clergy, the Bishop, the Cathedral Chapter and the Fugger family, in their efforts to resist the rising tide of religious reform. As a monk the information available to Sender may have been limited and he rarely tried to place events in Augsburg in a national context, with the exception of his detailed account of the Reichstag held in the city in 1530. Despite these failings, Sender's chronicle is important as one of the few surviving statements for the Catholic case in Augsburg.

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1 'Die Chronik von Clemens Sender von den "ältesten Zeiten der Stadt bis zum Jahre 1536' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 23 (Leipzig, 1894).

Any weaknesses of Sender's chronicle can largely be balanced by the chronicle of Wilhelm Rem.<sup>1</sup> He was a prosperous citizen from a successful merchant family, well educated and with good social connections, being married to a member of the Fugger family. The degree of detail makes Rem's into a well-informed chronicle and he apparently strove to achieve objectivity, although his hatred of the clergy and support for religious reform is always apparent. Rem was aware of the problems of social unrest and the tensions caused by low wages amongst the poor at a time of price inflation, and he provides a frequent record of the cost of basic commodities in the markets. Despite his position in society Rem was an opponent of the Council. All members of his family were forbidden in perpetuity from holding any civic office, and Rem himself successfully appealed to the Reichskammergericht in a dispute with the Town Council.<sup>2</sup> His views concerning the corruption and incompetence of the Council were probably biased but are worthy of consideration. Rem's chronicle is most helpful when used in conjunction with Sender's, when the account of the hostile monk can be compared to that of a substantial citizen sympathetic to the Reformation.

Finally, there is the chronicle by Georg Preu, an artist of modest means and education who was an opponent of the Catholic Church and clergy and an advocate of religious reform.<sup>3</sup> Preu clearly

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1 'Cronica newer geschichten von Wilhelm Rem 1512-27' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 25 (Leipzig, 1896).

2 Ibid., pp.50-1.

3 Preu, op.cit.

lacked the range of official first hand information available to Rem and he often relied on rumour and his own impressions. This impairs the chronicle as an historical source, yet also provides useful insights of the city; for the information recorded by Preu was probably that which was circulating amongst the population and by which their opinions were formed.

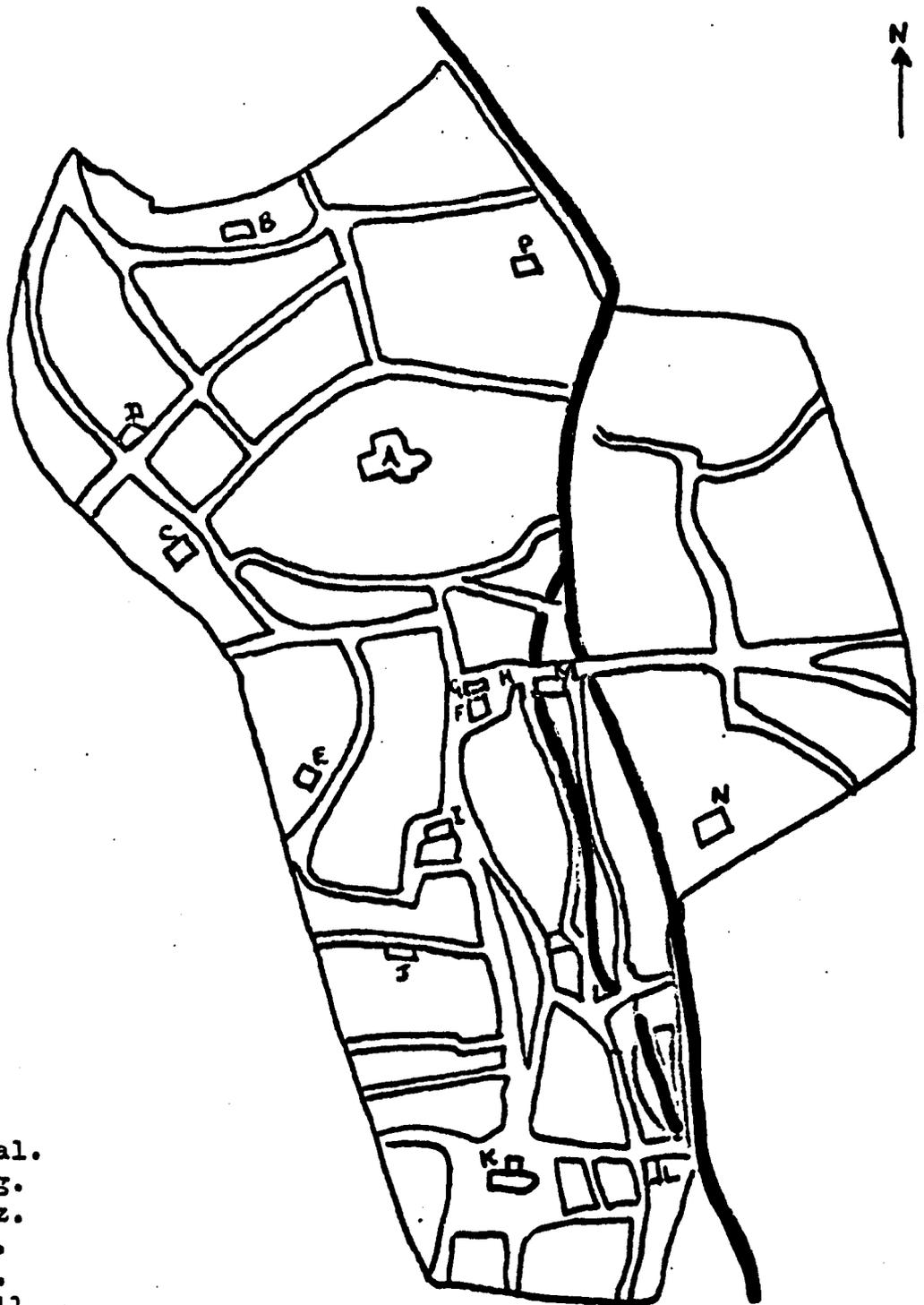
There is also a wide range of printed material in the form of theological works, printed sermons and Flugschriften, many of which have been collected by the Staats-und Stadtsbibliothek in Augsburg. By 1520 there were at least ten printers operating in the city, but there can be no guarantee that every pamphlet printed in Augsburg was offered for sale there or had any impact on the course of the Reformation. In order to avoid such confusion, this study will use only those works known to have been written by participants in the Reformation debate in Augsburg. This is in the belief that the views they expressed in print were likely to be in accordance with those they uttered in the pulpit or in the city at large, and which therefore were probably circulating in Augsburg.

The magnitude and complexity of the problems which faced Augsburg make this city a vital, although extreme example in any attempt to establish a general pattern for the history of the Imperial cities in the Reformation. The scale and duration of the upheavals experienced in Augsburg make it possible to identify the underlying as well as the more obvious changes in political, economic and religious theory and practice and to gauge how society reacted to them. Through this investigation it is hoped not only to provide a clearer understanding of the Reformation in Augsburg but also material which may be useful for a wider appreciation of the Reformation in Germany.

**CHAPTER ONE**

**AUGSBURG SOCIETY IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

AUGSBURG IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



KEY.

- A Cathedral.
- B St.Georg.
- C Hl.Kreuz.
- D Arsenal.
- E St.Anna.
- F Town Hall.
- G Tocsin Tower.
- H Perlach.
- I St.Moritz.
- J St.Katherina.
- K St.Ulrich.
- L St.Margreth.
- M Franciscans'.
- N Fuggerei.
- P St.Stephan.

CHAPTER ONE

i    Topography

The chronicler Wilhelm Rem believed that in 1519 the wealth of the citizens and merchants of Augsburg surpassed that of any other city in southern Germany.<sup>1</sup> This was a bold claim, yet made on strong evidence, as the previous half century had witnessed a dramatic increase in the commercial and political importance of the city. This increase in prosperity had brought with it a steady rise in the population which has been estimated at 20,000 inhabitants in 1512, and to have risen to around 32,000 by 1540.<sup>2</sup> These figures are based on the assumption that each of the households listed in the Steuerbücher consisted of four individuals and, as such, are probably misleadingly low, as they fail to take account of non-citizens who might be living permanently in Augsburg but who would not necessarily appear on the tax registers. Their numbers are uncertain but could be considerable, including the regular and secular clergy, the Cathedral Chapter and their retinues and, more significantly, the incalculable number of migrants who swelled the ranks of the poor. Despite the attempt to expel unwanted residents each year on St. Gallen's Day (16th October) they were nevertheless there in considerable numbers and, according to an anonymous chronicler, played a leading role in the civic riots of August 1524.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the authorities were to find that many of those arrested as Anabaptists had no right to be living in the city

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1    Rem, p.116.

2    A. Buff, Augsburg in der Renaissancezeit (Bamberg, 1893), p.54.

3    E.W.A. 482, fol.2.

and they were promptly expelled.<sup>1</sup> Large scale immigration from the countryside into Augsburg must have been an accepted part of life at the time for, as Phelps Brown and Hopkins say, 'When the death rate was so high in the cities they could only grow with migration from the countryside'.<sup>2</sup>

Even without accurate statistics it can be reasonably asserted that the population was rising in this period as, for example, between 1475 and 1540 there was almost a doubling of those liable for taxation.<sup>3</sup> Throughout this period, however, Augsburg remained constrained within the limits of its medieval fortifications. The authorities, concerned with defence of the vulnerable walls, prevented any building outside the city.<sup>4</sup> In these circumstances an increase in overcrowding was inevitable since there was scarcely any corresponding increase in the number of houses listed in the Steuerbücher, although these figures fail to take account of houses which had been enlarged.<sup>5</sup> It was partly in response to considerable destitution that Jakob Fugger endowed the Fuggerei, a settlement of 52 houses within the city which was to provide cheap but decent accommodation for some of the indigenous poor.<sup>6</sup>

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1 See, for example, St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.157, 1528.

2 E.M. Phelps Brown and S.U. Hopkins, 'Builders' Wage-rates, Prices and Population: Some Further Evidence' in Economica, vol.xxvi (1959).

3 J. Hartung, 'Die Augsburgerische Vermögensteuer', p.875.

4 See, for example, St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.7, 1521.

5 A. Buff, op.cit., p.54.

6 G. Polnitz, Jakob Fugger, vol.1, pp.350-1.

In general the poor of the city were concentrated in two areas, and these were to prove dangerous centres of unrest throughout the Reformation. The most important of these was a broad band of densely populated streets stretching northwards from the Rotes Tor to the Franciscan monastery. In the 1490s the waters of the Lech had been channelled through this low-lying eastern part of the city. This had encouraged dense settlement by artisans who needed the water in their trade; smiths, dyers and finishers of cloth, as well as poor of all sorts. The Stadtplan drawn by Georg Seld in 1521 gives an impression of high density housing in this area<sup>1</sup> and this can be supported by evidence from the tax registers of 1524 which refer to tax districts known to be within this area.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 1

Area	Households	No. of Houses	Households classed as <u>Besitzlose</u>
Vom lawterlech	146	50	89
Am lawterlech	42	16	27
Vom Lewpolds Bad	24	9	9
Vom murdigel	77	24	43
Am hinderlech	81	33	54
Vom unden schlachthaws	47	19	30
unnder den Lederern	17	4	12
Vom Gablinger bad	44	22	17
Straffinger (i.e. Barfusser thor intra)	46	20	25
Vom Swibogen	157	42	107
Am schwaal	35	18	23

1 See map opposite p.30.

2 St. A.A., Steuerbücher, fol.29-37, 1524.

These examples indicate both the high degree of besitzlose<sup>1</sup> who resided in the area and the general pattern of several households living in the same dwelling, although it must be remembered that many non-citizens do not appear in the tax registers.

At the northern end of this area was the steeply sloping Perlach, the place where butchers slaughtered their meat. From its highest point the Perlach was surveyed by the Town Hall and the tocsin tower, the Perlachturm.<sup>2</sup> This was a notoriously volatile part of the city,<sup>3</sup> surrounded by the Trinkstube and the site of the gallows and was the place where the crowds gathered on 6th August, 1524 prior to their march on the Town Hall.<sup>4</sup> There too, in 1535, was found a letter which threatened the authorities with new risings if they failed to legislate in favour of the Protestants.<sup>5</sup> At the foot of the Perlachberg in the midst of the poorest area stood the monastery and parish church of the Franciscans which was to be the centre of unrest in the Reformation. When preaching in this church, the friar Johann Schilling built up a body of popular support, and it was his parishioners who stormed the Town Hall in their

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- 1 Besitzlose refers to those without moveable property.
  - 2 The Perlachturm was rebuilt between 1525 and 1526, following its collapse in 1524. See Sender, p.181 and E.W.A. 482, fol.1.
  - 3 The problems caused by the frequent violence on the Perlach prompted the Council to publish in 1502 an order forbidding the carrying of any weapons in this area. Those who disobeyed were threatened with severe punishments. St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten 1490-1649, Teil I. This instruction was repeated in the Zucht und Polizei-Ordnung of 1537. See p.410.
  - 4 E.W.A. 482, fol. 2.
  - 5 Sender, p.354.

insistence that he should be restored. The anonymous chronicler noted that the discontent and rioting began in the area around the Franciscan church and spread up the Perlach to the Town Hall.<sup>1</sup> It was at this stage too that the Franciscans' parish was confirmed as the centre of religious extremism in Augsburg. On 6th August, 1524, the crowd rejected the suggestion by the Council that Schilling be replaced by the Lutheran Urban Rhegius<sup>2</sup> and, realising its inability to impose an unpopular preacher on the area, the authorities appointed Michael Keller to the position, a man of extreme religious views who rapidly became the leading protagonist of Zwinglian doctrines in the city. Later, when he committed acts of iconoclasm, the authorities were aware of the local support he enjoyed and were unable to restrain him.<sup>3</sup> When Charles V used troops to restore Catholic services to the Franciscan church during the 1530 Reichstag, his soldiers were attacked by an angry mob and it was only with difficulty that order was restored.<sup>4</sup>

The other main concentration of the poor was in the parishes of St. Georg and Hl. Kreuz to the north and north west of the city. Here too the tax registers class a high percentage of the population as besitzlose and show many as sharing accommodation.<sup>5</sup>

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1 E.W.A. 481, fol.8.

2 E.W.A. 482, fol.4.

3 Sender, pp.214-7.

4 Sender, p.322.

5 St. A.A., Steuerbücher, fols.7-9, 1524.

TABLE 2

Area	Households	No. of Houses	Households classified as <u>Besitzlose</u>
Salta ad Sanctam crucem	128	50	82
Salta zum Roten thor	106	51	55
In des natans garten	300	127	198
Salta zum windtbronnen	120	43	74
Uff unnser frawen graben	92	51	40
Unnder den vischern	68	37	39
Vom Rottenthor	49	28	21

This was the area most distant from a regular water supply and consequently considered undesirable, attracting the poor engaged in those trades which had no need of water, notably the weavers and tailors. In 1503 the Council had constructed the civic arsenal (Katzenstadel) in the centre of this area, concentrating its weapons where they might be needed most. When the local populace witnessed the removal of cannon from the arsenal by the authorities during the disturbances of 1524, a crowd gathered in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the guns from leaving the building to be used against fellow citizens, an indication that the sympathies of the people of this area lay with the rioters and not with the Council.<sup>1</sup>

These parishes were also early centres of extreme religious feelings. In 1526 Johann Schneid, a married former Augustinian friar of the monastery, was appointed preacher of Hl. Kreuz and supported by a door to door collection in the parish.<sup>2</sup> Similarly,

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 30th August 1524: Matheus Langenmantel's Urgicht.

2 Sender, p.179.

Johann Seifried, also married, was appointed to preach at St. Georg and both men quickly revealed their strong Zwinglian leanings.<sup>1</sup> The Council had grounds to mistrust Schneid, Seifried and Keller. Schneid was known to have been in contact with the Anabaptist leader, Eitelhanns Langenmantel<sup>2</sup> and the authorities had record of a sermon preached by Seifried in St. Georg in July 1528 in which he urged more sympathetic treatment for the captured Anabaptists.<sup>3</sup> All three were involved in rowdy scenes in the Cathedral in November 1527 when they disrupted a Catholic sermon.<sup>4</sup> The reticence of the Council was grounded on its experiences of 1524 and the difficulty of removing popular preachers from their parishes. This course appeared justified during the 1530 Reichstag when the arrest of Schneid by Imperial troops prompted riots.<sup>5</sup>

The formation of areas densely populated by the poorer classes was matched by the grouping of rich citizens in other parts of the city. They lived principally on the area of high ground on the central street, between the Town Hall and St. Ulrich and also in the streets immediately to the west, between the convent of St. Katherina and the monastery of St. Anna. The rebuilding of many houses had been undertaken by the wealthy and many, including the

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1 Sender, p.179.

2 See the letter of Schneid to Eitelhanns Langenmantel printed in full in F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben: zur Lebensgeschichte Eitelhanns Langenmantels von Augsburg', op.cit., pp.35-7.

3 Ibid.

4 Sender, pp.193-4.

5 Ibid., p.308.

Fugger, Höchstetter, Welser, Adler and Peutinger had built themselves new houses of considerable opulence and magnitude. The increase in size was indicated by the decrease in the number of dwellings on the street between St. Ulrich's and the Cathedral, even though the area remained fully built up.<sup>1</sup> An indication of the concentration of the wealthy in this part of Augsburg is provided by examples taken from the tax registers for 1524 which refer to tax districts known to be in this area.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 3

Area	Households	No. of Houses	Households classed as <u>Besitzlose</u>
Vom Rathaus	71	33	7
Sant Kathringass	53	25	15
Vom Ulrich Artzt	23	16	4
Vom weberhaus	66	28	18
Vom Rappolt	45	26	4
Vom unnsen frauen Bruder	61	29	9

The churches which served this area were the parish and monastic church of St. Moritz and the Carmelite Church of St. Anna. The Church of St. Moritz was under the patronage of the Fugger family who had the right to appoint the preacher. The Fuggers were determined that Catholic services and sermons be maintained in St. Moritz and the

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1 A. Buff, op.cit., p.55.

2 St. A.A., Steuerbucher, fols.41-6, 1524.

church became a frequent scene of controversy and disorder between the supporters of reform and the Catholics supported by the Fuggers and other leading wealthy merchant families.<sup>1</sup> The church of the Carmelites was the first and most consistent centre of the Lutheran Reformation in Augsburg. Luther had stayed there during his visit to the Reichstag in 1518 and had converted the prior, Frosch and many of the brothers. From that time evangelical sermons and services were heard at St. Anna and communion given in both kinds at Christmas 1525.<sup>2</sup> It was in St. Anna that Lutheran views were preached during the Abendmahlstreit in Augsburg, and eventually, to prevent a continuation of the dispute, which it believed encouraged civic disunity, the authorities forbade further Lutheran preaching at St. Anna.<sup>3</sup>

It would be inaccurate to claim that the support for any religious group was limited to one section of society and, clearly, these distinctions were not rigid. For example, even though the majority of supporters of the Zwinglians were from the poorer sections of society and concentrated in the Franciscans, Hl. Kreuz and St. Georg parishes, there were, nevertheless, some wealthy and influential Zwinglians in the city, notably Ulrich Rehlinger, Sigmund Welser and Anthoni Bimel. Sender says that when the

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1 For reports of the disorders surrounding the Catholic preacher Nachtigall and the Ascension Day service of 1533 see respectively St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 2, 31st Jan. 1528 and Sender, pp.340-4.

2 E. Schott, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Carmeliterkloster und der Kirche von St. Anna in Augsburg' in ZHVSchw., vol.ix (1882), p.260.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, fols.59-60, 1531.

Lutheran Rhegius preached in 1526 his sermons were attended by the rich, the middling and the poor.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, no sect had exclusive control of any district, but areas of support can be identified. The adherents of Catholicism were centred, in the main, around the Cathedral where the use of the Church and the appointment of the preacher were controlled by the Chapter. The surrounding district contained the homes of many of the clergy, the Cathedral Chapter and their retinues and some monastic houses and it presented an enclave of Catholicism. The Fuggers were similarly able to use their powers of patronage to maintain Catholicism at St. Moritz despite the hostility of the Zechpfleger of the parish.<sup>2</sup> There were two main areas of support for the religious reformers. The Lutherans were concentrated almost exclusively at St. Anna in the wealthy district of the city, and the attempt by the Town Council to place Rhegius, an orthodox Lutheran preacher, at the Franciscan Church in 1524 was successfully resisted by the parishioners. Although the Zwinglians had some influential support, they were strongest in what were acknowledged to be the poorest, the most populous and the most volatile areas of Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> The support for the Zwinglians in these areas was so great that the Council dared not act against preachers of whom it disapproved. Between the populace and the Zwinglians there was an understanding which the Lutherans could not

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1 Sender, p.177: '...von reichen, mittel messigen und armen'.

2 See p.59 for a definition of Zechpfleger.

3 In 1529 a Zwinglian preacher was installed by the Zechpfleger of St. Ulrich. This parish spanned wealthy and poor areas in the southern part of Augsburg.

match despite their firm base and influential support at St. Anna. Later the close contacts between the Zwinglian divines and the populace and lower guildsmen were to prove crucial in furthering the Reformation in Augsburg.<sup>1</sup>

## ii Civic Politics

The constitution of Augsburg had been established by the guild revolution of 1368 when control of the government was wrested from the patrician families who, from that time, played a subordinate role in government. The Zunftbrief ordained that every citizen had to be a member of one of the eighteen guilds and should have the right to vote in the elections for guildmasters and guild officials.<sup>2</sup> The guildmasters were elected by a simple majority of votes by the members but it would appear from fragmentary evidence of the weavers and Salzfertiger guilds that a system of secret ballots rather than the original open voting had been developed by the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Whether the system was altered to prevent or facilitate electoral manipulation is unknown but in practice by the sixteenth century the elections brought regular reappointment for the guildmasters, even when they were

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1 See below chapter seven and W. Germann, D. Johann Forster der hennebergische Reformator. Ein Mitarbeiter und Mitstreiter D. Martin Luthers (1894), p.79.

2 'Chronik von 1368 bis 1406' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 4 (Leipzig, 1865), Beilage 1, pp.129-31. The number of guilds was subsequently reduced to 17. The destruction of many guild records following the reform of the Council ordered by Charles V in 1548, prevents a detailed investigation of the organisation of the guilds.

3 P. Dirr, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Augsburger Zunftverfassung 1368-1548', p.182. See also W. Germann, op.cit., p.115.

known to be hated by their members. This was the case with Hans Bimmel, guildmaster of the weavers in 1501, who attempted to force all members of the guild to buy their supplies of flax from him at inflated prices. Eventually this scheme was put to an open vote in which Bimmel's plans were resoundingly rejected.<sup>1</sup> Various wealth or residence qualifications may also have been imposed on candidates for guild office or an election deposit demanded which would eliminate all but a few candidates. Nobody was allowed to hold any guild or government office for more than one year, but in the larger guilds with two representatives on the Small Council, the retiring guildmaster was generally elected to serve as the second representative, ensuring that he always had a seat on the Small Council. He was then able to resume his position as guildmaster every other year. This systematic rotation of offices between individuals closely resembled the situation which prevailed in other cities at that time, for example in Ulm.<sup>2</sup> It allowed continuity in office and government policies but also facilitated the domination of the Council by a few men. The governing Small Council was formed from all the guildmasters, and, in addition the eleven most important guilds each had the right to nominate an extra official to serve on the Small Council.<sup>3</sup> These guildsmen then chose fifteen patricians to serve with them and elected from amongst

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1 J. Strieder, Zur Genesis des modernen Kapitalismus (Leipzig, 1904), pp.149-50.

2 E. Naujoks, Obrigkeitsgedanke, p.13.

3 'Chronik von 1368 bis 1406', Beilage 1, pp.135-6.

themselves two mayors; one a guildsman and one a patrician.<sup>1</sup> The chief officials of the government, the mayors, the three Baumeister, the three Einnehmer, six Steuermeister and the Siegler were all chosen from the Small Council. Within the jurisdiction of this Council fell all matters of routine administration concerning the daily life of the city; for example, the control of the food supply and food prices, requests to emigrate, the control of new building and the enforcement of all laws and taxes. The Small Council produced most of the legislation for the city on its own authority and had no need to refer to the Large Council. Its deliberations and decisions were recorded in the Ratsbuch.<sup>2</sup>

For matters of the greatest importance or urgency the formulation of policy and the power to act lay with the Council of Thirteen which was formed from the two mayors, the Baumeister, Einnehmer, Siegler and three other appointees who generally included the mayors of the previous year.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the Small Council which met once or twice weekly, the Thirteen met daily if necessary and discussed and determined broad areas of policy as well as more routine concerns of government. In particular, the Thirteen devised and controlled the foreign policy of Augsburg. In other matters they either acted directly by passing legislation on their own authority or passed the matter on to the Small Council to deal with, but there was apparently no firm division of responsibility between

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1 Ibid.

2 See p. 23.

3 'Beilagen zur Chronik des Clemens Sender' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte, 25 (Leipzig, 1896), p.344.

the Councils.<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that by the early sixteenth century the power of the Council was increasing at the expense of the independent authority of the guilds. For example, in 1524, the Council issued regulations for the production, quality and sale of cloth in the city, although these had formerly been the responsibility of the weavers guild.<sup>2</sup>

A Large Council was also formed from the guilds and this consisted of the guildmasters and twelve men, Zwölfer, elected by each guild.<sup>3</sup> The Large Council was bound by an oath of loyalty to the Small Council but it was considered that the Zwölfer could advise the guildmasters in weighty or difficult decisions. By the sixteenth century, however, the Large Council was called only to approve policies instituted by the Small Council. The wide membership of the Large Council meant that it was susceptible to popular pressure and could become a focus of opposition to the government. This was seen in the Ulrich Schwarz crisis of 1476, and in 1533 the Protestant pastors, believing the Large Council to be sympathetic to their demands, planned to use this body to bypass the Small Council and pass legislation in favour of the Protestants.<sup>4</sup> The successful subjection of the Large Council stifled the views of the ordinary

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1 The fragmentary nature of the surviving Protokolle der Dreizehn makes a full understanding of the functions of the Thirteen impossible.

2 St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten 1490-1649, Teil 1. A similar interference by the Council in the affairs of the guilds has been noted by Naujoks in Ulm. E. Naujoks, op.cit., p.12.

3 'Chronik von 1368 bis 1406', Beilage 1, p.130.

4 See p.307.

guildsmen in political affairs and forced opposition to government policies to take the form of street demonstrations or other illegal activities.

In his account of the Reformation in Augsburg, Roth failed to consider the effects of the changing political and constitutional situation within the city. It was a period of upheaval in which the Council was increasing its power, particularly at the expense of the guilds. These changes aroused political conflict between the authorities and the populace and had, prior to the Reformation, undermined the unity of the community. An understanding of the political situation is a vital component of any explanation of the Reformation in Augsburg, for the religious disputes and loyalties were to become intertwined with the existing conflicts in the city, as happened for example in 1524.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the fifteenth century, the government of the city had become a closed oligarchy. Office holding was likely to be dominated by wealthy individuals who could spare time from their work to attend Council meetings and in practice civic office came to be dominated by a small group of wealthy individuals.<sup>2</sup> The process

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1 See pp.150-1.

2 An example of even a wealthy man being ruined by neglecting his business in order to hold office is provided by the bankruptcy of Lukas Fugger. See G. Pölnitz, Anton Fugger, vol.1 (Tübingen, 1958), p.7. This situation also prevailed in other cities in South Germany. See, P. Eitel, 'Die Politische, Soziale und Wirtschaftliche Stellung des Zunftbürgertums in den Oberschwabischen Reichsstädten am Ausgang des Mittelalters' in E. Maschke and J. Sydow (ed.), Städtische Mittelschichten. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg. Reihe B, Bd. 69 (Stuttgart, 1958), p.90.

whereby the retiring guildmaster was elected as a Zwölfer or second representative on the Council meant that the office was rotated between two men. Between 1369 and 1548 there were 181 mayors chosen from the guilds, yet all came from 36 families and of these 8 held the honour only once, leaving the mayoral office to be dominated by 24 leading families. During this period the mayor was chosen from the merchants' guild 94 times, from the Salzfertiger 32 times, from the butchers 18 times and 14 times from the weavers, which allowed the lesser guildsmen little opportunity of holding high office.<sup>1</sup> Although it was forbidden to be mayor in successive years, Appendix 1 shows that the office was frequently held on alternate years and in this way Hieronymous Imhof was mayor eleven times between 1514 and 1534 and Ulrich Arzt ten times between 1508 and 1527, both these men being guildmasters of the merchants' guild.

This practice of the rotation of offices emphasised the failure of the guild revolution to place political control in the hands of the guild-members. In Augsburg, as in Ulm and Strasbourg, the demands for a democratic form of government, raised during the guild revolutions had been resisted.<sup>2</sup> Power was instead held by a small group of rich merchants. Due to their wealth, these men formed a class apart from the other guildsmen and probably believed themselves to be closer to the patricians than to the artisans, a

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1 J. Hartung, 'Die Augsburger Zuschlagsteuer von 1475' in Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol.xix (1895), pp.134-5.

2 E. Naujoks, op.cit., p.14, and T. Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg 1520-1555, p.178.

situation which also existed for example in Memmingen, Kempten and other South German cities.<sup>1</sup> This group, with investments and trade to protect, had no desire to see the control of government fall into the hands of ignorant men and this led them to form an alliance distinguished by wealth, ties of marriage and office holding. In 1412 the Herrentrinkstube was formed and by 1416 its members consisted of 42 wealthy guildsmen, 25 patricians and 7 nobles. Its members became known as the Mehrer der Gesellschaft.<sup>2</sup> This was an alliance of the ruling class which successfully dominated civic office and all positions of influence. By 1475 the Mehrer consisted of 200 guildsmen and 46 patricians and formed a politically and socially exclusive force which acted as a successful counterweight to the democratic basis of the constitution. The oligarchy of patricians, removed in 1368, had merely been superseded by an oligarchy of wealth.

During the economic difficulties which affected Augsburg in the 1470s, dissatisfaction with the government amongst the lesser guildsmen flared up into effective political opposition. Details of the events and especially of the revolutionary leader Ulrich Schwarz, the guildmaster of the carpenters, are difficult to obtain as the official records and chronicle accounts were used to blacken the motives and the characters of all those who were involved.<sup>3</sup> They say that Schwarz used his office as mayor to misappropriate civic

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1 P. Eitel, op.cit., p.90.

2 P. Dirr, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Augsburger Zunftverfassung, 1368-1548', pp.194-5.

3 e.g. 'Chronik des Hector Mulich' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Stadte, xxii (Leipzig, 1892), pp.356-7.

funds, to appoint himself and his henchmen to lucrative positions and to have sold offices, raised taxes, murdered his opponents and used terror to achieve his re-election.<sup>1</sup> The accounts fail to explain how Schwarz managed to win power in the first place and why, if his rule was so evil and unpopular, it was he who enjoyed popular support and not those who formed the coup to remove him.

Schwarz was not a member of the Mehrerer and was inimical towards them.

Er wolt ain gemainen nutz anrichten, der burger  
/Mehrerer/ urtail und vernichten.<sup>2</sup>

He was first mayor in 1471 and served again in 1473 and 1475 and for the Mehrerer to consent to a man from the carpenters guild holding this office, Schwarz must have had considerable support in the city which made his rejection by the oligarchy impossible or at least imprudent. These events coincided with the problems caused by recent hostility with Bavaria<sup>3</sup> which had led to a severe restriction of trade and supplies reaching the city. Popular dissatisfaction with the economic situation had already forced a temporary suspension of the Ungeld in 1466.<sup>4</sup> In 1475 a Zuschlagsteuer was levied to raise Augsburg's 18,000 gulden contribution to the special tax demanded by Frederick III for the defence of the Empire.<sup>5</sup> This imposition fell

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1 Ibid., pp.420-7.

2 'Chronik des Hector Mulich' in Die Chroniken der deutschen Stadte, xxii (Leipzig, 1892), p.357.

3 Ibid., pp.220-2.

4 Ibid., p.208.

5 Ibid., p.250: 'Satzt man auf ain wuchensteuer mit geleuter sturmglöcken'.

largely on the poorest sections of society who were already experiencing economic difficulty. Contributions were graduated according to a citizen's normal tax assessment and all citizens accordingly divided into sixteen classes. The lowest six of this scale which included the besitzlose, beggars, artisans, dayworkers and the small property owners who paid up to 15 gulden per annum in tax, contributed 70 per cent of the receipts of the Zuschlagsteuer.<sup>1</sup> This constituted an increase of up to 520 per cent on the normal direct taxes paid by many besitzlose.<sup>2</sup> A dayworker was probably paying over 11 per cent of his annual cash income as Zuschlagsteuer and a journeyman up to 30 per cent, and this excluded the kleinere Steuer and indirect taxes. In contrast, a man who paid taxes on a fortune of 1,000 gulden<sup>3</sup> paid an extra 6 per cent of his normal taxes as Zuschlagsteuer.

It was probably as a result of the resentment caused by this tax that Schwarz was elected for an unconstitutional consecutive term as mayor in 1476, an office which he retained until 1478. The Zuschlagsteuer was abolished and, as an indication of where his support lay, Schwarz submitted a plan for radical political reform to the Large Council. This proposed three changes which moved power away from the Mehrer and the more powerful guilds by increasing

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1 J. Hartung, 'Die Augsburger Zuschlagsteuer von 1475', pp.96-101.

2 Ibid., pp.110-31.

3 J. Hartung, 'Die Augsburger Zuschlagsteuer von 1475', p.131.

the power of the lesser guilds.<sup>1</sup> In future the seven lesser guilds were each to have three representatives on the Small Council to balance the 22 members of the eleven major guilds. The power of the Mehrer in the Thirteen was broken by replacing it with a new supreme council formed from one patrician and one member from each guild, and in future all judicial posts were to be divided fairly amongst representatives of all the guilds.<sup>2</sup> The Large Council approved the measures of Schwarz by a large majority and the Mehrer, who had been out-manoeuvred were not in a position to resist. Eventually, leading members of the Mehrer, with the approval of Emperor Frederick III and the support of some of the members of the richer guilds, arrested and executed Schwarz and his accomplices.<sup>3</sup> The reforms of government were abolished and the powers of the Herrentrinkstube increased as the rule of the Mehrer was re-established.<sup>4</sup>

The events of 1476-8 remained as a warning to the Mehrer who were aware of opposition to their rule and who constantly feared a repetition. All manifestations of unrest were treated seriously as the authorities were determined to maintain their control and, as shown by the events of 1524,<sup>5</sup> the Council was prepared to use

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1 Mulich, p.357.

2 Ibid. and P. Dirr, 'Studien zur Geschichte der Augsburger Zunftverfassung, 1368-1548', pp.217-8.

3 Mulich, p.260.

4 Rem, pp.58-60.

5 See p.137.

mercenary troops when its authority was challenged. The alienation between the Council and citizens was increased by the support of unpopular policies by the authorities, notably the spirited defence of monopoly trading companies sponsored by the Council against the attacks of the Reichstag.<sup>1</sup> The extent of popular disapproval of monopolies was expressed in 1524.<sup>2</sup> To an unpopular government the Reformation posed a particular threat as it could unite the various discontented groups in the city against the policies of the Council and through their common religious allegiance give them cohesion, organisation and a respectability with which to cover their political demands. The Mehrer were aware of the dangers of attempting to enforce Catholicism on the city but unwilling to accept the consequences of a Protestant Reformation, and they developed a policy of conciliation which was designed to prevent the religious dispute increasing the social and political tensions in Augsburg and creating a challenge to the authority of the Council. Events were to show, however, that the religious disputes were inextricably bound to the tensions which existed in the society of the city.

### iii The Pre-Reformation Church

The Church played a crucial role in the life of Augsburg, yet for generations relations had been strained between the citizens

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1 P. Hecker, 'Ein Gutachten Conrad Peutingers in Sachen der Handelsgesellschaften' in ZHVSchw., vol.ii (1875), pp.190-206; C. Bauer, 'Gutachten zur Monopolfrage. Eine Untersuchung Zur Wandlung der Wirtschaftsanschauungen in Zeitalter der Reformation' in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, vol.45 (1954), pp.3-13.

2 See p.151.

and the clergy. The medieval city had grown around the protection of the Bishop's stronghold and despite Augsburg being granted the status of a Free Imperial city in 1316, much animosity was caused in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the efforts of the Bishops to assert their traditional rights over the city and the equal determination of the citizens to preserve their autonomy.<sup>1</sup> During this period the Council successfully challenged most of the remaining prerogatives of the Bishop; for example, his right to impose an Ungeld on goods entering Augsburg was abolished by the Council in favour of a similar levy imposed by the civic authorities.<sup>2</sup> The control of justice by the Bishop through his Burggraf was weakened by the city which, despite episcopal opposition, established its own courts to deal with all offences except those within the jurisdiction of canon law.<sup>3</sup> Eventually, in 1521, the Council even won from the Emperor the right to mint coins which had previously been a jealously guarded privilege of the Bishop.<sup>4</sup> Despite their control of estates stretching from the Danube to the Alps, the financial affairs of the Bishops were in a parlous state throughout most of the fifteenth century and their preoccupation with winning greater control over their lands prevented successful resistance to the infringements of their rights by the city.<sup>5</sup>

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1 An example of this hostility was the conflict of the city with Bishop Peter von Schaumberg in 1451. See Mulich, p.58.

2 Ibid., pp.47 and 106-7.

3 Ibid., pp.106-7.

4 H. Lutz, Conrad Peutinger, pp.179-80.

5 P. and R. Blicke, (ed.), Schwaben von 1268 bis 1803 (Munich, 1979), pp.43-8.

By the sixteenth century the Bishop was almost permanently resident at Dillingen and rarely entered his Cathedral.

Hostility between the Church and city was increased by their frequent support of rival causes. Between 1413 and 1423 the city supported the Pope in his successful efforts to enforce his papal provision, nominating Friedrich von Grafeneck as Bishop against the choice of the Chapter.<sup>1</sup> In the Städtekrieg of 1448-50 the clergy and Chapter supported the campaigns of Albrecht of Brandenburg and the Bavarian Dukes Heinrich and Albrecht against the cities and Mulich commented:

Our Cathedral Chapter and our clergy were continually delighted by our misfortune and had daily arguments with the common people.<sup>2</sup>

The bitterest conflicts concerned the rights and privileges of the clergy and the exclusive nature of the Cathedral Chapter. The Council used every opportunity of weakness in the Church to attempt to impose citizenship on the clergy and with it the responsibility of paying direct and indirect taxes and a share towards the defence of the city. Efforts to force citizenship on the clergy in the fourteenth century had come to nothing<sup>3</sup> but in 1433 the abbot of St. Ulrich's, fearing that the Bishop was attempting to bring the monastery under his jurisdiction, turned to the city for assistance and, in return for civic protection agreed to become a citizen and pay 100 gulden annually in tax.<sup>4</sup> This scheme became a permanent

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1 Mulich, pp.57-8.

2 Ibid., p.104.

3 Ibid., p.24.

4 R. Kiessling, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg, p.151.

arrangement between the Council and St. Ulrich's and was from time to time copied by the priors of St. Moritz and St. Peter.<sup>1</sup> In Augsburg, however, as elsewhere, the popular dislike of the exemptions enjoyed by the clergy was a powerful factor in winning support for the Reformation.

The Cathedral Chapter emphasised their independence from the city by maintaining the statute of 1322 which closed the Chapter to any citizen of Augsburg. They feared citizens would be prepared to place the Chapter under the control of the Council and, as a result, the Chapter was dominated by members of the Swabian nobility.<sup>2</sup> These wealthy prebends with their unruly entourages were the most unpopular clergy in Augsburg and bitter feuds developed when sons of citizens attempted to defy the prohibition and seek membership. In 1482, Bernhard Artzt, a notorious pluralist, was refused membership even though he was the son of a patrician and not technically a citizen.<sup>3</sup> In the ensuing argument the Council championed the cause of Artzt while the Chapter was forced to leave Augsburg for its own safety, and although Artzt's appeal to Rome was unsuccessful the affair was complicated by renewed claims of lordship over the city by the Bishop. In 1490, Frederick III ordered both parties to be at peace but upheld the prohibition of the Chapter against citizens.<sup>4</sup> In 1500 Emperor Maximilian forced the Chapter to accept his servant, Matheus Lang,

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1 Ibid., p.154.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 1, fol.11, 1534.

3 Sender, pp.43-4.

4 St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten 1490-1649, Teil 1, 1490.

the son of a patrician, as a member but promised that this would not be used as a precedent in any other case.<sup>1</sup>

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries no new religious houses were established in Augsburg which was indicative of the stagnation within the orders rather than of a loss of piety by the citizens. Of the eighteen religious houses some were especially important to the spiritual life of the city and some, particularly the older Benedictine foundations, had an economic role of importance as they were considerable land owners in the city and in the immediately surrounding territories which provided much of Augsburg's food. The richest and most important house was the Benedictine Reichsabtei of St. Ulrich which had close links with the city as it housed the tombs of its two patron saints, St. Ulrich and St. Afra, and as many of the monks and abbots were from Augsburg families.<sup>2</sup> The abbots looked to the Council for protection from the powers of the Bishop but had also developed close relations with the Dukes of Bavaria in whose territory the monastery had considerable lands. St. Ulrich's had undergone reform during the fifteenth century<sup>3</sup> and in 1473 under Abbot Melchior von Stammheim a printing press had been established in the monastery which produced works by Tauler, Thomas a Kempis, Bernard of Clairvaux and the Early Fathers.<sup>4</sup> The

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1 Sender, pp.74-5.

2 R. Kiessling, op.cit., pp.255 and 260.

3 K. Haupt, 'Mystik und Kunst in Augsburg und im östlichen Schwaben während des Spätmittelalters' in ZHVSchw., vol.lix (1969), pp.30-1.

4 Ibid., pp.39-40 and C. Wehmer, 'Ne Italo Cedere Videamur - Augsburger Buchdrucker und Schreiber um 1500' in Augusta, ed. H. Rinn (Augsburg, 1955), pp.152-3. In 1475 the press of St. Ulrich produced for public sale an illustrated translation of the Bible in German.

printing press was no longer operated by the sixteenth century but standards of scholarship remained high as the monastery produced the linguist, astronomer and mathematician Veit Bild<sup>1</sup> as well as the chronicler Clemens Sender. The Bishop complained of the laxity of St. Ulrich's but due to its patronage by the Habsburgs, the Wittelsbachs and the Town Council he was unable to intervene in its affairs or finances. This powerful patronage was to produce a similar obstacle for the Council in 1533.<sup>2</sup>

At the centre of Augsburg was the wealthy house of St. Moritz which had prebendaries from many of the wealthy citizen families of Augsburg, including the Pfister, Fugger, Imhof and Artzt; although by 1500 there were eighteen vicars to fulfil the duties of prebendaries who were absent or not in orders.<sup>3</sup> In 1518 the Chapter of St. Moritz was involved in a dispute with Jakob Fugger over the right he demanded to appoint the parish preacher. The Chapter objected to Fugger assuming a role of patronage which they claimed better befitted a prince. Nevertheless Fugger was able to use his influence with the Emperor and at Rome to be successful in this contest.<sup>4</sup> The preacher he appointed was Johann Eck the defender of usury and the future opponent of Luther, and in the Reformation the Fuggers were to use their patronage at St. Moritz to appoint men of orthodox Catholic views although, as Rem believed,

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1 F. Roth, Reformationsgeschichte, vol.1, p.15.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 1, fol.10, 1534.

3 R. Kiessling, op.cit., p.34.

4 Rem, pp.93-4; G. Pölnitz, Jakob Fugger, vol.1 (Tübingen, 1949), pp.380-2.

without the co-operation of the Zechpfleger the Fugger had little hope of success.<sup>1</sup>

By the sixteenth century, the early ideal of poverty had been largely lost by the mendicants and with it had disappeared much of their popularity. The provision of alms must have been increasingly onerous to those sections of the population who were themselves facing economic hardship, and unwelcome to the merchants who saw the opportunity to increase their wealth, not give it away. So unpopular were the Dominicans by 1531 that only the personal intervention of the mayor Imhof prevented the sacking of their monastery.<sup>2</sup> The authorities in their fight to control vagrancy disapproved of the mendicants and in 1516, Peutinger prepared a proposal, which he intended to present to the Reichstag, that all the mendicants should be placed under the control of the local secular or episcopal authorities.<sup>3</sup> The Dominicans had undergone vigorous reform in the years prior to the Reformation under their prior Johann Faber, a leading Observant, but this did little to increase their local popularity.

The Franciscans had remained under the control of the Conventuals, unlike most of the other major Houses in South Germany and this was probably due to the failure of the Town Council to give support to attempts at reform by Franciscan Observants.<sup>4</sup> This may

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1 Rem, pp.93-4.

2 Sender, p.333.

3 St. A.A., Conrad Peutinger Selekt 1490-1569, 1 Fasc., fol.294-5.

4 P.L. Nyhus, 'The Franciscans in South Germany, 1400-1530: Reform and Revolution' in Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1975), p.14.

have been due to the Council's desire to keep the Franciscans weak in order to limit their alms raising activities and through a fear of social and religious extremism frequently associated with the friars.<sup>1</sup> The mendicants, however, exercised considerable influence over the citizens through their preaching and it was the Franciscan preacher Johann Schilling who was to force the Council to take steps towards religious reform by the popularity of his inflammatory sermons.<sup>2</sup>

Of the women's houses in Augsburg the wealthiest and most important was the Dominican convent of St. Katharina. Approximately 50 per cent of those who entered were of patrician birth while a further 25 per cent had wealthy guildsmen as fathers.<sup>3</sup> The convent was under the protection of the Council, but at the Reichstag of 1530 the nuns were able to convince Charles V of their fears that the Council would use its rights to interfere and possibly secularise the house. Consequently, the Emperor placed St. Katharina under his personal protection as an obstacle to reform by the civic authorities.<sup>4</sup>

Seven of the religious houses of Augsburg also fulfilled the function of parish churches. These were St. Ulrich, St. Stephan, St. Georg, Hl. Kreuz, St. Moritz and the Franciscans, and this was to create hostility in the Reformation when the monks attempted to

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1 S. Ozment, The Age of Reform 1250-1550 (New Haven and London, 1980), pp.104-5.

2 See p.124.

3 R. Kiessling, op.cit., p.266.

4. St. A.A., Literalien, fol.92, 1530, Appendix 2.

resist heresy and maintain Catholic orthodoxy within the parish church. The monasteries and convents also played a further spiritual role as through Masses, memorial prayers and intercessions the clergy could assist the passage of a departed soul to heaven, but for these benefits the citizen had to provide the monastery with an endowment either of property or of cash. In 1396 the Council had grown anxious at the amount of property passing to the Church in this way and insisted that all land left to the Church must first be offered for sale to citizens for a year.<sup>1</sup> The flow of cash endowments continued throughout the late medieval period despite the large sums required which Kiessling has estimated as between 80 and 120 gulden to endow an eternal light; 500 gulden for a daily memorial mass; between 700 and 900 gulden for a memorial chapel; whilst even an annual memorial service required between 5 and 10 gulden.<sup>2</sup> Such sums were beyond the means of most people, as a journeyman builder, for example, could hope to earn scarcely 30 gulden a year in the unlikely event of his being in permanent employment,<sup>3</sup> and, consequently, in Augsburg as elsewhere a double religious standard was created which allowed a wealthy man to perform good works to the advantage of his soul but offered no reprieve from Purgatory to the poor.<sup>4</sup> Those in a position to make endowments appear often to have chosen their parish church

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1 R. Kiessling, op.cit., p.34.

2 Ibid., p.247.

3 See p. 83.

4 C. Christensen, Art and the Reformation in Germany (Detroit, 1979), pp.16-17.

or a neighbouring religious house, and consequently St. Ulrich, St. Moritz and the Carmelite monastery in the wealthy parishes were heavily endowed, while the poorer parishes of St. Georg and Hl. Kreuz had fewer endowments.<sup>1</sup> Citizens also appeared keen to place their money where it might benefit their family and descendants as well as their own souls and therefore the Cathedral whose Chapter was barred to citizens received few endowments as the citizens did not wish their money to pass into alien hands, while St. Moritz and St. Ulrich which had many members from Augsburg, were enriched by considerable endowment.<sup>2</sup> In this way a citizen could save his soul and perhaps in the process provide a living for a relative in orders.

It was in order to ensure that the proceeds from these endowments were spent correctly that Zechpfleger were created in every parish during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Zechpfleger were laymen elected by the parishioners<sup>3</sup> although whether the right to vote was reserved for the most influential who had the greatest interest in the endowments, or if it was open to all is not certain, although the system may have varied from one parish to another. Often, although not invariably, prominent men were chosen as the Zechpfleger. All money left as endowments was given by the individual to the Zechpfleger who then

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1 R. Kiessling, op.cit., pp.256-8.

2 Ibid.

3 This is apparent from the testimony of Marx Ehem to the Thirteen in 1533. See St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol.118, 1530.

passed on the necessary payment to the clergy to fulfil their stipulated duties, but the considerable capital controlled by the Zechpfleger gave them great economic power which they used in the fifteenth century to demand a more influential voice in the affairs of the parish. At St. Ulrich's, the Cathedral and St. Moritz the Zechpfleger bought land for extending the parish cemeteries and by the 1490s the Zechpfleger at St. Moritz were responsible for the maintenance of the nave of the church, and the canons for the choir.<sup>1</sup>

The most important function assumed by the Zechpfleger by the beginning of the sixteenth century was the provision of the Predigthaus and preacher in every parish.<sup>2</sup> The popularity and success of the visit of Capistrano to Augsburg had demonstrated the demand for sermons from the populace which the old orders were failing to satisfy,<sup>3</sup> and consequently at their own expense and on their own authority the Zechpfleger provided the Predigthäuser which were generally adjacent to but independent of the parish church. The Zechpfleger selected and paid the preachers and it was through these men that the Reformation was introduced to Augsburg. Neither the Council nor Church played any role in regulating the affairs of the Predigthäuser and could act against the preachers only with difficulty. When reproached by the Thirteen for his attempts to prevent the celebration of Catholic

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1 R. Kiessling, op.cit., p.110.

2 At the Cathedral the preacher was appointed by the Chapter.

3 Sender, pp.303-5.

services in 1533, Ehem made it clear that he believed his first responsibility was towards the parishioners<sup>1</sup> and with the support of the Zechpfleger the religious reformers were able to establish themselves in Augsburg without the need to seek the support or permission of the Council. In the crucial early years of the Reformation the Council was not in control of the religious development of the city and it was only in 1526 that the authorities acted to remove the independence of the Zechpfleger by preventing them from introducing further changes on their own initiative. The Zechpfleger in future had to seek the approval of the mayors for their actions.<sup>2</sup>

The citizens' attempt to win secular control over the Church was not a rejection of their faith but marked their desire to see a closer integration of spiritual and secular life. There were many indications prior to the Reformation that people were seeking more participation in religious life than had been usual in the medieval Church. This was demonstrated by the popularity of sermons and in the piety which prompted numerous citizens to leave for the pilgrimage to the shrine of Unser Liebe Frauen in Regensburg in 1519, including many children who left without informing their parents and taking no provisions for the journey.<sup>3</sup> The most important example of religious enthusiasm prior to the Reformation was that prompted by the career of Anna Laminit who,

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol.118, 1530.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol.270, 1524-6: 'Erkennt das nunhinfuro in pfarr zech pflegen nit mer dann mit wissen unnd willen meiner herrn Burgermaist. umbgesagt werden'.

3 Rem, p.131.

in the years following 1497 claimed to take no food and drink except the Sacrament which sustained her.<sup>1</sup> She also claimed to have a crucifix which sweated blood and to hold regular conversations with St. Ann, and she quickly gathered influential support which included the Emperor Maximilian, Empress Maria Bianca, Anthoni Welser and many other citizens.<sup>2</sup> The dowager Duchess Kunigunde of Bavaria summoned Laminit to Munich and during her stay had her observed through a hole in the door which revealed that she ate normal meals in secret.<sup>3</sup> Despite the exposure made to the Council by the Duchess, Anna Laminit continued her career in Augsburg and the chronicler Preu believed that she was protected '... by her good friends the rich' and Rem claimed that Welser and Peutinger used their influence to suppress the scandal.<sup>4</sup> In 1514 Maximilian, at the request of his sister Kunigunde forced the Council to act against Laminit: she was not tried for blasphemy but exiled from Augsburg and allowed to take with her the money she had misappropriated from her followers.<sup>5</sup>

The examples of popular religious enthusiasm show the willingness of the people to seek spiritual enlightenment and comfort outside the normal pattern of religious life even if this was against the wishes of the Church. In 1507 the claims of Laminit had been examined by Cardinal Campeggio and in 1511 her 'miraculous' crucifix was declared

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1 Sender, p.116.

2 Rem, p.12.

3 Preu, p.21.

4 Ibid. and Rem, p.86.

5 Sender, p.117.

a fake and confiscated by the Bishop.<sup>1</sup> The clergy had also attempted to dissuade people from making the pilgrimage to Regensburg, claiming that it was the Devil's work.<sup>2</sup> Despite these warnings people continued to look elsewhere than the established church for religious fulfilment and it was against this background of dissatisfaction that the doctrines of Luther were first preached in Augsburg.

The complaints against the Church were as much a result of anti-clericalism as they were of spiritual unrest. The hatred of clerical privilege was fanned by clerical fiscalism, particularly the sale of indulgences and the prevalence of pluralism. In 1501 the Chapter and Council agreed on the sale of indulgences on the understanding that all the proceeds would be used in the strengthening of Christendom against the Turks and would not go to the Pope or Emperor. When the money had been collected however it was seized by agents of Maximilian who tore the money chests from the ground when the Chapter refused to hand over the keys.<sup>3</sup> In 1515 indulgences were sold to raise money for the rebuilding of the Dominican church, but of the sum raised a half was to go to the Pope, a quarter to the Emperor and only the remaining quarter to the Dominicans. Rem protested that the indulgence was unnecessary as sufficient money had already been donated by citizens for the new building and, besides, the old church had been adequate.<sup>4</sup>

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1 F. Roth, 'Die geistliche Betrügerin Anna Laminit von Augsburg' in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, vol.xliii (1924), p.399.

2 Rem, p.131: 'Man prediget hie darwider, es wer nicht ain ding, das von gott kem, dan es kem von dem teuffell, es wer ain ding, das nicht sein miest, und wan es ain mentsch ankem, so solt im ains ausschlagen'.

3 Sender, p.97.

4 Rem, pp.26-7.

Anti-clericalism was also provoked by pluralism and the excessive wealth of the upper clergy, the notable examples including Marquard von Stein, a member of the Cathedral Chapter who forced the resignation of a prebendary of Hl. Kreuz in order that he might succeed to his prebend.<sup>1</sup> The servant of the Emperor, Matheus Lang, added membership of the Cathedral Chapter to his other benefices even though Rem claimed he had an annual income of 60,000 gulden.<sup>2</sup> The lax punishment of clerics also provoked the hostility of citizens as in 1488 when the ecclesiastical courts refused to act against two of the Bishop's notaries who had attacked three weavers, killing one and wounding the other two.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in 1525 the Bishop's court refused to punish a priest, handed over to them by the Council, who had been arrested for the abduction and rape of an eleven year old girl.<sup>4</sup>

By the early sixteenth century there was already a high degree of lay control over the Church, particularly at parish level and this was to facilitate the dissemination of new doctrines in the 1520s. The secularisation brought by the Reformation was no innovation to civic life but the completion of a trend which had been developing throughout the previous century. By the time it faced the attacks of the religious reformers the Church in Augsburg had lost much of its authority, while the parish churches and much of the wealth of the religious houses were in the hands of laymen. The Bishop and

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1 Ibid., p.70.

2 Ibid., p.9.

3 R. Kiessling, op.cit., p.87.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 30th January 1525.

clergy could expect little assistance from the civic authorities which delighted in any weakening of the Church's power that offered them the opportunity to extend their own. The Church had long been viewed as a hostile power which attacked the independence of the city and any doctrines attacking the arrogance and corruption of the clergy would be readily received.

The medieval Church had also contributed to the social division which prevailed in Augsburg. The proliferation of private masses endowed by wealthy individuals, guilds and confraternities, had in Augsburg, as elsewhere, undermined the concept of city as a corpus christianum. Attention had moved away from the aim of achieving communal salvation, for every inhabitant of the city, and instead focused on saving one's own soul from Purgatory and Hell.<sup>1</sup> In the area of economic demands, the payment of ground rents and the importuning of the mendicants were resented by the populace. It was from the volatile lower orders of society which had felt themselves excluded from the medieval Church that the most powerful support for the Reformation would proceed. This overwhelming demand by the populace for a Protestant form of religion was to be the crucial influence which forced the civic authorities in Augsburg to attack the power of the Catholic Church.

iv Economics

The failure to examine the economy of the city is a major omission of the study by Roth. He acknowledged that economic

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1 L. Rothkrug, 'Popular Religion and Holy Shrines' in J. Obelkevich (ed.), Religion and the People 800-1700 (Chapel Hill, 1979), p.84.  
B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, p.49.

hardship amongst the populace was an important factor in determining the level of civic unrest and, with it, the demands for religious change.<sup>1</sup> At no point did he attempt to examine the extent or the causes of the economic difficulties. Similarly he made no attempt to show how economic factors may have influenced the development of the Reformation in Augsburg. It is clear however that by the early years of the sixteenth century the merchants of Augsburg were enjoying an unprecedented level of prosperity and commercial success. For example, the Fugger family had established itself as the indispensable financiers of the Habsburg dynasty and had used this power to build up an international commercial empire, based on monopoly trading privileges and the exploitation of mineral resources within the Habsburg territories.<sup>2</sup> The Welser came to play a central role in the marketing in northern Europe of spices from the Portuguese trade and, with the permission of Spain, carved out for themselves the colony of Venezuela.<sup>3</sup> Rising from humble beginnings as dealers in cloth, the Höchstetter established an international company concerned with the extraction and marketing of valuable metals.<sup>4</sup> The success of these leading traders was mirrored by the rising prosperity of other merchants in the city such as the Baumgartner, Rem, Pfister, Herwart, Adler, Wieland,

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol.2, pp.163-4.

2 See G. Pölnitz, Jakob Fugger for the best study of the commercial activities of the Fuggers.

3 R. Ehrenberg, Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance (1928), p.42.

4 J. Strieder, Zur Genesis des modernen Kapitalismus (Leipzig, 1904), p.166.

Gossembrot, Weiss and Honold; all of whose steadily increasing wealth tax payments during the period reflected their growing affluence.<sup>1</sup> In 1498 nine individuals had tax assessments for the wealth tax in excess of 100 gulden per annum but by 1540 sixty-six individuals were paying more than 100 gulden annually, while in the same period the highest single payment had risen from 197 gulden to 1200 gulden.<sup>2</sup>

This increase in wealth and commerce was due in part to Augsburg's situation on the trade routes to Italy and on the individual enterprise of certain merchants. It was also encouraged by the taxation system which placed only a light burden on those with large and increasing incomes. Unfortunately, the complex workings of the tax system and the process of assessment are largely unknown, and as the figures in the Steuerbucher give the total tax due from each citizen it is impossible to use them as an accurate basis to calculate an individual's wealth. There is little knowledge of tax privileges and exemptions which were enjoyed by certain individuals and professions but it would appear that everyone was allowed some property free of tax.<sup>3</sup>

Every citizen was liable to pay the head tax (stiura minor or habnit steuer) which throughout the Reformation period was fixed at 30 pf., and from 1529 citizens were liable to 6 pf. Wachgeld.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this those citizens who owned property had to make a

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1 Ibid., pp.51, 123, 196, 214, 198, 97, 153.

2 J. Hartung, 'Die augsburgische Vermogensteuer und die Entwicklung der Besitzverhaltnisse im sechzehnten Jahrhundert' in Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol.xix (1895), p.869.

3 C.-P. Clasen, Die Augsburger Steuerbucher um 1600 (Augsburg, 1976), p.9.

4 Ibid., p.7.

sworn declaration of their interests. The tax was charged at two rates:  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on fixed property, including houses, eternal rents and annuities, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on ready goods including cash, merchandise and money currently on loan. Consequently a merchant who, for example, operated a mine would pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent on the value of the mine, but  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the minerals produced.<sup>1</sup>

New assessments for the wealth tax were made every six years and those who were able to increase their fortunes during this period paid tax at the old rate until the new assessment was made. The benefits of this system can be seen in the case of Lukas Rem whose personal business accounts can be contrasted with his tax payments. In 1528 his movable goods were valued at 17,500 gulden and in the new assessment of that year his tax on movable goods was set at 73 gulden. At the end of the tax period in 1533 Rem estimated his movable fortune at 33,000 gulden yet still paid tax at 73 gulden which by that stage represented a true rate of 0.28 per cent.<sup>2</sup> This system of periodic assessment favoured the merchant even though he was paying tax at a higher rate than someone who gained all his income from rents, as the merchant could invest his growing capital tax free during the six year period, whereas the income from land was largely constant and did not benefit from this practice. The rate of taxation remained fixed at  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent whatever the size of the property, except in the case of the very rich for whom it was possible to

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1 Ibid, pp.7-8.

2 J. Hartung, 'Die Belastung des augsburgischen Grosskapitals durch die Vermogensteuer des 16. Jahrhunderts' in Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol.xix (1895), pp.1168-9.

negotiate a fixed tax payment with the Council without the need to disclose their resources. First to do this was Jakob Fugger who in 1520 arranged to pay a total annual tax of 1200 gulden for himself and his company.<sup>1</sup> The favourable nature of this was seen at his death in 1525, when Jakob Fugger's assets were placed at 2,032,652 gulden by his nephew and successor Anton Fugger.<sup>2</sup> A similar decrease in the weight of taxation can be seen in the case of Lukas Rem, for although his ready fortune increased almost seven-fold between 1516 and 1539 (from 7,500 gulden to 50,000 gulden) his tax payment increased by less than four times, from 37½ gulden to 135 gulden.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to these direct taxes a number of indirect taxes were placed on various commodities such as tallow, meat and corn as well as the Ungeld charged on wine and beer. The level of these impositions was frequently adjusted but the taxes on basic commodities were burdensome for the populace. This was seen in 1466 when there was a refusal, led by the weavers' guild, to pay the Ungeld<sup>4</sup> and again in 1524 the abolition of the Ungeld was one of the demands put forward by the protesters.<sup>5</sup> In 1477 the Weinungeld had produced more revenue than the Vermogensteuer<sup>6</sup> but the doubling of the receipts from the

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1 C.-P. Clasen, op.cit., p.25; G. Pölnitz, op.cit., vol.2, p.369.

2 G. Pölnitz, op.cit., vol.1, p.650.

3 J. Hartung, 'Die Belastung der augsburgischen Grosskapitals', pp.1168-9.

4 Mulich, p.208.

5 See pp.150-1.

6 J. Hartung, 'Die Augsburger Zuschlagsteuer von 1475' in Schmollers Jahrbuch, vol.xix (1895), p.101.

Vermögensteuer in the first thirty years of the sixteenth century probably altered their relative importance. From the evidence available it would appear that the tax system in Augsburg favoured the wealthy, particularly those with rising incomes who paid a relatively smaller proportion of their income as tax as their wealth increased.

Some of the Augsburg merchants were of patrician origin, for example the Welser, Herwart, Pfister, Lauinger and Grossembrot, but the majority had risen from the guilds, in particular the weavers' guild; these included the Fugger, Bimmel, Ehem, Höchstetter and Artzt. Profits from the cloth trade were invested by these men in entrepreneurial and commercial ventures, and the need to keep the weavers of the city supplied with the raw materials from abroad continued to play a role in the business of the large merchants, as is demonstrated by the involvement of the Höchstetter.<sup>1</sup> More important, however, were the investments and profits from money-lending and the mining industry. The role of the Fuggers in the political ambitions of the Habsburgs was apparent, yet they were only following in the example of the Meuting who, in 1456, had become the first large scale financiers in Augsburg and whose methods were similarly copied by the Welser, Höchstetter and other families. The risks involved in political finance were great but the rewards were substantial, and although the exploitation of the mineral reserves of the Tyrol and Hungary required vast expenditure whether by cartel or individuals, the profits for the successful were enormous. It was in diversification into these areas that

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1 Rem, p.181.

large fortunes were made, as is demonstrated by the career of Lukas Rem as a financier. In the course of twenty-four years, between 1516 and 1540, he, according to his own calculations, increased his fortune from 7,500 to 54,000 gulden.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, when Bartholomew Rem began work as a bookkeeper for Ambrosius Höchstetter in 1520 he invested 900 gulden with his employer. Six years later, Rem claimed back this capital and the profit to which he believed he was entitled, a total of 33,000 gulden. Höchstetter refused and offered 26,000 gulden which was increased to 30,000 gulden after the intervention of the Town Council. Nevertheless, the dispute remained unresolved until Rem's death. The chronicler Sender noted the scale of profits made by the usurers and the popular support enjoyed by Rem in this contest.<sup>2</sup>

The new affluence of the merchants was demonstrated by the large scale building of new town houses, the funds which they donated for the rebuilding of the city's churches and by the estates which they purchased outside the city.<sup>3</sup> The Adler, Höchstetter, Welser and Rehlinger amongst others had new houses built but the most lavish of the new buildings were the adjacent houses of Georg and Ulrich Fugger, containing the separate Fuggerpalast constructed for Jakob Fugger in the style of the Italian Renaissance, between 1512 and 1515.<sup>4</sup> During this period all the parish churches and most of the monastic churches were

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1 R. Ehrenberg, op.cit., p.133.

2 Sender, p.147.

3 P. and R. Blickle, (ed.), Schwaben von 1268 bis 1803, pp.145-6.

4 A. Buff, Augsburg in der Renaissancezeit (Bamberg, 1893), p.32.

rebuilt. The Church of the Carmelite monastery of St. Anna was, for example, lavishly rebuilt at the expense of Jakob Fugger, reputedly for 30,000 gulden,<sup>1</sup> and the church of the convent of St. Katharina was rebuilt at the expense of the Fugger, Langenmantel, Grander and Artzt.<sup>2</sup> In return for this generosity the wealthy were allowed to display their family arms in the churches as a symbol both of their piety and of their financial strength. These buildings introduced new architectural styles into Augsburg from Italy and represented extravagance and sumptuousness previously unknown. An arcaded courtyard was constructed in the Fuggerpalast from marble specially imported from Tuscany and in many cases the new houses filled sites previously occupied by two or more houses.<sup>3</sup>

The directing of their wealth into political finance and foreign mining projects was profitable for the merchants but brought little economic advantage to the population of Augsburg. It did little to provide work or to stimulate the city's trades and crafts whilst the increased costs resulting from the monopolies created by the Emperor as recompense for his creditors, particularly those in Augsburg, weighed as heavily on the populace as upon any other German subjects, with the added problem that they had within their midst the hated figure of the monopolist.<sup>4</sup> In consequence

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1 Rem, p.82.

2 Ibid. and p.54.

3 A. Buff, op.cit., pp.34 and 55.

4 The support of monopoly trading also isolated Augsburg from some of its neighbours, for example Ulm, which opposed the system. E. Naujoks, Obrigkeitsgedanke, p.43.

the wealth of Augsburg as a whole failed to increase at the same rate as that of the merchants who were receiving their riches from outside the city. The opulent rebuilding of their houses by the merchants in the early sixteenth century reflected not the thriving condition of the city's cloth trade and craft industries but the success of the merchants as international financiers and monopolists. Their economic interests lay outside Augsburg and were independent of the ailing urban economy and this further increased the gap between the rich and the poor. It also opened the conflict of interests which was to be of paramount importance in the Reformation and in the formation of the attitude of the civic authorities towards religious change. The merchants had their investments concentrated in Habsburg lands, in monopolies that rested on the authority of the Emperor, and this meant adherence to his policy of upholding Catholicism. If the city adopted the Protestant faith the merchants faced ruin through the loss of their investments and the revoking of their debts by the Emperor, yet the lower orders, who gained little from the international enterprises of the rich, had less to fear from the loss of imperial favour. For economic reasons, therefore, it was essential to the merchants that Augsburg should remain at least nominally Catholic, despite the protests of the populace or, as in some cases, their own religious convictions.

The majority of the population of Augsburg paid no wealth tax as they were classed as propertyless (besitzlose). The percentage of citizens who fell within this class showed a constant increase in the early sixteenth century and by the 1520s more than half of

the citizens were considered to be besitzlose.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 4

Year	% of population classed as <u>besitzlose</u>
1498	43.6
1512	45.2
1526	54.1

The same period witnessed a steady decline in the percentage of the population who paid wealth tax at the lowest rate (from one to ten gulden) and the large increase in the besitzlose compared with the minute increase amongst the higher tax groups would suggest that they had lost rather than increased their property. In 1516 the chronicler Wilhelm Rem noted in tones of surprise and disapproval this decline amongst the class of kleinbesitzer:

... on St. Niclas day 365 people paid their taxes at the Town Hall and none of them paid more than one gulden in tax; they all paid less than one gulden.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 5<sup>3</sup>

Year	% of population paying 1-10 gulden
1498	53.2
1512	50.6
1526	41.6

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1 Figures are taken from J. Hartung, 'Die augsburgische Vermogensteuer', p.875.

2 Rem, pp.66-7.

3 Figures are taken from J. Hartung, 'Die augsburgische Vermogensteuer', p.875.

In this period Augsburg had a rapidly increasing population of which a growing proportion possessed little money and no property of value. The sharp increase in the proletariat of besitzlose and the decrease in the kleinbesitzer between 1512 and 1526 suggests that the economic status of many individuals declined during this period and they lost what property they had previously possessed. In the same period Lukas Rem successfully doubled his substantial fortune to 15,600 gulden.<sup>1</sup> The commercial interests and prosperity of the merchants was clearly of little relevance to the majority of the population for whom the early sixteenth century brought stagnation or decline in their economic position.

In common with the rest of Europe at this time, Augsburg suffered from a general rise in prices. A compilation of price and wage rates in Augsburg, based on the accounts of the Hospital, was made by M.J. Elsas in 1936.<sup>2</sup> It may be that this institution had property and long-term agreements which allowed it to obtain food at lower than market prices, yet the figures show a constant rise in the cost of food throughout the period. This trend can be supported by evidence from the chronicles which noted price inflation, although generally only at times of extreme fluctuations in costs.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of grain products, particularly rye, and of lentils for the diet of the poor, rather than the more expensive

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1 J. Hartung, 'Die Belastung des augsburgische Grosskapitals', pp.1168-9.

2 M.J. Elsas, Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Lohne in Deutschland, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1936).

3 e.g. Rem, pp.76, 84, 167 and Sender, pp.95-6, 327.

meat and dairy products, has been established by Wilhelm Abel.<sup>1</sup> With this in mind, Table 6 indicates that the prices of the staple food product rye showed a doubling between 1500 and 1533, when Reformation legislation was enacted in Augsburg, and only peas of the staple foods showed a more moderate increase in price.<sup>2</sup> There were fluctuations in prices as fine weather and good harvests reduced costs (for example in 1510 and 1513) and, similarly, bad weather and poor harvests were reflected in increased food prices, as in 1515,<sup>3</sup> 1529 and 1531.<sup>4</sup> The holding of a Reichstag in Augsburg, as in 1518, 1525 and 1530 also placed a strain on the food supply which was reflected in price rises. The great acceleration in food prices began in 1529 and reached a peak in 1533, also the year in which social and religious unrest in Augsburg rose to an unprecedented level.

The poorer sections of society were unable to avoid paying the increasing prices as it was principally the staple food requirements which were affected. The hardship this would cause can be seen when wage rates for the same period are considered. From the Hospital accounts studied by Elsas, the day wage rates of mortar-stirrers, journeymen builders and journeymen carpenters can be traced, all trades which were likely to be in high demand for the

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1 W. Abel, Massenarmut und Hungerkrisen in vorindustriellen Deutschland (Gottingen, 1972), p.22.

2 See Table 6, p.82. Figures for this table are taken from M.J. Elsas, op.cit., vol.1, p.594. Prices cited are the annual, average price.

3 Rem, p.37.

4 Sender, pp.246-7, 332.

widespread rebuilding which was taking place in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century. Table 7 demonstrates that during the period, 1500-1530 the day wage rates of the mortar-stirrer rose by approximately 12 per cent, the wages of the journeyman builder remained static and those of the journeyman carpenter, between 1500 and 1528, increased by approximately 16 per cent.<sup>1</sup> A comparison of these prices and wage rates by E.H. Phelps Brown and S. Hopkins has revealed that the purchasing power of the wages of a skilled building worker in Augsburg was halved between 1500 and 1533.<sup>2</sup> Abel has gone further to demonstrate that temporarily in the early 1530s and on a constant basis in the 1540s, it became impossible for a building worker to support at subsistence level an average family of five people, unless his wages were supplemented by the earnings of his wife or children.<sup>3</sup> In 1517 Rem noted that day workers employed by the Town Council on extensions to the city's defences were paid 12 pfennigs per day, which in his opinion was scarcely sufficient to buy bread: '... er hett das brot kaum verdient'.<sup>4</sup>

To an already impoverished population this fall in the purchasing power of their wages meant not only a decline in their living standards but also widespread and severe hardship. High prices and famine fired dangerous social discontent and provoked

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1 See Table 7, p.83. Figures for this table are taken from M.J. Elsas, op.cit., pp.728, 731, 735.

2 E.H. Phelps Brown and S.V. Hopkins, 'Builders' Wage-rates, Prices and Population: Some Further Evidence' in Economica, vol.xxvi (1959), pp.35-6.

3 W. Abel, op.cit., pp.24-5.

4 Rem, p.82.

hostility towards the government. It was to allay these sentiments that the Council intervened to alleviate the effects of food shortages in 1517 by providing rye to be baked and sold to the poor.<sup>1</sup> Similar measures were adopted during the shortage of 1529 when the Council distributed 8,000 loaves at a cost of 2 kreutzer rather than the market price of 3 kreutzer, but only poor citizens were eligible for the bread and had to produce tokens given to them by the Almosenherren to prove their entitlement.<sup>2</sup> In 1531 more extreme measures were required to combat famine and the Council, at its own cost, bought supplies of rye in Austria which were brought to Augsburg, baked by bakers employed by the Council, and distributed amongst the poor.<sup>3</sup> Similar attempts to buy grain in Austria in 1534 were, however, expressly forbidden by King Ferdinand.<sup>4</sup>

In further efforts to control rising prices the Council fixed a maximum price which butchers could charge for meat<sup>5</sup> and in March 1527 a price of 3 pf. per pound for beef and veal was again ordained by the Council.<sup>6</sup> During the Reichstag of 1530 the Council fixed higher prices for meat:<sup>7</sup>

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1 Rem, pp.77-8.

2 Sender, p.247. See below p.94.

3 Sender, pp.332-3.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 10th August 1534.

5 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, fol. 315, 1526.

6 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 124, 1527.

7 St. A.A., Literalien, fol. 274, 1530.

TABLE 8

good oxen meat	5½ pf. per pound
cow's meat	4 " " "
pork	6 " " "
veal	6 " " "

Rising prices were clearly creating animosity between the butchers and their customers as by 1527 the Council found it necessary to instruct all butchers to conduct themselves in a fair and friendly way towards their customers in order to prevent ill-feeling.<sup>1</sup> Only a month previous to this, in April, ten butchers had been forbidden to practise their trade in Augsburg for one year for failing to slaughter and sell all the cattle they had in their possession in time for Easter.<sup>2</sup>

The correlation between famine and social unrest was identified by Wilhelm Rem. In 1517 he offered 276 schaff of rye which he wished to be baked and sold to the poor at cost price but the bakers refused to co-operate in his scheme. Rem made it clear that he would give away the rye outside Augsburg rather than allow the bakers to make a profit on the bread. In order to still the anger this rumour caused the bread was baked in the ovens of the Hl. Geist Spital and St. Katharina's convent on the instructions of the Council:

It was said that if Rem had distributed the corn outside the city because the bakers would not bake it for him, then the weavers would have risen against the bakers and killed them. One has to keep the weavers quiet.<sup>3</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.135, 1527.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 2, fol. 55, 1527.

3 Rem, pp.73-5.

Trouble between the weavers and the bakers again flared up in October 1517 with the accusations of profiteering against the bakers and it appeared to Rem that disorder was imminent:

There were great mutterings ['gemurmel'] amongst the common people, particularly the weavers, and it often looked as if a rebellion would come of it ... the weavers said they needed corn as well ... may God grant a good end.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporaries believed the unrest created by high food prices and falling living standards was the motive behind demands from the lower orders for religious reform. This was demonstrated by the Fuggers in 1534 when they offered to provide the Council with sufficient supplies of food at their own expense which would keep the cost for all inhabitants of Augsburg at 1 gulden for a Schaff of grain; beef at 6 pfennigs per pound, and other meat at 3 pfennigs 5 haller. In return, however, the authorities had to agree to expel all the Protestant preachers.<sup>2</sup> The Fugger clearly believed that if cheap food were readily available the unrest amongst the population would die down and the pastors could be expelled without resistance.

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1 Ibid., p.78.

2 Sender, p.379: 'Die herrn Fugger sind hie fur ain rat gangen und haben sich selbs gemeiner stat zu gut erbotten, wan man welle die neuen prediger aus der stat thon und die alten lauss predigen, so wellen sie auff iren aigen costen und schaden verordnen und anrichten, dass hie in der stat allen inwoner sol zu kauffen geben werden allerlei treits, 1 schaff nit theurer dann um 1 fl., ain lib milchsalmz um 6 d., ain lib ochsenflaisch um 1 creutzer, das ander flaisch um 3 d. und 5 haller, und wellen auch verhelfen, dass des holtz und anders, was menschliche notturft ersicht, in ainem ringern kauff sol geben werden. da hat ain geandwurt sie wellen es nit thon'.

They also saw the need to placate all the inhabitants of the city and this included the volatile section of immigrants as well as the poorer citizens.

High prices, food shortages and falling living standards contributed towards creating a climate of social unrest in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century. The Reformation found society disunited with a growing distance between rich and poor and religious allegiances quickly reflected these social divisions. It was in an effort to protect commerce but ease social tension that the authorities followed a policy of temporising in religious matters, only to find that this inflamed the hostilities still further.

TABLE 6

Year of Harvest	RYE pf for 1 Schaff	BARLEY pf for 1 Schaff	PEAS pf for 1 Schaff	BEEF pf for 1 Pfund	LARD pf for 1 Pfund	'WHITE BEER' pf for 1 Viertel
1500	313	374		2.51	8.35	
1501	400	224	717	2.55	9.10	9.0
1502	463	276	662	2.50	8.25	
1503	292		656	2.52	9.45	8.0
1504			756	2.53	8.13	9.0
1505	168	145	294	2.53	7.89	8.3
1506		144	302	2.66	7.82	8.0
1507	183	134		2.57	7.41	8.0
1508	173	145		2.64	8.99	8.0
1509	214	158		3.10	8.92	8.4
1510	243	201		2.65	8.73	8.0
1511	292	226		2.68	8.57	9.0
1512		152		2.66	8.31	8.9
1513	229	144		2.56	7.46	9.0
1514	205	136	139	2.67	8.99	9.0
1515	272	213	420	2.66	8.84	9.0
1516	325	248	550	2.63	8.37	
1517	348	330	707	3.00	8.70	
1518	237	162	389	2.58	8.53	9.0
1519	300	247	560	2.77	8.02	9.0
1520	210	128	541	2.57	8.90	
1521	217	128		2.64	7.66	9.0
1522	210	158		3.00	7.97	9.0
1523		144	392	2.71	8.62	9.0
1524	240	184		3.00	9.47	
1525		192	434	3.00	9.94	
1526		250		3.00	9.20	9.0
1527	270	210	504	3.00	9.57	9.0
1528		222	448	3.00	10.21	
1529	652	497	835	3.50	11.79	17.5
1530	533	604	928	3.50	9.61	
1531	640	391	784	3.75	10.45	17.5
1532	625	295	921	3.50	10.64	17.5
1533	720	630	889	3.77	12.13	17.5
1534	540	401	784	4.00	11.76	17.5
1535	306	230		3.80	11.84	17.5

TABLE 7

Year	Day wages of a mortar-stirrer in <u>pf</u> per day	Day wages of a journeyman builder in <u>pf</u> per day		Day wages of a journeyman carpenter in <u>pf</u> per day
		Summer	Winter	
1500				24.0
1501				24.0
1502	16.00	28.0		
1503				24.0
1504				24.0
1505	16.00	28.0		24.0
1506	16.00	28.0		24.0
1507	16.00	28.0		24.0
1508				24.0
1509	16.00		20.0	24.0
1510				24.0
1511	15.00			20.0
1512				
1513	17.00	28.0		24.0
1514	16.00	28.0		24.0
1515	18.00	28.0		24.0
1516		24.0	24.0	24.2
1517				
1518				24.0
1519	16.00			
1520		28.0		24.0
1521	16.40	28.0		
1522				
1523				27.2
1524	17.00	28.0	21.0	
1525				
1526				
1527				
1528				28.0
1529				
1530				
1531				
1532				
1533				
1534				
1535	18.00	28.0		

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE EARLY REFORMATION

CHAPTER TWO

In the early days of 1517 the Bishop of Augsburg, Christoph von Stadion, a humanist and an admirer of Erasmus, held a synod of his clergy in Dillingen during which he criticised the clergy of his diocese for their failings and laxness.<sup>1</sup> As a result a series of statutes was issued on 10th November, 1517 in which the Bishop ordered stricter adherence to religious vows, a prohibition on simony, restrictions on pluralism, and reaffirmed the Church's rejection of usury.<sup>2</sup> The call of the Bishop for change had, however, come too late, for the Reformation had been heralded by Luther on 31st October with the appearance in Wittenberg of his Ninety-Five Theses. Within a year the implications of his revolt were felt in Augsburg and the citizens were brought into direct contact with the reformer himself at the Reichstag of 1518. This was called to Augsburg by Emperor Maximilian in his efforts to secure the imperial succession for the Habsburgs. Luther was summoned at the end of the meeting to answer to the papal representative Cardinal Cajetan.

There is no record of any popular demonstration in support of Luther during his stay, but his reception by the educated in Augsburg shows that they were familiar with his writings and interested in what he had to say. Luther was entertained by many leading citizens, including the Stadtschreiber Konrad Peutinger and Bernhard and Konrad Adelman, members of the Cathedral Chapter.<sup>3</sup> As in Strasbourg, it was

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1 P. Braun, Geschichte der Bischöfe von Augsburg, vol.3, (Augsburg, 1814), pp.174-8.

2 Ibid., pp.192-8.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol.1, p.51.

the educated in society who were first to be influenced by Luther through reading his works.<sup>1</sup> Luther appears to have gained the sympathetic support of many citizens, including those who conspired in his escape from the city on 20th October, two weeks after his arrival. The nucleus of support established by Luther during his stay in Augsburg grew rapidly. Amongst his most influential converts were the Adelmann brothers who provided support for Luther in his conflicts with Eck and who used their influence to protect Oecolampadius during his period in Augsburg.<sup>2</sup>

Of the greatest importance for the development of the Reformation in Augsburg was the impact made by Luther upon his hosts, the Carmelite monks of St. Anna, whom he had converted to his support during his stay. Under the leadership of their prior, Johann Frosch, they were to be at the centre of the Lutheran Reformation in Augsburg, and from the end of 1518 their sermons were devoted to the preaching of Lutheran doctrines.<sup>3</sup> During the course of the disputes with Zwingli's supporters in the city (notably Keller) concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist, the monks of St. Anna remained the main advocates of the views of Luther, and were eventually silenced only by the direct intervention of the Council in 1531 on behalf of the Zwinglians.<sup>4</sup> Frosch, in particular, was strongly influenced by Luther, whom in 1518 he followed to Wittenberg, there to complete his theological studies

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1 M. Chrisman, Strasbourg and the Reform, p.81.

2 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol.1, pp.53-6.

3 Ibid.

4 See p.286.

and to receive in November 1518 the degree of doctor of theology from Luther and Amsdorf.<sup>1</sup> On his return to the monastery in Augsburg Frosch resumed his preaching of the doctrines of Luther. The nature of his early teaching is difficult to judge, for Frosch concentrated on preaching rather than pamphleteering, and his sermons were not transcribed or published. From his early support of Luther, to the later defence of his doctrines against the supporters of Zwingli and Karlstadt and the Anabaptists, Frosch demonstrated constant loyalty to Luther and his teachings. During the Abendmahlstreit Frosch was a leading supporter of Lutheran views, and eventually left the city rather than be forced by the Council to accept the formula for accord between the Zwinglian and Lutheran pastors which had been devised by Bucer.<sup>2</sup> The teachings of Frosch were certainly acceptable to both the leading Lutheran divines of Nuremberg and the city Council of Nuremberg, when Frosch took refuge there from the Emperor during the Reichstag of 1530. It seems probable therefore that Frosch emphasised, like Osiander, the Lutheran view of human depravity and frailty.<sup>3</sup> When Lutheran preaching was forbidden in Augsburg in 1531 Frosch again left for Nuremberg and was soon appointed by the Eltern as a preacher.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of the early conversion of Frosch and the Carmelites by Luther was that the interest aroused by his visit was sustained, and,

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1 F. Roth, op.cit.

2 See p.286.

3 G. Strauss, 'Protestant Dogma and City Government: The Case of Nuremberg' in Past and Present, vol.xxxvi (1967), pp.48-9.

4 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol.2, p.17.

more significantly, their sermons succeeded in broadening the base of support for Luther by publicising his views to all who wished to listen, rather than restricting his appeal to the literate and educated. These sermons encouraged popular support for the Reformation to develop earlier in Augsburg than, for example, in Strasbourg, where Lutheran doctrines were not openly preached until 1520.<sup>1</sup> Frosch and the Carmelites received assistance from unexpected sources in their dissemination of Lutheran doctrines. The preacher whom Jakob Fugger had appointed to St. Moritz, Dr. Johann Speiser, had become a supporter of Luther by 1519 and began preaching his doctrines.<sup>2</sup> Speiser demonstrated the new moral attitudes of the Reformation by persuading prostitutes from the civic brothel to attend sermons at St. Moritz.<sup>3</sup> The Fuggers soon discovered the truth of Rem's assertion that without the co-operation of the Zechpfleger their powers of patronage were useless.<sup>4</sup> Despite their opposition, Speiser had support in the parish, as a demonstration of almost four hundred people in St. Moritz, demanding the Council protect him from the Bishop made clear, and it was impossible for Jakob Fugger to silence him.<sup>5</sup>

Similar difficulties were encountered by the Cathedral Chapter

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1 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.99.

2 Rem, p.123.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., pp.93-4.

5 St. A.A., Urgichten, August 1523, Nussfelder. Speiser renounced his Lutheran views in the summer of 1524 and left the city.

which in 1518 had appointed Johann Oecolampadius as Domprediger.<sup>1</sup> His scholarly reputation recommended him to the Chapter which must also have been aware of his earlier criticisms of clerical failings and his close association with Erasmus.<sup>2</sup> He soon demonstrated his sympathies for Luther, but the Adelman brothers acted as his protectors and used their influence within the Chapter to prevent his removal and, at the same time, encouraged him to use his learning in the cause of Luther. Oecolampadius interrupted his work on the Early Fathers to write a reply to the attack of Eck on the Adelman, and this was available in Augsburg in Latin and German versions.<sup>3</sup> The doctrines preached by Oecolampadius whilst he was in Augsburg are not definitely known. From his published works he appears to have been committed to a defence of Luther and an attack on his leading persecutors. How far he proceeded beyond this defence to preach the Gospel himself is less sure. The religious attitudes of Oecolampadius were not clearly formed during his Augsburg period, as his retreat to the monastery of Altomunster revealed, and, for example, he preached on occasion, probably in 1519, of the virtues of celibacy.<sup>4</sup> By 1521, however, only a short period before his own brief acceptance of monasticism, Oecolampadius published a pamphlet condemning the contemplative life and praising an active one as being better for

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., vol.1, pp.53-4.

2 G. Rupp, Patterns of Reformation (London, 1969), p.9.

3 F. Roth, op.cit., p.78.

4 G. Rupp, op.cit., p.14.

the soul.<sup>1</sup> He also at this time wrote a defence of Luther, with whose works he claimed to be familiar and to be in full accord with them.<sup>2</sup> One is unable to identify the later teachings of Oecolampadius concerning Eucharist doctrine and the organisation of the Church in this period and, although he must have been familiar with, for example, the ideas of Erasmus concerning the Eucharist, he showed no signs of being influenced by them between 1518 and 1521.<sup>3</sup> His sermons contained the fruits of his work as a Biblical humanist and also revealed the strong influence of the German mystics upon his thought.<sup>4</sup> His teachings appear to have made some lasting impression in Augsburg for his writings, which appeared after his departure, were extensively published in Augsburg, particularly by Sigmund Grimm. In 1520 Oecolampadius voluntarily left Augsburg to retire to a monastery before resuming his career as a reformer in Basle. His career in Augsburg raised problems for the Chapter, for despite the obstruction of the Adelman, the Chapter had the authority and means to act against

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- 1 J. Oecolampadius, *Ain Regiment oder ordnung der gaystliche beschriben durch den hayligen Basilium und in teutsch gebracht durch Oecolampadium* (Augsburg, 1521).
  - 2 J. Oecolampadius, *Oecolampadii der hailigen schrift Doctor Sant Brigiten ordens zu Alltenmunster urtayl un maynung/ auch andere reden/antwurten und handlung Doctor Martin Luther belangend/auss dem latein in teutsch gebracht* (Augsburg, 1521).
  - 3 For a discussion of this see, S.N. Bosshard, *Zwingli - Erasmus - Cajetan, Die Eucharistie als Zeichen der Einheit* (Wiesbaden, 1978), pp.32-3.  
Oecolampadius had no direct contact with Zwingli until 1522, G. Rupp, op.cit., p.21.
  - 4 Ibid., p.14.

Oecolampadius yet had consistently failed to do so.

The choice of successor fell on Dr. Urban Rhegius, who was a protege of Eck and who had a substantial reputation as a scholar.<sup>1</sup> From 1512 Rhegius had been Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Ingolstadt, and with his known admiration for Eck his orthodoxy was considered secure. Soon after his appointment as Domprediger, however, Rhegius appears to have abandoned his loyalty to Catholicism and become an advocate of Luther and religious reform. He quickly began considerable literary activity in defence of Luther, writing in German and under assumed names.<sup>2</sup>

Rhegius preached the doctrines of Luther and according to Rem:

He preached only from the Gospels and the common people /'gemain volck' heard him with pleasure, but the clergy did not listen gladly. He was on Luther's side.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that Rhegius' sermons were well received by the ordinary populace ('das gemain volck') and Rem says further that it was generally believed that the Chapter wished to remove Rhegius but, conscious of the strength of his support, and fearing retaliation from the populace, it was afraid to act against him.<sup>4</sup> It was at this time that Rhegius composed a sweeping attack on Catholic dogma and a defence of the views of Luther.<sup>5</sup> In this he refuted the

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.57-8.

2 Ibid., pp.68-9.

3 Rem, p.167.

4 Ibid., p.145.

5 U. Rhegius, Ernstliche erbietung der Evangelischen Prediger/anden geystlichen und Bapstlichen standt/die jetzige gesunde/warhafftige/Evangelische und Christliche ler betreffent. (Undated).

doctrine of Good Works, the sale of indulgences and the insistence on vows of celibacy for the clergy. Instead he urged his reader to accept the doctrine that salvation is achieved by faith alone. He also used the opportunity to attack the manner in which the clergy exploited and oppressed the consciences of faithful Christians for their financial advantage,<sup>1</sup> a theme which was also taken up by Oecolampadius.<sup>2</sup> Rhegius was also writing at the same time, under the pseudonym of Simone Hesso, pamphlets written in a simpler form and probably designed for a wider readership. The most important of these was a supposed account of a dialogue between Luther and Simone Hesso which stressed the authority of Scripture and the doctrine of Justification by Faith, but it also attacked the avarice and failings of the clergy, singling out Johann Eck, the former mentor of Rhegius.<sup>3</sup> Eventually Rhegius resigned his post during an epidemic in 1521, but he returned later to assist Frosch at St. Anna.

In 1520 Rem believed that 'the most learned people in Germany were with Luther, and the common people too, but the clergy were usually against him'.<sup>4</sup> This statement certainly held true for

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1 '...Sie werden die satzungen vil hefftiger auf die gewissen dringen/dann Gottes wort .... und solche satzungen machen sie /die Pfaffen/ dem Bauch zu gute.' cf. S. Ozment, The Reformation in the Cities, p.32.

2 J. Oecolampadius, Quod non sit onerosa christianis confessio, paradoxon (Basle, 1521).

3 U. Rhegius, Dialogus nit unlustig zulesen newlich von Martino Luther/und Simone Hesso/ zu Worms geschehen (Augsburg, 1521).

4 Rem, p.139.

Augsburg where the Lutheran preachers and pamphleteers had succeeded in establishing a powerful body of popular support for religious reform. Both the civic and episcopal authorities found that the most vociferous support for reform came from the lower orders: popular unrest rather than the teachings of theologians was the chief threat the authorities had to fear. A positive indication of the danger was given when the Bishop attempted to control the proliferation of Lutheran ideas and pamphlets in 1521.<sup>1</sup> During Lent the clergy were instructed to deny Absolution to those who confessed to owning Lutheran books, but this prompted an immediate and dangerous reaction from the populace:

There arose a great stir. The working people ['handwerckleut'] said the clergy should be put to death. The Chapter sent to the Council asking <sup>2</sup> for protection, but the Council would not do it.

This incident again demonstrated how the 'handwerckleut' forced the clergy to abandon their persecution, just as the 'gemain volck' had prevented the dismissal of Rhegius. It showed the strength of popular feeling and the readiness of the populace to resort to the threat of violence in defence of religious reform. The Chapter's appeal to the Council for support was ignored, an early indication of its reluctance to associate itself with an unpopular religious standpoint. The Council had good reason to suspect that if it intervened to maintain the authority of the clergy it would bring upon itself the hostility currently directed against the Church. Always mindful of the precarious nature of its own control over the

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1 Ibid., pp.144-5.

2 Ibid.

city, this was a risk the Council was not willing to take.

It would also appear that by this stage certain influential members of the Council had become supporters of Luther and religious reform. Allegiances were not always apparent and Luther's supporters on the Council could not afford to flaunt their beliefs for fear of losing Habsburg support for their commercial enterprises. Early supporters of the Reformation, however, included the mayors Hieronymous Imhof and Georg Vetter; the Siegler, Ulrich Rehlinger (elected mayor in 1523); the Einnehmer Anthoni Bimel, later to become mayor in 1529, and the influential councillor, Christoph Hewart.<sup>1</sup> Determined support for the Catholic Church came only from the mayor Ulrich Artzt, who was also a captain of the Swabian League and brother-in-law of Jakob Fugger.<sup>2</sup> He gained increasing support, however, from Peutinger, whose early interest in Luther waned when he saw the divisive impact of the Reformation on the Empire. Such support for the Reformation within the Council could only make more remote the possibility of its assisting the Church; whilst, whatever their religious allegiance, the councillors welcomed a situation which both weakened the authority of the Church and provided them with an opportunity to increase their own. This eagerness to exploit the difficulties of the Church to the Council's advantage and so extend secular control in the city was demonstrated in 1522 with the Almosenordnung.<sup>3</sup> The legislation was intended to ensure that alms

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.8708.

2 Ibid., p.88, and Rem, p.21.

3 Sender, p.164.

were given only to those in the greatest need. All alms were to be given to four Almosenherren or their assistants who were to be officially appointed by the Council and they were then to distribute the money according to need, after claimants had been visited in their own homes.<sup>1</sup> The system aimed to prevent foreign beggars receiving alms and allow the Almosenherren to locate scroungers and, by reducing the number of vagrants, reduce the overall cost of poor relief. Henceforth only beggars licensed by the Almosenherren and wearing a badge were allowed to be in the city.<sup>2</sup> As was the case in Strasbourg, the authorities in Augsburg saw the control of the distribution of poor relief as an important means of enforcing control over the poor in the city.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of the Almosenherren brought all the poor under the direct and regular supervision of the Almosenherren, who could use their power to withhold alms as a means of imposing order and obedience on the poor. The problems of increasing poverty and vagrancy were clearly of great concern to the Council, which may have hoped that by stricter control of alms giving, the problem of vagrancy could be reduced by forcing people to find employment. The authorities recognised the problems of large scale vagrancy in the city and used the current weakness of the Church as an opportunity to secularise and rationalise this vital area of urban life.

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1 Rem, p.173.

2 Ibid.

3 T. Fischer, Städtische Armut und Armenfürsorge im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1979), pp.179-181.

The Council had no wish to encourage disorder, yet it was equally unwilling to restore the Bishop's authority in the parishes, as any weakening of his power in the city could be used by the Council to extend secular control. Without the support of the Council the Bishop was almost powerless to enforce Catholic orthodoxy in Augsburg. In 1522, when the Bishop requested the Council to use its authority to remove Frosch and Speiser he received only evasive replies, and the Council, by its procrastination successfully avoided taking any steps.<sup>1</sup> Later in the year when the Carmelite Order instructed Frosch to resign his office and leave Augsburg, the Council gave him its protection, so allowing him to remain in the city without fear of arrest by the Bishop.<sup>2</sup>

In Augsburg, as elsewhere in Germany, the decisive break between Luther and the Church at the Diet of Worms (1521), gave further impetus to the demands for religious reform. Rem included in his chronicle a detailed account of the events at Worms and a full report of Luther's statement to the Diet.<sup>3</sup> The favourable image he gave of Luther was contrasted with that of the papal legate, Cardinal Aleander: 'He was a baptised Jew, but many believed he had not been baptised'.<sup>4</sup> Rem also described the attempts to bully and bribe Luther into recanting. Hostile accounts circulated in Augsburg of Peutinger's activities at the Diet where he too had attempted to persuade Luther

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, March 1523.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.121-2.

3 Rem, pp.148-53.

4 Ibid., p.146.

to recant. Rem, who had a low opinion of Peutinger and considered him to be 'ain grosser bub',<sup>1</sup> placed the worst possible interpretation on this and claimed that Peutinger had been bribed with the promise of a prebend for his son.<sup>2</sup> Support for Luther was so strong in Augsburg that when the Imperial Mandate was eventually published in the city it was ripped down from the door of the Town Hall during the night.<sup>3</sup>

Once having published the Mandate the Council did little to enforce adherence to its terms. The continuing production of Lutheran Flugschriften showed that the printers were paying no attention to the Emperor's restrictions on the production of religious books. It was only at the beginning of 1523 that the Council took steps to contain this. All the printers were summoned by the Council and ordered to swear that they would not print anything without the permission of the authorities, while in future all books would bear the name of the author and printer to facilitate the detection and punishment of offenders.<sup>4</sup> By chance or perhaps through prior warning, two of the most prolific producers of Lutheran works, Doctor Sigmund Grimm and Elias Schönsperger, were out of the city and so avoided swearing obedience to the ruling.<sup>5</sup> The Council intended that before anything could be printed in Augsburg it would need the approval of

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1 Ibid., p.42.

2 Ibid., p.156.

3 Ibid., p.147. The Council of Nuremberg had shown a similar reluctance to enforce the terms of the Edict, G. Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century (Bloomington and London, 1976), p.163.

4 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 26, 1523.

5 Ibid.

Peutinger and Wolf Pfister<sup>1</sup> but this instruction was widely ignored and the authorities found it impossible to oversee the printers and restrict the prohibited material at source. The Flugschriften continued to be printed and sold in Augsburg, and there is no evidence that the authorities seized any illicit or forbidden material or punished any defaulting printers. Having passed the measures, it appears the Council did nothing to enforce them.<sup>2</sup>

The Council demonstrated a similar lack of resolution in its attempts to restrict Lutheran sermons. On 11th August 1523 all the preachers in Augsburg, with the exception of the Domprediger Matthias Kretz, were summoned to St. Anna.<sup>3</sup> They were instructed by the mayors and other councillors that they must in future abide by the terms of the Imperial Mandates and preach no doctrinal innovations but only the Gospel and the Word of God.<sup>4</sup> This left considerable scope for interpretation both for reformers and Catholics, yet the exclusion of Kretz from the meeting was significant, as he was the only preacher in the parish churches of the city who preached orthodox Catholic doctrines. The Council was addressing itself to the Lutheran preachers, whom it considered might have been in breach of the Mandates, and Kretz was only informed of the discussions at the meeting later. The Council may have been attempting to avoid a confrontation between the Lutheran preachers and Kretz by excluding

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1 Ibid., fol.27.

2 Cf. G. Strauss, op.cit., pp.163-4.

3 Rem, pp.200-1.

4 Ibid.

him, yet by holding the meeting at St. Anna, the centre of the new doctrines, rather than at the Town Hall, the mayors and Council were stressing their belief that it was the Lutherans who were in default of the Mandates. As a supporter of religious reform Rem believed that the warning was intended especially for Kretz, but since he was not invited to the meeting this seems unlikely to have been the case.<sup>1</sup>

By October it had become apparent that two at least of the preachers, Frosch and Speiser were ignoring the Council's warning. They were again summoned by the Council and questioned about the content of their sermons and published writings.<sup>2</sup> Both were made to promise that they had not contravened the Imperial Mandates concerning religion and would not do so as long as they remained in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> Despite their suspicions the Council made no attempt to remove Frosch and Speiser from their posts or expel them from the city.<sup>4</sup> The Council's policy was designed not so much to muzzle the Lutheran preachers in the city but rather to provide itself with a defence against any accusations of harbouring heretics which might be levelled by the Church or Emperor.

Whilst he was representing Augsburg at the 1522 Nuremberg Reichstag Peutinger discovered that rumours were circulating about

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1 Rem, p.201.

2 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.45, 1523.

3 Ibid.

4 The Council went further than this and allowed Frosch and his fellow monks to publish a justification of their actions. Grund und Ursach auss Göttlichem Rechten/Warumb Prior und Convent in Sant. Annen Closter zu Augsburg ihren Standt verandert haben.

religious practices in his home city. It was said that certain services had been abolished in Augsburg and that preachers were denying the validity of the doctrine of Purgatory.<sup>1</sup> Peutinger hastened to assure the papal legate that on All Souls Day and All Saints Day (the festivals in question) all the Masses and sermons had been heard as normal with no innovations or omissions and that he had never heard of sermons being preached against the doctrine of Purgatory. He maintained that the people of Augsburg were '... a Christian, obedient and pious people', whose loyalty the legate would see if he cared to visit the city.<sup>2</sup> With this the legate was apparently content. In reality, as Peutinger was well aware, Lutheran books were being openly printed and sold in Augsburg and Lutheran sermons could be heard in most of the city's churches. According to Preu, by 1523 many people ignored religious fasts, openly eating meat,<sup>3</sup> and in August 1523 Jakob Griessbeutel, a priest and supporter of Luther, publicly married in Augsburg.<sup>4</sup> The ceremony was attended by thirty-two citizens who contributed towards the cost of the wedding breakfast.<sup>5</sup> Griessbeutel was not resident in Augsburg and his speedy departure removed the embarrassment for the civic authorities, but he had correctly anticipated that the

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1 E. König, Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel (Munich, 1923), pp.372-3.

2 Ibid.

3 Preu, p.24.

4 Rem, p.202.

5 Ibid.

service could take place in Augsburg without the danger of arrest and with the support of many citizens.

Doubting the will of the Council to act against heresy, the Bishop organised the arrest of a visiting preacher, Kaspar Adler whilst he was in Augsburg, even though this was against civic custom and an infringement of the Council's rights.<sup>1</sup> The government failed to intervene on Adler's behalf even when he was taken under arrest to Dillingen, and despite his mother having been a citizen of Augsburg. The authorities may have even been grateful for his removal as Adler was known to have been associated with Franz von Sickingen and may therefore have been suspected of being a radical.<sup>2</sup> The Council was prepared to defy the Bishop to protect its own preachers but was not willing to make Augsburg a haven for all religious reformers. The arrest of Adler, however, provoked a sharp reaction from the populace against the clergy. When the Bishop's beadle, who had been involved in the arrest, was seen in St. Anna in August 1523 during one of Frosch's sermons, many of the congregation suspected the motive of his visit was the harassment or arrest of the preacher. They therefore began to abuse and jostle the beadle, who escaped only after the intervention of Christoph Herwart and a number of Stadtknechte.<sup>3</sup>

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.123-4.

2 Ibid.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, October 1523: Christoph Herwart.

As a prominent centre of the printing industry and an important trading city straddling major German and international routes, Augsburg was exposed to many religious influences from outside the city in the 1520's. Frosch and Rhegius, who were the main advocates of religious reform, appear to have closely followed the teachings of Luther. It was to encourage and support them and their followers, that Luther had written, 'Eyn trostbrieff an die Christen zu Augspurg', in 1523.<sup>1</sup> In this call to the people of Augsburg to stand firmly by the Gospel, Luther had more to fear than the attempts of the Bishop and Chapter to stifle the Reformation. The people of Augsburg were also exposed to extreme doctrines which were being spread by those critics of Luther, who believed that religious reform should proceed more speedily and be more radical. Kaspar Adler<sup>2</sup> and Jakob Griessbeutel may well have fallen within this category; there is evidence too that Johann Eberlin had won support in the city,<sup>3</sup> but the most important of these reformers to influence Augsburg was Karlstadt. During the wandering which followed his flight from Saxony, Karlstadt is known to have spent some time in Augsburg,<sup>4</sup> although his activities and associates in the city remain unknown. His doctrines appear to have found a positive response amongst the population, for in 1524

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1 M. Luther, Eyn trostbrieff an die Christen zu Augspurg (Wittenberg, 1523).

2 See p.100.

3 J. Eberlin, Ain fraintlich trostliche vermanung an alle frummen Christen/zu Augspurg Am Lech/Darin auch angezaygt wurt/wazu der Doc Martini Luther von Gott gesandt sey (Wittenberg, 1522).

4 G. Rupp, Patterns of Reformation, p.136.

Rhegius found it necessary to write an emphatic rebuttal of Karlstadt's eucharistic doctrines and a statement in favour of Lutheran teachings.<sup>1</sup> This may have been responsible, at least in part for undermining the popularity of Rhegius,<sup>2</sup> and it did little to stem the interest in Karlstadt's work, for in 1525 three pamphlets by Karlstadt which attacked Lutheran teaching on the eucharist and upheld Karlstadt's views were published in Augsburg by Philip Ulhart.<sup>3</sup> It was probably through the influence of the eucharistic teaching by Karlstadt that the foundations were prepared in Augsburg for the introduction and widespread acceptance of Zwinglian teachings after 1524.

The popular support for the Reformation cause was shown by the large and enthusiastic attendance at the sermons of Frosch and Rhegius, and the clear determination shown by their followers to protect the preachers from persecution by either the ecclesiastical or the secular authorities. The attacks and threats made against

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1 U. Rhegius, Wider den neue irrsal Doctor Andreas von Carlstadt/ des Sacraments halb/warnung (Augsburg, 1524).

2 See pp.130-2.

3 A. Karlstadt, Erklerung des X. Capitels Cor. 1. Das brot das wir brechen: Ist es nitt ein gemeinschaft des Leybs Christi. Antwort Andresen Carolstats (Augsburg, 1525).

A. Karlstadt, Von dem Newen und Alten Testament. Antwort auff disen spruch Der Kelch das New Testament in meinem blut (Augsburg, 1525).

A. Karlstadt, Anzeyg etliche Hauptartickeln Christlicher leere In wölchen Doct. Luther den Andresen Carolstadt durch falsche zu sag und nachred verdecktig macht (Augsburg, 1525).

K. Schottenloher, Philipp Ulhart. Ein Augsburger Winkeldrucker und Helfershelfer der Schwärmer und Wiedertaufer (Munich, 1921).

the Catholic clergy reveal the strength of anti-clericalism upon which the reformers could call for support for their cause within the city. In the long disputes between the city and the Church over the immunity of the clergy from civic dues and the intervention of the bishops in the political life of Augsburg, the citizens had been given valuable ammunition and justification for their actions by the attacks mounted against the clergy by Rhegius, Frosch, Speiser and others. There are clear indications however, that these sermons had found a further response other than merely encouraging anti-clericalism, and that a number of people in the city had been convinced by the spiritual promises which had been made by Luther and his supporters.

The strength of these sentiments is shown by the evidence of lay participation in the religious debate within the city. Citizens and inhabitants of all social levels were seen to be concerned with this. The clearest example was the case of Bernhard Rem, who was a wealthy and educated citizen, related both to the chronicler Wilhelm Rem and the merchant Lukas Rem.<sup>1</sup> He was also an employee of Jakob Fugger as the organist of the Fugger Chapel in the church of St. Anna,<sup>2</sup> where he had been brought into contact with the Lutheran doctrines preached by Frosch. By 1523 Rem was a firm supporter of the Reformation and was moved to compose an open letter to three of his female relatives in convents in Augsburg, urging them to leave their religious houses.<sup>3</sup>

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1 See p.68.

2 Rem was not the organist of St. Moritz as maintained by F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte vol.1, p.114.

3 B. Rem, Ain Sendtbrieff an ettlich Closterfrawen zu sant Katherina und zu sant niclas in Augspurg (Augsburg, 1523).

Rem displayed a good knowledge of the Bible and the theological issues at stake and he insisted that a truly Christian life should be based on service to God in the world rather than being centred on fasts and vigils in a religious house. Rem also criticised the nuns ignorance of the Gospel, which he insisted was necessary for salvation, and he mocked the nuns reciting of prayers and services in Latin which they did not understand,

als wen ain Papigay lallet und spricht.<sup>1</sup>

The spiritual appeal of these Reformation doctrines was not limited to the wealthy and educated in civic society, as shown by the pamphlets written in support of Luther by a local weaver Utz Rischner.<sup>2</sup> He produced a bitter attack on the papacy and clergy in a pamphlet published in Augsburg in the early months of 1524.<sup>3</sup> This work, written in the form of a dialogue between a weaver and a cleric, used considerable knowledge of the Bible and showed an understanding of the major religious controversies. The weaver, who represented the Lutheran view, attacked the failings of the clergy and, in particular the doctrines surrounding the sale of indulgences. This led to an exposition of the doctrine of

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1 Ibid.

2 There has been dispute over the authorship of these pamphlets which have been attributed to Rhegius writing under a pseudonym. See, F. Roth, op.cit., pp.135-6. Their style and presentation bear no resemblance to other works by Rhegius and they clearly come from another source. Contemporaries took Rischner to be the author. See Preu, pp.25-6.

3 U. Richsner, Ain hubsch Gesprach biechlin/von aynem Pfaffen und ainem Weber/die zusammen kumen seind auff der strass was sy furred/frag/un antwort/gegen ainander gebraucht haben/des Evangeliums und anderer sachen halben (Augsburg, 1524).

Justification by Faith, followed by a demand that communion should be given to the laity in both kinds.<sup>1</sup> At this time no preacher had introduced this practice in Augsburg<sup>2</sup> and the justifications offered by Rischner for this innovation appeared to have come from reformers other than those in Augsburg, possibly even from Karlstadt. Rischner concluded the pamphlet with an attack on confessions made to priests, a theme which he extended in a second work.<sup>3</sup> These pamphlets were well known in the city, certainly the chronicler Georg Preu was familiar with them and believed Rischner to be the genuine author.<sup>4</sup> Rischner was subsequently shown to be in the forefront of the lay support for the Reformation, and in his enthusiasm he out-ran the innovations being introduced by the Lutheran preachers in Augsburg.<sup>5</sup> The pamphlet revealed, however, that laymen had absorbed Luther's message, that they had been roused to action by it, and that they were demanding the introduction of religious change.

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1 Ibid.

2 E. Schott, 'Beiträge zu der Geschichte des Carmeliterklosters und der Kirche zu St. Anna in Augsburg' in ZHVSchw., vol. ix (1882), p.260.

3 U. Rischner, Ain gesprechbiechlin von ainem weber/und ainem Kramer über das Buchlin Doctoris Mathie Kretz von der haimlichen Beycht/so er zu Augspurg in unser frawen/Thum gepredigt hat (Augsburg, 1524).

Rischner produced a third pamphlet in the same year: U. Rischner, Ain ausszug auss der Chronika d Bapst un/iren gesatze wie gleych formig sy d gsatze gots/un leer der apostel seyen/zuvergleichen (Augsburg, 1524).

4 Preu, pp.25-6.

5 See p.121.

The volatile religious situation had been demonstrated in July 1523, when a monk preaching in the convent of St. Margreth was heckled by Georg Fischer, a baker's apprentice.<sup>1</sup> Fischer accused the monk of preaching contrary to the Word of God and the disorderly scenes which followed these interjections clearly alarmed the Council. Determined to prevent the situation deteriorating, the Council summoned Fischer who was warned by the mayor, Ulrich Rehlinger that he would be seriously punished if he repeated his offence.<sup>2</sup> Undaunted by the reprimand, Fischer apparently spoke to the Domprediger Kretz, threatening to heckle and refute him if he continued to preach the old doctrines. He was again summoned before the Council and ordered not to interfere in the content of sermons either by public display or private threat. He was told that if he disagreed with the views of any particular preacher he was quite at liberty to attend another church and that if he wished to study the Bible the Council again would have no objection. Finally, Fischer was released but warned that if he again insulted a member of the clergy or in any way threatened civic peace by his actions he would be punished.<sup>3</sup> The Council wished to prevent a recurrence of such events but it refrained from punishing Fischer and making an example of him, despite the seriousness of the offence. There may have been some sympathy amongst the councillors for the objections which Fischer had raised, but they also had reason

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1 Rem, p.199.

2 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.39-40, 1523.

3 Ibid.

to suspect that to punish Fischer would arouse sympathy for him amongst the populace and increase hostility towards the clergy and Council. Rather than risk inflaming the situation the Council was attempting to calm affairs as quickly and discreetly as possible.

It is clear from these events that the dilemma of the Reformation in Augsburg had become apparent by 1523. Whether the Council acted in support of the religious reformers or whether it attempted to uphold the Catholic Church it was unavoidable that powerful interests would be antagonised. The instinctive reaction of the Council was to use the temporary weakness of the Church to expand its own power at the expense of clerical authority, as the passing of the 1522 Almosenordnung demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> However, these advantages had to be balanced against the opposition of the Emperor who was committed to the support of the Church and total opposition to Luther. Financial considerations necessitated that Augsburg should remain on good terms with the Emperor and this was only possible if the city remained loyal to the Catholic Church or at least refrained from giving obvious support to the Lutherans. These commercial and political needs conflicted with the popular demands being expressed in Augsburg where, by the end of 1523, the lower orders had become firm supporters of Luther and religious reform. The reformers had won support from all sections of society but it was the mass support of the lower orders which was crucial for the early development of the Reformation in Augsburg. Although the Church faced attack and accusations from theologians, it was the violence and abuse of the

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1 See p.94.

populace which the Church feared rather than the words of scholars. The threats of the handwercksvolk had prevented the expulsion of Rhegius and the denial of Absolution to those with Lutheran<sup>1</sup> books and it was because Fischer was inciting the common people that he was silenced by the Council.

If the Bishop had been free to punish Frosch and Speiser, the incident could have been contained as a dispute amongst clerics. The involvement of the populace made this impossible since it gave the reformers protection against their own superiors. Neither the Council nor the clergy had any doubts about the strength of popular support for the Lutherans by 1523, but they were alarmed by the immediate and positive response given by the lower orders to the cause of religious reform. Support for heresy from the lower orders was not a new phenomenon in Augsburg. In 1393 fifty Waldensians, of whom the majority were weavers, had been arrested.<sup>2</sup> Again in the early 1450s there is evidence of support in the city for the Hussites.<sup>3</sup> There existed therefore a tradition of radical heresy amongst the poor from which the Reformation leaders could draw support. On previous occasions outbursts of heresy had been swiftly punished by the Church acting with assistance from the Council, but, unlike the earlier heresies, Luther's doctrines had been preached openly and were readily available in print in Augsburg. They consequently spread rapidly and the support for Luther was

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1 See p.92.

2 Mulich, pp.40-1.

3 F. Roth, op.cit., p.34.

quickly so great amongst the townspeople that there was little the Council could do to suppress it. In the face of such widespread support it was clear that the Council could not eradicate the new heresy without facing a major confrontation with the lower orders in the city, who had given clear indication of their willingness to support the reformers, with violence if necessary. The Council was unlikely to risk provoking disorder and rebellion in order to maintain Catholic orthodoxy when it had already recognised the opportunities for extending the power of secular control over the city at the expense of the weakened Church.

The consciousness of the strength of popular support for religious reform played a crucial role in influencing the policy of the Council, but this still leaves the question of why the Lutheran doctrines were so readily and so fervently absorbed by the lower orders. In Augsburg, as elsewhere, the new doctrines expounded by Luther exerted a powerful appeal. The doctrines of Justification by Faith and the Priesthood of all Believers appealed particularly to those who, by their inability to purchase indulgences or endow religious houses, had felt excluded from the care of the Church. Luther apparently offered a religion more responsive to individual needs and, unlike the wordly and remote organisation of Catholicism, a religion that was capable of satisfying the pious aspirations of the people. To many the spirituality of Lutheranism was preferable to the venality and corruption they recognised in the Church where an unworthy clergy was willing to sell salvation to the highest bidder. Anti-clericalism and anti-papalism had long been features of life in a city which was struggling to remove the dominance of the Bishops from its affairs: Luther's condemnations of the

failings of the Church and clergy would thus be falling on receptive ears. It seems unlikely, however, that the vociferous mass support for Luther was based solely on the inherent appeal of his theology, or on his anti-clerical views. The militancy of the supporters of reform in, for example, threatening the lives of clergymen,<sup>1</sup> owed nothing to the doctrines of Luther or of his supporters preaching in Augsburg.

The Reformation had coincided with a time of far-reaching political and economic change in Augsburg which affected the lower orders particularly sharply. The decline in living standards amongst the poorer sections of society when coupled with an obvious and widening gap between rich and poor provoked resentment and anger. At the same time the loss of the traditional rights of the guildmembers to the oligarchy limited the means for effective protest. In the wake of the Ulrich Schwarz affair<sup>2</sup> the Mehrer, aware of the difficulty of controlling resentment of their dominance, had done their utmost to stifle and forbid all opposition in the city. Guild meetings, for example, could be called only with the permission of the Council and only to discuss topics approved in advance.<sup>3</sup> Meetings of the Large Council, another possible forum for opposition to the oligarchy, were similarly called as infrequently as possible and then only to approve the actions of the government, not to express opinions. The demand for religious

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1 See p.92.

2 See p.48.

3 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.41, 1523.

reform was seen as an effective way of attacking the established order. Luther himself had provided an example of how authority could successfully be challenged and to discontented sections of the population of Augsburg there seemed the hope that a weapon which had been used so effectively against the Church, could be used with similar success for the redress of social grievances. The realisation that Luther offered only religious and not social reform might explain why the support for Luther in Augsburg declined after 1524. As the demand for reform in the city progressed the preponderance of secular over spiritual concerns in creating popular support becomes increasingly apparent.

By 1523, two important and recurring features of the Reformation in Augsburg were clearly identifiable. Firstly, the role of the lower orders as firm supporters of the Reformation was vital. Fear of violent reaction from the populace led the Bishop to take no measures against the reforming preachers in Augsburg and, similarly, the Council failed to maintain the orthodoxy and authority of the Church in the city because of the fear of provoking civic unrest. Secondly, by 1523 the Council was already facing a profound dilemma: to defend the interests and authority of the Church would lead to dangerous unrest amongst the lower orders, but to tolerate the Lutherans in Augsburg would equally certainly strain relations with the Emperor and the Swabian League. If the Emperor believed Lutheranism was encouraged in Augsburg, the lucrative commercial contracts enjoyed by many of the city's merchants could be lost and there was a real danger that punitive action might be taken against the city by the Swabian League. Trapped between a populace who supported the Reformation and the

Emperor determined on its suppression the Council attempted to follow a policy of religious neutrality. By avoiding outright commitment to either cause it hoped to be able to maintain both the peace of the city and the favour of the Habsburgs.

In many respects the early Reformation in Augsburg followed a similar pattern to events in other cities in southern Germany. For example, in Ulm in the early 1520's, the city Council realised that civic unrest and opposition to the authority of the oligarchy was likely to result when the discontent, which already existed amongst the lower orders, was united to the demands for religious reform.<sup>1</sup> It was unwilling, therefore, to bow to the wishes of the reformers, and yet, since it was unable to suppress them, was forced to resort to a policy of compromise. The presence of the reformers was tolerated, without being given official sanction.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in Strasbourg, the preaching of Zell had aroused such considerable support from the lower orders, that both the Bishop of Strasbourg and the city Council realized that his removal was likely to prompt a rebellion in the city.<sup>3</sup> In Augsburg, Ulm and Strasbourg the Reformation preachers had won powerful support from the lower orders, a section of society which in each city was already experiencing political and economic grievances. The city councils in each case had shown a marked reluctance to intervene in the religious disputes but had been forced to tolerate the new

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1 E. Naujoks, op.cit., p.56.

2 Ibid., pp.56-8.

3 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.107.

doctrines because they enjoyed popular support. In Augsburg, more than in the other cities, the refusal of the Council to intervene in the doctrinal conflicts had led to it losing control over the increasingly radical religious developments in the city.

The example of Augsburg bears out the view of Ozment that,

The basic conflict on which the Reformation thrived is seen to be one within the cities themselves, in an opposition between lower and middle strata burghers and increasingly plutocratic and oligarchical local governments.<sup>1</sup>

Contrary however to the beliefs of Ozment, subsequent evidence in Augsburg was to show that the early supporters of the Reformation saw in the movement a means of redressing their political and economic grievances rather than an escape from the spiritual tyranny of the Church. Nevertheless the events in Augsburg did not entirely correspond with the model for civic reformations provided by Moeller in his Imperial Cities and the Reformation. There is no evidence that either the Council or the populace saw in the Reformation the opportunity for revitalising civic institutions and increasing civic unity.<sup>2</sup> The long domination of office by the oligarchical Mehrer der Gesellschaft meant that, as Brady has shown in Strasbourg, the corporate organisation and attitudes within civic society had been largely destroyed.<sup>3</sup> It was apparent that the Council was prepared to tolerate the existence of a religious dualism which increased disunity within the city, in order to safeguard its own major interests: the trade of the merchants and the authority of the oligarchy.

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1 S. Ozment, op.cit., p.121.

2 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, p.69.

3 T. Brady, op.cit., pp.168-178.

## CHAPTER THREE

1524: THE YEAR OF REBELLION

CHAPTER THREE

1524 opened in Augsburg with tales of apocalypse and last judgement. According to Rem many believed the forecasts of astrologers that at Candlemas<sup>1</sup> the world would be engulfed by a great flood,<sup>2</sup> and although the prophecy proved incorrect, stories of impending doom persisted and were used by a number of apprentices as the theme for the shrovetide carnival play.<sup>3</sup> The widespread conviction that major change or crisis was imminent met with the sharp disapproval of the Council which arrested the apprentices responsible for the play.<sup>4</sup> These forecasts closely reflected an extreme tradition of medieval heresy, expressed by the Waldensians and the Taborites, which was not new to Augsburg.<sup>5</sup> It maintained that only true Christians would be spared at the imminent Last Judgement and that membership of the true Church was restricted exclusively to the poor and propertyless. It was a doctrine based on social inversion: that the poor and lowly who lived in hardship now would soon inherit the earth. The rich and powerful, on the other hand, would be condemned by God and cast down, and, as such, the poorer classes were equated with godliness and virtue and the wealthy governing classes with sin and evil.

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1 2nd February.

2 Rem. p.204.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Mulich, pp.40-1.

These were the doctrines expressed by Karlstadt and by Müntzer<sup>1</sup> and, although both the Lutheran and Catholic preachers in Augsburg would have condemned such teachings, they were clearly widespread in the city by 1524. For the first time they constituted a serious threat to the authority of the Council as they directly associated religious reform with the social unrest in the city. Discontented groups were provided with a strong religious justification for rejecting the power of the government which they saw as corrupt and ungodly. Supported by their belief that they were the elect of God, the poor felt justification for their actions and a desire to create what they believed would be a more godly and just society. From these doctrines religious reform could quickly become civic revolution. As Blickle has shown for the Peasant War of 1525, in the hands of the discontented, the principle of 'Göttliche Recht' could be used to justify both disobedience to the ruling authorities and demands for social and economic change.<sup>2</sup> This attitude was common to the peasants and the urban poor and was readily apparent in the disorders in Augsburg in 1524.

The speed and resolution of the Council's response indicated their awareness of the danger and from this time they remained vigilant against potentially disruptive incidents. In May 1524 the Council arrested Leonhart, who was apprenticed to a shoemaker Jörg

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1 F. Lau, 'Die prophetische Apokalyptik Thomas Muntzers' in Thomas Müntzer, ed. A. Friesen and H.J. Goertz (Darmstadt, 1978), p.6.

2 P. Blickle, Die Revolution von 1525 (Munich, 1975), p.141.

Nass.<sup>1</sup> The apprentice had been roused to a hatred of pictures, statues and other 'blasphemous works' in churches by a priest lodging in his master's house. Accompanied by a tailor's apprentice, he daubed cow's blood on religious effigies in the Cathedral cemetery during the night but was apprehended by the authorities who sentenced the pair to a year's expulsion from Augsburg, even though the punishment was later remitted.<sup>2</sup> Unrest was also evident in the guilds, and the Council was forced to order the cutlers that '... the masters and apprentices should live peaceably together' and in September 1523 the apprentices of the tailors' guild were ordered by the Council to be obedient to their guildmaster and the authorities.<sup>3</sup> The strength of anti-clerical sentiment was shown in March 1524 when Cardinal Campeggio visited Augsburg on his way back to Italy from the Reichstag in Nuremberg. He was previously warned by the Bishop to arrive at noon when the working people (handwercksvolk) would be off the streets for their midday break as '... in this way he would not be abused by the Lutherans'.<sup>4</sup> The Cardinal heeded the advice and, as he was given no reception either by the Council or Cathedral Chapter, he hurried at once to the house of Jakob Fugger where he remained throughout his visit.<sup>5</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 8th May 1524.

2 Ibid. and Sender, p.155.

3 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fols. 37 and 43, 1523.

4 Sender, pp.154-5.

5 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 50, 1524.

At this period of high tension in the spring of 1524, the friar, Johann Schilling arrived in Augsburg to be lector (Lesermeister) at the Franciscan Church and his arrival heralded a new and more radical phase of the Reformation. None of Schilling's sermons were printed or written down and most of the information about them comes from hostile sources; an anonymous chronicle,<sup>1</sup> and the records of the Council. Even allowing for this bias it can be seen that Schilling's preaching was more violent and radical than any previously heard in Augsburg. He criticised the lay and spiritual authorities and his sermons, preached to large congregations, caused excitement and unrest.<sup>2</sup> Schilling is also reported to have condemned the customary ceremonies of the Church, to have spoken blasphemously of the Sacraments and preached views on social change calculated to appeal to the poor and propertyless and destroy the precarious peace of the city. Additionally, he advocated that all property and goods should be held in common and that the wealth of the rich should be divided amongst the poor. Such views quickly made Schilling the most popular preacher in Augsburg:

Amongst the preachers who could be called evangelical at that time, was a monk at the Franciscan monastery here in Augsburg, who was called Hans Schilling and who was lector there ... he ... preached severely against spiritual and worldly authority and against Church custom; he also preached totally sacrilegious sermons about the holy sacrament and also spoke in his sermons as if all things should be common. With these and similar sermons the monk drew many people to himself, fully the majority of the populace who much preferred to divide up wealth than accept peace and the holy scriptures.<sup>3</sup>

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1 E.W.A., 482

2 Ibid., fol. 1.

3 Ibid.

This opinion may be contrasted with that of the chronicler Rem, a member of the wealthy classes and favourably inclined towards religious reform. According to Rem,

Anno domini 1524, there was a Franciscan monk here at the Franciscans who preached good evangelical things and from the holy scriptures. The common people listened to him gladly but the clergy and some in the Council did not listen to him with pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

Rem believed that the dislike of the Council for Schilling was grounded in 'mere envy' and its actions against him were prompted by loyalty to the clergy and obedience to Jakob Fugger who was said to control all the guildmasters.<sup>2</sup> These appear to have been rumours current in the city but the Council was clearly acting on its own behalf rather than that of the Church and its subsequent efforts to placate unrest in the Franciscans' parish demonstrate that its actions were by no means controlled by the Fuggers. Rem had been in legal conflict with the Council and at that time his relative, Bernhard, was in prison for refusing to accept the judgement in his dispute with the Höchstetter. Throughout his chronicle Rem repeatedly expresses his hatred of those who controlled the government.<sup>3</sup> His championship of Schilling would seem to be based on his desire to create successful anti-government propaganda, for the beliefs of Schilling were generally far removed from Rem's own Lutheranism and desire for civic peace.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Rem, pp.204-5.

2 Rem, p.206.

3 Sender, p.148 and Rem, p.41.

4 Rem, p.75.

However biased the accounts, Schilling was not preaching the theology of Luther, of whose doctrine he appeared to have little or no knowledge, and in his conflict with the authorities he received no support from Frosch or Rhegius. He stood rather in the tradition of radical Franciscan friars and his sermons owed nothing to Biblical humanism. Schilling's preaching both gave expression to the grievances of the populace and further fuelled their discontent. His championship of the lower orders created sufficient support to protect him from the retribution of the authorities, who were terrified by the prospect of mass revolt and whose position was fatally weakened by their lack of solidarity when faced with the question of religious reform.

The attack on the authority of the Council was a compound of political and economic grievances. The government was widely believed to be ruling for the benefit of the rich and seeking to reduce the ordinary citizen to subjection, a simplistic explanation which was seen to account for both the decline in the condition of the poor and the increase in the fortunes of the wealthy. Schilling said that if the Council would not act to fulfil the will of the people, then it was up to the people to act in place of the Council.<sup>1</sup> This reflected the views of many that the Council should be more responsive to the demands of the populace and it constituted a justification for rebellion should the government fail to respond to popular demands. Specifically economic demands included calls for wage increases; price fixing, the abolition of dues paid to the Church and the demand, by Schilling himself, for the property of the

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 69, 1524.

wealthy to be divided amongst the poor. These found a ready response amongst the propertyless who were thereby offered a quick and easy remedy to their misery but met the opposition of the propertied classes, the kleinbesitzer as much as the wealthy merchants. The appeal of Schilling to those with economic grievances reflected the success of M<sup>u</sup>ntzer, Karlstadt and other radicals but, unlike them, Schilling included only minimal religious criticism in his sermons. He limited himself to attacks on the use of holy water and the employment of Latin in Church services, although implicit in both these criticisms was a high degree of anti-clerical and anti-papal sentiment. There is, however, no record of Schilling having prophesied the imminence of the millenium.

Schilling did not confine his activities to the pulpit but became actively engaged in encouraging disorder. On 8th May 1524 events became intolerable for the Council following disturbances organised in the Franciscan Church. When the monk, Herr Lorenz, had arrived at the early morning service to consecrate the Holy Water he found the Church unusually full and some people already standing on seats in order to obtain a better view.<sup>1</sup> The events which followed had evidently been planned and well publicised. Standing round the basin used in the consecration ceremony were the ringleaders of the disturbance: Frantz Laminit, a brushmaker; Bartholome Nussfelder, a

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Urgichten of Laminit, Nussfelder, Scheppach, Richsner, Beringer and Sawr.

glazier; Peter Scheppach,<sup>1</sup> Ulrich (Utz) Richsner<sup>2</sup> and Hans Beringer (all weavers) and Sixt Sawr, a rake maker. Schilling had recently preached a series of sermons emphasising the inefficacy of Holy Water which had aroused excitement and anticipation.<sup>3</sup> Nussfelder first seized the vessel of salt from the monk and threw it into the water, demanding that the monk should consecrate the water in German to enable the congregation to understand him.<sup>4</sup> When the monk refused, Nussfelder seized the Missal from him and threw that into the water as well, from which it was retrieved by Laminit who, failing in an attempt to tear it up, hurled it back into the water.<sup>5</sup> The scene broke up in shouting and uproar and the monk accused Schilling 'that he had brought the Devil into the monastery, and both hurled words of abuse at each other.'<sup>6</sup>

These events posed a serious challenge to the authorities, for the populace had hitherto only used its weight to protect the

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1 Nussfelder and Scheppach were arrested as Anabaptists in 1528: F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol.xxvii (1901), pp.2 and 6.

2 See p.105.  
According to Preu,

' ... der Ulrich Reichsner machet ettliche buechlen, da waren im die phariseer und die grossen wucherer und die unverstendigen viltzhuet, (guildmasters) der kein buchstaben gelesen hat, veindt.' Preu, pp.25-6.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Nussfelder.

4 Ibid.: Scheppach.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.: Sawr.

reformers from punishment; it had never before attempted to use intimidation to force religious change. There was the danger that the Council was losing control of the events to the power of the mob which, without reference to the Council, could take control of the religious situation and ultimately seize political control of the city and force changes according to its own will. The increasing role of the lower orders in the direction of events in Augsburg was mirrored by a similar situation in Strasbourg concerning the attempt by the Bishop to remove married preachers from their posts.

Chrisman notes

Until the spring of 1524 initiative had been in the hands of the clergy ... Then the pace quickened, and although the burghers did not establish themselves in a position of leadership they forced the leaders, both clerical and secular, into new positions and decisions.<sup>1</sup>

The Franciscan parish was in the volatile artisan area in the lower part of the city, where those involved in the incidents were known to live.<sup>2</sup> The Council decided to act swiftly before the situation in the lower city became still further inflamed. The arrest and interrogation of the ringleaders revealed that they had planned the incident in advance whilst they were drinking with Schilling at the house on the Lauterlech of a builder, Hans Has.<sup>3</sup> Scheppach, the weaver, claimed that it was Schilling who instigated the scheme in

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1 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.138.

2 Has lived on Lauterlech and Laminit on Schmiedgasse. See p.32.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Nussfelder.

order to reinforce the words of his sermons and although this may have been an attempt to shift the blame on to another, the statements prove that Schilling was involved and active in the plotting.<sup>1</sup>

The Council had proof of a conspiracy to break the law, to stir up the people and to force change by intimidation and they suspected that the sedition extended further. Hanns Peninger admitted saying that 'a monastery was more than an abbot and a people more than a mayor', an indication of his lack of regard for both spiritual and worldly authority which, in the view of the Council, might receive the same treatment at the hands of the populace.<sup>2</sup> Sixt Sawr denied knowledge of a plan 'to hound from the altar' priests who would not read the Mass in German,<sup>3</sup> but the inclusion of this question by the Council revealed its belief that this was likely to be the next development. The Council was facing a trial of strength and even though it rejected capitulation to the opinion of the lower ranks of society, it retained its desire to avoid confrontation and instead chose to temporise. Nussfelder was temporarily expelled from Augsburg and Laminit imprisoned for four weeks<sup>4</sup> but the Council also decided that Schilling whom it considered to be the principal disruptive element in the affair, would have to be removed. His criticisms of the Church and clergy had made Schilling unpopular with the spiritual authorities who were thus unlikely to prevent his

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Scheppach.

2 Ibid.: Peringer.

3 Ibid.: Sawr.

4 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.66, 1524.

removal, but the popularity of Schilling with the lower orders made this course too dangerous as it might, at the very least, provoke demonstrations of sympathy on his behalf. Instead, the Council used the excuse of Schilling's unruly behaviour; his drinking with citizens and alleged meetings with women to request, successfully, that the Provincial of the Franciscans should recall Schilling from Augsburg.<sup>1</sup>

The threat, which the Council believed Schilling's presence posed to the peace of the city, was demonstrated by its subsequent handling of events. Armed with the order for his departure, a delegation of senior Council officials, including the Stadtschreiber, Peutingen, the Stadtsyndikus Johann Rehlinger and the two mayors, Anthoni Bimel and Bartholome Welser, went at dead of night, in secrecy to visit Schilling in the Franciscan monastery.<sup>2</sup> They offered him twenty gold gulden and a horse for his journey if he promised to leave Augsburg in secret without revealing the reason for his removal. Schilling, who appeared to be something of an opportunist, readily agreed. The official delegation departed in the hope that the affair would soon die down, well pleased to have found Schilling so compliant.<sup>3</sup> Their faith in him proved misplaced as he made known to his friends before he left the news of his enforced departure and the pressures brought to bear on him. The failure to ensure that Schilling kept his word and the subsequent failure to keep itself informed of the people's

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 1-2 and Sender, p.156.

2 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.66, 1524.

3 Ibid.

reaction to the friar's departure were major and unusual errors of judgement on the part of the Council. Despite the elaborate measures to silence and remove Schilling, the authorities may still not have appreciated the gravity of the threat they faced and the mood of Schilling's sympathisers. Schilling's sermons were widely seen as a challenge to the Council as much as to the Church and the government's reaction was anticipated with interest. Schilling had expressed the attitudes and desires of the populace in a way they had not heard before from either the Lutheran or Catholic preachers. He had become a champion of their cause and a symbol, if not a leader, of their resistance to authority. As such, the populace would not tolerate his removal and demanded his immediate reinstatement. The Government's deviousness and indecision both infuriated the people and encouraged their hopes for reform. The anonymous chronicle reveals that in the days following the disappearance of Schilling, rumours and unrest were widespread:

There were many strange rumours amongst the people. Some said the monk had been dealt with correctly and the Council had acted well and justly. Some said no, and (believed) the opposite. At all events the populace assembled and mustered themselves secretly.<sup>1</sup>

On the morning of Saturday, 6th August, the Small Council was in session in the Town Hall when the meeting was interrupted by a crowd of citizens, later estimated to number about 1,800, which surged on to the neighbouring streets and surrounded the building.<sup>2</sup> According

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 2.

2 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 67, 1524.

to the chronicler, this was not a spontaneous outburst of feeling, but the result of secret organisation. One of the ringleaders, Peter Otter, a weaver, later claimed under questioning that he and other weavers, including Lienhart Knöringer and Martin Verting had planned that they should all go to the Town Hall on Saturday morning and demand the return of Schilling.<sup>1</sup> As the crowd assembled, the people were encouraged by a promise, soon to be fulfilled, that they would be joined by a large number of smiths, tailors and other workmen who were also coming to take part in the demonstration.<sup>2</sup> According to the anonymous chronicle, the crowd was formed from the lowest and poorest elements of society:

... amongst them all were no noteworthy people but all were from the populace and unworthy folk; amongst them were many who, with their wives and children took alms, even begged and who were not citizens, also many unmarried servants.<sup>3</sup>

The hostile chronicler had an interest in blackening the motives and the respectability of the crowd in order to justify the suppression of the revolt but his assessment is supported by Rem, a less hostile authority who considered them to be the 'gemain folck'.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the events of the morning of 6th August the Council kept a record of all those it could identify in the crowd, in particular of those who played a leading role and incited the rest.<sup>5</sup> These were, in the

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Otter.

2 Ibid.

3 E.W.A., 482, fol. 2.

4 Rem, p.206.

5 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

main, people of little consequence and included tanners, carters, builders and, more significantly, three innkeepers,<sup>1</sup> although the trades most frequently mentioned were weavers, tailors and cobblers. Men of education, however, were also present and played an important role in provoking the crowd. The master of the St. Jakob Spital was at the Town Hall from the beginning to the end of events as was Hanns Huetter, assistant to the Almosenherren and in receipt of a salary from the Council. He was noted as having 'made many speeches and shouted' to the crowd.<sup>2</sup> Wolf Miller, a seller of books had stirred up the people and two printers, Melchior Raminger and Philip Uhlhart were present. Raminger was accused of having said much ('vill red getriben') and Uhlhart of having joined hands with a carpenter and others to demand the return of Schilling and none other.<sup>3</sup> The opposition of the printers may well have been founded on opposition to the restrictions the Council had attempted to impose on their trade. Both men had sworn agreement to the terms of the 1523 printing ordinance<sup>4</sup> and now sought the abolition of laws which they had no desire or intention of keeping. Another noteworthy participant was Georg Fischer, the baker's apprentice cautioned by the Council for heckling preachers in 1523.

The Council was faced by an uprising which had been planned as an act of political intimidation and was not merely the result of

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1 See p. 69.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

3 Ibid.

4 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 26, 1523.

impulse.<sup>1</sup> The majority of those involved were from the poorest elements of society who had the most to gain from the radical social doctrines of Schilling but there was evidence of participation and incitement by more respectable citizens who were using the unrest caused by Schilling's removal against the Council. The government faced more than a mob; it faced the organised opposition of many of its own subjects who had leadership and determination. This was the greatest threat to the rule of the Mehrer der Gesellschaft which was unable to resist the united opposition of the city.

The crowd surrounding the Town Hall shouted demands for the return of Schilling and eventually twelve men came forward to put these demands to the Council. They demanded an interview with Christoph Hewart, a member of the Small Council who was known to be a Lutheran, but when he turned the request down, angry scenes developed around the Town Hall.<sup>2</sup> The ringleaders urged the people to stand together, threats were made against the councillors and the situation rapidly slipped out of the control of the Council:

However, as soon as the plebeian crowd heard the refusal, the real leaders began to shout that they wanted to have the Gospel and to live by it. Let it (need) life and body, they would have the monk. And each made the other angry ... and there were many heated speeches and the unrest of the low people waxed even more and heavier following their answers. The Council was not a little alarmed and frightened as the Council was not equipped for such things.<sup>3</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 26, 1523.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

3 E.W.A., 482, fol.3.

In an attempt to pacify the mob, a delegation from the Council, consisting of Christoph Herwart, Wolf Pfister, Anthoni Bimel and Peutinger left the Town Hall and attempted to reason with the crowd. Peutinger, speaking on behalf of the Council, said that the government had no desire to hinder the preaching of the Gospel, but rather had always been keen to promote it. He claimed that Schilling had been removed by his order and not by the Council, which he asserted falsely had not interfered in the matter. To ensure that the Gospel continued to be preached at the Franciscan Church, Peutinger promised that Rhegius would be appointed as preacher by the Council until the Franciscan order sent a new representative.<sup>1</sup> This was a shrewd concession by the Council, for Rhegius had distinguished himself as an able and dedicated Lutheran, a champion of reform and an opponent of scholasticism. If the people had been purely interested in hearing the Scriptures, few men were better qualified than Rhegius to preach them. The popularity of Rhegius, however, had waned since the period in 1521 when the support of the populace prevented his dismissal as Domprediger.<sup>2</sup> To the Council, Rhegius was the most acceptable of the evangelical preachers but his subsequent publications reveal why he was ill-received amongst the populace by 1524. During the Peasants War Rhegius supported Luther's condemnation of the rebellious peasantry and wrote that a rebellious subject was a sinner in the eyes of God.<sup>3</sup> Subjects were not

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 66, 1524.

2 Rem, p.145.

3 U. Rhegius, Beschlussred D. Urbani Regii/vom weltlichen gewalt/wider die auffrurischen (1525).

justified in rebelling against even an unjust or wicked ruler who was to be seen as a divine punishment. Rhegius stressed the depravity of mankind and his belief in the duty of temporal authority to enforce the commandments of God. He saw personal wealth as a reward of God and a tool of virtue and condemned public holidays as an incitement to sin, advocating that people should work even on Sundays, after their morning attendance at Church.<sup>1</sup> This authoritarian doctrine could not be further removed from that of Schilling and was unacceptable to the populace:

However, totally eschewing this they shouted with rebellious and wicked words and showed that they wanted to have the monk and no other. It appeared on several occasions as if they would enter the Council chamber by force.<sup>2</sup>

These events clearly show that the populace were determined to have religious reform but equally determined that the Reformation should be in a form acceptable to them. The authoritarian and pietistic Lutheranism of Rhegius was rejected in favour of radical religious and social doctrines. In this respect the population of Augsburg demonstrated that, as in the other cities of Upper Germany, it was they who were to play a key role in deciding the form of religious reform to be enacted in the city.<sup>3</sup> As anticipated they favoured the extreme to the authoritarian and in so doing proved

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1 U. Rhegius, Ain kertze erklarung ettlicher leuffiger puncten aim veden Christen nutz und not/zu rechte verstand der hailige geschriff zu dienst. Dem Ersamen un weysen Lucas Gassner der eltern/durch D.D. Regium (1524).

2 E.W.A., 482, fol. 4.

3 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation (Philadelphia, 1972), p.93.

that no Reformation would succeed in Augsburg without their support. With the rejection of its compromise candidate, the position of the Council appeared perilous, but they clearly resented being coerced by the populace and began to plan their eventual revenge. In the document drawn up by the Council during the course of the siege the names and offences of as many in the crowd as possible were noted down to be used as evidence against them later. This record demonstrates the hazardous position of the Council and shows that violence was inevitable if the demands of the crowd were not met.<sup>1</sup> Leonhard Knöringer, a weaver, for example, called upon the crowd to use its strength to demand not only the return of Schilling but also the removal of the mayor, Anthoni Bimel, the unpopular guildmaster of the weavers who was held to be responsible for the action taken against Schilling.<sup>2</sup> Hanns Pflam, also a weaver, was reported to have spoken out violently and to have urged the people to stand together like brothers so that the Council would have to back down and recall Schilling.<sup>3</sup> This theme had been taken up by others including a tailor, Wenntzlaw Forchhaimer who called on the tailors and weavers to unite until the Council acceded to their demands. Jorg Schiestel, another tailor, urged the crowd not to agree to the replacement of Schilling by Rhegius, and a weaver, Clas Daniel, was reported as saying:

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

Let us ask once more if they deny him (Schilling) to us, then we will have him by force.<sup>1</sup>

A tailor, Matheus Heller, added to this, saying that if the Council refused, the people ought to return to the Town Hall with greater force and that he would gladly lay down his life in this cause.<sup>2</sup> Clearly the weavers and tailors were the main instigators of the violence and their concerted opposition posed a considerable threat to the authority of the Council. Both were numerically strong groups in the city and, as low wage earners, vulnerable to increases in food prices and to commercial recessions. Their numbers gave them considerable power in the city and Rem acknowledged the political reality in 1517 when he said, 'One must keep the weavers quiet.'<sup>3</sup>

Isolated and defenceless in the Town Hall, the Council had no alternative but to concede. The readiness of the crowd to resort to violence was apparent and any further resistance by the Council would have provoked a confrontation in which their lives and property were at risk. There was the real danger that these riots would be whipped up by the ringleaders into the political revolution which the authorities feared. In these circumstances it was better for the Council to agree to the return of Schilling, at least until they were in a position to defend themselves against the rabble, rather than risk unrest which could result in attacks on property and even the overthrow of the Mehrer der Gesellschaft. The crowd was

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Rem, p.75.

organised, resolute and had some leadership. The Council therefore had to take the challenge seriously and back down by agreeing to recall Schilling. The humiliation of the Council was still not complete as the leaders in the crowd urged them to remain together until the government promised not to punish any of their numbers. On behalf of the Council, Peutinger was forced to agree to these terms and further to assure the people in the crowd that the Council had not taken the events amiss, although it is unlikely that this statement carried any conviction.<sup>1</sup>

Elated by these successes the crowd broke up with cheering and singing although the chronicler maintained that the leaders wanted the people to stay together and force other concessions from the government.<sup>2</sup> The Council meeting also ended, but leading members must have met soon after and taken the decision to restore order. A shoemaker in the crowd, Hans Rupp, had been heard to call out that the crowd should return during the next Council meeting and in the course of the morning the slogan used by Hanns Peninger during the events at the Franciscans in May had been heard again: 'A people is more than a Council'.<sup>3</sup> This was a rallying call to defiance which the Council dared not ignore. Anxious not to repeat its earlier mistakes of complacency, the government hastily collected intelligence from inns and other public places, doubtless concentrating on the hostelries of the innkeepers and Bierschenken who were in the crowd.

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 4 and St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 68, 1524.

2 E.W.A., 482, fol. 4.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

The information provided an ominous warning that a similar demonstration was being planned for the next meeting of the Council on the following Tuesday at which the redress of twelve grievances including the abolition of the Ungeld and tithes, was to be demanded.<sup>1</sup> The Council also heard how Peter Otter, a weaver and ringleader in the disturbances had claimed that if the Council had refused to recall Schilling two hundred men had been standing by, prepared to have seized the civic arsenal (the so-called Katzenstadel), situated in the midst of the weavers' quarter of the city.<sup>2</sup> A conversation was also reported between a goldsmith, Conrad Widman and Hanns Hauber, claiming that it had been a tactical error for the crowd to gather round the Town Hall without first having seized the arsenal.<sup>3</sup> The events of 6th August had been planned, and Otter, Hauber and other weavers had been party to this but the organised force under the command of Otter was only an embellishment he devised later to boost his reputation in an affair in which he played a prominent but

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 5. 'Wie nun ain Rhatt undt d gantz hauff waren abgangen, kommen ainem Rhatt undt desselben verwantten gar viel seltzamer warnung undt kundtschafften ein, wie noch ettlich unrurwig leutt an Irem vorgegangen hochmuett nitt ersettigelt weren, sondern wollten den nechsten Rath, der da werden sollt auf den afftermontag nechst darnach wider auf dz Rhatthaus fur ain Rhatt komen undt weiter ettlich articul, deren 12 sein soltten begeren, undt da es ain Rhatt abschlag thett, wolttten sie die dannocht gehabtt haben. Undtt under den articulen ist auch gewesen, Dass man dz ungelt soltt abthun undt kains mehr geben undt dass man den pfaffen kain zehenden noch zins undt sonst nichts mehr geben soltt.'

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

3 Ibid.

not vital role. The failings of the popular leadership were apparent, for although the importance of the arsenal to the control of the city was acknowledged, it was never actually captured. By failing to push home their advantage after they had successfully taken the Council by surprise, the popular leadership allowed the Council time to rally its resources and re-establish control.

Throughout the early stages of the Reformation, the Council had acquiesced to popular pressure in favour of religious reform. To a degree, resolute opposition to these demands had been hampered by a lack of unanimity amongst the Council. Many of its members were sympathetic to the complaints against the Church and some had, for example, favoured the decision not to punish the baker's boy Georg Fischer because they accepted the truth of his statements.<sup>1</sup> The appeal of Luther, unlike that of the Waldensians and Hussites, encompassed all ranks of society and made a union of Church and Council to suppress heresy impossible. Despite the sympathy of some for the Reformation in Augsburg, there is no record of any councillor, even a Lutheran like Christoph Herwart, taking any action to further the cause of the Reformation, for with their eyes on commercial and strategic realities, the Council had acknowledged the necessity of maintaining the Catholic Church and supporting the policies of the Emperor and Swabian League. To this end the Council had subjected all other considerations but it had, nevertheless, been forced to accede, against its wishes and judgement, to the presence of Lutheran preachers and to the majority of the population becoming

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 39, 1523.

supporters of the Reformation. The explanation for this lay partly in the military weakness of the Council and its inability to coerce obedience from its citizens. The Council had virtually no soldiers at its disposal. The city was divided into quarters covering the Jakobervorstadt; the low-lying and highly populated Lech area; the weavers' area by the Cathedral and the wealthy upper part of the city. Each quarter had a captain, who was generally a councillor and responsible for keeping order, with the men of the Stadtknechte at his disposal. The quarter was divided into blocks of ten houses each with one of the householders, who possessed armour, appointed as Hauptmann über zehn Hauser. One such was the chronicler Preu.<sup>1</sup> It was his job to report suspicious actions or newcomers to the quarter commander and to ensure that his neighbours obeyed the law. This system appears to have been totally ineffective by 1524. Through divided religious and political allegiance or through inefficiency, the captains were not fulfilling their duties and, as a result, the Council had no means of enforcing the law. The only means of enforcing its commands lay in the employment of mercenary troops, who were paid by the Council and loyal to it. The authorities appear to have shrunk from this expedient, alarmed perhaps by the cost, the hostility it would cause and the essentially temporary nature of such a solution. The Council had therefore been forced to agree to religious changes and to the recall of Schilling because it had no effective means of enforcing policies which the populace refused to accept.

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1 Preu, p.5.

The events of 6th August, however, brought the realisation to the Council that it had to use force if it was to remain in control of the city. In the greatest secrecy a force of six hundred foreign mercenary troops were recruited to appear on the street in a show of force on the morning of 9th August. They formed an armed guard round the Town Hall, the corn store and other important civic buildings to prevent a repetition of the siege.<sup>1</sup> The Stadtknechte were set to patrol the streets and guard strategic positions, whilst the Council had secretly ordered the guild Zwölfer to appoint their most trustworthy men as armed guards on the guildhouses, Trinkstuben, and the tocsin tower (Perlachturm).<sup>2</sup> The citizens woke on 9th August to find the city occupied by armed men. The Council had reassumed the initiative and the appearance of its members at the Council meeting wearing arms underlined their resolution to use force to crush the insurrection.<sup>3</sup>

The situation was still critical and the Council soon discovered the precariousness of its position. In order to complete the process of subjection the Council ordered the master of ordnance, the patrician Matheus Langenmantel, to remove the cannon from the civic arsenal and place them round the Town Hall and on the Stadthof by St. Moritz church where they had a commanding position over the weavers' guildhouse, a place where the Council apparently expected trouble. The arsenal was situated in the poor area of Augsburg near the H1.

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 6.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

Kreuz where many weavers lived and when the intentions of the Council became apparent the building was quickly surrounded by a large crowd led by a tailor named Matheus Heller and an innkeeper, Hanns Regitzer, whose establishment was known to be a gathering place for malcontents and was later used by Anabaptists.<sup>1</sup> When Langenmantel gave the order for the cannons to be removed the ringleaders in the crowd called upon the workers in the arsenal not to obey the order. They claimed that the cannon would be used against their fellow citizens. The crowd refused to move from the gates of the arsenal and the arsenal workers refused to use force to pass through.<sup>2</sup> The Council's own sworn servants, at its most important and sensitive establishment refused to obey their orders and once again the dictates of the mob were overriding the commands of the government. The Council had met organised and determined opposition in its efforts to reassert control and a major confrontation was avoided only by an appeal by Christoph Hewart to the crowd, who probably urged them to disperse before the Council brought in its mercenary troops against them.

The superior forces of the Council were a factor which was sapping the conviction of the insurgents. Once the Council had recovered from its early shock and disarray it displayed its determination to recover control, by force if necessary. The troops were not kept behind the scenes in case of further trouble but were

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Langenmantel. For Regitzer's connection with Anabaptists see F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), p.20.

2 Ibid.  
The account of Roth of the events of 1524, does not mention or consider this crucial episode.

placed prominently at key positions, especially controlling the weavers' guildhouse and this emphasised the readiness of the Council for a confrontation with its rebellious subjects. After the initial success of the Town Hall siege, the unity and momentum of the rebellion was lost and the subsequent actions of the Council revealed its determination to root out potential leaders and organisers and to divide and so rule the inhabitants. The first stage in this process was the summoning of an immediate meeting of the Large Council which, after an address by Peutingen on behalf of the Small Council, roundly condemned the events of the previous Saturday and endorsed the actions of the government in removing Schilling and bringing in troops.<sup>1</sup>

By this time crowds were gathering round the city and leaders of the revolt were attempting to maintain their support. One, a weaver Lienhart Beiss, assured people that the Council could not keep the troops on indefinitely and that if the people remained united they would be able to use their strength again.<sup>2</sup> The immediate necessity for the Council was to pacify the weavers, the largest and most restive of the guilds which stood at the core of the discontent. Most of its members were meeting at the Haugen Hof, by St. Anna's monastery, as the guildhouse was guarded by the authorities. The Zwölfer of the guild were sent to them by the Council with an offer of reconciliation designed to split the leaders of the unrest from their supporters. The message of the

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 6.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

Council was that a new and enlarged civic guard was to be formed, but that only those who had not been involved in the rising of 6th August and who disassociated themselves from the ringleaders by swearing loyalty to the Council would be eligible for membership.<sup>1</sup> Already there were signs of wavering and according to the anonymous chronicler many people were at pains to claim that they had neither taken part in nor supported the uprising.<sup>2</sup>

On the following morning representatives of the Council went to address the weavers who were again gathered on the Haugen Hof. It had already become apparent that wide popular support for insurrection was melting away, leaving the weavers as an increasingly isolated core of opposition. Both sides were waiting for the other to act but in this period the Council was increasing in confidence as the resolution of its opponents wavered in the face of powerful military opposition. In these circumstances the Council made an attempt to buy the support of the weavers and break the solidarity of the opposition. They were told that they would be welcome in the new civic guard and would be paid 40 kreutzers a week as guardsmen but it was reiterated that membership would be forbidden to those concerned with disturbances in the city:

There were many bad words from those who had been at the Town Hall ... that no weavers should join, but that availed nothing and all the others were enrolled, and all were accepted.<sup>3</sup>

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 7.

2 Ibid.

3 E.W.A., 482, fol. 7.  
These critical negotiations between the Council and the guild members are not considered in the account by Roth.

Having broken the core of the opposition, the Councillors proceeded to address the other guilds and won overwhelming support for the civic guard which began immediate day and night patrols.

By resorting to force the Council had restored order but it had not destroyed the opposition to its rule. On 12th August a proclamation was issued to facilitate the rooting out of dissidence. It claimed that by word and deed, certain individuals had provoked rebellion, unrest and disobedience, so destroying unity and peace and constituting an attack on the Christian governance of the city. Consequently, all meetings were forbidden and severe punishments threatened to those engaged in sedition or disobedience.<sup>1</sup> All the guilds were warned of the need for unity in the city, and to stress its authority and the duty of loyalty owed by all the citizens, the Council ordered every citizen to swear again his civic oath. The captains of ten houses were also ordered to report to the captains of the quarters non-citizens and non-guildsmen who resided in their area, as the Council was determined to identify and silence all potential trouble makers.<sup>2</sup>

At this stage the Council did not think it wise to take punitive action against those citizens who had been involved in the disturbances, fearing this would cause further antagonism and it also abided by its promise and allowed the return of Schilling, although he ceased to play a significant role in events.<sup>3</sup> At a

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1 St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten 1490-1649, Teil 1, Nr. 9

2 E.W.A., 482, fol. 9.

3 Rem, p.208.

meeting of the Thirteen on 31st August, Peutinger was still counselling that no punitive action be taken for the time being and that the Council should not yet use the information it had gathered, but wait in order to give time for unity to develop in the city.<sup>1</sup> He recommended, however, that the Council should maintain its mercenary troops and keep them on permanent guard at all major buildings, particularly the Town Hall, to prevent a recurrence of the siege. He also advised that a watch be kept on all known trouble-makers and that informers should be vigilant at all times in inns and bathhouses. Peutinger suggested that the Council should appoint a trusted and learned man to attend sermons at the Franciscan Church so that the Council would be warned if they were causing trouble. Significantly, Peutinger did not suggest that the Council should intervene in the appointment of a successor for Schilling.<sup>2</sup> The authorities were aware of the power exerted by the preachers over the populace and also of the danger of the demands for religious reform becoming associated with social unrest under the influence of extremists like Schilling. The Council had already shown its preference for Rhegius to other more radical reformers, when it offered him to the crowd as a replacement for Schilling. From the point of view of the authorities he was an ideal compromise candidate who preached the Gospel but also upheld the power of the secular arm. Now that the Council had troops at its disposal it was in a position to impose a magisterial Reformation. This would have ensured a

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 12, 1524.

2 Ibid.

Church and pastors who upheld the power of the Council and urged the populace to loyalty and obedience. In this way the danger of religious disputes exacerbating civic unrest and being used as a means of attacking secular and spiritual authority would be forestalled. The Council was, however, still determined to maintain its policy of neutrality and the recommendations of Peutingner were accepted even though some councillors feared that the inactivity of the government would be misconstrued as weakness and lead to public celebrations and further disorder.<sup>1</sup> In an effort to prevent this the Council issued a decree which authorised the arrest of anybody suspected of creating unrest or opposition, whether or not they had been involved in the events of 6th August.<sup>2</sup>

The increased surveillance by the Council soon revealed the extent of the organised opposition within the city. It was apparent that the policy of conciliation was failing and, although the city had been subjected, the rebellion had still not been crushed. Two weavers, Hanns Kager and Hanns Speiser were arrested and interrogated on 9th September and their testimony led to the arrest of more weavers, including Paul Kurschner, Christian Beiss, Lienhart Knöringer and Peter Otter. Eventually the motives behind the opposition and its full extent were revealed.<sup>3</sup> This group had been plotting for some months to gain the redress of political and economic grievances, including the abolition of the Ungeld and the

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 12, 1524.

2 Ibid., fol. 1.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Kager.

restoration of the political power of guild members. Once again the issues which had prompted the career of Ulrich Schwarz were apparent in the demands for the removal of the Mehrer der Gesellschaft from their dominant role in the government and their replacement by a Council more responsive to the demands of the populace. The constitutional conflicts of the late medieval period were still dividing the city in the 1520s and were to be a crucial factor in securing the support of the populace for the Reformation. Moeller distinguishes the cities of Upper Germany from those of the North on the basis of the participation which the lower orders of the Swabian cities had in the civic government, through the guilds. This, he believes, allowed the populace to force the introduction of the Reformation upon unwilling town councils and enabled them to press for Zwinglian or Bucerian doctrines which accorded more directly to the communal traditions of the cities. He says that,

During the Reformation of the Upper German cities the lower classes of the populace clearly had a strong influence on and interest in the city government.<sup>1</sup>

The example of Augsburg, however, shows that the relationship between religion and the constitutional traditions to which Moeller refers is more complicated than he suggests, for in Augsburg, following the defeat of the Schwarz faction, the constitutional influence exerted by the guild members over the government had been largely removed, to such a degree that it was only by demonstrations of the type of 6th August that the populace could make its voice effectively heard.

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1 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.101.

All the government and senior guild posts were controlled by the Mehrer and meetings of the Large Council, a possible focal point of popular opposition, were kept to a minimum. The problem in Augsburg was that the populace was fighting to recover traditional political rights which it had lost to an increasingly powerful oligarchy. In the light of this struggle the demands for religious reform can be seen as a means of uniting the populace in a wider political conflict, and the appeal to the people of the 'Reformed' doctrines, with their emphasis on observing the communal interest as against the more authoritarian doctrines of Lutheranism, is apparent. In this respect the traditions of communal power provided powerful assistance to the civic Reformation, especially to the Zwinglians, but the impetus behind the popular movement which desired to impose the Reformation upon the Council, stemmed as much from political as religious motives. The religious demands themselves were a convenient rallying point in a long-term political conflict and they were intended as a means of challenging the power of the Mehrer and of forcing the government to be responsible to the demands of the populace.

The weavers, Kager and Speiser were planning to challenge the control of the Mehrer and at the next guild election, held immediately after Christmas, they had intended to make an appeal to all guild members to vote only for guildmasters and Zwölfer who had shown themselves to be supporters of religious reform.<sup>1</sup> The guild members were to withhold their support from those candidates who

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Kager.

opposed or obstructed religious reform. This political canvassing struck at the heart of the oligarchical system which was sustained by allowing only the guild leadership to nominate candidates for office who were then given routine approval by the members at the guild elections. The implication of this demand was that the government of the city should be answerable to the ordinary guild members who should use their power at the elections to place men in office who advocated policies of which they approved. The free election of the government by the guildsmen was in fact contained in the Zunftbrief of 1368 as the basis of the constitution and this was the principle which the populace wished to have restored.

The interrogation of the men revealed that no plans had been made concerning religious reform and throughout their questioning Kager, Speiser and their accomplices showed no knowledge of religious issues, whereas the redress of other grievances had been planned in detail. Their sole stipulation concerning religion was ' ... we elect Zwölfer and guildmasters who are not against the Word of God.'<sup>1</sup> It would seem that religious issues were only of secondary importance and the primary concern was the removal of those who were currently on the Council, who by implication were not devoted to the Word of God, and their replacement by new men who would institute reform. The religious demands were to be a means of removing the Mehrer from the government by democratic electoral means and replacing them by a new government responsive to popular demands, perhaps even formed from the plebeians.

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1 Ibid.

In addition to their scheme the conspirators were devising a plan to achieve the immediate abolition of the Ungeld. This indirect tax on wine and beer was particularly unpopular as it forced up prices and, as it was levied on a basic article of consumption, could not be avoided by the poorer sections of society. It was planned to lead a delegation to the Council which would demand the repeal of the tax and if the authorities refused, the group intended their supporters to use violence to force the Council to comply.<sup>1</sup> The resentment against the Ungeld meant that the plan was certain to win wide support and already several innkeepers and others had agreed to it. The Ungeld was an emotive topic which in the past had frequently prompted complaints from the poor. However, it provided the greater part of the revenue of the Council which could not afford to abolish it without raising direct taxation. Both Kager and Speiser denied ever having spoken or conspired with Schilling but Speiser admitted having attended three of the friar's sermons, whilst Kager had been in the crowd outside the Rathaus on 6th August.<sup>2</sup> The seditious activities of Kager and Speiser had begun before the appearance of Schilling and were unconnected with the demonstrations on his behalf. Their demands were ultimately concerned with political and economic grievances and were to be put in operation later in the year. However, when they saw the advantage created by the Schilling riot, the temporary weakness of the Council and the feeling of strength

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Kager.

2 Ibid.: Kager and Speiser.

amongst the populace, they had taken advantage of the situation and brought their plans forward.

The speed and severity of the reprisals enacted by the Council revealed that it was more afraid of unrest which had its roots in political and economic causes than of that which stemmed from the religious disputes in the city. Kager and Speiser were interrogated, tortured and given a summary, secret trial. In the early morning of 15th September, before the townspeople were about, the area around the Town Hall was lined with troops and the two weavers were quickly executed without the customary ringing of the tocsin to summon people to witness the punishment.<sup>1</sup> The anxiety of the Council to avoid the anger of the populace dissuaded it from summoning a gathering which might have led to further unrest. Both Kager and Speiser were condemned by the Council for leading a conspiracy, promoting unrest and for blasphemy,<sup>2</sup> but the account of events in the chronicles of Preu and Rem reveals that this view was not shared by all. Both chroniclers described the weavers as the first to suffer for the new faith in Augsburg, even though their conspiracy had in reality been directed towards political and economic change.<sup>3</sup> This belief placed the Council in a difficult dilemma and revealed the dangerous extent to which the social and

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1 St. A.A., E.W.A., 482, fol. 10.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

3 Preu, p.32. 'Sie sindt die ersten neuen cristen zu Augspurg gewesen zu der entlichen verfolgung des jungsten tag.'  
Rem, p.208. 'Darnach fuort man den Hans Kag auch herauff, dem schlug man den kopf auch ab ... er sagt man tett im unrecht; er was hart gemartet worden.'

religious grievances had become intertwined. This was the situation which the Council had been striving to avoid as it wished to prevent the religious disputes of the Reformation from increasing the social unrest and disunity in Augsburg. In particular it had wished to prevent the populace from using religious grievance as a pretext to attack the authority of the government and for this reason it had steadfastly refused to associate itself with the defence of the Catholic Church. Now the Council found itself cast by its enemies in the role of the persecutor of the followers of the Gospel and the opponents which the government had punished as criminals and traitors became martyrs to religion in the eyes of the people. The union between the religious and social discontent gave the populace justification and cohesion in its opposition to the government. Clearly the Council had to act to arrest the increasing animosity between the populace and itself and to counter any increase in social and religious radicalism. It was no longer possible for the Council to ignore the religious issues which were inflaming the social unrest and by this stage it must have begun the search for a successor for Schilling who would appease the popular discontent yet uphold the authority of the government. In effect, the weight of popular discontent had forced the Council to abandon its policy of neutrality.

Meanwhile the Thirteen decided that it should speak to the individual preachers who were well disposed towards the Council, so presumably excluding Schilling, and order them in their sermons and pamphlets to exhort the people to be peaceful and moderate.<sup>1</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 23.

The Council recognised the power of the preachers and attempted to use them to pacify the people, as its own policy was a signal failure. The evidence from spies made it clear to the Council that its repressive policies were not breaking the resistance but provoking further radicalism and uniting the forces of discontent. The testimonies of Kager and Speiser revealed that they had been in collusion with the builder Has, a leader of the discontent surrounding Schilling.<sup>1</sup> Has and others were reported to have drawn up a series of demands which they intended to present to the Council in the form of an ultimatum. These articles were apparently never printed and circulated and the confusion over the numbering suggests they were not completed in a definite form,<sup>2</sup> but knowledge of them became so widespread that Has fled into the sanctuary of St. Ulrich to avoid arrest.<sup>3</sup> According to the reports received by the Council the articles were:

Firstly, the doctors at Our Blessed Lady /Domprediger Kretz/ and at the Dominicans /Faber/ should be expelled.

Secondly, the 'old' measure should be restored.<sup>4</sup>

Third, that the Burggraf should no longer be paid the dues owed to the clergy.

Fourth, the clergy should no longer be paid ground rent.

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten: Kager and Speiser.

2 This version of the articles is from St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Knöringer.

4 The origin of this is in Mulich, p.355.

Fifth, beer should be brewed as was previously customary and no Ungeld should be paid on it.

Sixth, all monopolies should be abolished and everybody should work for himself.

Sixth, the Ungeld on wine should be abolished.

Seventh, the furrier should be released from gaol.<sup>1</sup>

Eighth, the clergy should pay tax and Ungeld.

Ninth, if the Council refuse these demands then they should be gained by force.

This was not a blue-print for religious reform but the expression of commonly held grievances. The articles called for the removal of the two most obdurate Catholic preachers but not for their replacement by supporters of Luther or even Müntzer. The attacks on the clergy called for the removal of their economic privileges and not for communion in both kinds or the rejection of papal authority, even though the theological issues of the Reformation had been well publicised in Augsburg by Frosch, Rhegius and others.<sup>2</sup> Economic grievances are paramount and constitute seven of the ten articles, the major target being the Ungeld. The Council refused to rescind the tax, despite the pleas of innkeepers who had protested to the Council that the combination of the Ungeld, high rents and high prices for wood, barley and hops was ruining their trade.<sup>3</sup> The response of the Council had been to increase the rigour of the

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1 He had been held in prison since 1518 for the murder of his wife, which according to Rem had been prompted by her infidelity. Rem, p.207: 'der hett ain weib die was ain grosse huer, die schluge er.'

2 Cf. B. Moeller, op.cit., pp.71-2.

3 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 76, 1524.

Ungeld collection system in an effort to prevent smuggling.<sup>1</sup> The anti-clerical element in the articles was high and aimed at removing the privileges of the clergy and ending all payments due from the citizens to the Church, including tithes, ground rents and tolls. The demands did not advocate the secularisation of monastic wealth nor did they attack the monastic ideal or the hierarchy of the Church, but show indifference to the Church and its spiritual works. They do not call for reform or greater participation by laymen but only that Church should cease to be a burden on their already overstrained pockets. The weaver Knöringer voiced a common view when he said that the clergy already had more than enough and should be given nothing further.<sup>2</sup>

The sixth article repeated the antipathy towards monopoly trading already expressed by Luther and the Reichstag. Monopolies, it was believed, forced up prices, ruined competitors and brought vast profits to the monopolists. In Augsburg, which was at the heart of the monopoly system in the Empire, these profits were displayed in the palaces, family chapels and extravagant life-style of such as the Fugger and Höchstetter. The hatred of the poor for monopolies was probably greater in Augsburg than elsewhere for not only did they bear the profiteering but also witnessed the affluence of the merchants who were involved. The commitment of the leading merchants to the monopoly system had prompted the Council to mount a vigorous campaign both inside and outside the Reichstag in

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1 Ibid., fol. 52.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Knöringer.

defence of monopolies, views which were not shared by the populace.<sup>1</sup> This failure to separate the role of government from the business interest of a small but influential group of merchants was an important cause of the unrest in the city. The populace could see the increasing gap between rich and poor. The abolition of monopolies could be expected to reduce prices and to weaken the fortunes of the merchants on the Council. The emphasis on each man working for himself indicates the concern at the increasing proletarianisation of the populace. The traditional economic order based on the guilds was being eroded as the power of the master craftsmen gave way to the supremacy of the entrepreneur who could dominate wealth, trade, production and government. This article was a demand for a return to an age when the differences between rich and poor were less marked and when one section of society could less easily dominate another, a time when by diligence a man could become a master and earn enough to support a family. It was in this respect a reactionary call of those unable to understand the reasons for price inflation and the decline in their political and economic position. Just as in the articles compiled in Colmar in December 1524, the points of protest in Augsburg were inspired by both anti-clericalism and resentment at the failings of the government.<sup>2</sup> Local issues, however, also played a role, as shown

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1 C. Bauer, 'Gutachten zur Monopolfrage' in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. xlv (1954), pp.3-7.

2 K. Greyerz, The Late City Reformation in Germany. The Case of Colmar 1522-68 (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp.46-9.

in Article Seven concerning the furrier.<sup>1</sup>

With the recent riots in mind, the Council took seriously the threat of violence contained in the articles. Pre-emptive measures were decided upon at a meeting of the Thirteen on 19th September and troops were sent into St. Ulrich's to arrest Has who had taken Sanctuary there,<sup>2</sup> only to find he had already escaped into permanent exile.<sup>3</sup> The troops, however, did arrest more weavers, in some cases with their wives and subjected them to interrogation, sometimes using torture. Their testimonies showed that the leaders of the unrest had met frequently to discuss the articles and decide how they should be presented, although no firm plans were made.<sup>4</sup> One meeting place was the inn of Regitzer who had played a prominent role in the crowd at the arsenal during the Schilling riots. Knöringer's statement also showed that Schilling had been involved in unrest since his recall to Augsburg, even though, according to Rem, his fellow friars had done their utmost to control him.<sup>5</sup> Schilling had visited Has in Sanctuary and advocated further violence by the populace in support of its demands and, in the light of this, the Council again ordered Schilling to be removed by his order in November but this time the event passed without incident.<sup>6</sup>

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1 See p. 151.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 2.

3 E.W.A., 482, fol. 11.

4 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Beiss, Otter, Leser, Knoringer, Barbara Bogenschutz.

5 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Knoringer, and Rem, p.208.

6 According to Rem he left of his own accord: Rem, p.208.

Other conspirators were sentenced to permanent exile.<sup>1</sup>

The formulation of the articles had come too late to unite popular opposition, and, confronted with the organised and resolute forces of the authorities, there was little hope of the populace forcing its demands on the Council. There were, however, signs of continuing unrest and resentment in the city. A certain Ot Saylor was, for example, arrested for telling a peasant that the people of Augsburg had been truly in favour of the Gospel, and still were, but had been deceived. He argued that the people should have remained united in their support for the true Gospel and opposed its enemies the mayors, the clergy and the rich who had plenty but would give nothing to the poor.<sup>2</sup> The identity of the peasant was unknown but the Council were alarmed that discontented elements in the city should be associating and sympathising with the peasantry, and this anxiety could only increase with the development of rural unrest leading to the Peasants' War. A woman, Anna Fastnacht was similarly arrested, questioned and tortured and eventually permanently exiled for having criticised the Council. Matheus Langenmantel and Ursula Havlerin reported having heard her say in St. Anna's church that the money spent by the Council in hiring mercenary troops would have been better spent on buying bread and corn for the poor and needy. She also said that, when the tocsin was rung summoning the people to the Town Hall, they would do better to march to the

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1 E.W.A., 482, fol. 11.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Saylor.

civic corn store and seize its contents for their own use. Not content with this, she further created trouble for herself by saying that the common people ('gemaind') should be represented on the Council,<sup>1</sup> and take part in the making of important decisions, sturdily asserting that if the menfolk would not take action it was up to the women to do so.<sup>2</sup> This example of a woman claiming that she could govern better than the Council was a particularly effective criticism of the established order for which Fastnacht was duly punished.<sup>3</sup>

The subsequent actions of the Council demonstrated that it acknowledged that suppression of the rebellion was insufficient to ensure the future peace of the city, for when the mercenary troops were paid off the disorder was likely to recur. The Council refused to concede the demands contained in Has's Articles yet it realised that some action had to be taken to calm the volatile situation. A key factor in promoting the disturbances had been the sermons of Schilling, and, since the influence of the preacher in the poor Franciscan parish was considerable, the Council had to involve itself in the appointment of his successor. By making concessions towards the religious grievances of the populace, the Council hoped it could calm the troubled area and remove the

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1 This is an indication that Fastnacht did not believe the Council to be representative of the populace.

2 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524: Fastnacht and Langemantel, and E.W.A., 482, fol. 11.

3 For a further discussion of this aspect of popular protest see N.Z. Davis, 'Women on Top' in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (London, 1975), p.132.

provocation and pretext for any future riot. Since his return to Augsburg, Schilling had apparently preached little, if at all. Some sermons were preached at the Franciscans by Rhegius,<sup>1</sup> but the Council was aware of the hostility of the parishioners towards him and knew that if an enduring calm was to be achieved, a new preacher would have to be found. To be acceptable to the populace the preacher must be a supporter of the Reformation, yet a man of Rhegius's views would not be suitable. From the point of view of the Council, the preacher should not be a radical who demanded social as well as religious change, and he must urge the townspeople to be obedient to the secular authorities.

The man whom the Council eventually chose was Michael Keller, although it could have known little of the man or his doctrines as he had only recently arrived in the city. He was a former priest who had fled from Bavaria and spent a short period in Wittenberg before he visited Augsburg in 1524.<sup>2</sup> He was appointed preacher by the Council shortly before Christmas and quickly distinguished himself as the most extreme preacher in the city, becoming for Sender the 'Ertzketzer'.<sup>3</sup> He condemned the Mass, the cult of the Virgin and saints and, according to Sender again, quickly established a considerable following.<sup>4</sup> It was soon apparent that

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1 Sender, p.177.

2 F. Roth, 'Zur Lebensgeschichte des Meister M. Keller, Prädikanten in Augsburg' in Beiträgen zur Bayerische Kirchengeschichte (1899), p.149.

3 Sender, p.178.

4 Ibid., pp.178-9.

Keller firmly upheld the authority of the Council, although his vigorous attacks on clerical abuse and his extreme views on social justice endeared him to the populace.<sup>1</sup> Keller was also to be one of the earliest and most ardent supporters of Zwingli in Augsburg and, as such, he became a driving force behind the city's Reformation. Keller had already established a close contact with Zwingli before he arrived in Augsburg. When writing to Mattheus Alber in Reutlingen in November 1524 about the developing Abendmahlstreit, Zwingli spoke of Keller as '... our friend Michael', and clearly considered him to be an ally in this doctrinal conflict.<sup>2</sup> In the same letter Zwingli expressed his support for many of the views advanced by Karlstadt in his pamphlet, Von dem Widerchristlichen Missbrauch des Herrn Brot und Kelch, which attacked the Lutheran interpretation of the Eucharist.<sup>3</sup> With the known difficulty of finding a preacher who was acceptable to the parishioners of the Franciscans, the Council had chosen a supporter of religious reform whose views were more extreme than those of Rhegius and the Lutherans, but by his appointment religious division in the city was increased, and with it the demand for religious change.

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- 1 M. Keller, Ermanung zu gehorsam Gottes unnd dess nächsten (1531).  
M. Keller, Frag unnd Antwort etlicher Artickel zwischen D. Michaelen Kellern predicante bey den parfussern und D. Mathia Kretzen predicanten auff dem hohe stiftt zu Augspurg newlich begeben (1525), see pp.229-30.
  - 2 G. Finsler, W. Köhler and A. Rüegg (ed.), Ulrich Zwingli: Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften (Zürich, 1918), p.428.
  - 3 Ibid., p.429.

The account provided by Roth of the events of August 1524 is misleading and unbalanced in two important areas. By a highly selective use of the sources he gave a distorted view of the events and the subsequent reaction to them by the populace and the town council, and by concentrating on the character of Schilling, Roth was unable either to set the events in their true perspective or to provide a full explanation for the serious rioting and unrest.<sup>1</sup> There are a number of sources concerning these events which are available to the historian, the most detailed being the anonymous chronicle contained in the Evangelisches Wesenarchiv. The author, although clearly a supporter of the Council, provided great detail, often verifiable, which suggests he was an eye-witness of the events. The bias in this account can be balanced from other contemporary versions contained in the chronicles by Rem,<sup>3</sup> Sender<sup>4</sup> and Preu,<sup>5</sup> while the entry by Peutinger in the Ratsbuch provides the Council's account of the rioting.<sup>6</sup> Roth used all these sources to build up his portrayal of Schilling and the events of 6th August, but he also relied heavily upon, and indeed quoted from, a chronicle of dubious authenticity, which introduced new information about the August

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, pp.156-60.

2 E.W.A., 482.

3 Rem, pp.204-9.

4 Sender, pp.154-9.

5 Preu, pp.28-32.

6 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.66-7.

riots.<sup>1</sup> The style and the handwriting of this account point to its origin being in the early seventeenth century, but it records for the first time detailed accounts of speeches made by councillors to their colleagues and to the populace. Roth drew upon this evidence to depict the Council as acting on 6th August with a resolution and success which is contradicted by the other evidence.

Roth was concentrating upon writing a religious history and was little concerned with the events of 1524 once the troubled events at the Franciscan Church had been solved. The evidence, however, shows the crucial importance of the events following the rioting and the efforts of the Council to restore its authority. It had been more than a riot in support of a friar for the events of August and September 1524 had far-reaching political and economic implications which Roth ignored. The evidence shows that both the Council and the inhabitants of the city were fully aware of the importance and danger of the urban unrest. The anonymous chronicler, for example, devoted more attention to the efforts of the Council to restore order and authority than he did to the personality of Schilling and the riot of August 6th.<sup>2</sup>

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1 E.W.A., 482. This is tied together with the anonymous chronicle. The foliation is not continuous. For an example of Roth's use of this chronicle see, F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.161, where a speech by Hieronymous Imhof to the Council is quoted. This appears only in the later chronicle.

2 E.W.A., 482. Roth does not mention the opposition encountered by the Council from the members of the weavers guild.

The records of the Council also show that the arrests were concentrated amongst those involved in the agitation after the riot in support of Schilling, rather than those people involved in the disturbances at the Franciscans Church and around the Town Hall.<sup>1</sup> Roth depicted Kager and Speiser as agitators, who took advantage of the unrest amongst the populace created by Schilling, but he failed to acknowledge the nature and seriousness, for the authorities, of the discontent they encouraged and which was focused in the Articles.<sup>2</sup> The speedy arrest and execution of Kager and Speiser shows that the Council was fully aware of the challenge to its authority which was posed by this agitation. In another brief account of the events, Wilhelm Vogt provided a more balanced version of the Schilling riots and their aftermath.<sup>3</sup> He made a more discerning use of the sources and realised the importance of the struggle of the Council to reassert its authority after its defeat on 6th August. He consistently failed, however to place the unrest in its wider context in the city. He saw Schilling as the cause rather than the catalyst of the unrest, and failed to link the grievances expressed by the lower orders in 1524 with the long-term demands for religious, political and economic change, which affected the city.

It is clear from these events that the riots of 1524 marked a

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1 St. A.A., Urgichten, 1524.

2 See pp.150-1.

3 W. Vogt, 'Johann Schilling der Barfusser Mönch und der Aufstand in Augsburg im Jahre 1524' in ZHVSchw., vol. vi (1879).

watershed in the Reformation in Augsburg. The religious and social unrest demonstrated the failure of the Council's policies since the lower orders were not mollified by the attempt of the government to maintain religious neutrality. In fact this aggravated the discontent as the unwillingness of the Council to intervene in religious affairs left the way open for radicals such as Schilling to further arouse the grievances of the populace. It was apparent to the authorities by the end of 1524 that if they were to prevent a repeat of the events of the previous months, they had to adopt an active policy in favour of the Reformation in order to appease the populace. If they failed to do this, the authorities would be forced to rely on military power to sustain their role. In this respect the riots of 1524 did not end in failure for the populace, for even though the demands contained in the articles were not met and Schilling was successfully expelled, the Council was forced to abandon its policy of neutrality and to appoint a supporter of the Reformation as parish preacher. Moreover, the man chosen was not a Lutheran but a man whose extreme views were to be a motive force behind further change.

The events of August and September had shown the degree of unrest in Augsburg which could turn a relatively trivial religious incident - a garrulous friar preaching inflammatory sermons - to violence and a serious confrontation between the Council and the people. Anger and conflict were never far below the surface of the divided civic society and it needed only the slightest provocation for them to erupt into violence. The Council belatedly recognised this danger, and the combination of repressive measures and its grudgingly limited support for the Reformation

marked a new attempt to control the religious unrest. The Schilling riots had also allowed the populace to experience the effectiveness of direct but united mob power, and this was an ominous precedent for the Council. There was the fear that the ringleaders of unrest and insurrection would attempt to repeat the success of 6th August and, if the leaders had learnt anything from that day, it was the value of surprise and speed. If any future insurrection were centred on the arsenal rather than the Town Hall, it had been shown that a recovery of power by the Council would be far more difficult to achieve. Particularly alarming for the Council had been the degree of organisation amongst its opponents, for it had faced a planned rebellion rather than a spontaneous riot. This had revealed the existence of determined political opposition to the Mehrer der Gesellschaft amongst the populace. The attacks made on the Council no longer concerned an apostate friar but were a concerted demand for fundamental social and political change.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PEASANTS AND POPULACE

CHAPTER FOUR

Throughout 1525 the Council had to be constantly on its guard against insurrection and the recurrence of religious grievances which might prompt further social unrest. The situation outside Augsburg complicated this undertaking as the immediate neighbours of the city remained determined to uphold the Catholic Church, a resolve which was hardened by the events of the Peasants' War. If the Council showed obvious sympathy for the Reformation it faced the possibility of retaliation from its neighbours, and particularly from the forces of the Swabian League. Relations with the League proved difficult as there was within the city a marked sympathy for the peasants and a dislike of the excessive violence employed by the League in repressing the rebellion. The account of the anti-clerical Rem reflected these views and, according to him:

Anno domini 1525. In this year and in the following year there were many risings in the cities and in other places on account of the clergy who would not preach the Word of God correctly.<sup>1</sup>

Rem also criticised the Swabian League for punishing innocent peasants and he accused its rich members of using the imposition of the Brandschatz and other punitive measures to line their own pockets at the peasants' expense.<sup>2</sup> The Council, determined to

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1 Rem, p.219.

2 Rem, p.227: 'Der pundt machet vil armer leutt; er plindert ettliche dorfer und ettliche lies er verprennen. es wolt jedermann reich an den armen pauren werden, und waren der merer tail unschuldig, aber der pundt was gar teufelhefftig'.

ensure that Augsburg was not forced to bear more than its fair share of the financial burden of the League's campaign, resisted the frequent demands for subsidies and loans, even though it was thus laid open to a charge of supporting the peasants and undermining the Swabian League.<sup>1</sup>

Despite this reticence, the Council wished peace to be restored to the countryside in order to resume normal trade, and because they feared that the violence of the peasants might spill over into Augsburg and encourage a rebellion amongst the populace. The Council had to keep its involvement with the Swabian League as discreet as possible to prevent any popular movement of sympathy with the Peasants becoming a pretext for insurrection. The authorities also had reason to fear the growing military strength of the League. Once the peasants had been defeated there was always the dangerous possibility that the League might turn its forces to the crushing of the Lutherans in Augsburg. The records of the government show that throughout 1525 the Council was attempting to fulfil a devious policy designed to avoid commitment to the Reformation, to the Catholic powers or to the cause of the peasants. In this way it hoped to placate its enemies inside and outside the city and safeguard its control of Augsburg.

This policy was demonstrated by a long discussion of the religious problems ('die Luterischen sachen') by the Thirteen on 15th January. The members were unable to decide on any course of action and instead decided to temporise by consulting Nuremberg and Ulm on

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1 See p.190.

their intentions.<sup>1</sup> This decision reflected the lack of religious fervour within the Thirteen, which was seeking a policy based on political pragmatism rather than on religious principles. The same men, however, unequivocally rejected a request of the Duke of Bavaria, received on 21st January, that the preachers of Augsburg should attend a 'friendly discussion' in Kaufbeuren where they could express their views.<sup>2</sup> The Thirteen refused to have any part in this exercise which it recognised as being a means devised to force a declaration of the true religious loyalties of Augsburg. The preachers would hardly have been invited to a discussion if the Bavarians believed their views to reflect orthodox Catholicism. The conference was a method of demonstrating to the Catholic powers that Augsburg was sheltering heretical preachers, and the Thirteen declined the invitation, recognising that its preachers would express views which could be used to discredit the city with the Swabian League and at the coming Reichstag. The doctrines of the preachers were intended by the Council only for the ears of the home population and the Thirteen saw that if these views were stated in Kaufbeuren the Council would be forced either to defend the heretics or to hand them over to the Catholic authorities, and so inevitably cause unrest. Reluctantly the Council was being forced to accept responsibility for the religious life of the city and for the protection of Lutheran preachers, in order to prevent civic disorder or the possibility of interference in the affairs of Augsburg by

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 38-9, 1525.

2 Ibid., fol. 44.

Bavaria, the Emperor and the Swabian League. It is indicative of the Council's assumption of this responsibility that it turned down the invitation to the Kaufbeuren meeting entirely on its own authority and without any reference to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Again in February the Council found itself trapped between the support of its own citizens for the Reformation and that of neighbouring powers for the Catholic Church. Peutingner and Anthoni Bimel had represented Augsburg at a meeting of the Swabian League in Ulm, taking with them instructions prepared by Peutingner and approved by the Thirteen, that they should in all matters seek the middle way, ('Nach den mitlern weg zusuchen').<sup>2</sup> The report of the men to the Thirteen on their return revealed the stern policy adopted by the League which insisted that all its members should silence or expel heretical preachers.<sup>3</sup> The discussion which followed this revealed the dismay of the Thirteen and its unwillingness to obey this instruction, not through any allegiance to the preachers but from the fear of provoking riots. The example of Ravensburg was cited, where the removal of a Lutheran preacher had given rise to bitter riots and, rather than risk this, the Thirteen decided to ignore the order.<sup>4</sup> This defiance was encouraged in part by a report from Peutingner that several groups of rebellious peasants, numbering up to 10,000, were said to be

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 44, 1525.

2 Ibid., fol. 49.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 57, 1525.

4 Ibid.

gathering in the South.<sup>1</sup> The Thirteen could consequently anticipate that the League would soon be concerned with unrest in the countryside and be diverted from the problems in Augsburg. For a while, at least, the Council could risk being lenient with its Lutheran preachers.

A letter of advice sent by the Council of Augsburg to that of Kaufbeuren in March reflected the motives behind the policy of the Thirteen. The authorities of Kaufbeuren were contemplating preventing the traditional Passiontide services which the previous year had led to riots and they asked the advice of the Council of Augsburg.<sup>2</sup> They also wished to know the attitude of Augsburg to the Mass, and the use of pictures and statues in Churches which, it said, were a constant source of complaint.<sup>3</sup> In reply the Council said that all Catholic services were held in Augsburg including the Mass and that these caused no trouble amongst the people. Kaufbeuren was recommended to avoid rash innovations as any trouble in the town would soon die down, and to support this the Council cited the threats made against the city of Reutlingen at the recent meeting of the Swabian League, prompted by religious innovations, including the removal of pictures from the churches.<sup>4</sup> The

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1 Ibid. Peutinger did not specify where the peasants were gathering.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 1st March 1525.

3 The Council of Kaufbeuren also requested the advice of Ambrosius Blarer in Constance concerning this matter. He recommended the removal of the pictures, 'on auffrur und bolder'. B. Moeller, Johannes Zwick und die Reformation in Konstanz (Gütersloh, 1961), p.81.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 3rd March 1525.

recommendation that all religious change be prohibited in Kaufbeuren, as in Augsburg, was less than honest. In the same month, on the 20th of March, the Council had consented to the marriage of Frosch, the prior of the Carmelites and, in the following month to that of Rhegius, a ceremony attended by the mayor, Ulrich Rehlinger, with entertainment provided by the Stadt Pfeifer.<sup>1</sup> In 1525 communion was given in both kinds at the Franciscans and at St. Anna, with no interference from the Council.<sup>2</sup> The hypocrisy of the Council was apparent as it pretended to its neighbours that it supported the Catholic Church but in reality found it impossible to prevent religious innovation.

The continuing concern of the Council was to prevent religious unrest stimulating social disorder and, again, in March 1525 the authorities attempted to stifle the religious disputes. The mayors, Ulrich Rehlinger and Hieronymous Imhof, were authorised by the Thirteen to speak amicably with all the preachers and request them to avoid in their sermons all subjects which might incite the common man to rebellion.<sup>3</sup> In practice, however, the Council was

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1 Sender, pp.174-7.

2 Ibid., p.154.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 76, 1525: 'Prediger halbn, das durch meine herrn die Burgermeister, die selbn beschickt unnd mit Inen fruntlich Red gehalten werden solle. Erstlich das sie wollen von dem predigen dadurch unrath, so sich yetz allenthalben emporn furkomen unnd abgestellt werde. Zum anndern, was wer das den gemainen annder materi fur aug genomen werden sollt'.

forced by the militantly expressed preferences of the populace to adopt a double standard in its dealings with the rival groups of preachers. The Catholic preachers were forbidden to defend the doctrines of Purgatory and Indulgences, but the Council dared not impose any such ban on the similarly controversial doctrines of the reformers. Keller, for instance, preached sermons attacking the Mass, good works, transubstantiation, communion in one kind and worldly riches, whilst Rhegius condemned celibacy, monasticism and religious orders. All the sermons were freely available in print, yet the Council took no effective measures to control them.<sup>1</sup> Disciplinary measures were directed solely against the Catholics. The preacher of the Dominican Church was ordered by the Thirteen to cease his sermons and leave the city,<sup>2</sup> and in May, Konrad Herwart and Anthoni Bimel were sent to the Cathedral Chapter to request that the Domprediger Mathias Kretz, a defender of Catholicism, should be removed from his post, as his sermons were disturbing the peace of the city and angering the common people.<sup>3</sup> The Chapter effectively countered by replying that Kretz had been appointed by the Bishop on account of his learning and skill and that he had neither preached anything contrary to the Imperial Mandates, Papal Bulls or customs of the Church, nor in a way

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1 Sender, pp.177-9, and see p.203.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 100, 1525.

3 Ibid., fol. 170-1: 'Die fursichtigen herr Conrat Herwart unnd Anthoni Bimel, herrn dechant der hohenstifft furgehalten, wie der prediger zu unnser frawen verganngner zeit, etwas ungeschickts, darab d gemain man ubel zufriden sein geprediget haben'.

which could cause unrest. The Council was therefore requested to take steps to prevent the harassment Kretz was suffering in the city and the heckling which frequently interrupted his sermons.<sup>1</sup>

The affair was not, however, at an end and Kretz was forced to flee from Augsburg during July to ensure his personal safety. This prompted a strong letter of complaint from the Swabian League to the Council protesting that a good Christian preacher had been hounded out of Augsburg by the populace and the Council had done nothing to prevent it. The League ordered that Kretz be allowed to return and be protected from harassment.<sup>2</sup> Kretz resumed his position but was noticeably less pugnacious than before, and the task of leading the opposition to reform was taken up by Dr. Othmar Nachtigall, appointed preacher at St. Moritz in 1525, who enjoyed the patronage and protection of Anthon Fugger.<sup>3</sup> It was extraordinarily provocative of the Council to seek the removal of Kretz who was appointed and paid by the Chapter, and hardly surprising that the Chapter turned to the Swabian League for support. To risk this confrontation the Council must have been desperate that Kretz be removed. This may have been part of the policy of following the middle way; for the Council had already seen the danger of extremists who roused popular unrest. Just as a riot had been started on Schilling's behalf, similar popular violence may have been planned to effect the removal of Kretz.

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1 Ibid.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 27th July 1525.

3 Sender, pp.205-6.

The activity against Kretz also seems to have reflected the antipathy felt towards him by many councillors and this in turn indicated the difficulty of maintaining the policy of the middle way. This approach had been devised by Peutingen who was sympathetic towards the scholarship of the reformers, but seems to have had little personal religious idealism. The rational and non-partisan policies he advocated, however, came under increasing attack as many of the councillors became attracted to the doctrines of reform; a commitment likely to influence their political judgement. Of the four men who alternatively held the posts of mayor and Baumeister between 1522 and 1527, three of them, Georg Vetter, Hieronymous Imhof and Ulrich Rehlinger, were by 1525 either supporters of, or at least favourably inclined towards Luther. The only staunch Catholic amongst them was Ulrich Artzt, the brother-in-law of Jakob Fugger, whose interests he generally protected in the Council meetings. Artzt was no intellectual, seldom writing his own letters and, when he did so, generally apologising for his ill-formed hand. His association with the Fuggers as well as his irascible character made him unpopular in the city and disliked by his fellow councillors. According to the hostile report by Rem, Artzt was a coarse, harsh man.<sup>1</sup> He was, moreover, a captain of the Swabian League, absent from Augsburg for most of 1525 on campaign with the forces of the League against the peasants and he was therefore unable to exert

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1 Rem, p.21: 'Der Artzt was ain grober, raucher man, was er im furnam, das must ain furgang haben, wie halt die sach geschaffen war'.

his reactionary influence within the Council.

Even if it lacked conviction in its own religious policies, the Council remained determined to maintain order and authority. Discontent was still a constant threat and the massive security precautions taken by the Council in 1525 illustrated its belief that the peasant unrest could spread to the city. In January a decree was published by the Council which prohibited the carrying of arms in the city. This measure, it claimed, was necessary because of the recent frequency of fighting and brawling in the streets and the decree went on to exhort all inhabitants, both laity and clergy, to live peaceably with each other.<sup>1</sup> A Waibel Ordnung had also been passed by the Thirteen on 26th January, designed to reduce rowdiness and disorder on the street at night.<sup>2</sup> At the same time a committee was appointed to try to find a peaceful solution to the inter-guild dispute between the cutlers and sword-makers which had at times erupted into violence.<sup>3</sup> None of these were preventative measures as in each case the Council records refer to the grave disorders which had necessitated their introduction. They reveal that in early 1525 there was already considerable brawling, street-fighting and unrest which the Council was eager to curtail before it became more dangerously inflamed. This explained the action of the Council on 30th January, when it promptly arrested a vicar of St. Moritz who was accused of raping a child. He was bundled out of the city, under

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 29th January 1525.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, fol. 45-7, 1525.

3 Ibid., fol. 52.

arrest, to the Bishop of Dillingen, before a mob took the matter into its own hands.<sup>1</sup> Feelings towards the clergy were not improved when the Bishop promptly released the offender who seems, however, prudently not to have returned to the city.<sup>2</sup>

From the outbreak of violence in the Peasants' War, the stringent precautions taken by the Council were a demonstration of the threat it believed existed both within and outside the city. The chronicler, Sender, recounts how the Council spared neither cost nor effort to defend the city. From the start of the war the Council employed four hundred mercenary troops for over twelve months but they were always kept within the city.<sup>3</sup> These troops maintained day and night patrols in the streets and together with the civic guard kept close watch on all gates. They had particular instructions to ensure that none of the gates were opened from inside during the night to allow the entry of peasant forces:

They had to keep watch and surveillance in the city day and night, so that no mutiny arose, and during the night they went with certain citizens every hour to each city gate to check the gate with hand and eye so that the city should not be betrayed by the rabble and given over into the hands and violence of the rebels, or that no other evil occurred.<sup>4</sup>

All the main gates were each supervised by a member of the Council.

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, fol. 53-4, and St. A.A. Literalien, 30th January 1525.

2 Sender, p.160.

3 Ibid., p.162: 'Ain rat hie hat ain grosse fursichtigkait gehapt und kain kosten gespart; dann nach der ersten auffrur hie haben sie ob 400 landsknecht bestellt, die sie mer dann ain jar hie in der stat behalten und sold geben haben'.

4 Ibid.

Further security measures were also recorded by Sender who recounted that:

The Council also employed a large number of mounted soldiers who rode through all the alleys of the city at night on the watch for rebellion and secret meetings of the rabble. Many of them supported the rebellious peasants and the Lutherans, as they were incited and provoked by the false, wayward preachers.<sup>1</sup>

The loyal Catholic Sender was mistaken in his accusations against the Lutheran preachers, all of whom appeared to have consistently condemned the peasants,<sup>2</sup> but he was correct in his description of the precautions taken by the Council and by the rich, who either hid their valuables or smuggled them out of the city, where they presumably thought they would be more secure, despite the peasants, than in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> According to Sender there was 'outside the city, fear and terror, inside the city sorrow, fear and dearth'.<sup>4</sup>

The armies of the peasants surrounded the city by mid-March 1525, and encampments were established in the neighbouring villages of Wellenburg, Gersthofen and Haunstetten. Unlike the government of Erfurt, the Council of Augsburg was keenly aware of the danger of encouraging the peasantry and lower orders in any disorder against the Church, for this could be easily re-directed to form a rebellion against the secular authorities.<sup>5</sup> In many respects the

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1 Ibid., pp.162-3.

2 For example: U. Rhegius, Beschlussred D. Urbani Regii/vom weltlichen gewalt/wider die auffrurischen (1525).

3 Sender, p.163.

4 Ibid.

5 R. Scribner, 'Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt' in Past and Present, vol. LXVI (1975), p.45.

situation in Augsburg differed from that of Erfurt in 1525, since the peasant forces around the city, hemmed in by the troops of the Swabian League, posed less of a direct threat to the citizens, and the Council had no wish to involve the peasants in any internal dispute. The real danger for the Council lay in the fear that the populace might be inspired by the example of the peasants, to institute a rebellion of the 'gemeinen Mann'. The activities of the Council showed it to be more frightened of the enemy within the city than of that outside. The four hundred mercenaries were not used in defending the city walls nor in warding off the peasants but in holding the populace in subjection. They had to prevent sedition and present a show of force; not to the peasants but to the townspeople of Augsburg. The elaborate checking of the locks on the city gates showed that the Council believed there were sympathisers in Augsburg who were prepared to turn the city over to the peasants. This fear of treachery increased the difficulties of the Council which had no sympathy with the rebellious peasants but which nevertheless feared a prolonged blockade or a rebellion of its own people in sympathy with the insurgents.

The attitude of the Council towards the rebellious peasants was shown in March 1525 when the peasant forces attempted to raise support amongst the populace. In a letter of 11th March to Ulrich Artzt in Ulm, the Council made clear the position which it believed the authorities in the cities should adopt to the rebellion. Naturally the Council wished to make its loyalty known to the League but it made special efforts to express its own pleasure that the attack on Stuttgart by the peasants had been resisted, and to make clear its concern that the lower orders in Memmingen had made

common cause with the peasants.<sup>1</sup> The Council had been frightened into action by a sharp deterioration in the situation in Augsburg where there was mounting fear of an alliance between some sections of the populace and the peasantry. The letter recounted how, on the previous Thursday, a peasant had managed to enter the city and had contacted a weaver. Together the men had approached an official of the weavers' guild, Hanns Weyher, and presented him with a letter from the peasant leaders addressed to the weavers' guild. Weyher had refused to have anything to do with the letter and the peasant had fled, but threatened to return.<sup>2</sup> These events had created panic within the Council and, as the events of 1524 had shown, the weavers' guild, the largest in the city, was also the centre of the opposition to the government. The Council, and clearly the peasants too, acknowledged that support for rebellion could be found amongst the weavers, but the authorities also feared that the peasants, who regularly came into Augsburg to sell their produce, were stirring up support amongst the lower orders.

It was a measure of the disarray of the Council that it requested advice from Artzt and the League on how it should answer any requests for help from the peasants and what it should do if their representatives returned. Facing hostility from both inside and outside the city, the Council was conscious of its own weakness and was courting the favour and support of the League in case its assistance should later be necessary. In the same letter

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 11th March 1525.

2 Ibid.

the Council told Artzt of the money it was sending to the League which was clearly included as a demonstration of the Council's loyalty, even though it was still not paying its levy in full.<sup>1</sup> The Council was in fact following its usual policy towards the Swabian League: welcoming it in its role as the defender of the Landfriede yet deeply suspicious of its aims, and unwilling to bear the cost of its policies. After attempting to win the support of the League against the peasants surrounding its walls, the Council went on to urge Artzt to keep the news of the city's troubles as secret as possible and to use his influence within the Swabian League to encourage a policy based on the 'mittl weg' in order to pacify the peasants rather than totally to defeat them in war.<sup>2</sup>

In his reply Artzt took pleasure in stating the Catholic case and he emphasised the belief that Augsburg was now paying the price of its toleration of heresy.<sup>3</sup> There was no doubt that the weavers were the most dangerous section of the populace and Artzt noted with alarm the attempt by the peasants to contact the weavers' guild. He said:

I am concerned about no guild more than the weavers' guild; in all places they join with the peasants, and there are many excitable people amongst them, who would rather see rebellion and unrest than peace and unity, as they think they will triumph by it. May the Lord God ... protect us.<sup>4</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 11th March 1525.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 13th March.

Artzt made it clear where he believed the responsibility for the disorders lay. He maintained that the heretical preachers should have been punished and silenced, but instead the authorities in the cities had failed to act, and in many cases welcomed their presence and doctrines, which had served only to provoke revolution and disorder: 'There is nobody to blame but us in the cities.'<sup>1</sup> Now Artzt believed that force was the only way to restore order and, had it been used in the first place, the unrest would never have occurred. There was the danger in Augsburg, that the lower orders would, like the peasants, use the newly established principle of 'Göttliche Recht' to justify from the Scriptures attacks upon the established social and political order.<sup>2</sup> It was feared that, using the pretext of supporting the Gospel, the lower orders would claim political rights which had become the preserve of the Mehrer, and a situation of disorder and rebellion would develop, similar to that which occurred in Memmingen.<sup>3</sup> As far as Artzt was concerned, once order and authority had been challenged the most vigorous repression was necessary and justified; in effect the policy adopted by the League towards the peasants. This was a clear attempt by Artzt to persuade the Council to abandon its ambivalent attitude towards the Reformation and to enforce a return to Catholic orthodoxy. Artzt equated the demands for religious reform with social unrest and rebellion and accused the evangelical

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 13th March 1525.

2 P. Blickle, Die Revolution von 1525, pp.141-3.

3 Ibid., pp.157-60.

preachers of promoting discontent. He believed that the lower orders were using the religious situation to challenge the government and claimed that the city councils could not achieve peace by supporting heretics but rather that peace and order could be won only by the maintenance of all authority. To this end he urged the Council to defend the Church, as well as its own poor, against seditious attack.

Many on the Council may have been in agreement with Artzt's assessment that the Reformation and the disputes it had caused inflamed social unrest and created a pretext for sedition, but as they faced the hostility of many of the townspeople and the surrounding peasant armies, it was not feasible to follow his suggested policy of repression and reaction. The Council, instead, had to maintain its policy of conciliation. On 25th March the Council reported to Artzt how a deputation of four peasants had been sent from the neighbouring armies to ask the mayors whether Augsburg stood with the peasants or against them.<sup>1</sup> Peutingner had replied on behalf of the Council that the question needed consideration, but that it had always been and still was the wish of the Council to live on good terms with all its neighbours, including the peasantry. Peutingner added that the Council hoped the peasants and the Swabian League would soon make an agreement which would restore peace.<sup>2</sup>

The conciliatory attitude adopted by the Council towards the peasants reflected its unease at the level of support which they

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 25th March 1525.

2 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 84, 1525.

appeared to have in the city:

... the peasants get a good hearing from the common man, for which reason we are in no little anxiety and danger.<sup>1</sup>

The Council also requested Artzt to dissuade the League from demanding the cannons from the city's arsenal, as it feared the populace's response if the cannon were used against the peasants. They pointed out to Artzt that the cannon could be more profitably used within the city to quell any civic disorder.<sup>2</sup> In fact, on 1st March, the Thirteen had mounted a show of strength by having the cannons paraded round the city as a warning to both townspeople and peasants.<sup>3</sup> The Council was conscious of the vulnerability of its position, should the discontented elements within the city unite with the rebels outside. At all costs the authorities had to prevent such an alliance which could force social and economic changes which the authorities would be powerless to resist. In an effort to win support amongst the townspeople a meeting of the Large Council was held on 30th March.

The Large Council was addressed by Peutinger who emphasised the problem facing Augsburg as a result of the Peasants' War. He voiced the concern of the Small Council at the discontent being shown by the lower orders:

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 28th March 1525.

2 Ibid.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, fol. 64, 1525.

Further the worthy Small Council is also concerned by the many and various disobedient discourses and particularly those concerning the peasants ... that an agreement should be made with them. This does not serve obedience nor lead to the good and unity of the city.<sup>1</sup>

The Council believed that there were many people in Augsburg sympathetic towards the peasants, but the majority of the citizens desired peace, unity and obedience to the government. The peasants, Peutinger believed, were using the excuse of supporting the gospel to fight for objectives which were not Christian, and were opposing true religion by their disobedience and attacks on authority. For this reason the Small Council supported the efforts of the Swabian League to restore order, even though it wished to avoid involvement in the dispute, and it urged the loyalty of all guildmasters, Zwölfer and guildmembers for these policies which served the peace, prosperity and unity of Augsburg.<sup>2</sup>

Once the Large Council had given its support to the policies of the government, measures to prevent sedition were enacted. The guard kept on all the city gates was increased, more Stadtknechte were employed and daily armed patrols were sent to inspect the area surrounding the city.<sup>3</sup> No citizens or peasants were permitted to gather near the gate; no foreigners bearing arms were allowed into the city, and the Strafherren were to ensure that no inn served drinks after 9 p.m., and that all peasants along with their wives

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, fol. 64, 1525.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., fol. 103-4.

and children were ejected from the city at nightfall.<sup>1</sup> Despite these measures there remained signs of sympathy between the peasants and the poorer sections of civic society. On 10th April a tanner, Hanns Weiss, was arrested for a conversation in which he reportedly claimed that the populace should help the peasants conquer the city and murder all the rich people.<sup>2</sup> On 22nd April, three men were brought before the Thirteen accused of having spoken in a way liable to create unrest, and although they were released they were threatened with severe punishment if the offence were repeated.<sup>3</sup> A certain Leonhard Schiferlin was punished for having said that the peasant armies were attacking Ulm and that when they had finished there they should come to Augsburg. He also said that the rich people in Augsburg should be murdered by the populace and their wealth divided amongst the poor and the peasants.<sup>4</sup> Paul Merck was arrested and accused of having said the peasants should blockade the trade of the merchants to and from Augsburg and the same day, Paul Truchsler confessed under questioning to having publicly insulted the clergy and expressed sympathy for the

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1 Ibid. and St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 84, 1525.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 107, 1525: 'Hanns Weiss ledrer, den Er N /informer/ nit kenn und er N sie drei seien bei ainand gewesen. Hab die zwen strafflichen geredt der paurnhalbn, Inen zu helfen wann man die Thor zu schlieg welln sie uber die maur hinauss zu Inen fallen, unnd so sie das geluckh hette, die Stat erobert wurde wolten sie die Reichen schelmen erstechen, unnd muessten In Irn sinden sterben und kain leben lassn'.

3 Ibid., fol. 114.

4 St. A.A., Urgichten, 6th May 1525.

peasants.<sup>1</sup> The fear of the alliance between the lower orders and the rebellious peasants was clearly justified, and, on 12th August, the Council re-issued its decrees against public assembly and sedition.<sup>2</sup>

In October, the Thirteen drew up a list of reliable guild-members whom it could trust to guard the city gates, but in the lists only 59 men were marked as being 'good and reliable'.<sup>3</sup> The Thirteen were clearly concerned about the internal security of Augsburg and had several discussions on how this could be improved. Six proposals were made by various members which included placing more councillors ready at any time to ring the tocsin; maintaining more foreign mercenaries to be permanently posted at strategic sites round the city; a stricter prohibition on meetings, and a greater use of spies.<sup>4</sup> It was also suggested that another meeting of the Large Council be held, but it was felt by many of the Thirteen that the Large Council could not be relied upon to support the measures of the government, and that disputes between the Large and Small Council might develop which would have a deleterious effect on the authority of the Council.<sup>5</sup> This indicated a crucial development for the Small Council which, even during the trials of August 1524 and at the critical meeting of March 1525, had

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1 Ibid., 7th April.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 12th August 1525.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 240 and 244, 1525.

4 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 245, 1525.

5 Ibid.

been able to rely on the support of the Large Council and to use this unanimity as a means of uniting the city behind the government and winning acceptance of the Council's actions. By the end of 1525 the Council could no longer anticipate this support and plans for holding a Large Council meeting were abandoned. This was an example of the isolation and unpopularity of the government of the Mehrer and the lack of support at its command, but it also demonstrated the increasing unwillingness of the government to trust its citizens or allow them any role in government. The Thirteen preferred to rely on the strength of its mercenary troops rather than on the approbation of the Large Council.

The pressure of unrest in the city caused by the Peasants' War had made it impossible for the Council to check the spread of the Reformation. At the beginning of the year, Augsburg had been determined to maintain its neutrality in matters of religion and, at the meeting of the Swabian League, Peutingen and Bimel had been instructed in all matters 'to seek the middle way.'<sup>1</sup> The danger of this policy was that by avoiding commitment to either cause, Augsburg was placing itself in isolation; losing the support of its allies without gaining the favour of its opponents. It was apparent that neither reformers nor Catholics trusted the Council. The supporters of the Reformation could not believe the sincerity of the Council when it tolerated Lutheran preachers yet failed to act on their recommendations. The Emperor and the Swabian League

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1 Ibid., fol. 49-51.

could similarly not accept claims of loyalty to the Catholic Church when the Council clearly did nothing to stem the growth of Lutheranism in Augsburg. The authorities, however, did their utmost to avoid offence either to the Habsburgs or the Swabian League and, for example, refused to join a defensive alliance which had been proposed between Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Ulm, Strasbourg and Augsburg, as they knew this would be opposed by Archduke Ferdinand and the League.<sup>1</sup>

Although this attempt to form an alliance came to nothing, it demonstrated that the cities were aware of their political weakness and the need for them to sink their differences in a common struggle to defend civic independence. Again, in August, the Thirteen discussed detailed proposals for a defensive alliance between Augsburg, Nuremberg and Ulm in which the other cities agreed to come to the assistance of any partner which was attacked by a foreign power or which suffered a rebellion of its own citizens against the government.<sup>2</sup> The discussions of the Thirteen revealed the considerations which carried the greatest weight with the government. It was claimed that joint action was the only effective manner in which the cities could face their problems and, since Nuremberg and Ulm had similar interests, their representatives at any future Reichstag could act in unison in order to make their views heard. It was said that there could be no objection to this

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 62, 1525.

2 Ibid., fol. 193: ' 1) Wo ain stat von yemants uberzogen wurden  
2) Wo aufrurn sich in den 3 stetten  
zufriegen'.

as several princes were acting together at the Reichstag; and, since the Emperor appeared to be favourably inclined towards the cities during the monopolies debates of 1522, it was now time to use this favour to increase their influence in the Reichstag.<sup>1</sup> Opinion within the Thirteen was clearly divided, for although it was apparently accepted that the alliance would increase the political effectiveness of the city, it was claimed by some, presumably Catholics, that the alliance was just an excuse to allow Lutheran preachers and doctrines to enter Augsburg. Considering the presence of Rhegius, Keller and Frosch this fear appeared rather belated, and probably the councillors were more concerned that Augsburg should not be too clearly linked with the now officially Lutheran Nuremberg.<sup>2</sup> The Thirteen had already been warned by the Stadtsyndikus Johann Rehlinger as early as January 1525 to have nothing to do with the other Imperial cities. He believed the interests of Augsburg were different from those of other cities as Augsburg relied on the system of monopoly trading, whereas the other cities were opposed to monopolies.<sup>3</sup> This attitude reflected the constant weakness of the cities for, despite their common political interests, they were all commercial rivals and the monopolies enjoyed by the Augsburg merchants were resented by their rivals in neighbouring cities. Rehlinger believed Augsburg could not trust the other cities, just as they saw Augsburg

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 193, 1525.

2 Ibid., fol. 197.

3 Ibid., fol. 49.

as unreliable after the city's successful appeal to Charles V over the attack on monopolies in 1525, when Augsburg merchants were given special protection against attacks as usurers or monopolists.<sup>1</sup> As a staunch Catholic Rehlinger was also insistent that Augsburg should have no political contacts with Nuremberg. The most important consideration of the Council appears to have been the necessity of retaining its freedom to bargain independently with the Emperor and the Swabian League which it feared might be lost if it were bound to Ulm and Nuremberg. When it became apparent in September that the Emperor would strongly disapprove of such an alliance, the Thirteen immediately suspended negotiations.<sup>2</sup>

The attempt to maintain neutrality in the religious disputes failed to impress Augsburg's Catholic neighbours. When the Council failed to impose the fast laws during Lent<sup>3</sup> the Pfalzgraf and the Duke of Bavaria took the matter into their own hands by forbidding any of their subjects to sell animals for slaughter to Augsburg. By April the situation had become critical and Sender claimed the people were forced to live on 'Wassersuppen', as a punishment for their sins.<sup>4</sup> The butchers pleaded with the Council to intervene and eventually Matheus Langenmantel was sent by the Thirteen to negotiate with the Bavarians,<sup>5</sup> but despite this meat prices

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1 G. Pölnitz, Jakob Fugger, vol. 1, p.576.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 203, 1525.

3 Rem, p.217.

4 Sender, p.174.

5 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 103, 1525.

continued to rise, even though the Council attempted to fix them by legislation.<sup>1</sup> There were also indications of the mistrust and hostility between Augsburg and the Swabian League. Although the Council supported the League as the most powerful political force in Upper Germany and the most reliable defender of the Landfriede, it was aware that the League was dominated by the nobility and generally hostile to the political and economic aspirations of the cities, from which, nevertheless, it attempted to extract much of its revenues. The League had repeatedly supported the attack on monopolies; it had supported the Bishop in his disputes with the Council, and had intervened to prevent the removal of Kretz as Domprediger. Augsburg had little trust in the League, yet it wished to see the rebellious peasantry subdued. In order to achieve this, however, it was not prepared to become the paymaster of the League, nor to provide it with an army which, after the subjection of the peasants, might well be used against the cities. The unfavourable report of Rem<sup>2</sup> would also suggest disapproval amongst some of the townspeople for the savage methods used by the League in repressing the peasants.

These sentiments caused some difficulties when the League, desperate for cash, began to demand loans and subsidies from the Council and citizens. On 1st March the League had requested a loan of 10,000 gulden from the Council and, although the Thirteen

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 85, 1525.

2 See p.164.

had rejected this, it agreed to advance 5,000 gulden.<sup>1</sup> A more pressing demand for 10,000 gulden was received by the Council on 28th April, and fearing this was the first of many, the Council declined the loan.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, the League had also been making fruitless efforts to raise money from individual merchants, as a letter of Artzt to the Council indicates.<sup>3</sup> Artzt complained of the obstructive attitude of the merchants and said it had created a bad impression with the League. He threatened that if loans were not forthcoming the League would use its influence to ruin the merchants and there was already talk of the League mounting an attack on monopolies at the next Reichstag.<sup>4</sup> This threat was answered by a request from the Council for Artzt to intercede on its behalf, although the Council made it clear that it thought the city and merchants were already contributing their fair share towards the cost of the war through their taxes and levies to the League, especially considering the losses they had all suffered as a result of the War. Nevertheless, the Council agreed to lend 6,000 gulden, with an additional 4,000 gulden if the attacks on monopolies were halted.<sup>5</sup> Artzt readily accepted this but made it known that the leaders of the League did not believe the Augsburg merchants were as poor as they claimed.<sup>6</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 63, 1525.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 28th April 1525.

3 Ibid., 3rd May.

4 Ibid., 5th May.

5 St. A.A., Literalien, 5th May 1525.

6 Ibid., 6th May.

Within weeks the demands for money were renewed with a request addressed to the companies involved in monopolies for a loan of 80,000 gulden.<sup>1</sup> This was rejected at once by the merchants who claimed that during the current difficult period they could not raise 20,000 gulden between them. To soften the blow, however, the Council accompanied this refusal with the offer of a loan of 10,000 gulden.<sup>2</sup> The League then turned its attention to the smaller merchants but met with similar opposition to its requests.<sup>3</sup> In desperation, Artzt suggested to the Council that if it could raise money in no other way it should take forced loans from monasteries and the Church in Augsburg; an extreme measure, indicating the great financial difficulties of the League.<sup>4</sup> This was a precedent the Council would have been glad to set in its struggle to force civic taxation on the Church and clergy, with the added advantage that it would have allowed the city to contribute to the League with no cost to itself. The Council, however, did not accept this proposal, probably from a dislike of any money going to strengthen the League, and perhaps through an uneasiness that the League might later deny it had sanctioned this attack on the Church. Consequently the League renewed its demands on the merchants and requested 3,000 gulden from the Höchstetter, Hanns Bimel and Christoph Herwart; 2,000 gulden from Hanns Manlich; and 1,000 gulden each from

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1 Ibid., 24th May.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., 25th May.

4 Ibid., 21st June.

Marx and Hans Herwart, Lukas Welser, Melchior Stuntz and Lukas and Endris Rem.<sup>1</sup> Again the merchants sought strength in unity and collusion was obvious as all replied with identically worded refusals, with the exception of the Bimels and Stuntz.<sup>2</sup> These financial disputes served to increase the hostility between the city and the League. The Council resented the threatening demands, whilst the League doubted the reliability of Augsburg since it tolerated 'heretical' preachers, and was sabotaging the campaign of the League by its refusal to grant loans.

In this period of financial difficulty, help was offered to the Council from an unlikely source. The Thirteen was visited by a delegation from the Cathedral Chapter on 22nd May which claimed it wished to establish good relations between the Church and Council, although, to avoid subsequent difficulties, the discussion was to be conducted verbally without the Chapter committing its offers to paper.<sup>3</sup> The delegation stated that it realised the Peasants' War was causing difficulties for the Council and citizens as well as for the Church and, in order to demonstrate the goodwill of the Church towards the citizens, the Chapter, the prebendaries of St. Moritz, Hl. Kreuz, St. Peter and St. Gertrud, the Abbot of St. Ulrich's and the Abbesses of St. Ursula and St. Steffan were willing to donate 1,000 gulden to the Council to defray the cost of the war. Further, the clergy promised 500 schaff of rye to

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 30th June - 11th July, 1525.

2 Ibid., 2nd July.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokol, 1, fol. 134, 1525.

be distributed by the Council amongst the poor.<sup>1</sup> The leader of the delegation, Marquard von Stein also intimated to the Council that if the secular authorities would continue their friendship and protection, the clergy would be willing to discuss payment of civic taxation, the Ungeld and the responsibilities for the civic watch.<sup>2</sup> This, it was hoped, would remove the grievances which had existed between clergy and Council. To offer concessions of this magnitude, the clergy were clearly alarmed by the turn of events in the countryside and in Augsburg and were making a determined effort to gain security for themselves and protection for their property and interests in the city.

In this instance the primary anxiety of the clergy was not about the rebellious peasants, who were forcing many clerics to flee from their monasteries and churches in upper Germany and seek protection in cities like Augsburg, for if this had been the case their money would have been more appropriately donated direct to the Swabian League. The chief concern of the delegation appeared rather to be the situation in Augsburg where they feared the current weakness and unpopularity of the Church might encourage the Council to follow the example of Nuremberg and adopt the doctrines of the Reformation. The clergy was aware of the hostility of the populace towards the Church and had seen the susceptibility of the Council to popular pressure in its efforts to maintain civic peace. Also alarming for the clergy was the

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1 Ibid., fol. 135-6.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 137, 1525.

apparent support of the Council for the new doctrines, indicated by the appointment of Keller as preacher at the Franciscans. The offer made by the delegation was a means of countering these fears and a means for the clergy to ingratiate themselves both with the authorities and with the townspeople. The intimation by von Stein that the clergy might be prepared to accept civic responsibility was a shrewd attempt to deflect some of the criticisms aimed against them. The immunity and privileges of the clergy were unpopular both with the Council and people, and the clergy recognised that one of the strongest attractions of the Reformation was the opportunity it provided to governments to curtail clerical privilege and bring the church under closer lay control. By suggesting the possibility of this concession, the clergy hoped to convince the Council that these objectives could be achieved by co-operation with the Church and without the need for a Reformation.

The minutes of the meeting held by the Thirteen immediately after the visit revealed the extent of hostility towards the clergy which was felt by the government and populace. The Thirteen doubted the sincerity of the promises which it believed the clergy would later reject and many members gave forceful warnings of the danger of the Council committing itself to the defence of the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> In particular they warned that this would be resented by the populace and would lead to unrest and disturbances.<sup>2</sup> The debate soon demonstrated that the Thirteen was not prepared to become the

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 137, 1525.

2 Ibid.

defender of the clergy for a mere 1,000 gulden and instead of its protection it gave a critical rebuff to the Cathedral Chapter. In its reply the Thirteen claimed the blame for the current rebellion lay with the Church and clergy which, it believed, could do more towards ending the violence by mending its own faults than by resorting to bribery and force. In a final tirade the Thirteen said it believed its own problems and those which afflicted the people of Augsburg were a result of the rebellion caused by the clergy which had damaged trade and prosperity and prompted the lower orders to challenge all authority.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike the government of Strasbourg, the Council of Augsburg did not feel itself so threatened by the events of 1525 that, as '... the best antidote to revolution, it was constrained to appease the popular unrest in the city by granting measures of religious reform.'<sup>2</sup>

The crisis of 1525 was, however, to exacerbate the social tensions in Augsburg. The Council feared that the rebellious elements which it had so recently suppressed would be encouraged by the example of the Peasants' War to challenge once again the ruling oligarchy. The measures adopted by the government indicated that it still feared the possibility of a rebellion in the city more than it did the peasant armies outside. In particular the Council believed that discontented members of the populace would attempt to ally themselves with the peasants and, if this happened,

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1 Ibid., fol. 142.

2 T. Brady, op.cit., pp.206-8.

the Council realised that it would be unable to prevent the imposition of social and political changes by the lower orders. The Council was still attempting to maintain its policy of following the middle way and avoid committing itself either to the Catholic Church or the Reformation. This became increasingly difficult as the city found itself trapped between a number of opposing forces. Within Augsburg there were demands from the populace for the immediate introduction of the Reformation, but these were opposed by the Church and its powerful allies, the Habsburgs, the Bavarians and the Swabian League. Outside, there were the rival armies of the peasants, who demanded the support of the city for their rebellion, and the Swabian League which required the Council to make a political and financial commitment to reaction and repression. The policy of the Council was unsatisfactory to all and its inactivity was interpreted not as neutrality but as evasion, deceit or hostility. Ultimately the policies pursued by the Council in 1525 led to increasing strain and enmity in its relations with the populace, the Church and the forces of the League. Attempts to avoid offending any of the rival interests were a failure and left Augsburg isolated and distrusted by all.

The investigation by the Council revealed that the grievances expressed by the populace in 1524 were still keenly felt. They showed too the extent of support for the peasants amongst the lower orders and the willingness of some townspeople to hand the city over to the rebels. Amongst those apprehended by the Council for sedition there was a noticeable indifference to Luther and the Reformation and they clearly did not anticipate an alliance with

the peasants as a means of introducing religious reform to Augsburg, but as an opportunity to seize the property of the rich and remove their dominance of the government. The real nature of the popular unrest, as a manifestation of political rather than religious grievance, must have been apparent to the Council. The government recognised that the greatest threat to its authority lay in organised opposition amongst the lower orders and consequently, rigorous measures were taken to prevent gatherings or meetings of any kind, especially between townspeople and the peasants. So important was this considered to be that the Council went to the expense of maintaining day and night patrols to discourage and detect any gatherings of townspeople and any people suspected of taking part or encouraging seditious behaviour were arrested and punished.

It was the belief of the Council that the religious dispute should ultimately be settled by the Emperor and that a precipitate commitment to the Reformation should be avoided. This policy was complicated by the failure of the Emperor to act; for it was essential for Augsburg that some measures be taken to end the divisive influence of the Reformation and to satisfy the demands of the populace for religious change. The Schilling riots and the development of the Peasants' War had shown the Council how the religious issues could inflame social unrest and be used as a pretext for rebellion, and the authorities appreciated the necessity of maintaining control of religion in the city. As a result it gave its protection to the new preachers to prevent their arrest or persecution by the Church, and it allowed, without

interference, modifications to the Church services at St. Anna and the Franciscans. These included the use of the vernacular and, more importantly, the introduction of communion in both kinds.<sup>1</sup> This was not an indication that the Council had decided to support the Lutherans, for it repeatedly refused such a commitment. It demonstrated instead that the Council would make concessions in an effort to placate those demanding religious reform. There was the notion that through its involvement the Council could keep control of events and prevent radicals such as Schilling or Muntzer establishing themselves in Augsburg. The Council had realised the danger of ignoring religious unrest, yet at the same time politics and not religion remained the major consideration of the government. The authorities showed that if it was necessary to preserve peace, religious practice would be modified and theological principle abandoned, but they remained adamant that order and authority would be defended and maintained.

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1 Sender, pp. 154 and 177.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**POLEMICS, PASTORS AND THE PEOPLE**

CHAPTER FIVE

The townspeople of Augsburg, in common with other Germans of the 1520s and 1530s, were keenly interested in the Reformation debate begun by Luther.<sup>1</sup> The city was well provided with the means of disseminating the new religious ideas amongst all sections of society, and the religious reformers made ready use of all the opportunities available to them for publicising their doctrines. By the early sixteenth century each parish had a Predigthaus, established by the Zechpfleger, where sermons were regularly delivered.<sup>2</sup> With the exceptions of the Cathedral, where the right of appointment lay with the Bishop, St. Moritz, where the appointment was made by the Fuggers,<sup>3</sup> the preachers in all the parishes were chosen and paid by the Zechpfleger. By 1526 this right had been used to appoint preachers who favoured the Reformation in every parish except St. Moritz, where the Fuggers forced the removal of the Lutheran Speiser,<sup>4</sup> and the Cathedral, where after the experience of two of its preachers (Oecolampadius and Rhegius) becoming supporters of reform, the Bishop and Chapter selected only trusted Catholics to preach. The people of Augsburg were therefore given the opportunity to hear Catholic, Lutheran and eventually Zwinglian doctrines expounded and were able to formulate their own views from what they heard.

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1 R. Engelsing, Analphabetentum und Lektüre (Stuttgart, 1973), p.28.

2 See p.60.

3 Rem, p.94.

4 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.176.

Augsburg was also a well-established centre of the printing industry by the early sixteenth century. By 1520 at least eleven printers were working in the city<sup>1</sup> and by 1523 this had risen to thirteen,<sup>2</sup> almost all of whom can be positively identified as having produced Lutheran books and pamphlets. Much of their work must have been sold outside the city<sup>3</sup> but Lutheran material was easily available in Augsburg. This was demonstrated when the clergy attempted to refuse Absolution to all those who possessed Lutheran books in 1521<sup>4</sup> and in December 1522 Pope Hadrian wrote to the Council complaining of the production and open sale of Lutheran books in Augsburg, demanding, without success, that the Council put an end to this.<sup>5</sup> In an effort to calm the religious debate the Council attempted to prevent the publication of Lutheran books in Augsburg but found it impossible to enforce the regulations. On 28th August 1520 all the printers in the city were summoned by the Council and forced to swear that they would print nothing concerning the religious dispute without first submitting the work for the approval of the censors appointed by the Council, Jakob Fugger and Konrad Peutinger.<sup>6</sup> This failed to halt the production of Lutheran material and the printers were clearly disregarding their oath.

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol.272, 1520.

2 Ibid., fol. 26, 1523.

3 R. Engelsing, op.cit., p.20.

4 Rem, p.144.

5 St. A.A., Literalien, 1st December 1522.

6 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 272, 1520.

Again in 1523 they were summoned and forced to swear obedience to the Imperial Mandates,<sup>1</sup> but in reality the Council did nothing to enforce the law, either by prosecuting offenders or by seizing forbidden books. The disregard of these laws was so common by 1530 that the Thirteen had to send representatives to every bookseller warning them not to display forbidden works during the Reichstag.<sup>2</sup> The Council was apparently keen to prevent the circulation of books, which it believed inflamed tempers and provoked unrest, but it was not prepared to risk antagonising the supporters of the reformers in Augsburg by enforcing a prohibition on their works.

The powers of censorship, in fact, were not used to protect the Catholic Church, but only applied against it. In 1526 the printer Dr. Sigmund Grimm was arrested for publishing 'De sacrificio missae' by Johann Eck, without receiving the permission of the Council.<sup>3</sup> He was forbidden to sell the copies of the book which he had already printed and the subsequent losses he incurred contributed towards his bankruptcy.<sup>4</sup> The Council was not acting to defend Catholicism nor to prevent further religious debate since no similar efforts were made to restrict the more popular works in favour of the Reformation. Instead, the Council was using its powers of censorship to preserve

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1 Ibid., fol. 26, 1523.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 2, 1530.

3 St. A.A., Urgichten, 30th May 1526.

4 E.T. Nauck, 'Dr. Sigmund Grimm, Arzt and Buchdrucker zu Augsburg' in ZHVSchw., vol. LX (1969), p.319.

peace and order in the city.

Similarly, in 1523, the Council summoned the Lutheran preachers Frosch and Speiser and made them swear that they had not infringed the Imperial Mandates nor would they do so in future.<sup>1</sup> As they were Lutheran preachers this statement could not be accurate but the Council took no subsequent measures to remove them. This was not the attitude the Council adopted to the Catholic preachers for in May 1525 it requested the Cathedral Chapter to silence its preacher, Matthias Kretz, even though his sermons contained only orthodox Catholic doctrines.<sup>2</sup> The Council complained that his preaching enraged the common people and to prevent this he should be removed from his post.<sup>3</sup> The Chapter refused to comply with this demand although for his own safety Kretz left Augsburg for a period.<sup>4</sup> Similar events surrounded the sermons of the Catholic preacher appointed by the Fuggers to St. Moritz, Dr. Othmar Nachtigall. Anton Fugger was warned by the Thirteen that the sermons of Nachtigall were creating disorder and resentment amongst the

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 45, 1523.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 1, fol. 170, 1525.

3 Ibid., '... wie der prediger zu unnser frawen verganngner zeit, etwas ungeschickts, darab d gemain man ubel zufriden sein, geprediget haben ...'

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 27th July 1525.

populace and to prevent this he should be removed.<sup>1</sup> When Fugger refused to comply the Council placed Nachtigall under house arrest in September 1528, eventually releasing him when he promised to leave the city.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly the Council was not using its authority to enforce the Imperial Mandates and protect the Catholic Church but to preserve peace and order in the city. The authorities needed to remain on good terms with the Emperor and the Catholic neighbours of the city and for this reason it published the Mandates and protested loyalty to the Catholic faith.<sup>3</sup> There existed, however, a strong body of support for the Reformation, especially amongst the lower orders, and if the Council attempted to suppress this there was the real danger that a violent reaction would be provoked. For this reason the Council tolerated the activities of the reformers in Augsburg and its attitude towards the doctrines of the Reformation was shaped by political rather than theological considerations.

Doctrinal issues were, however, important in deciding the course of the Reformation in Augsburg in so far as the works of the leading theologians were known in the city and were influential in

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 2, fol. 202, 1528. 'Er Fugg welte bedencken, wo die sachen nachtigals halben zu ainen unlust, aufrur und emporung Raichen, das solchs nit allein ainen erbern Rat, sond auch sonndern personen unnd zuvorderst lme Fugger dweil dem gemainer man beweist das Er, doctor Nachtigal durch Ine aufgestellt were zu untreglichen nachtail komen wurde. Darumb were ains erbern Rats bevelch den doctor abzuschaffen.'

2 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.308.

3 E. König, op.cit., p.373.

shaping the opinions of the townspeople. A closer investigation of some of the most important reformers active in Augsburg gives valuable insight into the development of the religious debate in the city and the reasons why certain preachers' doctrines found favour with the populace whilst others were rejected.

The people of Augsburg, from the early stages of the Reformation, had the opportunity both to hear sermons stressing the need for religious reform, and to read the works of the leading Reformation theologians. As a result of this they were well informed of the issues at stake in the theological debates, and in a position to form their own opinions and loyalties. It is therefore essential to analyse why the populace was so strongly attracted by the doctrines of Zwingli and why, in general, they rejected those of Luther. In The Imperial Cities and the Reformation, Moeller offered an explanation for the triumph of the 'Reformed' theology in the cities of southern Germany at the expense of Lutheranism. He pointed to the affinity between the traditional concept of corporate civic life, in which the material and spiritual interests of every member of the community were inextricably bound, and,

... the peculiarly urban theology of Zwingli and Bucer.<sup>1</sup>  
The belief held by Zwingli, that salvation was not achieved by independent actions, but was a goal which had to be sought by the

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1 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.103. Neither Roth nor Wolfart in their studies of the Reformation in Augsburg consider the implications of the adoption of Zwinglian doctrines upon the organisation of civic society and political life, concentrating instead upon the complex diplomatic consequences arising from this allegiance, and the effects of the Abendmahlstreit in Augsburg.

community as a whole, corresponded, in the view expounded by Moeller,

... that the whole urban community stood as a unit before God.<sup>1</sup>

Moeller saw that the bonds which held together civic society had, by the early sixteenth century, been weakened by economic change and the development of oligarchical government, and he therefore viewed the popular support given to the 'Reformed' theology as a sign that the lower orders wished to strengthen and reaffirm the communal, corporate aspects of civic life.<sup>2</sup> The councils, although initially unwilling to introduce the Reformation, were forced into action by the popular support for the 'Reformed' theology, but saw in the theocratic concepts of Zwingli a means of binding together the local community and imposing upon it effective unity and control.<sup>3</sup>

This view has found support amongst some historians,<sup>4</sup> but has been attacked by those who reject that the concept of being a sacred community was still influential in the imperial cities by the Reformation period. Ozment, for example, saw the primary motive behind the popular support given to the Reformation as lying in the desire to obtain religious freedom, and hence to weaken the oppressive nature of spiritual life rather than extend it.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Ibid., pp.66-7.

2 Ibid., p.85.

3 Ibid., p.82.

4 A.G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (London, 1974), p.177.

5 S. Ozment, op.cit., p.32.

Since he believed this to be a common feature of all the Protestant reformers, Ozment saw the differences between Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrines in this regard, as having been exaggerated by historians.<sup>1</sup> Brady too has, from the evidence from Strasbourg, attacked the concept of a sacred community and maintained that by the early sixteenth century, political and economic divisions had permanently destroyed the communal unity and institutions of the city. This was manifest most clearly in the manipulation of elections for municipal and guild office, which ensured the domination of the government by the wealthiest merchant families and most powerful guilds.<sup>2</sup> The evidence from Augsburg will also demonstrate the erosion of the concept of the sacred community, which had taken place by the early sixteenth century, resulting, in particular, from the domination of civic office and politics by the Mehrer.

According to Moeller, the success of the doctrines of Zwingli and Bucer in the cities of southern Germany, rested on their emphasis upon the community as the basis of religious life and organisation.<sup>3</sup> By doing this they were acknowledging one of the most important components of medieval civic life, that the spiritual

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1 Ibid., p.8 and p.137.

2 T. Brady, op.cit., p.178.

3 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.85.

and material interests of the community were inseparable.<sup>1</sup> This emphasis within the doctrines of the Zwinglians, facilitated a revival in communal institutions and awareness,<sup>2</sup> whilst simultaneously fulfilling the aspiration of the city to become a corpus christianum. The major weakness of this interpretation lies in the failure by Moeller to recognise that the organisation of political life in the cities had, by the sixteenth century, been altered irrevocably from the medieval model. Ulm, Strasbourg and Augsburg are all examples of cities where effective political control had been seized by oligarchies which consistently subverted the guild constitutions and communal governing bodies in order to maintain and extend their power. The case of Augsburg demonstrates that the Council had no interest in supporting many of the Zwinglian reforms or in introducing theocratic concepts of government into

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1 A. Farner, Die Lehre von Kirche und Staat bei Zwingli (Tubingen, 1930), p.85.

'Zwingli lehrt, dass der beste Staat dort bestehe, wo die weltliche Obrigkeit christlich ist. Auch schützt die christliche Obrigkeit mit ihrem weltlichen Schwert die wirklichen Christen ... nach Zwingli die weltliche Obrigkeit für die Aufrechterhaltung des Friedens und das Wohl der Bürger zu sorgen habe.'

2 E. Egli, G. Finsler, W. Kohler, O. Farner (ed.) Zwingli sämtliche Werke, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1914), p.868. De Vera et falsa religione commentarius. 'Quid ergo, ut coeperamus dicere, distat ecclesiae Christianae vita, quod ad ea pertinet, quae videmus, a civitas vita? Nihil poenitus; nam utraque requirit quod altera. Sed quod ad interiorem hominem adtinet, immensum est discrimen. Cogitur civis legibus, ut se talem civibus suis praestet; nunc autem, ad quae cogimur, similate ac parum fidelitur facimus. Evenit ergo, ut, si contra legem possis, in occulto tamen tuae rei consulere non sis obmissurus. Non sic habet civitas, hoc est: ecclesia Christiana.'

the community, for these would restrict its own position as the sole and supreme authority in the city.

As was the case in Ulm, the Council of Augsburg was determined to defend its claim to rule as the

... allein von Gott eingesetzte Obrigkeit ...<sup>1</sup>

serving not as a Stadtparlament, but governing as a ruling authority, which was answerable to God and the Emperor, but not to the citizens.

This position had been achieved with difficulty by the Mehrer in the fifteenth century, and completed by the suppression of the Ulrich Schwarz rebellion in 1478.<sup>2</sup> Whilst it was in the interest of the

Council to impose religious unity and discipline upon the community, it was contrary to its long established political aims to accept

interference in the government of the city, either from clerics or the populace. Rather it is apparent that throughout the Reformation

period the Council was undermining and circumscribing the authority of many communal bodies. The Large Council was called infrequently

and then to endorse the policies of the Thirteen, while the Small Council assumed or interfered with many of the internal functions

of the guilds concerning the regulation both of trade<sup>3</sup> and the guild membership.<sup>4</sup> The Council had a clear interest in resisting the

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1 E. Naujocks, op.cit., p.77.

2 See p.47.

3 For example the regulations for weavers issued in 1524. St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten, 1490-1649, Teil 1.

4 For example the regulations for controlling conduct in the guildhouses in 1538. P. and R. Blickle (ed.), Schwaben von 1268 bis 1803 (Munich, 1979), pp.333-4.

restoration of communal constitutional limitations upon its power, which would result from the revival of corporate institutions and identity through a Zwinglian Reformation. In fact the Council consistently refused to meet the demands of the Zwinglian pastors.

Moeller noted the importance for the cities of the preservation of civic unity and religious uniformity. He saw however that the preoccupation with civic unity was principally a concern of the Councils, anxious to retain their power and retain the governability of the city.<sup>1</sup> This official concern with civic unity is illustrated by the evidence from Ulm<sup>2</sup> and from Augsburg, where the matter was discussed so frequently that Peutingner was considered to be an expert on the subject by his Council colleagues, despite his failure to provide any satisfactory solution for the prevailing civic disunity.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, no evidence to show that the concern for civic unity was shared at this time by the lower orders, for indeed the example of the events of August 1524, showed the bitter divisions which existed in the city and the opposition felt by the populace towards the government of the Mehrer. In the years between 1524 and 1534 the Zwinglians established a considerable body of support amongst the lower orders, concentrated particularly in the parishes of Hl. Kreuz, St. Georg and the Franciscans. An analysis of the actions and pronouncements of the Zwinglian pastors show that this was not solely based upon the appeal of a theocratic

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1 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.61.

2 E. Naujoks, op.cit., pp.28-35.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol.2, p.139.

form of government which would unite the interests of Church and State. Instead the popularity of the Zwinglian pastors with the lower orders reflected their role as a focal point of unrest and opposition to the ruling authorities.

The continuing discussion surrounding the importance of the sacral community points to the need for further investigation of the role and importance of Zwinglian doctrines in the cities. The case of Augsburg weakens the efforts by Ozment to minimise the distinctions between the Lutheran and the Zwinglian attitudes towards civic life. Lutheran preachers, for example Frosch and Rhegius, were established in the city by 1521 and by 1524 clearly commanded considerable support. During the subsequent five years, however, the allegiance of the populace was turned to the Zwinglian preachers, Keller, Schneid and Seifried, to such an extent that Rhegius was led to complain that he preached to an almost empty church, whilst the sermons of his Zwinglian rivals were crowded with eager listeners.<sup>1</sup> This may have been an exaggeration of what was nevertheless true, but shows that the attractions of the Zwinglian doctrines for the people of Augsburg were sufficiently strong to persuade them to abandon former allegiances both to the Catholic Church and to Luther. So powerful was this popular commitment to the doctrines of Zwingli to become, that the Council was ultimately forced, for a time, to end Lutheran preaching in the city to prevent the eruption of dangerous civic unrest arising from the Abendmahlstreit.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ibid., vol. 1, p.206.

2 See p. 286.

In the early stages of the Reformation in Augsburg, it is difficult to assign to the Zwinglians a unified and easily defined body of doctrine. There were strong points of similarity in their teachings concerning the Eucharist, but for example they differed widely in their attitude towards the Anabaptists. Keller, Schneid and Seifried were, like Zwingli himself, developing and refining their doctrines throughout the 1520s. Keller appears to be the only preacher who was in regular contact with Zwingli and directly influenced by the Zurich model. He was, however, the most influential of the Augsburg preachers.

Events were repeatedly to show that the Council was ill-disposed towards many of the doctrines of the 'Reformed' theology and indeed towards some of the Zwinglian preachers. The chronicler Preu noted for example, his belief that Keller was particularly disliked by the Council,<sup>1</sup> although of course, a number of individual councillors, notably Ulrich Rehlinger,<sup>2</sup> were known to have Zwinglian sympathies. The general antipathy of the authorities towards the Zwinglians was shown most clearly in its resolute refusal to introduce Zwinglian reforms into the city. The Council resisted until 1537 the demand for the abolition of the Catholic Mass and this was only conceded after the signing of the Wittenberg Concord and the acceptance by the pastors in the city of Lutheran eucharistic doctrine.<sup>3</sup> Similarly the introduction of a Zuchtordnung in the city, was only contemplated

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1 Preu, p.50.

2 See p. 38.

3 See p. 386.

by the Council after the pastors had given their oath not to interfere in civic politics.<sup>1</sup> The Council was not therefore an exponent or enthusiastic supporter of the Zwinglians whose real support and power lay amongst the lower orders, who supplied the demand and pressure for a Zwinglian Reformation.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to analyse the appeal of Zwinglianism for the lower orders to be able to understand the nature and the popularity of the sect in Augsburg.

Although Roth frequently acknowledged the dominance by the Zwinglians of the religious life of the city in the late 1520s and 1530s, he offered neither an explanation of this success nor an analysis of Zwinglianism in the city. In this respect his concentration on ecclesiastical issues prevented him from viewing the impact of the doctrines on civic life and affairs. The rapid introduction of Zwinglian doctrines was probably facilitated by the prior influence of Karlstadt in the city.<sup>3</sup> The similarity of the eucharistic teachings of Zwingli and Karlstadt are readily apparent<sup>4</sup> and the favourable response already given to the works of Karlstadt in Augsburg may have initially benefited the Zwinglians. Already by 1524 some of Zwingli's pamphlets had been published in Augsburg<sup>5</sup> and by the time of the appointment of Keller, a recognisable body

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1 See p.390.

2 A similar situation prevailed in Strasbourg. See K. Deppermann, Melchior Hoffman. Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation (Göttingen, 1979) pp.150-1.

3 See p.102.

4 G. Locher, op.cit., p.292.

5 For example, H. Zwingli, Herr Ulrich Zwingli Leerbiechlin (Augsburg, 1524).

of Zwinglian supporters existed in the city, receiving an open letter of support and encouragement from their leader.<sup>1</sup> Zwingli clearly took an interest in the events in Augsburg for, together with Leo Jud,<sup>2</sup> he took the opportunity to attack the Catholic Domprediger Kretz, a major opponent of Keller, who had accused the Protestant reformers of stirring up unrest amongst the lower orders.<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of Zwinglian views to Augsburg had come at a time of increasing militancy and unrest amongst the lower orders, most clearly seen in the events surrounding Schilling. An example of this shift in opinions can be provided by the case of the weaver and pamphleteer for religious reform, Utz Richsner.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of 1524 he had produced his pamphlets which staunchly defended Luther, but already by May of the same year he had become a supporter of Schilling and played a leading role in the protests made against Holy Water at the Franciscans Church.<sup>5</sup> This support of Schilling by Richsner indicated that he had parted company with the moderate Lutherans and was seeking more positive measures for religious change and the introduction of social reforms advocated by

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- 1 H. Zwingli, Ain Epistel Huldrich Zwinglis an alle Christenliche bruder zu Augspurg (1524).
  - 2 L. Jud, Ain christenlich widerfechtung Leonis Jud wider Mathis Kretz zu Augspurg, falsche End christliche Mess und priesterthumb, auch das brot und weyn des frohleychnams un bluts Christi kain opfer sey (1525).
  - 3 See p.228.
  - 4 See p.104-5.
  - 5 See p.121.

Schilling.<sup>1</sup> It was at this time, according to Schottenloher that the Augsburg printer, Philipp Ulhart, published a brief admonitory pamphlet, which urged all authorities to heed the Word of God and proceed at once with religious reform.<sup>2</sup> Those which failed to do so were branded as servants of the Anti-Christ, and were to be considered as unfit to rule. The pamphlet did not recommend the populace to enforce religious change, indeed it expressed the hope that the Emperor would take the lead in this process, but the censure of those authorities, like the Council of Augsburg, which refused to support religious reform, was clearly and forcefully made.<sup>3</sup>

The major distinction between the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli was the interpretation each placed upon the Eucharist, and this doctrinal conflict was bitterly contested in Augsburg. In this dispute the Zwinglians were successful in securing the greater support. In what was undoubtedly an embellished account, which nevertheless indicated general trends in the city, it was reported in 1528:

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1 By 1525 Richsner had either left Augsburg or died.

2 Getrewe Christenliche und nutzliche warnung etlicher obrigkeit die das Evangelion zu predigenn zulassen und befehlen und straffen doch desselben volziehung (1524).

3 Ibid.

... wan ein widderteuffer oder ein zwingelscher bey uns predigt, so sein by sechzentausent zuehoren, wan die andern doctores predigen, seindt yr kaum sechs oder sieben menschen, X auffs meysthe.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the reasons for the success of the Zwinglians lay in the personalities of the leading protagonists in the city. From his written works Rhegius is seen to employ a scholarly but verbose and tedious style, a tendency which appeared to increase with the years. If he used the same style in preaching the sermons of Rhegius were likely to be dull and abstruse. Keller however was a vigorous but not prolific writer, who used heavy irony and ridicule to enliven his literary style and clarify his views, and this technique and success was apparently translated to his preaching.<sup>2</sup>

Central to the dispute was the conflict concerning the validity of the doctrine of the Real Presence. In Augsburg the majority of the inhabitants were won over to support the Zwinglian interpretation by Keller and his supporters, but the roots of this success lay in a combination of factors: a general antipathy to the doctrine of transubstantiation, a high degree of popular anti-clericalism and an apparently widespread inability to understand the true nature of Lutheran teaching on this matter. Both the Lutherans and Zwinglians vigorously condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation, but the retention by Luther of the belief in the Real Presence at the Eucharist appears to have caused confusion and misgivings in Augsburg. This was most clearly shown by the angry popular reaction to the

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1 F. Arnecke, 'Ein Augsburger Privatbrief aus der Reformationszeit' in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. XIII (1916), p.74.

2 Sender, p.179.

Lutheran pastor Johann Forster, who began preaching in Augsburg in 1535.<sup>1</sup> His exposition of the Lutheran doctrines concerning the Eucharist and the Real Presence led to angry scenes in the church of St. Johannes and he was denounced by his congregation as being a crypto-papist, intent on restoring Catholic doctrines and practices.<sup>2</sup> Luther too was criticised for being dictatorial and arrogant and accused of wishing to establish himself as a new pope.<sup>3</sup> It is apparent that the population found difficulty in understanding the distinction between the Lutheran teachings on the Eucharist and the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and consequently treated Luther with suspicion and hostility. The Zwinglian teaching was, on the other hand, unequivocal and direct. They insisted that transubstantiation was a false doctrine, which was used only to exalt the role of the clergy and justified their privileged position in society.<sup>4</sup> With their rejection of the Real Presence the Zwinglians offered a distinct and easily comprehended alternative to Catholic teaching.

In a recent investigation of the appeal of the Zwinglian eucharistic doctrines to the imperial cities of southern Germany, the

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1 W. Germann, D. Johann Forster der hennebergische Reformator, pp.114-5 and p.96.

'... hab ich nach der predigt eine vermanung zum hochwirdiger sacrament gethan, und nachdem ich Wittenbergischer art und weisse davon redte, das da zugegen im brot und wein der ware leib und blut Christi were, horet ich in der kirchen unter solchem reden ein gemurmelt und getummel des volks und viel aufstehen und davon laufen.'

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p.140.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 16th October 1533.

theories originally advanced by Moeller have been further developed by Rothkrug.<sup>1</sup> He stated that the personal piety stressed by Luther and symbolised by the descent of the Real Presence to the faithful individual in the Eucharist, was at variance with the traditional view in the cities of the importance of communal worship, piety and salvation. These aspirations Rothkrug saw as being better fulfilled by the Zwinglians,

... "upward-looking" community piety /which/ differs radically from the "inward" personal devotion characteristic of Lutheran spirituality.<sup>2</sup>

The Zwinglians emphasised the importance of the city as a community of believers, who, through leading Christian lives had to elevate the community as a whole to meet God rather than await the Real Presence. This interpretation Rothkrug believed was more in the traditions of religious life in the cities, but it pre-supposes the continuing strength of communal unity in the early sixteenth century. The evidence from Augsburg, however, shows that this had been largely destroyed, particularly by the growth of oligarchical power which the Council was determined to maintain.

As far as it is possible to ascertain the doctrines taught by the preachers in Augsburg it is apparent that the Zwinglians were not a unified sect, all holding the same beliefs and attitudes adopted by Zwingli in Zurich. In Augsburg this was best illustrated by the attitude of the Zwinglian preachers towards the Anabaptists. Keller followed the response of Zwingli and was a steadfast opponent

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1 L. Rothkrug, op.cit., p.79.

2 Ibid., p.82.

of the Anabaptists, preaching against their doctrines, and employed by the Council to lecture to offenders apprehended at illicit meetings.<sup>1</sup> This hostility was not however apparent in his Zwinglian colleagues, for Johann Schneid, the preacher at Hl. Kreuz, was known by the Council to have close contacts with the Anabaptist leader Langenmantel, and Johann Seifried, the preacher at St. Georg publically called for moderation in the punishment of Anabaptists.<sup>2</sup> All three men were however united in their hatred of Catholicism and in the interpretation of Eucharist doctrine. They all rejected transubstantiation and Lutheran doctrines and supported the symbolic explanation of the elements in the Eucharist as advanced by Zwingli.<sup>3</sup> The considerable doctrinal independence of the Zwinglians gave them flexibility in the type of doctrines they taught and the speed at which they introduced innovations. They were therefore in a position to respond to local pressures and demands and to adapt their teachings to suit local needs. In contrast the Lutherans found themselves forced to defend all Luther's works and views, even when these were unpopular causes in the city. Rhegius for example found it necessary to write a justification and defence of the attack by Luther on the peasants and his call for their suppression by the

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1 See p.257.

2 See p.258.

3 The unity between Keller, Schneid and Seifried was demonstrated when they combined to disrupt a Catholic service at the Cathedral. Sender, pp.193-4.

princes.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of Sender shows that in 1525 this was not a popular cause in Augsburg amongst the lower orders,<sup>2</sup> and indeed it also found disfavour amongst wealthy citizens such as Wilhelm Rem.<sup>3</sup>

The great strength of the Zwinglians in Augsburg lay in their ability to win, maintain and use the support of the populace. The militant popular support which the Zwinglians enjoyed in the city allowed them to introduce religious innovations against the will of the authorities,<sup>4</sup> it forced the Council to settle the Abendmahlstreit in favour of the Zwinglians in order to preserve civic peace,<sup>5</sup> and ultimately allowed the Zwinglians to use the threat of social unrest to force, in 1534,<sup>6</sup> the introduction of restrictive legislation against the Catholic Church. The affinity and cooperation between the Zwinglians and the populace is therefore of crucial importance in understanding the Reformation in Augsburg and, in order to evaluate the causes of the success of the Zwinglians, the sect and its leaders in the city require close analysis.

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1 U. Rhegius, Ein urtayl Johann Polianders uber das hart Buchlein Doctor Martinus Luthers wider die auffrurn der Pawren hievor auss gangen. Beschlussred D. Urbani Regii vom weltlichen gewalt/wider die auffrurischen (1525).

2 Sender, pp.162-3.

3 Rem, p.227.

4 See p.223.

5 See p.286.

6 See p.307.

From the arrival of Keller in Augsburg the Zwinglians voiced their opposition to the Council's policy of seeking religious neutrality and following a middle way in the doctrinal divisions.<sup>1</sup> The monk Sender named Keller the Ertzketzer on account of the violence and success of his attacks upon the Catholic Church and clergy.<sup>2</sup> According to their own testimony and the account of others in the city, the Zwinglians preached daily that the Catholic clergy should be driven from Augsburg and a Zwinglian style of worship and Church organisation established, but with no effect.<sup>3</sup> Unlike other cities where the Zwinglians were influential, Constance, Memmingen, Kaufbeuren, Kempten, Strasbourg and Ulm, the Council in Augsburg refused to take any steps towards the introduction of religious reform. This reticence was symbolised in 1530 by the refusal of the city to accept the Augsburg Confession of the Lutherans or to join the cities of the Tetrapolitana.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of this opposition and hesitation by the Council, the Zwinglian pastors grew increasingly critical of the ruling oligarchy. It became apparent that they did not share with the Lutherans an attitude of total obedience to the authorities, but openly denounced what they saw to be the failings of the Council.

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1 Sender, p.178.

2 Ibid.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 21st January 1531. This document was written in 1533 and is incorrectly included amongst the correspondence of 1531. In 1534 Christoph Ehem, a patrician opponent of the Zwinglians complained that the daily Zwinglian sermons advocated the use of force to expel Catholic services and supporters from Augsburg. St. A.A., Literalien, 1534, Nachtrag 1, Nr.16, fol. 3.

4 See p. 279.

The refusal of the authorities to introduce the Reformation demonstrated to the pastors that the Council was not fulfilling its Christian responsibilities ordained by God and voiced by the pastors: to protect and further the cause of the Gospel. The attitude of the pastors was represented in a memorandum written by Kötztler in 1533 in which he identified the reasons for the Council's attitude as stemming from efforts by the oligarchs to remain on good terms with the Emperor, and by defending Catholicism in the city, protect trade and investment in neighbouring Catholic states.<sup>1</sup> The pastors therefore believed that the Council was governing selfishly and unwisely by placing the economic interests of the merchants before the religious needs and aspirations of the citizens.

These criticisms were familiar in Augsburg for they were frequently the complaints raised by the lower orders: that the Council did not consider their interests but ruled to the advantage of the rich. These were the grievances which had provoked the Ulrich Schwarz rebellion<sup>2</sup> and which appeared again in the articles of protest compiled in the city in 1524.<sup>3</sup> From 1525 these criticisms of the oligarchy were voiced from the pulpit by the Zwinglians. Just as the rebellious peasants in 1525 had found justification for insurrection and social change from the Bible,<sup>4</sup>

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1 See p.319.

2 See p.47.

3 See pp.150-1, c.f. K. Deppermann, op.cit., for the similarity of events in Strasbourg.

4 P. Blickle, Die Revolution von 1525 (Munich, 1975), pp.180-1.

so too the lower orders in Augsburg were to discover from the Zwinglians a religious basis and scriptural support for their long standing criticism and opposition to the oligarchy of the Mehrer der Gesellschaft.

The Zwinglian pastors clearly appreciated the importance of maintaining popular support in the city if they were to be successful in establishing the Reformation in Augsburg. On several crucial occasions the pastors used their influence over the lower orders to place powerful pressure in favour of religious reform on the Council. This was most clearly shown by a plot secretly devised by the pastors in 1533, to enter a meeting of the Large Council and call upon their supporters there to pass at once legislation in favour of the Reformation in defiance of the wishes of the oligarchs on the Council of Thirteen.<sup>1</sup> This plot was foiled, but it so alarmed the authorities that they began to consider measures of their own to introduce religious changes as they realised that combined pressure of the Zwinglians and lower orders for the Reformation could not be resisted for much longer. The evidence shows that the pastors and their supporters in the city maintained political pressure upon the Council. In July 1534 Hieronymous Imhof, one of the mayors, was recalled to the city in order to assist in the introduction of religious changes. The letter to him from the Council made it clear that the councillors had been heavily lobbied by Zwinglians in the guilds who demanded religious reform and, the Council believed that if these demands were not met an

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1 See p. 307.

outbreak of violence was inevitable.<sup>1</sup> The significance of these events was clear for the oligarchy had been forced by the combined pressure of Zwinglian preaching and popular pressure to introduce reforms which were contrary to its own wishes and better judgement. This political involvement of the pastors and their influence over the lower orders was apparently sustained for the Lutheran Forster noted with disapproval that prior to the guild elections of 1536, the Zwinglian preachers used their sermons to influence the voting of citizens and Musculus urged them not to vote for the rich.<sup>2</sup> Even if Forster, an enemy of the Zwinglians, had embellished this tale, it is evident that Zwinglian pastors were using their popularity with the lower orders to influence the political as well as the religious life of the city.

At an earlier stage the Zwinglians had used this popularity to protect themselves from arrest and recriminations. For example in 1529 Keller had led an outbreak of iconoclasm in the parish Church of the Franciscans in which a valuable crucifix was smashed.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in 1529 he had proclaimed that the Mass would not in future be celebrated at the Franciscans and to ensure this he had buried all the ornaments used in the service in the Church.<sup>4</sup> These actions were contrary to the religious policy of the Council but no reprisals were taken against Keller for it was believed these would

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1 See p.344.

2 W. Germann, op.cit., p.115.

3 Sender, pp.214-7.

4 Ibid., p.218.

provoke a riot amongst the lower orders. In the same way Seifried, Schneid and Keller escaped punishment for disrupting Catholic services in 1527.<sup>1</sup> The pastors relied on their support from the populace, the widespread hatred of the oligarchy in the city, and the Council's fear of civic unrest, to protect them from arrest. They can therefore be seen as manipulating and even promoting social unrest and division in the city.

The popularity of the Zwinglians in Augsburg had aspects which can be judged by comparing certain of their doctrines with those advanced by rival religious leaders in the city. One of the most important theologians in Augsburg in the early Reformation period was Rhegius, who preached and wrote prolifically in his efforts to proclaim and defend the views of Luther. In 1524, for example, he published in Augsburg a spirited defence of Luther's doctrines which included a strong condemnation of the doctrines of the Mass, an attack on the ideals of monasticism and an assertion of the primacy of Biblical authority in all matters of religion.<sup>2</sup>

Despite his reputation as an early and devoted supporter of the Reformation, the Lutheran Rhegius was never a popular preacher in Augsburg. This was demonstrated during the Schilling riots of 1524 when the mob refused to agree to the suggestion of the Council that Rhegius should be appointed as preacher at the church of the

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1 Ibid., pp.193-4.

2 U. Rhegius, Ain kurtze erklarung etlicher leuffiger puncten ain yeden Christen nutz und not zu rechte verstand der hailige geschrift zu dienst (Augsburg, 1525).

Franciscans.<sup>1</sup> The unpopularity of Rhegius and also the decline of the popularity of Luther in Augsburg can, at least in part, be explained by the widespread antipathy towards the Lutheran view of society which Rhegius expressed in his works. In his pamphlet of 1524, Rhegius had devoted considerable space to justifying, by the use of Biblical analogies, the duty of everyone to be obedient to God and the secular authorities. He said:

Before all things one should be obedient to God as our rightful lord, also to those whom He has established to govern; fathers and mothers, lords and magistrates.<sup>2</sup>

For anyone to ignore this command was, in the eyes of Rhegius, a serious offence against God. Rhegius' support of the established order was also shown in his attitude towards wealth and poverty for he maintained that all had a duty to give alms to the poor but that this did not imply that wealth was sinful. He believed rather, that '... Wealth is a good creation of God and a tool of virtue ...', and, providing the person used his riches to live a Godly life, they should be considered a blessing from God.<sup>3</sup> Rhegius also suggested that all holidays should be abolished and that on Sundays and festivals people should work normally after attending church. This he said would remove the danger to body and soul of a faultag.<sup>4</sup>

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1 See p.130.

2 U. Rhegius, Ain kurtze erklarung etlicher leuffiger puncten ain veden Christen nutz und not zu rechte verstand der hailige geschriffte zu dienst (Augsburg, 1525).

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

Although Rhegius sought public support in his attacks on the Catholic Church he believed the existing order of society and authority should be upheld and strengthened. These attitudes were made clear in a sixteen point defence, written in 1525, of Luther's virulent attack against the rebellious peasantry.<sup>1</sup> The need for Rhegius to compose this work is indicative of the criticism with which Luther's pamphlet, 'Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants', had been received. The arguments used by Rhegius were directed towards justifying the need for the secular authorities to punish all forms of disobedience. As a Lutheran, Rhegius believed that mankind was intrinsically wicked and opposed to the commandments of God and for this reason the secular authorities had been established by God and been given control over the sword, as a means of disciplining sinners. In justification of the extreme measures advocated by Luther against the peasants, Rhegius said that criminals should be treated as lunatics; bound in chains to prevent them attacking good people and in the hope of making them see reason.<sup>2</sup> He also believed that the Christian conscience should not be troubled by the use of force to suppress evil by the secular authorities, since by so doing they were carrying

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1 U. Rhegius, Ein urtayl Johann Polianders uber das hart Buchlein Doctor Martinus Luthers wider die auffrurn der Pawren hievor auss gangen. Beschlussred Doctoris Urbani Regii vom weltlichen gewalt wider die auffrurischen (1525).

2 Ibid.

out the will of God and protecting His people and Church.<sup>1</sup>

Rhegius again took pains to stress the duty of obedience and insisted that even the rule of a bad government did not justify opposition or disobedience by the subjects who should view their sufferings as being a punishment from God. Those who disobeyed their rulers and used force to achieve their ends, lost their right to call themselves Christians and according to Rhegius should be justly punished with the sword.<sup>2</sup> It was also his belief that all Christians had a duty to pay their taxes in full even if these caused them hardship, for this suffering would make them worthy of heaven. Those who refused to pay their taxes were, said Rhegius, sinners who were more reprehensible than heathens.<sup>3</sup> Rhegius demonstrated that he was a faithful disciple of Luther and his doctrines, while his attitude toward authority and order made him the first choice by the Council to be the preacher for the restive parish of the Franciscans. His doctrines were not designed to win the approbation of the poor and discontented in Augsburg as he demanded total obedience to an unpopular government and his doctrines offered no promise of improvement for the pressing problems of material want experienced by many in the city.

The opposing views of rival preachers in Augsburg over the issues of poverty and obedience are revealed in a bitter pamphlet war waged between the Catholic preacher Kretz and the Zwinglian

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

Michael Keller in 1525. Kretz accused Keller of stirring up disobedience and disorder by his sermon at the Franciscan church, based on the texts. 'Go and sell all that you have and give the proceeds to the poor' and 'Set not your hearts on riches.'<sup>1</sup>

According to Kretz this sermon gave rise to a number of serious errors, since he believed that Keller's doctrines constituted an attack on the right to own private property. Kretz claimed that the logical conclusion to be drawn from Keller's sermon was that, since anyone who owned property was committing a sin, they must therefore sell it and so establish a communist society in which all goods were held in common.<sup>2</sup> He went on to assert that it was teachings such as these which had roused the peasants to rebellion:

... with such teachings you have opened the way to the peasants to murder, slaughter, robbery and other unchristian business, as we now see before us.<sup>3</sup>

Kretz was attempting to enlist the support of the authorities for the Catholic cause by linking the doctrines of the reformers to the social unrest in the city. He also wished to identify Keller with doctrines which attacked the ownership of property, and he therefore implied that the Zwinglian preacher was claiming that one had to live in total poverty, like monks or nuns, in order to be a good Christian. Such views were unpopular with the townspeople and Keller was quick to refute them.

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1 M. Keller, Frag unnd Antwort etlicher Artickel zwischen D. Michaelen Keller, predicanten bey den parfussern und D. Mathia Kretzen, predicanten auff dem hohe stiftt zu Augspurg, newlich begeben (1525).

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

Keller maintained that he had not attacked the right of anyone to own property or done anything to rouse people to violence or rebellion.<sup>1</sup> He claimed, however, that those with plenty had a Christian duty to help the poor, and, significantly, that this should not be restricted to those in dire poverty and distress, but should be offered without compulsion by those with plenty to those with less, out of a feeling of Christian brotherly love.<sup>2</sup> Keller also made it clear that he believed a life devoid of personal property and wealth, such as had been lived by the Apostles, was a worthy but not essential state for the true Christian, whilst condemning such a life if spent uselessly in a monastery.<sup>3</sup>

Keller's pamphlet was largely devoted to refuting Kretz's claim that the Reformation preachers were responsible for provoking the Peasants' War and the current prevailing unrest. He insisted that he preached only the Gospel which was to be interpreted as a message of peace and love. Keller laid the blame for the war squarely on the Catholic clergy who, by failing to give the peasants true Christian instruction, had allowed them to be misled into rebellion by the Devil.<sup>4</sup> It was nevertheless clear that in his attitude towards

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1 Ibid.

2 M. Keller, Frag unnd Antwort etlicher Artickel zwischen D. Michaelen Keller, predicanten bey den parfussern und D. Mathia Kretzen, predicanten auff dem hohe stiftt zu Augspurg, newlich begeben (1525).

3 Ibid.

4 This is similar to the justification expounded by the journeyman Lotzer of Memmingen, S. Hoyer, 'The Rights and Duties of Resistance in the Pamphlet To the Assembly of the Common Peasantry' in R. Scribner and G. Benecke (ed.), The German Peasant War of 1525 - New Viewpoints (London, 1979), p.128.

wealth, Keller, unlike Rhegius, anticipated social as well as religious reforms. He believed that a man with wealth should not consider his own gain, but out of Christian charity, use his money to help those with less than himself. If this doctrine were to be strictly applied it meant that a rich man always had a duty to assist in the alleviation of poverty; a duty which extended beyond the giving of alms, for he had a Christian responsibility to use his wealth for the good of others. This practice, if consistently followed, would lead inevitably to a degree of economic levelling between all social groups, since those with money were bound to spend it to assist those without. This attitude towards personal wealth was unlikely to attract the support of the rich, but to the poor, who could expect to benefit, it had considerable appeal.

In his study *Imperial Cities and the Reformation*, Moeller stressed the importance of the emphasis placed by Zwingli and Bucer upon the need to integrate religious and secular life, has been a major factor contributing to the success of their doctrines in the cities of southern Germany.<sup>1</sup> The evidence from Augsburg throws further valuable light upon the doctrines of Zwingli concerning the community. It demonstrates that there existed between the Zwinglian pastors and the lower orders an important close relationship which was based on a mutual hostility they felt towards many aspects of the oligarchical rule within the city. A study of this relationship shows that the reasons for the popular appeal of the theocratic doctrines of Zwingli and Bucer may have been more comprehensive and

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1 B. Moeller, *op.cit.*, p.81.

secular than has previously been suggested. The attraction to the inhabitants of Augsburg of making the city into a corpus christianum was very real and was discussed by the pastors who saw the need for communal piety. It was however only one aspect of the theocratic teachings of the Zwinglians, which also stressed the importance of the common good in its broadest sense, and included secular as well as spiritual well-being and benefits.

The form of government and society which the Zwinglians wished to see established in Augsburg had a number of strong and attractive advantages for the people of the city. There was, as Moeller has shown, the advantage of living in a Godly city, where every aspect of life was directed towards bringing the favour of God upon the community and its inhabitants. There were however other factors arising from the Zwinglian theocratic concepts, which particularly recommended themselves to the lower orders and, given the social and political divisions which existed in the city these factors may have been more influential than the emphasis upon communal piety and salvation, in securing the support of the lower orders for the Zwinglian Reformation. Of crucial importance amongst these factors was the emphasis placed by the Zwinglians upon the supremacy of the common will and general good of the community.<sup>1</sup> Their case for the

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1 E. Egli, G. Finsler, W. Köhler, O. Farner (ed.), Zwingli sämtliche Werke, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1914), p.867. De Vera et falsa religione commentarius. 'Dico autem de exterioribus vitae consuetudinibus et communicationibus; nam quod ad mentem adtinet; non ignoro, quomodo ea tandem sit ecclesia Christi; quae Christo fidit. Cum tamen civitas contenta esse possit, si fidelem civem praestes, etiam si Christo non fidat. Requirit civitas, ut rem publicam colat, non privatam; ut communia habeantur pericula, etiam fortunae, si usus postulet; ut nemo sibi sapiat; ut nemo extollatur; ut nemo factiones excitet.'

introduction of a Zwinglian Reformation rested on scriptural justification, but in addition upon the sanction and support of the majority of the population of Augsburg, who, if needs be, could force its acceptance upon the Council.<sup>1</sup> This supported a principle which had been long upheld by the lower orders but contested by the Mehrer, that the Council should not rule merely as it wished and in its own interest, as the supporters of Schilling believed was the case, but that it had a duty to listen to and act upon the wishes and needs of the population. They demanded that the Council should be accountable to them and representative of their interests. This cause was invoked by the Zwinglian pastors, who were prepared to mobilise the forces of popular civic unrest in order to constrain the authorities to fulfil tasks which were held by the Zwinglians to be for the common good but which had been rejected by the Council.

In following this course the Zwinglian pastors provided leadership and religious justification for the feelings of opposition and resentment which had long existed amongst the lower orders in Augsburg. Keller, however, understood the implications of encouraging popular resistance to authority, which could provoke rebellion and lead to an overthrow of the government. In his Ermanung zu gehorsam Gottes unnd dess nächsten, published in 1531, he made it clear that he had no desire to undermine the power of the secular authorities.<sup>2</sup> Instead he insisted that all men should

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1 S.M. Jackson (ed.), Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli (Philadelphia, 1901), p.115.

2 M. Keller, Ermanung zu gehorsam Gottes unnd dess nächsten (Augsburg, 1531).

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von Gott verordneten Oberkait,

which was a servant of God and existed to enforce His laws.<sup>1</sup> He did not however define what the attitude of a Christian should be towards a government, like that in Augsburg, which was not supporting the Gospel but defending Catholicism and the clergy. To judge from his subsequent actions, however, Keller was not in favour of a violent revolution to overthrow the established authorities, but wished to use the threat of unleashing the unrest amongst his supporters, to place political pressure upon the Council and, by so doing, force it to adopt Zwinglian views.

Ozment has shown that the introduction of theocratic doctrines could serve to limit the liberty of conscience and belief of the individual,<sup>2</sup> but the restraints of theocracy could also operate in another direction and also limit the freedom and independence of the Council. It is apparent from the evidence of Augsburg, that if the government was brought under the direction of the will of God, as voiced by the pastors and supported by the populace, the dominance of the Mehrer over political life would be effectively curtailed. It therefore removed the claim of a council to rule as the

allein von Gott eingesetzte Obrigkeit,<sup>3</sup>

and made the government responsible and answerable for the well-being of the whole community. This undermined the foundations of oligarchical

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1 Ibid.

2 S. Ozment, op.cit., p.164.

3 E. Naujoks, op.cit., p.77.

authority and threatened to force upon the authorities religious, economic and political policies with which they disagreed. In this way the introduction of a Zwinglian Reformation in Augsburg was, in many respects, alien to the desires and policies of the governing oligarchy. Its success was ultimately due to the ability of the Zwinglian pastors to win and sustain the support of the populace and to use this to constrain the authorities to accept their doctrines.

**CHAPTER SIX**

**THE ANABAPTISTS**

CHAPTER SIX

From 1526, in the wake of the Schilling riots and the events of the Peasants' War, religious and social disunity continued to grow in Augsburg. By a combination of repression, in the use of mercenary troops; and concessions, in the appointment of Keller and the toleration of other evangelical preachers, the Council had managed to retain its control over the city. The causes of the discontent, however, remained as acute as ever. Nothing was done by the Council to alleviate the declining living standards of many of the poorer sections of the populace, while the grievances caused by the removal of political power from the lesser guildsmen, and the increasing distinction between the rich and poor in the city remained apparent. As the authorities feared, the prevailing divisions in religion had provoked an increase of civic unrest and disunity. Groups of opposing supporters had rapidly polarised around the rival preachers, who used every opportunity to condemn their opponents and arouse public hostility against them. Both groups also demanded the support of the Council, interpreting the reticence and neutrality of the authorities as signs of hostility and weakness. In some respects the attacks made by Luther on the failings of the Catholic Church were welcomed by the secular authorities as justification in their long struggle to remove the power of the Bishop over the city and increase secular control of the Church. There was, however, a danger that if the Council encouraged religious division it would only increase the already perilously high level of social disunity in the city, and that once the authority of the Church had been successfully challenged, the religious disunity would proliferate.

In late 1525 the beginning of bitter disputes between the supporters of Luther and Zwingli in Augsburg justified this fear of the growth of sectarianism. The disagreement between the reformers centred upon their interpretation of the doctrine of the Eucharist; for although they were united in their rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, Luther was intent on maintaining belief in the Real Presence, whereas for Zwingli the service and the elements of bread and wine had only a symbolic significance.<sup>1</sup> In Augsburg, as in other places where the supporters of both reformers were present, the dispute was waged with considerable acrimony. The leading exponent of Zwinglian views in Augsburg was Keller who had the support of the preachers Schneid and Seifried;<sup>2</sup> while the Lutheran case was expounded by Frosch, Agricola and Rhegius at St. Anna.<sup>3</sup> It was soon apparent that the Zwinglians enjoyed the most support in Augsburg, and this led the leading Lutheran preacher, Rhegius, to become so disenchanted and depressed by the meagre attendance at his sermons in comparison with that enjoyed by his Zwinglian opponents that, in 1526, he temporarily abandoned his allegiance to Luther and began preaching Zwinglian doctrines himself.<sup>4</sup>

This development of the religious dispute which prompted further division in the city was particularly unwelcome to the Council, since

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1 H. Bornkamm, Martin Luther in der Mitte seines Lebens (Göttingen, 1979), pp. 450-79.

2 M. Keller, Ettlich Sermones von dem Nachtmal Christi/Geprediget durch M. Michaelen Keller/Predicanten bey den Parfussern zu Augspurg (Augsburg, 1525).

3 F. Roth, Augsburg's Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.203.

4 Ibid., pp.206-7.

the religious loyalties corresponded to the already apparent social divisions. The Zwinglians were especially strongly supported by the lower orders, although this popularity rested as much upon the preachers' attitude to social change as it did upon their interpretation of the Eucharist.<sup>1</sup> The three parishes in which the majority of the poorer populace was concentrated all had Zwinglian preachers: Keller at the Franciscan Church, appointed and paid by the Council; Johann Schneid at Hl. Kreuz, and Johann Seifried at St. Georg, both of whom were installed by the Zechpfleger of the parish and supported by donations from the parishioners.<sup>2</sup> So great was the popularity of the preachers that the Council dare not reprimand or dismiss them, even when it was clearly dissatisfied with their conduct. In 1527 it was brought to the attention of the authorities that Schneid had visited the Anabaptist leader Eitelhanns Langenmantel, exiled from Augsburg but living in the neighbouring village of Göggingen.<sup>3</sup> Later, Schneid had sent him a friendly and sympathetic letter, yet despite this evidence, the Council took no disciplinary measures against him.<sup>4</sup> Similarly the Council took no action against Keller when he smashed a valuable crucifix in the Franciscan church, although others involved in the event were heavily fined and imprisoned, and the Council was prompted to publish strict punishments for

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1 See p.229.

2 Sender, pp.178-9.

3 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxvii (1900), p.6.

4 Ibid., pp.35-7.

iconoclasm.<sup>1</sup> Without abandoning its attempts to maintain a policy of religious neutrality and intervening on behalf of one of the parties, there was little action the Council could take to bring the Abendmahlstreit to an end. Consequently, the division and dispute continued until after the 1530 Reichstag.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the increase in civic disunity caused by the theological disagreements of the reformers, the authorities refused in the latter years of the 1520s, to intervene in this religious dispute. The same attitude, however, was not shown towards the spread of radical religious views which became apparent with the rapid growth of the Anabaptist movement in Augsburg from 1526. The Council recognised that this movement, unlike those led by Luther and Zwingli, attacked the organisation and authority of Church and state, and, consequently, vigorous measures were taken to exclude Anabaptism from the city.

Many foreign Anabaptist refugees were attracted to Augsburg from the earliest stages of the movement. The appeal of the city lay in its position at the centre of major road routes, the size of the population which allowed foreigners to pass without notice, and the welcome which the Winckelprediger and Anabaptist supporters received from many individuals in Augsburg. Anabaptists were also driven into Augsburg by the effective persecution mounted by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria and the Swabian League, one such case being that of Eitelhanns Langenmantel, who found it safer to hide in Augsburg than in Bavaria, even though he had been publically expelled from

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1 Sender, pp.214-7, and St. A.A., Ratserlasse, 19th March 1529.

2 See p.286.

the city.<sup>1</sup> The Anabaptists were not the only ones who had reason to fear persecution outside the city, for in 1527 Keller was forced to flee to avoid arrest by Duke Wilhelm, whilst he was outside Augsburg visiting a country property of Ulrich Rehlinger.<sup>2</sup>

The Anabaptist doctrines were first introduced into Augsburg in 1526 by religious refugees fleeing from Switzerland. From Zurich, by way of Strasbourg came the Anabaptist leaders Jakob Gross, Wilhelm Exel and Balthasar Hubmaier.<sup>3</sup> They were later joined from Franconia by Hans Denk and Hans Hut, who was actually rebaptised in Augsburg.<sup>4</sup> Denk had been given permission by the Council to work as a private school-teacher following his plea that he had been driven from his position as a schoolmaster in Nuremberg by the jealousy of Osiander.<sup>5</sup> Due to the secrecy of their meetings it was impossible to assess accurately the number of Anabaptists in Augsburg, yet by the middle of 1527 the Catholic chronicler, Clemens Sender, believed there were over a thousand, and their numbers were increasing daily.<sup>6</sup> Sender, like the authorities, over-estimated the strength of the sect. Between 1526 and 1528 only 354 individuals who confessed to being Anabaptists were arrested,

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1 See p. 251.

2 Rem, p.244.

3 G. Potter, Zwingli, p.201 and F. Roth, Augsburg's Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.222.

4 C. Meyer, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol. i (1874), p.223: Hut's Urgicht.

5 Ibid., pp.220-1.

6 Sender, p.186.

and of these, 56 were foreigners who were not resident in the city.<sup>1</sup>

The Council was nevertheless alarmed by the growth of the sect which it treated as a dangerous revolutionary movement with doctrines designed to overthrow all authority and order.<sup>2</sup> Early in 1527 the Council was warned by the authorities in Zurich and Nuremberg of the activities of the Anabaptists and alerted particularly to the eschatological doctrines of Muntzer which were being preached by Hans Hut.<sup>3</sup> In February 1527 steps were taken in Franconia and Thuringia to suppress the Anabaptists,<sup>4</sup> and on the 7th February the Thirteen met to discuss its fears of an incipient rebellion of the 'commonality against the authorities'.<sup>5</sup> The Council was alarmed by the prospect of the city's uneasy peace being destroyed by foreign sectarians entering Augsburg in order to provoke social unrest and heresy. In order to prevent this the guards on the gates were ordered to keep a close watch on all those entering.<sup>6</sup> This proved ineffective as later testimony was to show

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1 C.-P. Clasen, Anabaptism: a Social History (Ithaca and London, 1972), pp.442-3.

2 In Strasbourg too the authorities were alarmed by the rapid spread of Anabaptism, especially amongst the lower orders. As Chrisman notes, '... it caught up those vague aspirations for social justice and social change that the more orthodox reformers were incapable of assimilating ... the doctrines appealed, on the one hand, to the restless and the oppressed, and on the other to the visionary and idealistic.' M. Chrisman, op.cit., pp.178-9.

3 F. Uhland, Taufertum und Obrigkeit in Augsburg im Sechszehnten Jahrhundert: Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doktor der Philosophie, Eberhard-Karls-Universität (Tübingen, 1972), p.91.

4 P. Wappler, 'Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526-1584' in Beiträge zur neuen Geschichte Thüringens, vol. 2 (1913), p.33.

5 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 2, fol. 29, 1527.

6 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 121, 1527.

that Anabaptist leaders had passed into the city without detection and in some cases had remained there for many months.<sup>1</sup> The Council was in regular contact with other governments concerning the Anabaptists, both receiving and relaying information about known members.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no evidence to indicate that the Council staged its persecutions of Anabaptists to correspond with similar measures being taken elsewhere in Germany, but rather the authorities reacted to threats and fears concerning the Anabaptists whenever they arose in the city.

The first phase of Anabaptism reached its peak in September 1527 when a number of Anabaptist leaders, including Hut, Denk and Hetzer met in Augsburg for a discussion on their religious doctrines. The meeting was apparently stormy as the leaders of the movement in Augsburg, the former priest Jakob Dachser and renegade Franciscan Sigmund Salminger joined forces with Denk in his attack on the eschatology of Hut.<sup>3</sup> Agreement was reached, however, on the organisation of future missionary work and it was decided that individuals should concentrate their activities in prescribed areas. Peter Scheppach, for example, was to go to Worms; Leonhard Spörle to Bavaria; Jörg von Passau to Franconia; Joachim Marz to Salzburg, and Denck to Zurich.<sup>4</sup> From information obtained from an Anabaptist

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1 C. Meyer, op.cit., p.212.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 20th February 1528, fol. 184.  
ibid., 9th May 1528, fol. 62.

3 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), pp.84-6: Elisabeth Knollin's Urgicht.

4 F. Roth, Augsburg's Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.234.

already detained, the Council was successful at this time in organising a number of raids in which Hut, Salminger, Scheppach, Leupold and 89 other Anabaptists were arrested.<sup>1</sup>

On 11th October the Council issued an ordinance forbidding all inhabitants from listening to the Anabaptist Winckelprediger or from giving them food and shelter. In addition all parents were instructed to ensure that their children were baptised, on pain of severe penalties for offenders.<sup>2</sup> The Council dealt speedily with the Anabaptists it arrested. All but sixteen recanted and swore to renounce Anabaptist doctrines and to be obedient to the Council.<sup>3</sup> Those with financial means were ordered to contribute towards the fund for poor relief and all were compelled to attend sermons by Rhegius, Frosch, Agricola and Keller, although the Council did not call upon the services of any Catholic preachers in this attempt to enforce orthodoxy and obedience.<sup>4</sup> These quick and mild punishments reflected the desire of the Council to settle the trouble with as little acrimony and publicity as possible. Lengthy trials and heavy penalties for the townspeople were avoided as these might create sympathy for the offenders within the city. Fifteen foreigners were expelled along with those who refused to recant, the latter including Scheppach, Leupold and the patrician Eitelhanns Langenmantel.<sup>5</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fols. 144-9, 1527.

2 St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten, 1490-1649, Teil 1, 11th October 1527.

3 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fols. 149-50, 1527.

4 Ibid., fol. 149.

5 Ibid., fol. 152.

That the authorities deliberately followed a policy of moderation in the treatment of Anabaptists is supported by a letter sent by the Council to Philip of Hesse in 1536, in which its attitude to Anabaptist offenders was explained.<sup>1</sup> The leaders of the sect were dealt with severely, being imprisoned, expelled or executed but,

... with the simple poor, who have been misled by the leaders, we have had compassion ... our preachers have held Christian discourses with them, through which many have been amicably persuaded to recant their errors ...<sup>2</sup>

Only those who steadfastly refused to recant had been exiled from the city. In 1528 the Rentmeister of the Bishop wrote to the Council from Dillingen, complaining of the city's laxity in the punishment of Anabaptists. He claimed that Anabaptists who had been arrested and confessed their heresy in Augsburg, were not being executed as the laws of the Swabian League demanded. Instead they were being exiled and allowed to spread 'unrest and rebellion' in neighbouring territories.<sup>3</sup>

The Council was clearly alarmed by the manner in which the Anabaptist leaders had stirred up unrest, and organised support. It appeared that they were the leaders of a conspiracy against authority, whose influence had to be removed if order was to be maintained. In discussion the Thirteen decided that Dachser and

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1 W. Köhler, W. Sohm, T. Sippell, G. Franz (ed.), Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 4, Wiedertäuferakten 1527-1626 (Marburg, 1951), pp.104-5.

2 Ibid.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 11th April 1528, fol. 224. It is not known how the Council answered this accusation.

Salminger were too dangerous to be released, yet it was feared that their execution would create unrest and sympathy on their behalf amongst the populace.<sup>1</sup> Instead they were held in gaol; until 1530 in Salminger's case and 1531 for Dachser, who on recanting was made an assistant preacher at St. Ulrich by the Council.<sup>2</sup> Hut, who was sought by governments throughout south Germany, was considered to be the most dangerous of the Anabaptists as he preached, in the style of his mentor Muntzer, that the Day of Judgment was at hand when all subject people should rise up against their rulers. The Council placed Hut on trial for heresy and insurrection, but he was killed by a fire, started probably by accident, in his prison cell, although in December his corpse was duly executed by burning.<sup>3</sup>

The authorities were attempting to stifle the movement by removing the leaders and warning all citizens not to become involved. Any hopes that Anabaptist support would die away were not realised, as by early 1528 the sect had apparently increased its strength in the city. Some of those who were expelled in 1527 had returned; for example the tailor Hans Leupold, and many new conversions were made by the preacher Jörg von Passau.<sup>4</sup> There is also evidence that the movement was becoming more organised as principals (Vorsteher) were chosen by the congregation to lead and organise meetings and

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 2, fols. 158-61, 1528.

2 Sender, p.187.

3 C. Meyer, op.cit., pp.252-3: Urteilsbrief of Hans Hut.

4 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), pp.61-2: Leupold's Urgicht.

worship.<sup>1</sup> A common fund was also established for the assistance of poorer members of the sect and to give financial help to the preachers.<sup>2</sup> Large Anabaptist meetings also became frequent rather than, as earlier, conventicles and these were attended by peasants from the neighbouring countryside.<sup>3</sup> For greater security services were often held in gravel pits, woods and gardens outside the city.<sup>4</sup>

On 2nd April the Stadtknechte arrested sixty Anabaptists celebrating communion in the cellar of the house of Ursula Schleifferin. On Easter Sunday eighty-eight Anabaptists were arrested at a service in a house on 'hindern Lech' adjacent to the parish church of the Franciscans.<sup>5</sup> This time the Council inflicted severe punishments on the offenders. Leupold, who was a Vorsteher and officiating at the service was executed, while those who refused to recant and foreign Anabaptists were beaten out of the city.<sup>6</sup> Five townspeople found guilty of harbouring Winckelprediger were branded and one woman had her tongue ripped out.<sup>7</sup> Those who recanted were forced to swear an oath of obedience, forbidden from holding civic office for five years and forced to contribute money to the Hl. Geist Spital;<sup>8</sup>

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., pp.87-8: Huber's Urgicht.

3 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), p.27: Mang's Urgicht.

4 Ibid., and p.33: Wisingerin's Urgicht.

5 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 171, 1528.

6 Ibid., fol. 173-6.

7 Ibid., fol. 177.

8 Ibid., fol. 162.

100 gulden in the case of one wealthy woman, Honester Crafterin.<sup>1</sup> These dramatic punishments, in conjunction with the rising tide of persecution of Anabaptists throughout southern Germany dealt the sect a crushing blow and although there were examples of Anabaptism after 1528<sup>2</sup> it was not again to pose a serious threat to the authorities.

Throughout the early Reformation the Council had consistently refused to intervene in the religious controversy, but this policy was abandoned in the case of the Anabaptists. The authorities vigorously rooted out all leaders and supporters of the sect and by the use of stringent punishments attempted to eradicate Anabaptism in Augsburg. Why then should the Anabaptists have attracted persecution from the Council which refused to interfere with other religious groups? It was known to the Council that the activities of religious reformers prompted controversy and unrest and threatened the close economic relationship of the city with the Habsburgs, upon which many Augsburg merchants relied, yet no attempts were made by the government to silence the Lutherans or Zwinglians. Both these groups, however, unlike the Anabaptists, posed no threat to the authority of the Council and Zwinglian and Lutheran preachers stressed the duty of all to obey the secular government.<sup>3</sup> In Anabaptism the Council saw doctrines which it believed contained a fundamental challenge to social order and to all authority. If

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., p.121.

2 For example, in March 1533: St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 95, 1533.

3 See p.232.

these were allowed to spread it feared increased social division and political change. The Anabaptists were persecuted because they appeared to present a force of popular opposition to authority and not for theological reasons.

The questioning of those arrested indicates the seriousness with which the Council viewed the Anabaptist threat. All the interrogations were conducted by the Stadtschreiber Peutinger and both the questions he used and the statements he extracted have survived in the Literalien of 1527 and 1528.<sup>1</sup> Peutinger was an opponent of the Anabaptists and believed them to be the rebellious successors to the peasants of 1525.<sup>2</sup> His questioning paid little attention to religious concerns and concentrated instead on details of organisation and attitude towards rebellion and social change. Hut was, for example, briefly questioned on his attitude towards transubstantiation and infant baptism, but most of the interrogations concerned his preaching on the rights of property and the duty of obedience towards authority.<sup>3</sup> Later it was these areas to which Peutinger returned when he repeatedly questioned Hut under torture.<sup>4</sup>

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- 1 The Urgichten of all Anabaptists arrested in Augsburg have been transcribed in the ZHVSchw:  
C. Meyer, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: Die Anfänge des Wiedertäufer in Augsburg' in ZHVSchw., vol. i (1874); F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: Zur Lebensgeschichte Eitelhanns Langenmantel' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxvii (1900); F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberschwaben: Der Höhepunkt der wiedertäuferischen Bewegung in Augsburg und ihr Niedergang im Jahre 1528' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901).
  - 2 H. Lutz, Conrad Peutinger (Augsburg, 1958), p.278.
  - 3 C. Meyer, op.cit., pp.223-31: Hut's Urgicht.
  - 4 Ibid., p.241.

Other Anabaptists were closely questioned about secret signs, secret funds, the identity of their leaders, how Anabaptists recognised one another and how they knew where meetings would be held.

The fear of the authorities that Anabaptism was a revolutionary movement was reinforced by the involvement of many people who had been associated with earlier unrest. In 1526 the leading Anabaptist, Hubmeier fled to Augsburg from Zurich, where he was believed to hold radical views on both social and religious reform, even being suspected by some of being the author of the Twelve Articles of the peasants.<sup>1</sup> The association of Hut with Muntzer was known and demonstrated by the similar doctrines they both preached.<sup>2</sup> The connection of Anabaptism with previous unrest was also seen in those native to Augsburg. Prominent amongst the movement were Peter Scheppach and Bartholomaeus Nussfelder<sup>3</sup> who had been involved as conspirators in the events culminating in the Schilling riots of 1524.<sup>4</sup> The inn kept by Reigitz,<sup>5</sup> who had led the attempt to prevent the movement of cannons from the arsenal in 1524, was also found to be frequented by Anabaptists.<sup>6</sup>

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1 G. Potter, Zwingli, p.201.

2 F. Uhland, op.cit., p.91.

3 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fol. 152, 1527, and C. Meyer, op.cit., p.226: Hut's Urgicht.

4 See pp.120-1.

5 See p.138.

6 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), p.20: Niedermair's Urgicht.

The authorities recognised that the Anabaptists found their greatest support amongst the discontented elements of the lower orders from whom it most feared rebellion. According to Clasen, the social position of 71 per cent of all the Anabaptists captured (212 individuals) can be calculated.<sup>1</sup> Of these, 60 per cent were in the poorest section of society, being journeymen, day labourers and servants, 67 of them being classed as besitzlose. Of the remainder, the majority had property valued between one and fifty florins, and only seventeen of those Anabaptists captured could be considered wealthy.<sup>2</sup> These figures show that although all social levels were represented to a degree in the sect, its greatest support lay amongst the lower orders. This increased the fears of the authorities that Anabaptism was no more than a popular revolutionary movement which had to be suppressed. The activities of the Anabaptists promoted these beliefs as meetings were held clandestinely at night and membership was kept secret. The Council could imagine no reason why members of the lower orders should gather together in secret other than to plot rebellion. If their intentions really were honest and Christian the Council believed they would meet openly and their preachers would be prepared to expand and defend their doctrines in public. The fear of sedition was increased by the knowledge that members of the lower orders were mixing at the meetings with peasants, raising for the Council the prospect of a united rebellion of the

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1 C.-P. Clasen, op.cit., pp.324-5.

2 Ibid.

lower classes against authority which, in 1525, had narrowly been averted.<sup>1</sup>

The Anabaptist doctrines produced three main challenges which prompted the retaliation of the authorities. The most sinister of these was the appeal of Anabaptist doctrines to the lower orders; the section of society which the oligarchy recognised as the greatest challenge to its control. There were some wealthy and influential inhabitants amongst the Anabaptists, the most prominent being the patrician Eitelhanns Langenmantel. He was already known to hold radical religious views as in 1525 he had produced a pamphlet in which he had condemned both the Catholic and the Lutheran clergy as 'ravening wolves' interested only in money.<sup>2</sup> In subsequent pamphlets he again attacked 'the new pope, Martin Luther' and his doctrine of the Eucharist,<sup>3</sup> and additionally recommended the abolition of the organised Church with its ordained clergy and special places of worship. Instead, he advocated that all Christians should celebrate communion amongst themselves in their own homes.<sup>4</sup> For Langenmantel, rebaptised by Hut in 1527,

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1 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), pp.39-40: Anna Butzin's Urgicht.

2 E. Langenmantel, Ein kurtzer begryff von den Alten unnd Newen Papisten. Auch von den rechten und waren Christen (Augsburg, 1525).

3 E. Langenmantel, Ain kurtzer anzayg/wie Do. Martin Luther ain zeyt hor/hatt etliche schriften lassen aussgeen/vom Sacrament/die doch stracks wider ainander/ wie wirt dan sein/und seiner anhenger Reych bestehen (Augsburg, 1527).

4 Ibid., and E. Langenmantel, Disz ist ain anzayg: ainem meynem/etwann vertrawten gesellen/uber seyne hartte widerpart/des Sacrament und annders betreffend (Augsburg, 1526).

to confess to the authorship of the pamphlets was foolhardy, as they were seen by both Church and Council as undermining all authority and order. In March 1527, Langenmantel was arrested, and although he was released after recanting, he fled to the neighbouring village of Göggingen where he continued his contacts with the Anabaptist movement until his arrest and execution by forces of the Swabian League.<sup>1</sup> Apart from Langenmantel, two guild-masters and their wives were arrested at Anabaptist meetings: Laux Hafner of the carpenters' guild and Endris Widholz from the carriers' guild. Hafner was obdurate in his beliefs and was exiled, and although Widholz recanted, he lost his position in the guild and government.<sup>2</sup>

Anabaptist doctrines appeared to support the view that the sect was a movement of political opposition to the authorities. Langenmantel's call for the abolition of the Church was to the Council the precursor to anarchy, especially when combined with the rejection of sworn oaths by Anabaptists such as Gross,<sup>3</sup> for it was upon the civic oath that the loyalty of every citizen was established. Even more alarming was the rejection of all secular authority by some Anabaptists. After earlier denials, Hut was forced to admit under torture on 26th November, that he had preached that all subjects should rise up and slay their rulers, whose rule

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1 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxvii (1900), pp.5-9.

2 Sender, p.190.

3 C. Meyer, op.cit., p.227: Hut's Urgicht.

by the sword should be punished by the sword.<sup>1</sup> Again, in June 1528, an Anabaptist weaver, Hans Aspach had his tongue cut out after confessing under torture that he had made a 'wicked, revolutionary and inflammatory speech'.<sup>2</sup> The apparent organisation amongst the Anabaptists gave support to the accusations of conspiracy. According to the testimony of Leupold there had been four principals (Vorsteher) of the sect in Augsburg; himself, Jörg von Passau (Georg Nespitzer), Peter Scheppach and Claus Schleiffer.<sup>3</sup> They had been responsible for preaching and organising the meetings and Leupold also admitted that the Vorsteher met to discuss and co-ordinate doctrine, a sure sign to the authorities that this was no spontaneous religious movement but an organised group with cadres and leadership. The assertion of Simprecht Widenmann, a shoe-maker who lived near St. George's Church that he had been ordered by Jörg von Passau to attend meetings against his will reinforced these fears although there was no evidence as to the truth of the assertion.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the challenge to authority, the Council recognised in the Anabaptists a threat to private property, as it believed the sect rejected the concept of private wealth and advocated property sharing and communism. The accounts of the chroniclers Sender and

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1 Ibid., p.241.

2 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), p.116.

3 Ibid., p.62.

4 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), pp.91-2.

Preu show these beliefs were frequently ascribed to Anabaptists. Sender said Anabaptists believed that nobody should own property but all should live in poverty, sharing what they had, while those who refused to agree to this would be denied Holy Communion.<sup>1</sup>

Preu believed Anabaptists were sworn to divide their property amongst their fellows which was the reason that the sect attracted poor people who had nothing to lose, but, rather, hoped for material benefits.<sup>2</sup> In his pamphlet of 1525, Langenmantel had said that there should be a return to the practice of the Early Church when, '... all believers lived together and held all things in common, sold goods and possessions and divided them out according to the needs of each man.'<sup>3</sup> After his prolonged questioning Peutinger compiled a summary of the doctrine of Hut for the benefit of the Council and this emphasised the same points:

... [Hut] has maintained a further article, that the rich should give up their wealth to others. From this it follows that all those who have not been re-baptised are considered to be sinful since they must have their wealth removed. Item, all the above articles are rebellious and through them the common man is led to rebellion and to the extirpation of the authorities and other people.<sup>4</sup>

The Vorsteher Hans Leupold was later interrogated by Peutinger on the same theme, but maintained he had only taught that the wealthy had a Christian duty to help those in need and poverty and should

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1 Sender, p.187.

2 Preu, p.36.

3 E. Langenmantel, Ein kurtzer begryff von den Alten unnd Newen Papisten. Auch von den rechten und waren Christen (Augsburg, 1525).

4 C. Meyer, op.cit., p.244.

not be constrained by law or force to give away their property.<sup>1</sup>

The desire of the Anabaptists to divide private property was affirmed for the authorities by the existence of a common fund kept by the sect. The wealthier Anabaptists donated money which was then re-distributed to those in need and the questions of Peutinger demonstrate his particular concern over this activity. According to the statement of Konrad Huber, who had at one time been in charge of the fund, it consisted of no more than 20 gulden; contributions were only given to those in need, but in general he dealt only in small sums, batzen rather than gulden.<sup>2</sup> The money could be given to help Anabaptists who were suffering financial hardship, as in the case of Hanns Messerschmied who was given  $\frac{1}{2}$  gulden when his wife was in childbed.<sup>3</sup> There is evidence too that Anabaptists who were suffering as a result of their expulsion from Augsburg by the Council were also sent money from the common fund to sustain themselves.<sup>4</sup> In one case it appears that the promise of material gain was used to induce acceptance of re-baptism, for Magdalena Seiz, whom it was said possessed only one skirt, was promised clothes in plenty if she became an Anabaptist.<sup>5</sup> The Vorsteher and preachers reminded those at the Anabaptist services of their duty to contribute to the poor fund, but clearly this caused

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., p.65: Leupold's Urgicht.

2 Ibid., p.88: Huber's Urgicht.

3 Ibid., p.78: Messerschmieds' Urgicht.

4 Ibid., p.71: Anna Salminger's Urgicht.

5 Ibid., pp.40-1: Butzin's Urgicht.

some dispute amongst the congregations.<sup>1</sup> A weaver's widow, Anna Butzin, was reported at one meeting as having accused the rich Anabaptists of hindering new conversions as they feared they would be forced to share their wealth with other Anabaptists.<sup>2</sup> There were also complaints that the rich Anabaptists refused to attend the services held with the poor but preferred to establish their own conventicles, as in this way they could avoid contributing to the common fund.<sup>3</sup>

The authorities were convinced that the Anabaptists were intent on forcing a redistribution of wealth in favour of the lower orders, a doctrine which would find ready appeal amongst the poor. Ostensibly this was to be voluntary, yet there remained the threat that this would be attempted by force and rebellion, while the attack on private wealth and economic inequalities would bring with it the diminution of social rank and status. The fear that the Anabaptists were plotting revolutionary changes to civic society was increased by the eschatological beliefs which many held. Hut, like Muntzer with whom he had associated in 1525, believed that the Day of Judgement was at hand. Hut had confessed to Peutinger, while under torture, that with the approaching apocalypse he believed God would punish, '... the authorities and all sinners, while only the elect /ausserwelten/ would be saved and /they/ would govern the

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1 Ibid., p.55: Hegenmillerin's Urgicht.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., p.41: Butzin's Urgicht.

3 Ibid., p.86: Knollin's Urgicht.

earth.<sup>1</sup> Hut clearly associated the authorities with sin, as he believed they would be punished by God, while his own humble followers would be elevated to rule. This was the belief in social inversion spread by Muntzer, which the authorities believed had provoked unrest amongst the lower orders for whom it provided justification for rebellion. When Langenmantel was arrested he had a notebook containing notes for sermons which he claimed had been given to him by Hut.<sup>2</sup> Amongst other statements it contained the doctrine that only those who had received adult baptism would be spared at the Day of Judgement, a belief which had persuaded some in Augsburg to be re-baptised, including Langenmantel's servant Herman Anwald.<sup>3</sup> Sender believed that this eschatology was a basic feature of Anabaptist doctrine,<sup>4</sup> yet there is evidence of strong differences of opinion between the Anabaptists in Augsburg. Leupold and Jörg von Passau bitterly criticised Hut and refused to stay at a meeting where he was preaching, but clearly the doctrine was accepted by many.<sup>5</sup> Preu said that many Anabaptists in anticipation of the new society which would be created after the Last Judgement, had sold their work tools in the belief they would no longer need to work,<sup>6</sup>

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1 C. Meyer, op.cit., p.239: Hut's Urgicht.

2 St. A.A., Wiedertäuferakten: Hans Hut.

3 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxvii (1900), p.23: Anwald's Urgicht.

4 Sender, p.187.

5 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), p.85.

6 Preu, p.36.

an idea similar to that held by the Taborites in Bohemia a century earlier.<sup>1</sup>

Preachers of all denominations in Augsburg condemned the Anabaptist heresy. Keller in particular preached vigorously against the sect,<sup>2</sup> and Rhegius published a lengthy rebuttal of all Hut's doctrines.<sup>3</sup> There were, however, indications that the attacks on the authority of the Catholic Church and the confusion caused by the Abendmahlstreit between the Zwinglians and Lutherans had encouraged the growth of the sect. Langenmantel maintained that it was his disillusionment with the new preachers and their conflicting doctrines which had prompted his re-baptism:

/the/ new preachers in Augsburg, such as Master Michael /Keller/ and Frosch and others are divided amongst themselves, one /says/ chrisem, another oil ... he /Langenmantel/ had himself rebaptised in the name of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost.<sup>4</sup>

Agnes Vogel, who was rebaptised in September 1527, made similar complaints about the preachers in Augsburg:

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- 1 N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium (2nd ed., London, 1970), pp.217-8.
  - 2 St. A.A., Literalien, fol. 24, 1528.
  - 3 U. Rhegius, Ein Sendbrieff Hans huthe etwa ain furnemen Vorsteers im widertaufer ordenn, Verantwort durch Urbanum Rhegium (Augsburg, 1528).
  - 4 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., xxvii (1900), p.15. This statement was made by Langenmantel to the Swabian League which was keen to demonstrate to the Council the dangers of religious reform.

She was moved to this baptism by the preachers here, as she had been going to their sermons for four years, one says this, the other /speaks/ differently. One /has/ the Sacrament as a symbol, the other as flesh and blood. /They/ preached against each other and made her totally confused,<sup>1</sup> so that she did not know what she should believe.

The servants of Langenmantel, Hermann and Margreth Anwald both justified their rebaptism by claiming that they had heard from others that Keller preached in favour of Anabaptism.<sup>2</sup> Given the strong opposition to the sect which Keller always expressed, this report was obviously false, but the Zwinglian preacher at Hl. Kreuz, Johann Schneid, clearly had greater sympathy towards the Anabaptists. He attempted to convert Langenmantel from his ways and even visited him after his expulsion from Augsburg when he was living in Göggingen, openly maintaining his continuing belief in Anabaptist doctrine.<sup>3</sup> Later when Langenmantel was arrested by the Swabian League, he received a letter from Schneid in which he urged him to see his suffering as a test of his faith, since God allowed persecution of, 'his elected children, so that one can recognise them as steadfast and true Christians'.<sup>4</sup>

In his account of Anabaptism in Augsburg, Roth emphasised the importance of Hans Denck in establishing and directing the sect.<sup>5</sup>

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1 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer' in ZHVSchw., xxviii (1901), p.81.

2 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHVSchw., xxvii (1900), pp.10-11 and 24.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, fol. 22-4, 1528.

4 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.35-6.

5 For example, F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.223.

The evidence, which Roth himself published, does not support this view, and reveals both the importance of Hans Hut to the Anabaptists in Augsburg, and the crucial role played by local leaders, notably Salminger and Dachser.<sup>1</sup> The doctrines of Hut split the Anabaptists in the city but commanded considerable support. Hut's belief in the millenium was supported by Langenmantel,<sup>2</sup> Jörg von Passau<sup>3</sup> and Claus Schleiffer<sup>4</sup> amongst the local leaders of the sect. The evidence is that these views were widely held<sup>5</sup> and when Anabaptists from Augsburg fled to Strasbourg, it was the adherence of many of them to the radical belief in imminent apocalypse which distinguished them from their co-religionists there.<sup>6</sup> Roth also failed to establish the importance of the Anabaptist leaders who were resident in Augsburg, who did much to spread and strengthen the sect. Dachser, for example, was responsible for re-baptising followers, but he also organised frequent Anabaptist services and conventicles which sustained the support of the converts. When Salminger and Dachser were arrested in 1527, their treatment illustrated the apprehension felt by the Council.<sup>7</sup> Since they refused to recant

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1 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer' in ZHVSchw., vols. xxvii-xxviii (1900-1).

2 Ibid., vol. xxvii (1900), p.20.

3 Ibid., vol. xxviii, (1901), p.102.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p.55.

6 K. Deppermann, Melchior Hoffman. Soziale Unruhen und apokalyptische Visionen im Zeitalter der Reformation (Göttingen, 1979), p.174.

7. St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 2, fols. 158-61, 1528.

they were considered too dangerous to be released, but the authorities dare not stage a trial and execution for fear of provoking unrest amongst the lower orders.<sup>1</sup> The Thirteen believed that Dachser had considerable influence over the populace, and it was probably on these grounds that it consented to his appointment as assistant to the Zwinglian pastor at St. Ulrich's following his recantation in 1531.

The introduction of Anabaptist doctrines to Augsburg served to increase rather than diminish the differences between the Lutheran and Zwinglian preachers who were already established in the city. The Lutherans Rhegius, Frosch and Agricola were strongly opposed to the Anabaptists and in 1527 were involved in a disputation, arranged by the Council, with the arrested leaders of the sect Salmingen, Dachser and Gross.<sup>2</sup> This was an unsuccessful attempt to convince them of their errors and persuade them to recant. The views of Rhegius on the Anabaptists have been preserved in two attacks on the sect he published in 1528. In the first he attacked the Winckelprediger for spreading false doctrines which they were afraid to openly defend.<sup>3</sup> Rhegius said they were responsible for misleading simple people and destroying peace,

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1 Ibid.

2 F. Uhland, op.cit., p.115.

3 U. Rhegius, Zwen wunderseltzam sendbrieff/zweyer Widertauffer/an ire Rotten gen Augspurg gesandt. Verantwortung aller irrthum diser obgenante brieff/durch Urbanum Rhegium (Augsburg, 1525).

order and authority. On these grounds the Council was justified in fulfilling its God-given duty of rooting out and punishing sectarians.<sup>1</sup> In the other attack Rhegius concentrated his criticisms on the doctrines of Hans Hut and his forecast of the imminence of the Day of Judgement.<sup>2</sup> These beliefs, Rhegius said, turned the people against the preachers and caused them to ignore the Gospel,

... Hut teaches another way to God than through Christ, /and/ so certainly leads the poor people to Hell.<sup>3</sup>

Again Rhegius emphasised the need for the secular authorities to deal with the Anabaptist heresy, which he believed destroyed Christian unity and obedience.<sup>4</sup>

The response of the Zwinglians to the Anabaptists was more ambivalent. It demonstrated the doctrinal disunity which existed amongst the Zwinglian reformers in Augsburg and was to lead to attacks on the Zwinglians as supporters of the sectarians. The differing attitudes expressed by, on the one hand Schneid and Seifried, and on the other Keller, indicates that in many crucial areas definitive doctrines had not been agreed amongst the Zwinglian reformers. Except in relation to Eucharist doctrine the views of

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1 Ibid.

2 U. Rhegius, Ein sendbrieff Hans huthe etwa ain furnemen Vorsteers im widertaufer ordenn. Verantwort durch Urbanum Rhegium (Augsburg, 1528).

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 'Dann wo inen statt gebenwirt/do richten sie als ungluck an/machen Oberkeit und diener Christi verhasst/do ist schon die ordnung zerbrochen und thut yederman was in glust.'

the Augsburg Zwinglian reformers did not necessarily correspond with the model provided by events in Zurich. In the notes of a sermon preached by Keller to apprehended Anabaptists in January 1528, the necessity and correctness of infant baptism were upheld<sup>1</sup> and the Anabaptist doctrines condemned with the same vigour demonstrated by Zwingli.<sup>2</sup> Seifried and Schneid were however at this time still formulating their opinions about the movement, which although unwilling to accept themselves, they were nevertheless reluctant to condemn.<sup>3</sup>

This apparent lack of accepted dogma amongst the Zwinglian pastors in Augsburg corresponded with the similar situation which existed in Strasbourg. There too the form of religious services, liturgies and even doctrines were still in a process of formation and according to Chrisman,

... Bucer, Capito and Zell were still open on the important question of infant baptism ...<sup>4</sup>

As in Strasbourg, the leading Zwinglians in Augsburg may have shown some initial sympathy towards the Anabaptists on account of their mutual hostility towards both Catholicism and Luther.<sup>5</sup> Eitelhanns

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, January 1528, fols. 24-8.

2 E. Egli, G. Finsler, W. Kohler, O. Farner (ed.), Zwingli sämtliche Werke, vol. 4, (Leipzig, 1927), pp.216-7, p.334. Von dem touff, vom widertouff und vom kindertouff, durch Huldrych Zuingli (1525).

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 4th July 1528, fol. 246, F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Oberschwaben' in ZHUSchw., vol. xxvii (1900), pp.35-7.

4 M. Chrisman, *op.cit.*, pp.179-80.

5 Ibid., p.180.

Langenmantel, for example, criticised the Lutheran Eucharist as being no different from the Mass, and he ridiculed Luther as 'der neue Bapst', who misused Scripture to deceive the people.<sup>1</sup> He also criticised the Lutheran clerics, 'die neuen Papisten', as being as rapacious and corrupt as the Catholic clergy.<sup>2</sup> With time the dangers of sectarianism became as apparent to, at least, Keller amongst the Zwinglians in Augsburg, as they had previously to Zwingli<sup>3</sup> and Bucer.<sup>4</sup> The Anabaptist doctrines of selection for salvation and their denial of secular and clerical authority threatened the cohesion of civic society and, with it, the success of the Reformation, for if religious reform became associated, in the view of the Council with social fragmentation, the reformers could expect to forfeit the support and tolerance they had received from some councillors. Zwingli was, on the contrary to emphasise the unifying influence of his teachings.<sup>5</sup> Consequently Keller was to briefly join with the Lutheran preachers in their denunciation of Anabaptism.<sup>6</sup>

The Zwinglians were at risk of being associated and condemned along with the Anabaptists, for in certain crucial areas of

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1 E. Langenmantel, Ain kurtzer anzayg (Augsburg, 1527).

2 E. Langenmantel, Ein kurtzer begryff von den Alten unnd Newen Papisten (Augsburg, 1525).

3 S.M. Jackson, Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli (Philadelphia, 1901), p.137.

4 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.181.

5 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.76.

6 F. Uhland, op.cit., p.115.

doctrine there were similarities in their teachings, particularly those concerning the Eucharist. The Anabaptists, like the Zwinglians, rejected the Real Presence in the Eucharist and believed the bread and wine had only symbolic significance. This view was expressed, for example, by Langenmantel,

... Christ clearly said, this is my Body which is given for you, He did not say the bread is my body. He had them eat the bread and said further, this is the cup of the New Testament in my Blood which is shed. He did not say, however, the wine in the cup is my blood. This you should note well.<sup>1</sup>

According to Langenmantel the continued insistence placed by Luther upon the concept of the Real Presence, and his efforts to attribute the qualities of the flesh and blood of Christ to the bread and wine, distinguished him as being still a papist,

There is truly still a priest hidden in him.<sup>2</sup>

Langenmantel consistently insisted that the bread and wine in the Eucharist were,

... as ordinary food and drink, a nourishment for the body ...<sup>3</sup>

and he ridiculed the belief that the Elements could change their form.<sup>4</sup> In these criticisms Langenmantel was at one with the

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1 E. Langenmantel, Ain kurtzer anzayg.

2 Ibid.

3 E. Langenmantel, Disz ist ain anzayg: ainem meynem/etwann vertrauten gesellen/uber seyne hartte widerpart/des Sacrament und anders betreffend (Augsburg, 1526).

4 E. Langenmantel, Ein kurtzer begryff. '... sy besorgen das blut werde zu Essich/diss ist villeycht die ursach/das brot dennocht ettwas lenger beleybe ee und es die milben verzeren ...'

Zwinglians, but his views went to further extremes. He believed all men should celebrate communion together wherever they met, with no need of clergy or church building, and he maintained that faith, adult baptism and election were necessary to achieve salvation.<sup>1</sup>

The doctrines upheld by Langenmantel clearly had their origins with Karlstadt rather than with Zwingli. By 1524 Karlstadt had already publicised his views concerning the symbolic nature of the bread and the wine in the Eucharist,<sup>2</sup> and by 1525 he had written in support of baptising only committed Christians:

He who refuses baptism to those who do not believe and denies baptism until they have become believers furthers the chief article of faith and does not suppress it.<sup>3</sup>

The pamphlets of Langenmantel echo the beliefs expressed by Karlstadt. He took up too the conflict between Luther and Karlstadt, both by his own attacks upon Luther and by a specific rebuttal of the pamphlet by Luther, Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi wider die Schwarmgeister,<sup>4</sup> which had been directed at Karlstadt.<sup>5</sup>

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1 E. Langenmantel, Disz ist ain anzayg.

2 G. Rupp, op.cit., pp.142-3.

3 A. Karlstadt, Anzeyg etliche Hauptartickeln Christlicher leere In wölchen Doct. Luther den Andresen Carolstadt durch falsche zu sag und nachred verdecktig macht (Augsburg, 1525). Also printed in, A. Karlstadt, 'A Review of Some Chief Articles of Christian Doctrine in which Dr. Luther Bring Andreas Karlstadt under Suspicion through False Accusation and Calumny' in R. Sider (ed.), Karlstadt's Battle with Luther, Documents in a Liberal-Radical Debate (Philadelphia, 1978), p.129.

4 W.A., Bd. 19, pp.482-523.

5 E. Langenmantel, Ain kurtzer anzayg.

For the Zwinglian reformers in Augsburg it was essential that, despite some similarity of doctrines, Zwinglianism should not be associated with the Anabaptist sectarians, for this could lead to the movement forfeiting the toleration which it had previously been shown by the Council. This danger, created by the sectarians, had also been recognised by Bucer in Strasbourg.<sup>1</sup> There were attempts to associate the Zwinglians with the Anabaptists, for example in the letter sent by Joachim Helm to his brother-in-law in 1528.<sup>2</sup> A more dangerous attempt to discredit the Zwinglians and implicate them with Anabaptism occurred when the Swabian League extracted confessions from Langenmantel and his servants Hermann and Margreth Anwald, which it then sent to the Council.<sup>3</sup> In all three statements, extracted under torture, it was claimed that the sermons of Keller had been responsible for them first questioning orthodox teachings on child baptism.<sup>4</sup> A similar statement was gained by Peutingger only once in his interrogation of Anabaptists in Augsburg<sup>5</sup> and it therefore appears that this was a deliberate attempt by the League to blacken the character of Keller. It may explain however why Keller preached so ardently against the

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1 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.181.

2 See p.215

3 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxvii (1900), pp.15, 24.

4 Ibid., p.24. 'Hab sie von maister Michel, predicanten zu Augspurg, an der predig gehordt, die priester die brauchen das heillig oll und weichprunen zum tauff, das sei nichts. desshalben sei sie bewegt zum widertauff.'

5 F. Roth, 'Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer' in ZHVSchw., vol. xxviii (1901), p.81.

Anabaptists in Augsburg. The apparent connexion between the Zwinglians and Anabaptists was to appear again when Dachser, the Anabaptist leader, eventually recanted his beliefs and became a Zwinglian and was appointed by the Council to serve as Helfer to the Zwinglian pastor of St. Ulrich.<sup>1</sup> Dachser must have convinced Keller and the Council that he had renounced his earlier heresies.

A similar attempt to discredit the Zwinglians occurred in 1531 when Bonifacius Wolfahrt, a Zwinglian pastor appointed by the Council, was denounced by a Lutheran rival, Dr. Stephan Agricola, of being a crypto-Anabaptist.<sup>2</sup> Wolfahrt had apparently denied that the sacrament of baptism was established by Christ in the New Testament, but he saw it instead as originating from Old Testament traditions. He was also accused of maintaining that the sacrament of baptism was not a necessary prerequisite of salvation.<sup>3</sup> Suspicion of the real meaning of Wolfahrt was increased by his refusal to explain or defend his statements to Agricola, but the Council, eager to establish religious peace and avoid any pretext for a revival of the Abendmahlstreit, chose to ignore the incident.<sup>4</sup> Wolfahrt was, however, to remain under suspicion of being sympathetic towards the religious radicals on account of his friendship with Kaspar Schwenckfeld, whom he sheltered for a period in Augsburg, following Schwenckfeld's

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1 Sender, p.187.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 1st February, 1532.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.94-6.

4 Ibid., p.58.

expulsion from Strasbourg in 1533.<sup>1</sup>

The Council was clearly alarmed by the growth of the Anabaptist sect and by the apparent sympathy which some of the Zwinglians had shown towards the radicals. While avoiding open conflict with any of its pastors over this issue the Council gradually enforced a number of measures which demanded clear, uniform and unequivocal support for infant baptism from all the pastors in the city. Schneid and Seifried, both Zwinglians suspected of sympathy for the Anabaptists, were not re-appointed to their preaching posts following their expulsion from the city by Charles V during the Reichstag of 1530.<sup>2</sup> Wolfahrt and all the other pastors, were eventually forced to accept the terms of the Kirchenordnung of 1537.<sup>3</sup> Amongst its other conditions, this demanded that all infants be baptised publically, during the course of Sunday morning service, in their parish church, and the exact form of the ceremony was prescribed in detail.<sup>4</sup> Even if the authorities were not successful in removing every trace of Anabaptist or radical doctrines,<sup>5</sup> it was determined to ensure that these found no support from the pastorate of the city.

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1 Ibid., p.59.

2 See p. 275.

3 See p. 407.

4 E. Sehling (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, vol. 12 (Tübingen, 1963), p.63 and pp.72-79, Forma, wie von dem hailigen Tauf ... zu reden.

5 e.g. St. A.A., Literalien, 8th March, 1531.

The swift measures taken against the Anabaptists indicated the fear of rebellion and disorder which was felt by the authorities. The Council was alarmed by the unrest amongst the lower orders, and after the experiences of 1524 realised the danger of religious disputes provoking civic unrest and violence. The authorities believed that, unlike the Lutherans and Zwinglians, the Anabaptists were a sect dedicated to rebellion and social change. Unlike the other reformers the Anabaptists refused to accept the power of the secular government which consequently saw them as a dangerous challenge to all authority and order. Faced with such a threat, the Council felt no longer able to follow its careful policy of maintaining neutrality in religious matters, since, if the doctrines of Anabaptism spread the authorities would be confronted with the opposition of the lower orders, organised and controlled by the Anabaptists who were intent on seizing political power and the property of the rich. The Council's abnormally incisive and severe reaction to Anabaptism was then provoked by the fear that, if unchecked, the Anabaptists would promote popular unrest and rebellion in a far more threatening and widespread form than had hitherto been experienced in Augsburg.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE DEMAND FOR REFORM

## CHAPTER SEVEN

The Council of Augsburg was trapped between pressure from its own citizens who demanded religious change and the constraints of its neighbours who insisted that Catholicism be upheld. Ultimately, it saw the Council of the Church which the Emperor had promised to call to discuss and resolve the religious disputes, as being the only solution for restoring the unity of society in Augsburg and Germany as a whole. It was in anticipation of this settlement that the Council had developed its policy of following the middle way in religious affairs but the failure of Charles V to summon the Council made it increasingly difficult for the Council to maintain its neutrality. The authorities had seen that the religious disputes stimulated social unrest, and the rise of sectarianism and radicalism and had made their intervention necessary in the religious life of the city. The decision of Charles to return to Germany in order to settle the religious problems was welcome to the Council, but his decision to hold the Reichstag in Augsburg created considerable problems for the city.

As host to the Reichstag Augsburg would face the problems of housing and feeding the many guests who were expected to attend. This always placed considerable strain on the indigenous population, which suffered from the high prices and shortages brought about by the sudden increase in demand.<sup>1</sup> In this respect the 1530 Reichstag

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1 See p. 76.

was likely to be worse than most as it came at a time of rapidly increasing prices and, due to the nature of the discussions, a protracted and heavily attended meeting could be anticipated. There was also the problem of unruly behaviour amongst the visitors which encouraged disorder and resentment. With the presence of Protestants and Catholics in the city, the authorities had reason to fear confrontation and violence.

For the Council the greatest problem was the presence of the Emperor and Catholic leaders in Augsburg. For a decade the authorities had insisted to their neighbours and allies that Augsburg was a Catholic city where the authority of the Church was upheld.<sup>1</sup> In practice this description was untrue and misleading; for although the Council had taken no action against the Catholic Church, it had also taken no steps to halt the spread of the Reformation. It had allowed the modification of services and religious customs in most of the city churches, and given its protection to preachers who demanded religious reforms. By 1530 the majority of the population had abandoned their allegiance to Rome in favour of Zwingli and Luther, and this could not be hidden from the Emperor during the Reichstag.<sup>2</sup> Even before the meeting there may have been doubts

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1 For example, E. König, Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel (Munich, 1923), p.373.

2 Both the earlier accounts of events in Augsburg, provided by Roth and Wolfart were concerned with recounting the doctrinal conflicts in relation to the religious life of the city. Neither of the previous accounts sought to: investigate and explain the ambivalent attitude within the Council towards religious reform; to see why the cause of Zwinglian reformers received such wide popular support, nor to consider the impact that these new doctrines would have upon the economic and political development of civic society in Augsburg.

over the willingness of Charles to agree to any but a Catholic settlement, along with the fear that he would use the occasion of his visit to enforce Catholicism on Augsburg.

The immediate concern of the Council was the preservation of order. Following the imperial proclamation of the Reichstag<sup>1</sup> it began at once to recruit 2,000 mercenary troops, and new chains were installed at street corners to hinder the movement of crowds.<sup>2</sup> This force would allow the Council to maintain order amongst its citizens and the visitors during the Reichstag, but it also provided the authorities with the means of asserting their independence and freedom of action from their powerful guests. When he heard of these developments the Emperor made his displeasure known to the Council by the insistence that the only soldiers in the city should be the 2,000 under his command who were to accompany him to the Reichstag.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor was determined to assert his dominance at the meeting and had no intention of becoming a prisoner of the Reichstag, but his demand, that Augsburg should dismiss all its troops, was the cause of much concern for the Council. Many members feared that this would leave the city defenceless and the Emperor would then use the opportunity to restore Catholicism. Peutingier recommended however that the city should do its utmost to appear loyal and obedient in order to win the Emperor's favour and this

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 1, fol. 5, 1530.

2 Sender, pp.252-3. Sender incorrectly states that 1,000 soldiers were employed.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 1, fols. 212-4, 1530.

required the dismissal of the mercenaries.<sup>1</sup> The Council acted upon this advice, also agreeing to pay a subsidy of 2,000 gulden to the Emperor for the support of his troops.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the arrival of the Emperor, there were indications that the Protestant powers were preparing a united front to the Emperor, under the leadership of Philip of Hesse.<sup>3</sup> Despite the failure of the Colloquy of Marburg, he was still attempting to mediate between Lutherans and Zwinglians and himself attended the sermons of Keller. In order to refute any assertions that Philip was turning his allegiance to Zwingli, Rhegius questioned the Landgraf on his beliefs concerning the Eucharist, before writing a letter of assurance to Luther, affirming the continuing Lutheran orthodoxy of Philip.<sup>4</sup>

The discussions at the Reichstag proceeded with little profit and it was ominous for the Council and other supporters of religious reform that the Emperor showed reluctance to make concessions to the Protestants. Consequently, the division between the two sides remained as deep and bitter as ever. The day after the Emperor's arrival was Corpus Christi (16th June) and the festival was celebrated by the Imperial court and the supporters of Catholicism with great ceremony.<sup>5</sup> The services ordered by the Emperor were not attended

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1 Ibid., fols. 202-5.

2 Ibid., fol. 207.

3 H. Grundmann, 'Landgraf Philipp von Hessen auf dem Augsburger Reichstag 1530' in Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. CLXXVI (1959), pp.25-6.

4 W.A., Br. W., vol. 5, pp.334-5. Rhegius to Luther, 21st May 1530.

5 Sender, p.279.

by the Protestant princes or the people of Augsburg which gave the Emperor sufficient justification to order the Council to silence its Protestant preachers. The authorities responded immediately, and Keller, Schreid, Seifried, Schmid, Rhegius, Agricola and Frosch were ordered to cease preaching.<sup>1</sup> On 18th June, Imperial heralds were sent round the city to announce that anybody who attended Lutheran services would be punished by the Emperor.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by a statement to the Reichstag on 25th June in which Charles condemned all Protestant doctrine.<sup>3</sup> Within days of his arrival Charles had made clear his opposition to the Reformation and had, by his action against the Augsburg preachers, shown his readiness to interfere in the religious affairs of the city.

The implacable attitude of the Emperor posed a severe threat to the Council, which had no choice but to obey his commands. Before his arrival Charles had declared his favour towards the city<sup>4</sup> but it was apparent that he was determined to use the Reichstag for the restoration of Catholicism in the Empire and that this would affect the religious situation in Augsburg. On 6th August, the day after his rejection of the Augsburg Confession, Charles ordered everyone in Augsburg to attend Catholic Mass while Spanish soldiers roamed through the streets attacking those who refused to comply.<sup>5</sup>

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.337.

2 Sender, p.281.

3 Ibid., p.291.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 1, fol. 275, 1530.

5 Sender, p.305.

The most alarming development for the Council was the arrest of Johann Schneid, the preacher of Hl. Kreuz, by Imperial troops.<sup>1</sup> This parish, which was heavily populated by weavers, had previously shown itself to be a volatile area of unrest and Schneid was popular with his parishioners who supported him by a door to door subscription.<sup>2</sup> The news of his arrest, on 17th August, provoked an angry response; for according to Sender, a large crowd of weavers attempted to storm the Vogelthurm where he was imprisoned in an effort to release him. They were however driven back by Charles' soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Schneid was later released, but the threat of arrest prompted the other Protestant preachers in Augsburg to flee.

This was the kind of confrontation between city and Emperor which the Council had been attempting to avoid. It realised that the populace would not accept Catholicism, but to resist the Emperor's orders only invited further intervention and punitive action. The violent popular response to the arrest of Schneid brought out into the open the extent of the support for the Reformation in Augsburg. Even though the Emperor's troops restored order it was apparent to the Council and the Emperor that the populace of Augsburg had rejected and would resist his policies. A similar demonstration of the rejection of Catholicism by the populace was repeated on 4th October when Catholic rites were

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 5, 1530.

2 Sender, p.179.

3 Ibid., pp.307-8.

restored to the church of the Franciscans, at the Emperor's command.<sup>1</sup> To ensure his orders were fulfilled Charles sent a large body of soldiers to the church, who used the occasion to remove from the nave chairs and pews which had been recently installed. This provoked an angry reaction from the townspeople who gathered round the church where fighting broke out between the soldiers and the people. The violence was only ended by the intervention of the Stadtvogt, who then locked the church to prevent further disorder.<sup>2</sup>

As the Emperor was in the city with 2,000 soldiers at his disposal to execute his commands, the resistance of the populace appeared foolhardy and with little hope of success. It nevertheless provided the imperial and municipal authorities with a timely reminder of the support for the Reformation in Augsburg. It served too as a warning to the Council of the dangers from popular reaction if it capitulated to the demands of the Emperor. The populace had, in the preceding decade, forced the acceptance of religious change upon the Council by threatening rebellion and disorder and now it was using the same weapon to insist upon the maintenance of the Protestant faith in Augsburg.

The rigidity of the Emperor's attitude towards the Reformation and the contrasting support given to religious reform by the townspeople forced the Council into a situation in which it was impossible to maintain its policy of neutrality. By late September the uncompromising terms of the Reichstagsabschied were

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1 Sender, p.322.

2 Ibid.

widely anticipated and these expressed the failure of the meeting to devise an acceptable solution to the religious disputes. Instead the Emperor upheld the authority of the Catholic Church and its teachings and demanded an end to religious change.<sup>1</sup> The news placed the Council in total disarray, for it had never anticipated that the Reichstag would increase rather than diminish religious division. Either it had to ignore the clearly expressed wishes of the townspeople and accept the terms of the Abschied, with all the problems of unrest and disaffection with the government that this would provoke, or it had to defy Charles V by refusing to accept the Abschied and by taking the side of the Protestant powers.

Clearly the Council did not know what to do, for it even took the unusual step of twice summoning and consulting with the Large Council.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Council of Ulm, the authorities in Augsburg did not organise a ballot amongst all guildmembers in the city to assess the support either for the Reformation or for acceptance of the Abschied.<sup>3</sup> Almost certainly any such ballot in Augsburg, as was the case in Ulm, would vote heavily in favour of a rejection of the Abschied. This would give the Council some justification for defying the Emperor, but leave no room for manoeuvre in the efforts to placate Charles V and deflect his intervention in the affairs of the city. To gain the favour of the Emperor by agreeing to his

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1 H. Immenkötter, Die Confutatio der Confessio Augustana vom 3. August 1530 (Munster, 1979), pp.37-40.

2 Sender, p.324.

3 E. Naujoks, op.cit., pp.73-4. The Council in Augsburg was probably also unwilling to set any precedent of popular participation in government.

demands could only be a short term solution, as the population had demonstrated that the re-establishment of Catholicism was unacceptable and would be resisted. For Augsburg not to agree to the Abschied, however, created the fear that the Emperor would rescind the privileges of the city and remove its freedom by direct intervention in its government. To impress upon the Council its subservience to the Emperor, Charles had summoned the Council to his presence and shown them the seals of the city, which had been granted and could be taken away by the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Despite the demand for immediate acceptance of the Abschied, the Council refused to reach a decision. It was hoped that the cities would be able to moderate the terms of the Abschied in return for financial support for the Habsburg campaigns against the Turks, but Charles refused to make concessions.<sup>2</sup> When the Abschied was published on 13th October, the defence of the Catholic faith and the attack on the Reformation which it contained, were more extreme than the Council had previously feared. It prompted a series of long Council meetings, sometimes lasting throughout the night.<sup>3</sup> The Large Council was again summoned as the Council sought advice on how to escape from its predicament. When Charles would no longer accept the plea for further time for consideration, the Council attempted, on 21st and 22nd October to have Augsburg, as host city made exempt from the

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1 Sender, pp.322-3.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 2, fols. 99-102, 1530.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 31, 1530.

need to sign the Abschied, but this was rejected.<sup>1</sup> Eventually on 26th October, after a meeting of the Large Council, Augsburg announced its refusal to sign the Abschied and joined with those who were defying the Emperor.<sup>2</sup>

This was a hazardous step of great political significance for which the Council's decision had only been reached with great difficulty. The Large Council had supported the action, but the unusual frequency of its meetings in late October, shows that the Small Council was seeking guidance and information about opinion in the city, rather than presenting its own policies for immediate approval. The decision was reached after careful consideration of the implications of the choice, and could not be said to have been made in haste or as a result of religious fervour. Many factors must have influenced the final decision, but important among these was the fear that if Augsburg agreed to the Abschied it might find itself forced to become the unwilling paymaster of Charles' envisaged Catholic crusade against the German Protestants. As Augsburg had found in 1525 these demands were endless.<sup>3</sup> The city also had no desire to finance wars which it did not desire and which would ruin its trade. By the end of the Reichstag, however, these fears had diminished and support for the Emperor's schemes had melted away in the general fear of Habsburg aggrandisement. It was apparent that Charles would not have the unassailable military and political

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.346-7.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fols. 27-8.

3 See p.192.

position he had desired. Starved of resources and faced by the hostility of the Protestants and Bavarians, his schemes for a crusade in Germany would have to be modified, particularly if the planned election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans was to be successful.<sup>1</sup>

Had the Council accepted the Abschied it would have been forced to restore Catholicism to Augsburg which, given the hostility to the Church in the city, it felt unable to do. Charles recognised the dilemma which faced the Council when on 12th November he told the authorities that he believed they had been forced against their will to reject the Abschied, out of fear of the reaction of the populace.<sup>2</sup> If the Council were free to act as it wished Charles believed it would uphold the Catholic faith and consequently he offered the use of his own troops to restore Catholicism in Augsburg by holding the townspeople in subjection.<sup>3</sup> The analysis of the Emperor was accurate since it was widely known that leading merchants wished to see sustained the Catholic Church and the close links of the city to the Emperor. The offer was quickly rejected, as the Council did not intend to invite imperial forces to interfere in the government of Augsburg. The problem also remained that when the troops were withdrawn it would be impossible for the Council to defend the Church against the populace and it would be forced to back down. The

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1 K. Brandi, The Emperor Charles V (London, 1939), p.325.

2 K. Wolfart, Die Augsburger Reformation in den Jahren, 1533-1534 (Leipzig, 1901), p.11.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 30.

intervention would only increase social and religious unrest and serve to make more unpopular the government of the Mehrer.

The Council however took pains to convince the Emperor that it would not join the Protestants and it would remain loyal to the Habsburgs. A series of promises were presented which were designed to convince the Emperor that Augsburg would take no measures against the Catholic Church or clergy.<sup>1</sup> In this belated attempt to divert the wrath of Charles, the Council promised to abide by the terms of the Abschied of the 1529 Reichstag at Speyer but to tolerate no teachings which attacked authority and led the ordinary people into falsehood and disobedience. It promised to punish Anabaptists, to prevent the spread of divisive religious ideas either by preachers or printers until a 'future Council'. Finally, the authorities said nothing would be done which interfered with the Mass, Confession or other Catholic ceremonies, nor would anybody be prevented from attending them.<sup>2</sup>

Only when Charles left on 23rd November was Augsburg sure that it had escaped his anger but fears of future retribution continued. The events of 1530 had shown that the Council feared its own populace more than it did the Emperor and his forces. The Council had deliberately procrastinated until it was able to assess the imperial strength and support. The decision was only made when the hostility towards the Emperor within the Reichstag was apparent. The

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1 These are listed in St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 15, fol. 47, 1534.

2 Ibid.

immediate threat to Augsburg had passed but clearly the events would not be forgotten. Charles had used the Reichstag to reaffirm his support of the Church and total opposition to the Reformation, so the failure to find a compromise meant it was inevitable that hostility would continue. Augsburg had placed itself in a difficult position for, despite its protestations of loyalty, it was estranged from the Emperor yet it remained isolated from the Protestant powers. Under pressure from the proponents and opponents of the Reformation the Council had believed the greatest threat came from its own townspeople and had acceded to their wishes even though the probable political and economic consequences were foreseen. The hesitation demonstrated that the Council had not readily defied the Emperor but once again the fear of popular unrest and rebellion had forced the Council unwillingly in the direction of the Reformation.

The Reichstag, which was intended to solve the religious differences, in fact left the Council in greater difficulty than before. By seeking the common ground Augsburg found itself isolated between the opposing religious groups without political allies or religious connexions. Worse than this the Council was to find that the promises it had given to the Emperor prevented any modification of the religious situation and consequently any attempt to introduce a reform of the Church in Augsburg which would answer the demands of its inhabitants. The rejection of the Reichstagsabschied indicated too that Catholicism could not be restored in Augsburg. The pursuit of the middle way had merely led the city towards vulnerable isolation and weakness.

When the Emperor departed it was clear that his efforts to replace the Protestant preachers in the city by Catholic clergy could

not survive. During the Reichstag the attempt by the weavers to free the imprisoned Schneid and the anger caused by the restoration of Catholic services to the Franciscans' Church, had demonstrated the popular hostility to the Catholic Church. The Council, by its refusal to consent to the Abschied, had also shown its refusal to become a protector of the Catholic faith. One fortuitous result of the Reichstag for the Council had been the flight of the Zwinglian and Lutheran pastors,<sup>1</sup> who in the years prior to 1530, had dominated the religious life of the city. By their disputes over differing doctrines, particularly that concerning the interpretation of the Communion,<sup>2</sup> the Council believed that these preachers had provoked and increased religious and social disunity, yet, at the same time they had been able to use their popularity with the lower orders to force the acceptance of religious changes upon the Council. The removal of these pastors meant that after the Reichstag the Council was free of their interference and in control of the religious life of the city.

There was no attempt by the authorities to sustain the Catholic religious settlement which had been imposed during the Reichstag and instead the Council showed itself determined to seize the initiative to prevent the recurrence of the Lutheran and Zwinglian conflicts. The Council realised that it had to exercise a close supervision over religious life, and for this purpose, on 23rd December, it was

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1 See p.275.

2 See p.215.

decided to appoint a Committee for Religion.<sup>1</sup> This consisted of Imhof, the current Baumeister and mayors of the following year Anthoni Bimel and Ulrich Rehlinger, the guildmasters Mang Seitz, Stephan Eiselin and Jos Veneberg, all of whom were known to be supporters of the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> Only Imhof was known to be a Lutheran and Bimel and Ulrich Rehlinger were favourably disposed towards the Zwinglians.

Of the religious sects represented in Augsburg the Zwinglians had the greatest following, but the Lutherans, although outnumbered had many influential supporters on the Council, including Imhof and Konrad Rehlinger.<sup>3</sup> This disunity amongst the Protestant supporters prompted the Committee for Religion to turn its attention towards the religious settlement in Strasbourg where doctrines of mediation and conciliation were preached by Martin Bucer.<sup>4</sup> His belief that the Lutherans and Zwinglians were separated only by words and formulae and not by fundamental differences of faith, gave hope for a peaceful compromise between the opposing groups in Augsburg. This hope was weakened however, by the return of some of the earlier contestants of the Abendmahlstreit; Keller who was the leader of the Zwinglian group, and Frosch and Agricola, both of whom were former adversaries of Bucer, and having spent their exile in

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 2, fol. 235, 1530.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.101-5.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 25th March 1532.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 2, fol. 241, 1530.

Nuremberg, returned determined to uphold Lutheran orthodoxy.<sup>1</sup> To consent to their return was a mistake by the Council, probably based on unwarranted confidence in Bucer's powers of mediation to win over the leaders of Zwinglian and Lutheran opinion. These pastors were forbidden to preach,<sup>2</sup> and their responsibilities were taken over by two preachers whom the Council had recruited from Strasbourg, at the suggestion of Bucer and with the consent of the Strasbourg Council.<sup>3</sup> They were Wolfgang Musculus (Mäusslin), a pupil of Bucer and Capito and former Cathedral preacher in Strasbourg, and Bonifacius Wolfahrt, who quickly developed close ties with Keller. Later they were joined by other preachers from Strasbourg, Theobald Nigri (Diepold Schwarz) and Doctor Sebastian Meyer.<sup>4</sup>

Bucer's formula for accord was based on the common rejection of transubstantiation and the demand for communion in both kinds.<sup>5</sup> The Zwinglian Keller quickly accepted this, but it was totally rejected by Frosch and Agricola and by Luther, who were angered that they were forbidden to present their own views in response to the

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., p.352, and Martini Bucer Opera Omnia, Deutsche Schriften, vol. 2, (Gütersloh, 1962), p.269. Das Martin Butzer Sich in verteutschung des Psalters Johann Pommers getrewlich und Christlich gehalten 1526. In this pamphlet Bucer criticised Frosch and Agricola, '... bey dem mehr geschrey dann geyst funden wirt ...' for their adherence to Luther's doctrines of the Eucharist.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 68, 1531.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 2, fol. 241, 1530.

4 F. Roth, op.cit., p.353.

5 St. A.A., Literalien, 25th February 1531.

Strasbourg preachers.<sup>1</sup> Luther also bitterly rejected the attempt by Bucer to associate his teachings on the Eucharist with those of Zwingli.<sup>2</sup> Far from healing the divisions of the Protestants, the Council found that its actions had brought the dispute to a head for, faced with the intransigence of the Lutherans, the Council had to abandon its policies of accord. As the authorities wished the Abendmahlstreit to be ended in Augsburg they had to make a choice to favour one party and silence the other. In this situation the solution was apparent, for the Zwinglians were the most popular sect in the city and, moreover, had the support of the lower orders. The Zwinglians had shown themselves ready to compromise as the Council had wished, while the Lutherans appeared factious and obstructive.

On 1st March Frosch and Agricola were summoned by the Thirteen to be told that before being allowed to preach again, they must swear to avoid mentioning Luther's doctrines of the communion and other doctrines which brought them into dispute with the Zwinglians.<sup>3</sup> The two Lutherans saw this as an attempt to muzzle them in favour of the Zwinglians and on their refusal were granted their request to leave Augsburg.<sup>4</sup> The Abendmahlstreit had been ended by the Council by silencing the Lutherans in favour of Zwinglian opinion, for subsequent activity of the Augsburg preachers was to show the

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.13-4.

2 W.A., Br. W., vol. 6, pp.59-60. Luther to Frosch 28th March 1531.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fols. 59-60, 1531.

4 F. Roth, op.cit., vol. 2, p.16.

correctness of Lutheran suspicions of the compromise solution. Keller remained a Zwinglian while Wolfahrt and Musculus were to reveal their strong Zwinglian sympathies.<sup>1</sup> As the Lutherans had left Augsburg however, they had lost any opportunity to influence events.

Clear evidence of the bias shown by the authorities towards the Zwinglians is provided by a memorandum presented to the Council by a Lutheran member, Konrad Rehlinger.<sup>2</sup> He protested against the silencing of the Lutheran preachers and the restrictions placed on their services at St. Anna. Despite his obvious allegiance his account of the recent events is important, for he was a councillor who had attended all the deliberations and was therefore aware of the motives behind government policy. Rehlinger said that the reason for the decision to silence the Lutherans had been that the majority of the populace supported the Zwinglians and were hostile to Luther. In order to placate the populace Rehlinger said the Council had bowed to their demands, without regard for what was the Christian truth.<sup>3</sup> He did not demand Lutheran dominance in Augsburg but only that those citizens who wished, could attend Lutheran sermons and services. As far as Rehlinger was concerned there was no doctrinal justification for the action of the Council, which had been forced upon them by the Zwinglian preachers and the vocal

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 1st February, 1531: A protest of Agricola to the Council in which he complains about the Zwinglian doctrines preached by Wolfahrt. See p.267. In 1533 Wolfahrt published a Catechism which taught a Zwinglian interpretation of the Eucharist. See p.374.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 25th March 1531.

3 Ibid.

support they enjoyed from the 'greater multitude in this city'.<sup>1</sup>

The failure of compromise had again meant that the religious policy of Augsburg was decided on the pragmatic basis of the necessity of avoiding further unrest amongst the lower orders. The measures against the Lutherans brought a greater degree of harmony to religious affairs in Augsburg and, by so doing, removed the grounds for some of the unrest in the city. Bucer contributed to the restoration of civic unity by a sermon he preached in Augsburg in June 1531. In this he urged the citizens to forget their former disunity, which was the work of the Devil, and through faith in Christ seek peace and unity.<sup>2</sup> They also meant, however, that Augsburg had estranged itself from Luther and the major Protestant powers in Germany, to whom Augsburg was revealed as being a Zwinglian city. Luther advised his followers in Augsburg to avoid Zwinglian services, even recommending them to have their children baptised by Catholic clergy rather than the Schwärmer in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> As Lutheran services were forbidden, Luther believed his followers should worship in public outside the city, rather than hold secret services in Augsburg, in order to avoid the accusation of seditious sectarianism.<sup>4</sup> Isolated from the political and military assistance of the Schmalkaldic League Augsburg could expect

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., 17th June 1531. 'Ainigkeit ist von nötten, oder Ir werdt in poden verderben.'  
Also in, Martini Bucer Opera Omnia, Deutsche Schriften, vol. 4, (Gütersloh, 1975), p.406.

3 W.A., Br. W., vol. 6, pp.244-5. Luther to Huber, 3rd Jan. 1532.

4 Ibid., pp.507-8. Luther to Hans Honold, 21st July 1533.

little effective support from its co-religionists in Strasbourg or from the Zwinglians in Switzerland, who were struggling to recover from the defeat at Kappel. The temporary internal peace of 1531 had been bought at the cost of increasing the political and diplomatic isolation of Augsburg, and this at a time when the Emperor had reaffirmed, at the Reichstag in 1530, his determination to use all the means at his disposal to restore the Catholic faith in Germany.

Fortunately for Augsburg the national political climate altered rapidly after 1530. It became apparent that the Emperor would be unable, at least in the immediate future, to fulfil his plans for measures against heretics. His attention was diverted from the religious situation in Germany by international threats upon his Empire: a Turkish invasion from the East and threatening advances by the French. The Emperor was also forced to modify his demands by his desire to see the Archduke Ferdinand elected as King of the Romans. This was an unpopular ambition which increased fears of Habsburg dynasticism and for the scheme to be successful Charles had to avoid antagonising the major German states, both Catholic and Protestant.

Despite this respite Augsburg faced a crisis in its relationship with the Emperor. It was vital to the economic well-being of the city that the business interests of its merchants both directly with the Habsburgs and in Habsburg lands, should not be disrupted. In order to safeguard these interests, at the 1530 Reichstag the Council had promised not to molest the Catholic clergy, and had

given aid towards the defence of Vienna.<sup>1</sup> The difficulties of Augsburg recurred at the Regensburg Reichstag in 1532 where, in return for the grant of troops and money for use against the Turks, Charles declared a religious truce as a guarantee that the soldiers would not be used against German Protestants.<sup>2</sup> Although Augsburg, after some hesitation, agreed to the truce it meant it could not take any measures to solve its own anomalous religious situation, without breaking its oath to the Emperor and Reichstag. Augsburg had bound itself to a situation where it had neither political nor religious allies and from which it could not take measures to end the religious divisions in the city.

The Council was evidently aware that this isolation made Augsburg vulnerable to attack from its enemies and it was keen to gain membership of the Schmalkaldic League. In reality Augsburg was not in a position to join any Protestant alliance for it still tolerated the Catholic Mass and clergy and the Council had taken no measures towards instituting a Reformation. Paradoxically, after having forbidden Lutheran preaching and worship, Augsburg was seeking membership of a Lutheran League, which was indicative of the disregard of doctrinal issues by the Council. The decision to support Bucer and the Zwinglians in 1531 had been forced on the Council by the demands of the 'grosser hauff' described by Konrad Rehlinger.<sup>3</sup> The Council had achieved greater internal peace,

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fols. 64-5, 1531.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 3rd August 1532.

3 See p.288.

however, without considering the wider implications of its actions; clearly it saw the immediate threat, that of social unrest in the city, as being the most dangerous, but the implications of its short-sighted policies were to have serious consequences.

Luther believed that in their interpretation of the Eucharist (the doctrinal issue which had prevented agreement between Zwingli and Luther at the Colloquy of Marburg), the pastors in Augsburg were Zwinglians. Consequently, he rebuffed any attempt at a compromise proposed by the Augsburg pastors.<sup>1</sup> The Council, however, eager for the political advantage of alliance with the Schmalkaldic League, and with scant regard for religious considerations, ordered its preachers to write an explanation and justification of their doctrines for Luther's benefit. The result was a lengthy document which by prevarication and circumlocution attempted to show that little separated Augsburg from the Lutherans.<sup>2</sup> The preachers said they were neither Zwinglians nor Lutherans and preached only the pure Word, but Luther was unimpressed and the negotiations were ended abruptly. In July 1533 a further attempt of Augsburg to gain entry to the League foundered on the opposition of Luther, even though many members were favourably inclined towards the membership of Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> Both Bernhard Besserer the mayor of Ulm and Jakob Sturm the mayor of Strasbourg supported the application,<sup>4</sup> but

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1 K. Wolfart, op.cit., p.64.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 26th March 1533.

3 W.A., Br. W., vol. 6, pp.510-11, Luther to Council of Augsburg, 8th August 1533.

4 Ibid., 12th July.

opposition from Saxony, based partly on the fear of Augsburg being declared a peace-breaker, (Landfriedbrecher) for breaking the terms of the Regensburg truce of 1532, as well as the doctrinal issues, excluded Augsburg from the League.<sup>1</sup>

Negotiations for an alliance between Augsburg, Nuremberg and Ulm, in May 1533, were more successful.<sup>2</sup> The cities agreed to co-operate in the negotiations for the extension of the Swabian League, to ensure that in future their contributions should be reduced and the League should have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of its members. This represented the fear of the cities that the forces of the League would intervene to insist that they restored the authority of the Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup> They also bound themselves to go to the aid of any member which was attacked by a foreign power, and in addition the two other cities undertook to provide 40,000 gulden for the defence of the third member who was threatened in this way.<sup>4</sup> Of crucial importance to Augsburg was the third area of agreement, which demonstrated that the rulers of the cities feared the enemy within as much as those outside. The governments agreed that, in the event of a rebellion by the inhabitants of any of the three cities against their rulers, their fellow governments would intervene to assist the council restore

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., p.119.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 26th March 1533.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 26th March 1533.

4 Ibid.

order and its authority.<sup>1</sup> The insertion of this clause gave the Council of Augsburg at least some security and the promise of assistance against its turbulent populace.

This diplomatic activity of the Council in 1533 was motivated by the imminent termination of the Swabian League, which would create a major re-organisation of political and military power in southern Germany. The League was due to expire in February 1534, but the Habsburgs, for whom the League had been a valuable military tool, were determined to negotiate an extension of the alliance.<sup>2</sup> Such a continuation was opposed by the Catholic Bavarians who saw the League as a servant of Habsburg ambition and dynasticism, as the long dispute over the future of the Duchy of Württemberg made apparent. An extension was also opposed by Philip of Hesse, who wished to be free of membership and who saw the disbanding of the League as an effective means of enfeebling his Habsburg opponents. Already in February 1533 he had written to the Council informing it of his intention to oppose any extension<sup>3</sup> and, emboldened by this knowledge, Augsburg had informed Ferdinand that religious toleration must be assured before it agreed to an extension of the League.<sup>4</sup> In reality Augsburg too wished the League to be disbanded for, although it maintained the peace, Landfriede, of the area, the Council viewed it as a vehicle of princely power which enforced

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1 Ibid.

2 K. Wolfart, op.cit., p.71.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 15th February 1533.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 33, 1534.

reaction and which had long been inimical to the interests of the cities. The primary fear of the Council was that the League would interfere in the religious affairs of Augsburg, but these fears were accompanied by resentment at the level of contributions demanded by the League and the lack of representation of the cities on its controlling councils. The demise of the League in 1534 removed these concerns but there were already indications that the Council was contemplating major political and religious changes.

This shift of opinion was reflected in two memoranda which were considered by the Council during its discussions on whether or not it should support an extension of the Swabian League.<sup>1</sup> The documents are anonymous, but the repetition of arguments and even of sentences in both indicate they were from the same source, which the strong Protestant bias and the style would suggest was the Zwinglian Stadtsyndikus Hans Hagk. In both the Council was recommended to abandon the League and its traditional support for the Habsburgs, for the author believed that Augsburg was ill-advised to seek allies amongst its religious opponents and should concentrate instead on gaining entry to the Schmalkaldic League.<sup>2</sup> The necessity for the city gaining strong allies was emphasised by

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, undated [1533]: 'Anworten uff die Siben eingefalnen nebenfragen zu erortrung der hauptfrag dienstlich' and St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 35, 1534: 'Ob ainer Erbarer Rat der Statt Augspurg sich in die furgenomme erstreckung des Schwebischen Punnds begeben, unnd widerumb von neweren verpinden solle unnd moge oder nit'.

2 Ibid.

the author who believed that Augsburg could no longer trust the Catholic Emperor for protection and justice and should seek its friends amongst the Protestants. The policy of following the middle way was also attacked for, it was stated, this left Augsburg with no friends either amongst the Catholics or Protestants. To end this isolation a positive religious commitment was necessary and the Council was recommended to make this to the Protestants and the Schmalkaldic League.<sup>1</sup>

If this advice were accepted it would represent a fundamental alteration of policy, as Augsburg must abandon its attempts at neutrality. It simultaneously required the city to end its support and close economic ties with the Habsburgs and to ally itself instead with the enemies of the Emperor. As a matter of the greatest importance the attention of the Council was drawn to the chronic disunity in Augsburg between all classes. It was said that this needed a speedy solution as it gravely damaged both the unity and strength of the city and to this end a small committee should be appointed to recommend to the Council what should be done.<sup>2</sup> In the light of the advice given earlier, the author apparently believed that any committee would recommend that the disunity be brought to an end by the introduction of a Protestant Reformation. The acceptance of these views by the Council marked a rejection of its previous policies of seeking neutrality and of

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, undated [1533] and St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 35, 1534.

2 Ibid.

supporting the Emperor, which it had maintained since the 1520s due largely to the influence of Peutingier. Augsburg refused to agree to an extension of the Swabian League and in July 1533, it dispatched Hagk to Strasbourg in an effort to begin negotiations for early membership of the Schmalkaldic League.<sup>1</sup>

This dramatic change of policy was not freely entered upon by the Council but came as a response to a rising tide of civic unrest. Much of the discontent was stimulated by food shortages and the rising cost of provisions. The importance of these grievances was shown by the constant concern of the Council to maintain the food supply, even when it entailed considerable cost to the authorities. Rising bread prices had, according to Rem in 1517, been responsible for unrest amongst the lower orders, especially the weavers,<sup>2</sup> yet between 1517 and 1533 bread prices had doubled while wage rates had shown little or no increase.<sup>3</sup> In the memorandum prepared for the Council concerning the extension of the Swabian League, the author had warned that the greatest threat to civic peace and unity lay in famine and rising food prices which provoked unrest amongst the populace.<sup>4</sup> Elsass has traced the rapid increase in food prices after 1527. The cost of rye, the staple food, rose from 270 pfennig a schaff in 1527 to 652 pfennig in 1529 and, with some fluctuations reached 720 pfennig a schaff

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 10, 1534.

2 See p. 79.

3 See Table 7, p. 83. The prices are the average for the year and subject to seasonal fluctuation.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 35, 1534.

in 1533.<sup>1</sup> The chronicler Sender relates how the increase in demand, caused by the Reichstag in 1530, forced up food prices in Augsburg, the cost of rye rising again to almost 850 pfennig a schaff.<sup>2</sup> Firewood was also scarce and the Council attempted to limit the amount any individual could buy.<sup>3</sup>

After the Reichstag the situation became worse as snow and heavy rain seriously damaged the crops, forcing up the price of rye in July 1531 to over 1,000 pfennig a schaff.<sup>4</sup> Sender reports that starvation was widespread in Swabia and in an effort to mitigate the effects of the famine in Augsburg the Council, at its own cost, bought supplies of food in Austria which were then shipped up the Danube and transported to Augsburg.<sup>5</sup> Eight bakers were employed to bake the bread for distribution amongst the poor. The Guardians of the Poor, Almosenherren, supplied the poor with tokens, according to the size of the family, and the bread was distributed twice weekly, one loaf being exchanged for each token.<sup>6</sup> The food shortage was critical and on 21st June the Thirteen wrote to Anton Fugger requesting his assistance in the purchase of cattle

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1 See Table 6, p.82.

2 Sender, p.327.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 21, 1530.

4 Sender, p.332.

5 Sender, p.332. Cf. K. Deppermann, op.cit., pp.141-2, for the similar effects of this famine on urban unrest in Strasbourg.

6 Ibid., p.333.

in Bohemia which were to be brought to Augsburg for slaughtering.<sup>1</sup> Famine was again experienced early in 1534 when the Council employed mercenary troops to guard against bread riots. There was a popular belief in the city that the monasteries had sufficient provisions from their estates to end the food shortage but would not sell them to the citizens.<sup>2</sup> This hostility was increased when the Dukes of Bavaria forbade their subjects to sell meat to Augsburg, a ban reputedly prompted by the eating of meat in the city during Lent, although in reality the Bavarians were probably attempting to conserve supplies within their own territory.<sup>3</sup> The shortages became so severe that the Council appointed a committee to control the food supply but its attempts to purchase food from abroad met with no success.<sup>4</sup>

The increased prices weighed most heavily on the poor whose wages were unable to meet the rising costs and their particular hardship was acknowledged by the distribution of bread by the Almosenherren. This hardship created the conditions in which unrest could thrive. Under these circumstances discontent amongst

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 129, 1533.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 29, fol. 7-8, 1534.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 27th April 1534.

4 Ibid., 10th August. The effects of this period of famine and economic crisis are not considered by the account of events in Augsburg, between 1530 and 1534 provided by Wolfart, Die Augsburgische Reformation. He identified the areas of religious grievance and dispute, but did not attempt to relate these to the economic and political discontent which prevailed in the city. cf. F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.163.

the lower orders could easily be aroused against their own misfortunes and the failings of the government. These preconditions for rebellion which existed in Augsburg were apparent to the Council, which was attempting to avoid any action which might inflame unrest. It was also apparent to the Protestant pastors, who showed they were prepared to arouse and manipulate popular unrest as a means of forcing the authorities to proceed with the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

Following the removal of the Lutheran preachers the Council had taken no further steps towards religious reform. This was despite the introduction of new men to the Small Council. Preu had noted at the guild elections of 1527, the appointment of seven new guildmasters who, unlike their predecessors, favoured the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> According to Sender this process was continued in 1531 when eight Catholic guildmasters were replaced by Protestants.<sup>3</sup> The destruction of guild records after the Schmalkaldic War makes it impossible to discover whether the Catholics were defeated at the polls, which would show the strong Protestant support within the guilds, or whether they decided not to stand for re-election. The Council appears to have been bound by collective responsibility and many Catholic merchants may have wished to disassociate themselves from the religious policies of Augsburg, which they could do only by withdrawing from the government.

This amounted to Protestant domination within the Council, yet

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1 See p. 306.

2 Preu, p.34.

3 Sender, p.329.

throughout the course of 1532 no measures were taken by the government to further the Reformation. Angered by this the pastors presented the new mayors for 1533, Ulrich Rehlinger and Mang Seitz, shortly after they took office with a demand that they should fulfil their Christian duties.<sup>1</sup> In a letter signed by all the preachers the Council was told that it had a duty to uphold the Christian faith and to use its secular power to protect its subjects from false doctrines. The preachers believed the presence of Catholics in Augsburg to be responsible for the strife and disunity within the city, preventing Augsburg from being the kingdom of God on earth, '... das reich Christi bey euch in euer stat'.<sup>2</sup> This state they said would be created by an alliance between pious rulers, fromme oberherren, and true preachers.<sup>3</sup> The pastors claimed there were many examples from the Bible and their own times which would justify the Council adopting the role of 'godly magistrate' to protect its people. They said the promises made by the Council to the Emperor in 1530 and 1532 not to proceed with reform were in fact no barrier to the introduction of the Reformation, for the duty of the Council to obey God exceeded its duty to the Emperor '... we are the messengers and legates of the great emperor, lord of all emperors - our God in

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1 K. Wolfart, op.cit., p.127, Beilage 1. The assertion by Wolfart, p.22, that the pastors had great influence over the civic authorities, is contradicted by the resolute refusal of the Council to enact a Zwinglian reform of the religious life of the city.

2 K. Wolfart, op.cit., Beilage 1, p.128.

3 In this case the Zwinglians were following the example of Bucer in his sermon of 17th June 1531. They were recommending their doctrines as being a source of civic unity, and by implication, refuting the accusations of Luther and the Catholic Johann Rehlinger, that Zwinglians were sectarians and their doctrines divisive. Cf. p.288.

Heaven.'<sup>1</sup>

There was clearly great pressure being placed upon the Council to introduce religious reform. The pastors said they had been preaching for two years of the duty of the Council to act against the Catholics since this would create in the city love, peace and willing obedience, '... in summa aller hayl und wolfart, eer und breiss vor got und allen gotseligen'.<sup>2</sup> The pastors were stating to the Council a doctrine of the Reformed Church which Moeller has identified in the teachings of both Zwingli and Bucer and which had its roots in the medieval concept of the city as a corpus christianum. Concerning the relationship between the magistracy and the Church and Moeller notes that in the teachings of both Zwingli and Bucer,

... the church and the magistracy stood beside each other bound together in the same office of leading men to Christ, for it was the essential duty of governments to provide for the welfare of their subjects. Their most important task was to encourage and to support the pure service of God, which led to the highest happiness. This was why Bucer believed that the magistrates ought to protect the church, persecute heretics, hire preachers and cooperate in church discipline.<sup>3</sup>

This was the demand being made of the Council, that it had a responsibility to God and its citizens to intervene in religious affairs by establishing reforms of the Church. The Council could see that the emphasis placed by the pastors upon the importance of the common weal in spiritual matters, could also be used to challenge

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.138, Beilage 1.

2 K. Wolfart, op.cit., p.128.

3 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation (Philadelphia, 1972), p.79.

the dominance of the Mehrer over the political and economic life of the community. The belief that Augsburg should be governed as a sacred community, in which the spiritual and secular interests of the inhabitants, as a whole, assumed priority over the interests of individuals, had an appeal for the lower orders which was not shared by the Council. The government consistently refused to act upon the demands for religious reform made by the pastors. It was seen that this could bring in its wake calls for the redistribution of the power of the oligarchy with the pastors and the citizens, and a redistribution of the wealth of the merchants amongst the poor.<sup>1</sup> Ultimately the Council was only to introduce religious reform to assuage the dangerous level of discontent within the city.<sup>2</sup> A close inspection of the legislation shows that neither in 1534 nor in 1537 were the authorities acting to establish a sacred community, but rather a community in which the power of the oligarchy was consolidated and upheld.<sup>3</sup>

The popular support for the Reformation in Augsburg, however, gave the pastors the confidence to admonish the authorities in this way without fear of reprisals or rebuttal. The widespread demonstrations of hostility against the Catholic Church and its adherents reached their peak in a dispute between the Zwinglian Zechpflieger of St. Moritz, Marx Ehem, and Anton Fugger, the leading

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1 See p. 231.

2 See p. 344.

3 See p. 403.

lay defender of Catholicism in Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> The Fugger family frequently worshipped at St. Moritz where Ehem was using his authority to obstruct Catholic services. From February 1533 he had kept the sacristy locked to prevent the clergy using the ornaments and vestments for celebrating Mass. He obstructed the celebration of many endowed Masses and on Good Friday 1533 he prevented the traditional service being held by removing the altar ornaments and the model corpse used in the ceremony. This had prompted Anton Fugger to protest to the Bishop and to install, at his own cost, a priest to say masses, and new ornaments and vestments.<sup>2</sup> In April the preacher at St. Moritz, appointed by the Fuggers, was driven out of the Predigthaus and replaced by a Zwinglian. This was a direct challenge to the Fugger family which had, by Papal Bull, been given the right to choose the preacher at St. Moritz.<sup>3</sup> Following his success in obstructing the Easter services Ehem attempted to prevent the Ascension Day service during which a model of Christ was raised by a rope through a trap door in the ceiling of the Church. Ehem had the hole boarded over but on Ascension Day Anton Fugger had his men unblock the hole and set out in the Church the models used in the service. Ehem entered the Church to find the service already in progress and he began hurling abuse at Fugger. Arguments and fighting broke out while the Stadtvogt, believing a major riot might develop, ordered the Church to be

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1 Sender, p.340.

2 Ibid.

3 Rem, p.94.

locked until tempers cooled.<sup>1</sup>

The Council had to act to restore order, and Fugger, but not Ehem, was arrested. He was interrogated by the Thirteen which made its support for Ehem clear, saying that he had acted with the support of the Council.<sup>2</sup> A later interview with Ehem however proved this was untrue, for he was chided by the Thirteen for his unauthorised conduct.<sup>3</sup> Anton Fugger admitted disobeying the Council and causing a riot but he said he was only celebrating a traditional religious ceremony, in accordance with the Imperial Mandates. The Thirteen deliberated over the matter for five days and eventually decided to punish Fugger with an eight day prison sentence, although five days of this was remitted in return for a payment to the Almusen Seckel.<sup>4</sup> This result did not please Catholics on the Council who believed Ehem had provoked the incident. The Stadtsyndikus Dr. Rehlinger said both men should be punished,<sup>5</sup> but when he was called to account for his actions Ehem said that he had only been carrying out the will of God as he had been elected to do by the people of the parish, a warning to the Council that he had popular support for his actions.<sup>6</sup>

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1 Sender, pp.341-3.

2 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 122, 1533.

3 Ibid., fol. 117.

4 Ibid., fol. 124.

5 Ibid., fol. 117.

6 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 118: 'Ehem zaigt an, wie er von d gemain pfarvolkh erwelt word'.

The importance of these events was apparent, for the Catholic, Anton Fugger, the most influential and richest man in Augsburg was using his wealth and power to challenge the ambiguity of the religious situation. The confrontation forced the Council either to uphold Ehem and suppress the Catholic service, or support Fugger and defend the freedom of Catholic worship in Augsburg. In the event the Council lied by saying Ehem had acted on its instructions, whilst punishing Anton Fugger for disobedience and causing an affray. Nevertheless Ehem was not punished and, despite the promises to the Emperor, Catholic worship was being prevented as the Council gave its favour to the Zwinglians. The power of the Zechpfleger was also demonstrated, particularly their influential role in establishing Protestant views in the parish churches of Augsburg. The events had shown how easily violence could be aroused and had demonstrated the danger that if the Council continued to prevaricate, the control of events would pass into the hands of extremists; either Protestants, who were determined to end Catholic worship in Augsburg; or Catholics, intent on defending their property and religion.

In order to avoid provoking violence, all Catholic processions through the streets were prohibited<sup>1</sup> but the fears of the Council were increased by the discovery of an anonymous letter on the Perlach. This threatened that unless Catholic services were immediately abolished, there were two thousand men in the city sworn to rebellion and to instituting the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> The

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1 Sender, p.353.

2 Sender, p.354: Preu, p.54.

Council took this threat seriously, recruiting six hundred mercenary soldiers to patrol the streets and offering a reward of one thousand gulden for information about the letter. Later a tailor was arrested on suspicion of being responsible but his guilt was never proven and he was still in prison when Sender finished his chronicle in 1536.<sup>1</sup> There was no evidence of the existence of the two thousand men but the reaction of the Council demonstrated its fear of violence and reinforced the demand that the religious situation should be resolved.

The pastors were beginning to doubt the resolve and good faith of the Council in religious affairs and Bucer wrote to Musculus telling him that the Council should be urged to fulfil its duty as a Christian magistracy.<sup>2</sup> The preachers therefore decided to use their strong support amongst the populace to force the Council to abolish Catholic worship. The account of these events is provided by Caspar Huber, a Lutheran resident in Augsburg, whose description displays a clear Lutheran bias and antipathy towards the Augsburg preachers yet benefited from the inclusion of detailed information given to him by Dr. Michael Weinmair, the pastor at the Spital, who was present at all the meetings of the pastors but who disapproved of the extreme measures proposed by his colleagues.<sup>3</sup> The pastors met weekly since 1528 to discuss matters of doctrine<sup>4</sup> and at one of

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1 Sender, p.356.

2 K. Wolfart, op.cit., pp.42-3.

3 Huber's Relation is transcribed in W. Germann, D. Johann Forster, der hennebergische Reformator (1894), pp.52-60 and 79-80.

4 Sender, p.209.

these sessions in early October 1533 it was proposed that at the regular annual meeting of the Large Council held at St. Gallen's Day (17th October), the pastors should enter the meeting and present an ultimatum. They were to demand that the Large Council should immediately legislate to abolish the Mass, otherwise the pastors would leave Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> Huber believed that the pastors expected little action from the Small Council and were therefore appealing, over the heads of the government, to the guildsmen in the Large Council amongst whom they knew they had many supporters. Weinmair's revelations to Huber show he had Lutheran sympathies and therefore feared that if these measures were successful, they would make Zwinglian doctrines supreme in Augsburg. This led him to inform the mayor Hieronymous Imhof, himself a Lutheran, of the plan. With the element of surprise lost the pastors abandoned the scheme. They may never have intended to carry it through but have wished the Council to hear of their plans and be stimulated into action.

The events show that the pastors must have been confident of their support amongst the population and certain that the Council would not dare to use the excuse of their insubordination to expel them. It was also clear that the pastors were prepared to appeal to the populace and to use the power of popular unrest and the threat of violence to place political pressure on the Council to proceed with reform.<sup>2</sup> The authorities had long attempted to prevent social unrest being inflamed by religious disputes but the pastors were

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1 W. Germann, op.cit., p.79.

2 Ibid.

prepared to incite opposition to the authorities in order to achieve their religious objectives. To do this they were attempting to use the remnants of political control over the government which the population still possessed, through the Large Council and the guild organisation.<sup>1</sup>

The action of the pastors was justified by their humanistic and theocratic concept of the publica utilitas, which involved the spiritual as well as the political and economic well-being of the city. The pastors had, on their own evidence, prepared the ground for their demands through their sermons in which they emphasised the duty of the secular authorities to defend the spiritual needs of the city. In their projected appeal to the guilds to carry through the Reformation can be seen the basis of the popularity of the Zwinglians. They demanded that if the Council refused to rule and legislate for what was considered by the majority of people in the city to be the common good, then the citizens had a right to intervene in government. If this principle were accepted the oligarchical government of the Mehrer would be made responsible and answerable to the Large Council and the guild membership, who could censure and control the government. Luther maintained that the authorities were servants of God and should therefore be obeyed. The Zwinglians believed the Council was the servant of God and also had responsibilities to God's people.

If the Council did nothing to resolve the religious disunity

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1 To remove this threat to the control of the oligarchy the Thirteen had considered revising the guild constitution but had failed to proceed with the plan: St. A.A., Literalien, 16th August 1531.

there was the threat that its authority would be challenged. The populace, in alliance with the pastors, could seize control of events and, in defiance of the government, institute religious and perhaps political and social reforms. This challenge had to be averted but the difficulties presented by religious reform were still feared by the Council. Acceptance of the Reformation would be in direct contravention of promises made to the Emperor which would make Augsburg subject to his retaliation. Moreover if the Council acceded to the Reformed religious settlement demanded by the pastors, Augsburg would be yet further estranged from Luther making more difficult future attempts to gain membership of the Schmalkaldic League.

It was for guidance in these areas that the Council had, earlier in the year, sought the advice of its leading lawyers and advisers. In great secrecy the Committee for Religion had drafted a series of questions concerning its authority to institute the Reformation and the likely consequences of such action.<sup>1</sup> At first the Committee consulted the three leading lawyers in the city who were Konrad Peutinger, Johann Rehlinger and Konrad Hel. Each was requested to give his views on the question, 'Whether the Town Council of Augsburg, as a temporal power, has the authority to institute and maintain changes and new ordinances in religious

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.109-110 and pp.137-140, Beilage 2. Although Roth acknowledged the existence of these memoranda, he failed to see their importance in clarifying the attitude of the Council towards religious reform. He dismissed the episode in one paragraph, with no detailed consideration of the religious and political implications they raised. cf. K. Wolfart, op.cit., pp.50-55.

matters or not.' In addition Peutinger was asked to discuss how social disunity in the city could be ended, Rehlinger was asked for his advice on how the Council should respond to the hostile reaction of the Habsburgs, which was anticipated if the city adopted the Reformation, and Hel was to recommend how the property of Augsburg and its citizens could be protected if Augsburg was declared to have broken the Landfriede.<sup>1</sup> In every case the Committee was consulting legal experts on the legal implications of reform and religious and doctrinal questions played no part in the deliberations.

The three men selected were respected and experienced. Peutinger was the long-serving Stadtschreiber who had frequently counselled both the Thirteen and the Small Council. Above all others he was considered to be the architect of following the middle way,<sup>2</sup> the policy which the Committee was considering abandoning. He was a humanist and scholar, little concerned with theological considerations. He remained a Catholic however for he saw in support of Catholicism the only means by which the unity and strength of the Empire could be maintained.<sup>3</sup> He was by nature an aristocrat, being a member of the Mehrer through his marriage to Margarete Welser; and since he feared a repetition of the events of 1524 and 1525, he therefore always believed that all authority should be maintained. Rehlinger was a Stadtsyndikus and also a Catholic lawyer, from a

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.137-140, Beilage 2.

2 Preu, p.46.

3 See p.314.

wealthy patrician family. He identified practical, legal and spiritual objections to the introduction of the Reformation to Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> Hel was also a Stadt syndikus and a wealthy patrician, but unlike the others he was a Lutheran. He was known to have strong anti-clerical and anti-papal views but was also a supporter of imperial power.<sup>2</sup>

The documents submitted by these lawyers all strongly advised the Council not to proceed with religious changes. In response to the first question they all emphatically maintained that the Council had no authority in religious matters.<sup>3</sup> Peutinger stated clearly that the authority to change Christian doctrine and worship rested solely with a General Council of the Church, for he maintained that if this principle were abandoned anarchy would occur as each authority obeyed whatever laws and doctrines it wished. According to Peutinger this would lead to the situation which had existed in the Peasants' War when, under the guise of supporting the Gospel, the lower classes had attacked the social order:

... should every minor, separate authority such as a prince or duke or city be tolerated to decide upon and proceed with changes in religion or belief, then it would follow that not only market towns and villages but even separate groups in towns and villages would develop differences and awaken division against each other and seek to force events so that nothing but animosity, rebellion and sedition would flourish, just as with the loud and clear example of the peasants in 1525 and the "Aidgenossischen" rebellions, which took place under the guise of the Holy Gospel.<sup>4</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 21, 1534.

2 Ibid., Nr. 18.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 15, fol. 32, 1534.  
Ibid., Nr. 21, fol. 36: Ibid., Nr. 18, fol. 32.

4 Ibid., Nr. 15, fols. 31-2: Peutinger. The dangerous implications arising from the use of Göttliche Recht to justify resistance to authority, are here emphasised by Peutinger.

This warning was repeated by Rehlinger who, like the Emperor himself, argued for the necessity of waiting for a General Council before taking any action.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the Zwinglians, Rehlinger emphasised a strict division between the temporal and spiritual authorities. Just as the interference of the Church in the governing responsibilities of the Council would not be tolerated so, said Rehlinger, the Council had no authority to intervene in spiritual matters.<sup>2</sup> This belief was supported and amplified by Hel.<sup>3</sup> All three denied that the Council had any authority to introduce the Reformation and all warned that Augsburg should wait for the decisions of a General Council.

The argument was reinforced by agreement amongst the three lawyers that Augsburg was bound by promises to make no religious innovations which it had given to the Emperor at the Reichstag in Speyer in 1529, in Augsburg in 1530 and Regensburg in 1532. To break these agreements would bring reprisals from the Reichskammergericht and the Catholic powers which surrounded the city.<sup>4</sup> Hel was particularly clear on this point and he urged the Council to act only with caution, since to break these promises would undoubtedly be considered by the Emperor to be a breach of the Landfriede. The retribution would affect the livelihood of everybody in the city as all goods travelling to and from Augsburg would

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1 Ibid., Nr. 21, fol. 2: Rehlinger.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 18, fols. 2-3.

3 Ibid., Nr. 18, fol. 2: Hel.

4 Ibid., Nr. 15, fol. 58: Peutingen.

be liable to seizure, so cutting off the city from its trade and food supplies.<sup>1</sup> Hel believed this would provide the justification which the powerful and jealous neighbours of Augsburg had long been seeking. They would destroy the power and prosperity of the city by plundering its trade and renouncing their debts to Augsburg bankers.<sup>2</sup> Hel also warned the Council not to rely on the disagreement between the Catholic states preventing attack for, he correctly foresaw, that the Emperor would reach accord with the Bavarians and restore the Catholic alliance.<sup>3</sup>

Rehlinger raised other objections to the introduction of religious changes in Augsburg. He said that any Protestant Reformation would constitute an attack on the rights of the Bishop and Cathedral Chapter, who could therefore expect the Swabian League to come to their assistance against the city.<sup>4</sup> The rights of the Emperor would also be infringed as during the Reichstag in 1530 he had agreed to be patron and protector of the convent at St. Katharina,<sup>5</sup> a role which he also exercised in conjunction with the Duke of Bavaria, over the monastery of St. Ulrich. Any measures against the religious houses would therefore provoke the intervention of the Emperor and the Bavarians.<sup>6</sup> Rehlinger also took the

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1 Ibid., Nr. 18, fols. 33-5: Hel.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 21, fol. 10: Rehlinger.

5 St. A.A., Literalien, fol. 92, 1530.

6 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 21, fol. 10, 1534.

opportunity in his memorandum to attack the Zwinglian pastors and to stress that the Council did not have the theological expertise to pass judgement on points of doctrine. He rejected the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist and claimed that the inability of the Protestants to agree amongst themselves on this matter destroyed their claim to speak with divine authority. To institute a Zwinglian Reformation would not, in the opinion of Rehlinger, solve the problems of civic disunity and to increase their authority would only extend their harmful effect on society.<sup>1</sup> Peutinger also stressed that Augsburg, like any other city, relied upon their being a strong Emperor to maintain the peace and security of the Empire and for this reason the Council had a duty to uphold and obey Imperial authority. On these grounds he urged the Council to maintain the policy which he had always advocated, '... to follow the middle and mild way', for any other course would bring upon rich and poor in the city, '... trouble, travail, confusion, opposition, animosity and in many other ways injury and damage.'<sup>2</sup>

The Committee for Religion could draw little comfort from these memoranda. The leading lawyers and advisers of the Council were adamant that it had no authority to act in religious matters and, if it did so, it would contravene the laws of the Empire and the agreements it had made with Charles V. They prophesied that the consequences for Augsburg would be disastrous as the city would be outlawed, its economy crippled and, without allies it would be forced

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1 Ibid., fol. 7.

2 Ibid., Nr. 15, fol. 58: Peutinger.

to face the retaliation of the Emperor and its Catholic neighbours. The message was clear: Augsburg had to maintain its existing religious situation or face economic and political disaster. On receipt of these documents the Committee was forced to show its true motivation, for it had never been seeking advice but rather justification for measures of religious reform which it had already decided were necessary. A meeting of the Thirteen to consider these findings was probably held in April 1533<sup>1</sup> and, to counteract the views of Peutingger, Rehlinger and Hel, the Committee hastily commissioned new memoranda from a Ratskonsulent Balthasar Langnauer and a Stadtsyndikus Hans Hagk, both of whom were known to be supporters of the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the long and detailed memoranda prepared by the other lawyers these were short and obviously written in haste; Langnauer stating that he had been asked to prepare his views in 'kurtzverschiner zeit'.<sup>3</sup>

Only a small fragment of Hagk's memorandum remains but Langnauer's recommendation to proceed with the Reformation has survived. He admitted that, according to both canon and imperial law, changes in religion and debates concerning doctrine were forbidden as these subjects were the responsibility of a General Council. He agreed that the Council had no legal authority to act but Langnauer believed that these considerations were outweighed by the religious duties of

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1 The minutes for this meeting are not extant.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., p.139.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 22, fol. 2, 1534.

the Council.<sup>1</sup> He said it was proven from Scripture that all authority was established by God and that secular governments had been given the power of the sword to punish wickedness and defend the Christian faith:

When one reads the Scriptures, one finds that authority was ordered and established by God, that it should be a tool of God to destroy everything that is against His Holy Word. So authority is called in Scripture the servant of God and does not bear the sword in vain but to punish wickedness.<sup>2</sup>

Langnauer believed the falsehood of the Catholic Church had been shown to the Council and this was justification enough for action, since the responsibility the Council owed to God to protect religion exceeded its loyalty to the Emperor and the ties of law. If the councillors failed to carry out their Christian duty Langnauer said they would ultimately have to answer to God for their actions.

In the matter of introducing changes in Christian faith, they [the authorities] are answerable to God and must give account to the strict Judge.<sup>3</sup>

Peutinger had emphasised that the Council was subject to the Emperor, whom it must obey in all matters,<sup>4</sup> but Langnauer, in opposition to this view, maintained that the Council held its authority directly from God and was responsible only to Him. This interpretation extended the authority of the Council beyond

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 22, fol. 3, 1534.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., fol. 4.

4 Ibid., Nr. 15, fol. 54: Peutinger.

previously accepted limits, for Langnauer maintained that although the Council was subject to the Emperor in temporal matters, it was not bound to obey him, or any other authority on earth, if his commands contravened the Word of God.<sup>1</sup> This assertion gave the Council the responsibility of interpreting the will of God and also the freedom to decide its actions for itself, without considering the demands of other rulers. Such freedom was contrary to the belief that the Council of Augsburg had been given its authority to rule by the Emperor in the Stadtrecht of 1276 and was therefore subject to the Emperor as the 'obere oberkait'. This doctrine of the responsibilities and power of the Christian magistrate was new in Augsburg where the Council had always acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor and the allegiance it owed to him. Langnauer's theory attacked the basis of Imperial organisation in Germany by removing the duty of obedience to the Emperor from any constituent member who objected on religious grounds to the Emperor's commands. This right of choice would give virtual independence to all member states and lead ultimately to the erosion of Imperial power and the fragmentation of the Empire. These views would therefore be considered as seditious by Charles V and supporters of the Imperial cause, such as Peutingen.

They appear however to have won the support of the Committee for Religion. The memoranda had failed to provide justification for reform but at least the Committee had discovered the major

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1 Ibid., Nr. 22, fol. 3: Langnauer.

arguments which would be used against religious change in Augsburg. These objections were compiled by the Committee into twenty-two main points which were then presented for comment to leading Protestant lawyers: Frantz Kötztler the Zwinglian Gerichtsschreiber; Franciscus Frosch, a lawyer from Strasbourg, and the leading Protestant preacher in Augsburg, Musculus.<sup>1</sup> The twenty-two points fall into three categories. The first concerns the problem of civic disunity, and the Committee wished to know whether this problem would be solved by the Reformation. There was the fear that religious reform would prompt wealthy merchants, who traded with the Habsburgs, to leave the city and also that the clergy and neighbouring rulers would cease to sell provisions from their estates to Augsburg.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the Committee wished to know the extent of the retaliation which reform might provoke from the Emperor and Swabian League and finally it sought clarification of the legal and property rights of the clergy in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup>

Even though two of the replies were written by lawyers all of them relied heavily on the justification of Scripture to support their arguments, there being little reference to legal precedent or theory. The Zwinglian lawyer Kötztler justified this by saying that since religious reform was a spiritual matter, the Council should be guided only by the Word of God.<sup>4</sup> The omission however

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1 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.140-4, Beilage 3.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., pp.140-4, Beilage 3.

3 Ibid.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 28, fol. 2, 1534.

emphasised the inability of the Protestants to provide legal arguments in favour of change. The reliance upon the principle of Göttliche Recht to provide the justification for ignoring established laws, treaties and customs, placed the Zwinglians in a similar position to the rebels of 1525.<sup>1</sup> Both the peasants and the Augsburg Zwinglians, found themselves forced to rely on Scriptural authority as the means of legitimising their opposition to the demands of the secular powers. The example provided by the events of 1525 could not have been lost on the Council, for they demonstrated the dangerous implication of this doctrine, which could be used to provide the lower orders with a justification for rebellion. If the Council established the precedent of an appeal to Göttliche Recht, there was always the danger that on the same grounds, the authority of the Council could be challenged by the populace.

The economic objections to reform were summarily dismissed by Kötzler. The fear that the withholding of food from Catholic territories would cause famine and high prices, and the claim that the expulsion of the clergy would result in a loss of alms and employment for citizens were all dismissed as 'carnal arguments'.<sup>2</sup> Kötzler said the Council had a duty to protect its subjects from the Catholic Church and clergy which it knew to be wicked and blasphemous. On the basis of examples from the Bible Kötzler assured the authorities that if they followed the will of God the

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1 P. Blickle, Die Revolution von 1525, p.141.

2 Ibid., Nr. 29, fol. 3.

city would be given His protection. There was therefore he believed, no cause for anxiety over food supplies as the Council could trust in God, who would provide as long as the city remained faithful to Him.<sup>1</sup> This failure to consider the economic objections raised by the opponents of the Reformation is apparent in all the memoranda favouring religious change and emphasises the strength of these complaints. Over the issue which caused great concern to the authorities, that of the food supply, Kötztler could offer no reassurance or practical advice other than that the Council should trust in God. In fact both Kötztler and Musculus acknowledged that the Reformation would cause temporary economic hardship in Augsburg, but they claimed that in the establishment of a true Christian Church, this was a small price to pay.<sup>2</sup> They said the same economic arguments had been used against the expulsion of the Jews yet, in the long term, this had clearly been for the common good.<sup>3</sup>

The clergy, said Kötztler, fulfilled no useful purpose in Augsburg. They were haughty and parasitic, misleading the people by their false ceremonies. If instead the religious life of the city was guided by '... pious, God-fearing, learned, humble men', who could justify their doctrines from the Bible, then the citizens would be directed towards a true Christian life to the city and, for the Council to support them would be for the welfare of

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1 Ibid., fol. 5.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 28, fol. 8, 1534.

3 Ibid., fol. 5.

Augsburg as a whole.<sup>1</sup> The Council may have thought less highly of the pastors and remembered their threatening conduct and plan to unite with the populace against the government in their efforts to force the Reformation on the Council.<sup>2</sup> Even the loss of alms given by the clergy would not harm Augsburg; for Kötztler said that the endowments and privileges which had been given to the Church to assist the poor had been wasted by the clergy on sumptuous living. In the preceding years of famine and high prices Kötztler said the clergy had a superfluity of food which would have been sufficient to feed the populace. If the poor had, however, been forced to rely on the alms of the Church they would have died of starvation and had in fact only been supported by the alms from the Council.<sup>3</sup>

None of the promises which the Council had made to the Emperor to uphold the Catholic Church were considered in any of these memoranda to be binding. Kötztler said these agreements were contrary to the law of God and had been imposed on the Council to prevent it from fulfilling its Christian duty in reforming the abuses of the Church. Instead Kötztler believed the Council had a duty to disregard these promises and proceed with reform.<sup>4</sup> This was a duty imposed by God before whom all secular authorities, including the Emperor would be called to answer. If they had not

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1 Ibid.

2 See p.307.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 29, fols. 7-8, 1534.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 28, fols. 16-17, 1534.

protected the true faith and the souls of their subjects they would be found wanting by God. This point was also made by Frosch who maintained:

'... that it is held by all scholars of the law, that one is bound to keep one's oath if the soul is not damaged by so doing. When however the soul would be damaged, the oath is not binding.<sup>1</sup>

The strict differentiation between civil and spiritual jurisdiction expressed by Peutingger, Rehlinger and Hel was not recognised by Kötztler, who believed the Council alone was responsible for the spiritual and temporal government of the city. This gave the Council the authority to discipline and, if necessary, expel the Catholic clergy since, by so doing, it would be protecting the souls of the townspeople. The authority of the Emperor to force religious legislation on any constituent member of the Empire was also denied, and Kötztler said Augsburg would not be failing in its duty or loyalty to Charles V if it followed the will of God. It would however have failed in its duty to God if, for the sake of placating the Emperor it continued to tolerate the Catholic Church and ultimately, Kötztler warned, the councillors had more to fear from God than the Emperor.<sup>2</sup> According to Kötztler, Augsburg could not be accused of breaking the Landfriede if it introduced the Reformation, for peace was not broken by legislation, only by violent attack. This view was also maintained by Musculus<sup>3</sup> and

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 1534 /dated 1533/.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 29, fol. 21, 1534.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 29, fol. 19, 1534.

constituted a misinterpretation of the religious truce to which Augsburg had agreed at the Regensburg Reichstag of 1532. This had been intended amongst other considerations to uphold the religious status quo and prevent governments from introducing religious reforms. The memorandum also failed to consider the problem that the expulsion of the Catholic clergy and appropriation of their property would be considered an attack on the rights and duties of the patrons of the religious houses, even if violence was not employed.

According to Frosch and Kötzer the Emperor had no authority to enforce laws governing men's souls, but the Council had a duty to rule as God directed. Frosch said this meant Augsburg must abandon its policy of neutrality and follow God's laws despite the contrary demands of the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Frosch voiced the belief that Charles ruled as no more than primus inter pares of the German rulers and could not force the Council to obey his edicts as it was a sovereign, independent authority, answerable only to God.<sup>2</sup>

As a pastor Musculus laid emphasis on the primacy of God's direction in Augsburg. He believed the city was self-governing and had the right of self-determination and since religious reform would not affect the temporal rights of the Emperor or the Bishop they had no grounds for complaint.<sup>3</sup> He believed that religious reform would bring to an end the social disunity of Augsburg, and

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 1534.

2 Ibid.

3 F. Roth, op.cit., p.143.

Kötzler too emphasised this view, claiming that the divisions had been caused by the false preaching of the Catholics. In these circumstances Kötzler believed the Council should silence the Catholics and support the Gospel, which was the one true source of unity.<sup>1</sup> Musculus demonstrated a greater interest in secular affairs than Frosch and Kötzler and he was ready to give his opinions on the political problems facing the Council. Musculus recognised that the fear of retaliation from the Swabian League, if the Council proceeded with reform, was a major obstacle to the furthering of the Reformation in Augsburg. He argued that there was little hope of the League being renewed after 1534, and during the debilitating squabbles which were already raging about its future, there was no fear of its intervening in events in Augsburg.<sup>2</sup> This left the way open for reform, in the opinion of Musculus. Within his memorandum Kötzler included an admonitory section directed at the Councillors and, in the original document, marked in the margin to receive special attention. He said that for many years there had been pastors in Augsburg who had written and preached against the falsehood of Catholicism. These men had been summoned, installed and paid by the Council which presumably approved of their doctrines. If this was the case the Council had no alternative but to act on the advice of its own preachers and forbid all Catholic ceremonies and sermons in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 29, fols. 25-6, 1534.

2 F. Roth, op.cit., p.142.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 2, Nr. 29, fol. 12, 1534.

In the memoranda of Kötztler, Frosch and Musculus the Council was offered religious justification for proceeding with reform. None of these writers attempted to disprove that in law the responsibility for religious reform lay only with a General Council of the Church but instead they relied on a combination of religious idealism and Bible fundamentalism to support their demands for change. The validity of their argument rested upon a new definition of the status and power of the Council in relation to the authority of the Emperor. According to this new view the Council held its power directly from God and owed its primary allegiance to Him; which was contrary to the belief of Peutingger, for example, who asserted that the Council had been given its authority by the Emperor and, as an inferior authority was bound to obey him. This new interpretation of civic authority placed upon the Council the duty of identifying and following the will of God, which was placed over any other law. On these grounds the Council was released from the promises to protect the Church which it had made to the Emperor and given justification to proceed with reform.

This course of action had two attractions for the Council. By instituting religious reforms the authorities would hope to end the religious disunity and, at the same time, the influence and control of the government over large areas of civic life would be greatly increased.<sup>1</sup> The writers claimed that the removal of

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1 The implications which the introduction of a theocratic form of government in Augsburg would have for the conflict for political power, which existed between the oligarchy and the citizens, is not considered in the accounts of the Reformation provided by Roth and Wolfart.

Catholicism would end the major source of disunity in Augsburg. The Council was eager to end the religious disputes which it believed encouraged social division and the most effective way to do this was for the authorities to give their support to the most powerful religious group. There were Lutheran and Catholic minorities in Augsburg, but the pastors clearly had the support of the majority of townspeople and the Council had to co-operate with them in order to end the division.

Musculus put forward a tempting prospect for the Council when he promised that religious reform would allow the authorities to clarify and control their relationship with the pastors. Once Augsburg was a Protestant city, he said the Council would be able to place the pastors under contract, a Bestallung, which would allow for the clear stipulation of their rights and duties. This would have considerable influence with the Council which realised it had lost the control of the religious life of the city to the pastors and populace. There was no way for the Council to control the pastors other than by removing them and this it dare not do for fear of the popular reaction. The Council was anxious to end the independent political role of the pastors but this could be done only by forcing acceptance of a Bestallung on them. If this was done however, and the Council acknowledged control and responsibility for the pastors, it could no longer claim to be neutral in religious matters when the city was accused of ignoring the Emperor's commands concerning religion.

These memoranda show clearly the main preoccupations of the Council and they fill in part the gaps in our knowledge left by the

missing records of the Thirteen and the Committee for Religion. The Council was clearly concerned to ascertain as clearly as possible what the results and implications of the Reformation in Augsburg would be. It intended to act only after reflection and in full knowledge of the consequences. The Council was seeking advice principally about its legal power to reform and with the exception of Musculus it consulted only lawyers, paying little attention to theological issues. The view of the most prominent lawyers was clear. The Council had no authority to reform religion and, if it did so, there would be disastrous economic and political repercussions for Augsburg. These views did not find favour with the Committee for Religion which then sought the opinions of men known to favour the Reformation who advised that the Council should proceed with religious reform. They were unable to disprove that these actions would be illegal and could offer no convincing evidence that the city would not be crippled by economic blockade and by the hostility of the Catholic powers. Instead the Council was told to trust in God who would protect the city from attack and starvation, small comfort against the armies of the Swabian League and the crop failures of 1533.

The commissioning of the memoranda shows that by early 1533 the Council was considering introducing religious reform. The subsequent rejection of the advice given by Peutingger, Rehlinger and Hel and the commissioning of new memoranda from men known to favour the Reformation makes it clear that the Council already intended to act and was seeking justification for legislation it considered must inevitably be passed. The memoranda demonstrated

to the Council the means of solving its two greatest problems, disunity and diplomatic isolation. By abandoning its policy of neutrality and capitulating to the demands of the largest religious group in the city, the Council could bring under control the disunity which threatened to destroy order and authority within civic society. It was also apparent that the Council was eager to end its diplomatic isolation which it had endured since 1530. The only feasible way of achieving this was by enforcing a Protestant Reformation and seeking membership of the Schmalkaldic League. The memoranda contained strong arguments that acceptance of the Reformation would ultimately have disastrous consequences for Augsburg, yet it appeared to be the only way open to the Council by which the immediate crisis within society might be solved.

**CHAPTER EIGHT**

**THE INTRODUCTION OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE**

CHAPTER EIGHT

The prolonged deliberations of the Council in 1533 revealed that there was no easy remedy to cure the religious and social divisions in Augsburg. If the Council proceeded to enforce the Reformation, from without the city it faced the consequences of an economic blockade and reprisals from the Emperor, the Swabian League and the Reichskammergericht. From within, the oligarchy faced a challenge to its dominance of the political and economic life of Augsburg, if the theocratic principles, supported by the pastors and populace, were adopted. Should the Council, however, fail to take measures against the Catholic Church, it faced the threat of a rebellion by its subjects. Conscious of these difficulties the Council took no action in favour of the Protestants in the latter months of 1533, even though both mayors for the year, Ulrich Rehlinger and Mang Seitz were known supporters of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> The Council was doubtless hesitating before taking any decision until it was known whether the Swabian League would be continued after 1534, but the longer the Council prevaricated, the greater the unrest and disunity in Augsburg became.

The dispute was maintained by the activity of the Protestant pastors. They regularly preached sermons which, it was claimed by the Lutheran Huber, were designed to create hostility amongst the

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.87.

population towards the Catholic Church and clergy.<sup>1</sup> This ensured that the popular support for the pastors and the demand for religious reform was sustained. The pastors made it clear in their sermons that the Council had both the authority and duty to act against the Catholic Church if it really wished to do so.<sup>2</sup> This was intended to dispel the justification for inactivity employed by the Council; that it was prevented from taking any action by the Imperial Mandates concerning religion and the promises which it had previously made to the Emperor. Once again, the pastors supported the call for action with an appeal to the authority of Göttliche Recht. The responsibility for action was placed with the secular authorities and the pastors believed that only the reticence of the Council prevented the abolition of Catholicism in Augsburg. The frustration of the pastors with the inactivity of the Council in late 1533 was demonstrated by the projected scheme of appeal to the meeting of the Large Council on 16th October for legislation to enforce the Reformation in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> At this stage the pastors clearly believed that they had sufficient support within the Large Council and in the city as a whole, to force their demands upon the government without the fear of retaliation by the Council. This willingness of the pastors to appeal to the lower orders against the wishes of the government;

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1 W. Germann, D. Johann Forster der hennebergische Reformator, p.73.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 21st January 1533.

3 See p. 307.

their readiness to use the discontent in the city to achieve their religious objectives, was a source of concern for the Council.

By the end of 1533 there was the real danger that the control of events in the city would slip away from the Mehrer unless it acted to enforce the Reformation.

Discontent in Augsburg was also prompted by the hard winter of 1533 to 1534, when food shortages and extreme cold<sup>1</sup> caused food prices to rise to record levels.<sup>2</sup> Sender recounts how one poor textile worker, who could afford neither food nor firewood for his family, hanged himself in despair,<sup>3</sup> and the chronicle of Preu makes it clear that many people in Augsburg blamed speculation by the wealthy merchants for forcing up the price of food. One woman, Margretha Labenwölf<sup>u</sup>fin, was arrested for saying the guildmaster of the Salzfertiger, Simprecht Hoser was buying up all the corn in the city to sell abroad at a profit,<sup>4</sup> an accusation which Preu believed was true.<sup>5</sup> This speculation in food by the merchants had already been condemned by Preu in 1532, for it demonstrated to him the decline of the community spirit between the citizens, when individuals were prepared to profit from the hardship of others,<sup>6</sup>

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1 Sender, pp.364-5.

2 See Table 6, p.82.

3 Sender, p.365.

4 Preu, p.57.

5 Ibid.

6 Preu, pp.48-9: 'Item man hat etlichen evangelischen burgern umb ain schaf koren sechsthalben gulden wollen geben, haben sie es umb sechs gulden mit geben wollen. o wehe der burgerlichen lieb und bruderlichen treu!'

and it emphasised the division between rich and poor which existed in Augsburg: '... dem reichen als dem reichen, dem armen, dass got erbarmen'.<sup>1</sup> By the beginning of 1534 the division between rich and poor in the city was growing and with it the widespread resentment against the government of the Mehrerer was increasing.

The mayors elected for 1534 were Hieronymous Imhof and Wolfgang Rehlinger, both of whom were Protestant supporters. At the beginning of their term of office, in January 1534, they were sent a strongly worded exhortation, signed by the pastors of Strasbourg, urging them to proceed with the Reformation and outlining, on the basis of their own experience, the measures which must be undertaken.<sup>2</sup> The Strasbourg pastors insisted that religious reform would lead to a '... bettering of life and Christian discipline', in Augsburg, yet this necessitated the immediate silencing of Catholic preachers, the abolition of the Mass and all other Catholic services and practices in favour of Protestant observance. They stressed the advantages the Reformation would bring the Council and people of Augsburg, which led them to maintain that it would be for the general welfare of the city if clerical privileges were abolished and the clergy were made to pay taxes to assist the poor.<sup>3</sup> From experience in Strasbourg, they believed that order could only be restored to society in Augsburg by the establishment of firm Christian discipline. This required

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1 Ibid., p.54.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 24, 1534.

3 Ibid., fol. 30.

the Council to appoint learned God-fearing men as pastors and to force all the townspeople to attend their sermons so that nobody could claim ignorance as a justification for disobedience. It also necessitated the introduction of strict censorship by the Council of all books sold in Augsburg to prevent religious disunity, while the authorities were also recommended to restrict holidays to Sundays, Easter, Whitsuntide, Ascension Day, the Annunciation and St. John the Baptist's Day to discourage licentious behaviour. The Council was also advised to establish a system of discipline administered by deacons in each parish. These men were to ensure that the parishioners followed orthodox doctrines and that those who were led astray, particularly the young, were admonished to live a Christian life.<sup>1</sup> Such a religious settlement would offer the Council a useful means of enforcing both religious and social discipline over its subjects, as had occurred in Strasbourg and would later take place in Geneva, but it left vague whether the Church should be controlled by the secular authorities or if it should be an independent authority. Much rested upon the problem

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, Nachtrag 1, Nr. 24, 1534, fol. 36: 'Har zu were von noten das in ainer yeden pfarr aufs wenigst funff oder mer noch menige der pfarr kinder gotzfeuchtiger, verstenndiger fromer Ernhafter Eyfferinger menner erwelet un erkieset wurden, welche ain hew fleysig aufsehen haben, sollen uff den pfarrer unnd helfer in verwaltung Ires pfarlichen diennsts auf die ganntz pfarrmanige einhelligelich bedenncken unnd Rathschlagen, alles was in der pfarr ergerlich, durch ordenliche, fugliche mittel abzustellen, und was besserlich anzerichten damit das gemain ungezogen volckh unnd die muttwillige Jugendt in ain forcht unnd in ain zuchtig wol gethanes leben bracht wurde'.

left ill-defined by the Strasbourg pastors, concerning how the deacons were to be selected, and what their relationship with the secular authorities was to be. This particularly affected the right of excommunication, which in Strasbourg and Geneva was so bitterly contested.<sup>1</sup> A similar scheme for the organising of religious life and Christian discipline, based upon the establishment of a synod, had been devised by Bucer, Oecolampadius and Blaurer for Ulm in 1531.<sup>2</sup> It had been rejected by the Council, which objected to the prominent role of the citizens and pastors within the synod, which placed them in a position from which they could challenge the authority of the ruling oligarchy. A modified system was adopted instead, in which authority was vested in Warnungsherren, all of whom were nominated by the Council.<sup>3</sup> Bucer had faced similar difficulties in winning acceptance from the secular authorities for his Articles of Faith in Strasbourg, and was clearly disappointed by the form of church organisation established there by the Council in 1534.<sup>4</sup>

There were also attempts to persuade the Council to introduce religious reform, by mobilising public as well as private pressure upon the authorities. One such effort was a pamphlet published in Augsburg in April 1534, urging the Council to immediate action

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1 F. Wendel, Calvin (London, 1965), pp.60 and 99-100.

2 H. Eells, Martin Bucer (New Haven, 1931), pp.120-1.

3 E. Naujoks, op.cit., pp.79-82.

4 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.224.

against the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> This was published anonymously, but the style and content point to Musculus as being the author.<sup>2</sup> It repeated, in forceful terms, the message so often put to the Council by the Zwinglians. The authorities were reminded of their duty to banish false religion to protect the Gospel and civic unity, and it upheld the belief that the Council had authority, given by God, to act in defence of the Gospel, even if it meant defying the Emperor.<sup>3</sup>

There was pressure for change upon the Council from two directions. Firstly from the discontented in the city, those with economic and political grievances for which they held the Council responsible. Secondly, there was the demand for religious reform, vociferously voiced by the pastorate, which enjoyed and encouraged support by the populace. The authorities dare not ignore this unrest and had to act to appease popular grievances in order to forestall rebellion and safeguard its authority in the city. The major barrier to religious change was the fear of intervention by the Swabian League. Augsburg feared the League and it took no steps to assist in its continuance despite the pleas of Ferdinand.<sup>4</sup> In February 1534, when the League was eventually disbanded, the Council believed the threat of immediate military intervention in

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1 Anon., Confutation und Ablainung etlicher vermainten Argumenten/ so newlich von ainem Nachdichter aufgetzaichnet seind (Augsburg, 1534).

2 cf. F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.168.

3 Anon., Confutation und Ablainung.

4 K. Wolfart, Die Augsburger Reformation, pp.71-2.

the event of religious reform had been removed. Consequently it began to lay plans for the introduction of the Reformation and on 4th March a meeting of the Large Council was held which approved the proposal of the Council to proceed with negotiations with the Bishop and the Cathedral Chapter.<sup>1</sup> The Council made no public commitment to the Reformation at this stage, neither were the details of its proposals revealed to the Large Council which merely approved the initiation of discussion.

A delegation from the Council with Hel as the spokesman was sent to present the views of the city to the Chapter on 6th March.<sup>2</sup> Hel stressed that the Council wished '... to further the honour of God and to maintain the praiseworthy peace, calm, unity and good neighbourly relations' between Augsburg and the Bishop.<sup>3</sup> The Council however believed that the division in religious doctrines being preached in Augsburg was proving dangerously injurious to civic unity and, therefore, Hel said Augsburg could wait no longer for a General Council but had to take interim measures. The Council therefore proposed a formal disputation between its own pastors and the Catholic preachers in order that accord could be reached in the contested areas of doctrine by reference to the authority of the Bible.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion placed the Bishop in a difficult situation, for if the challenge were refused the clergy would be accused of

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1 Sender, p.367.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 6th March 1534.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

being unable to defend their beliefs and of being unwilling to end the disunity and division in Augsburg. This could then be used by the Council as a pretext for the introduction of necessary religious reforms. After three weeks' consideration the Bishop and Chapter replied in conciliatory tone, emphasising their desire to live on good terms with the citizens.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop expressed his belief that recent examples of religious disputations showed they did little to increase agreement but rather increased division and bitterness. He thought the Protestant pastors were the major source of disunity, for they spread division wherever they went, while the example of the Colloquy of Marburg showed they could not even agree amongst themselves. He therefore disapproved of religious disputation but promised that if the Council wished to proceed the clergy would defend their views and he would gladly serve as the judge. If this was unacceptable he proposed the Dukes of Bavaria or academics of Ingolstadt university as being suitable judges. Alternatively he believed that he and the Council could come to an amicable arrangement, by which both instructed their preachers to avoid contentious subjects and doctrines until these had been resolved by a General Council.<sup>2</sup>

The Council no longer wished to hold a disputation under these terms, for it had been out-manoeuvred by the Bishop. He had not declined the challenge, yet the Catholic judges he insisted upon would obviously provide a favourable decision for the clergy. The

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 24th March 1534.

2 Ibid.

offer to place restrictions on preaching was also embarrassing, for the Council had justified its desire for reform on the divisions of preaching in Augsburg. The Bishop was ostensibly offering a means of ending this without resorting to Protestant reform. Such an agreement had little prospect of success, largely because the Council had little control over the Protestant pastors and because such a solution would not solve the problem of unrest within the city. The refusal to accept this compromise solution, however, removed the justification of the Council that the introduction of the Reformation was the only course left open to it.

The Council now wished to extricate its preachers from the proposed disputation and did not know how to respond to the Bishop's letter. Several replies were drafted<sup>1</sup> before an answer was sent on 24th April. This maintained the necessity of holding a disputation but denied the assertion of the Bishop that a judge was necessary, asserting optimistically that the truth would be obvious after the discussions.<sup>2</sup> For the sake of ease and economy the Council proposed the meeting be held in Augsburg and it also took the opportunity to make it clear it held the Catholics responsible for introducing unrest and division to religious life by its unscriptural doctrines which it would be called upon to justify against the teachings of the Protestants, based on the Bible and the Early Church. The Council was attempting to place impossible terms on the disputation to force the Bishop to retreat, and so confident were

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1 See St. A.A., Literalien, March to April 1534.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 24th April 1534.

the authorities in Augsburg that a disputation would not be held, that it assured the Bishop that Luther would attend in person, even though Luther had not been consulted and would have been most unlikely to consent to this.<sup>1</sup> Eventually the embarrassing episode was ended by an order of Charles V which specifically forbade religious disputations and innovations in Augsburg.

Meanwhile the Council had made its intentions known to the rulers of Ulm and Nuremberg in letters dispatched on 6th March,<sup>2</sup> the same day that the idea of a disputation was first raised with the Bishop. This correspondence shows that the Council had already decided upon what reforms it would institute and was only seeking a pretext to enforce them. It was proposed that Catholic worship should be severely restricted but not prohibited in Augsburg. Catholic preaching would be forbidden but services in certain churches would be tolerated. The clergy would not be forced to leave if they agreed to these terms and the Council believed the majority would consent to this rather than leave their property, wealth and easy life in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> This revealed that the scheme for the disputation was only an excuse to allow the introduction of these measures.

From Ulm the Council of Five expressed its pleasure at the reforms projected by Augsburg<sup>4</sup> but the Eltern of Nuremberg were

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., 12th March.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 12th March 1534.

4 K. Wolfart, op.cit., p.147.

disapproving. They felt compelled to deliver a 'true friendly warning' and urged the Council to abandon its plans against the Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup> The Eltern believed Augsburg should wait for a more favourable occasion for action. The proposed measures they believed were illegal, in breach of Augsburg's promises to the Emperor and an attack on the authority of the Bishop.<sup>2</sup> The Eltern of Nuremberg agreed with the Council of the desirability of establishing unity of religion within a city, but warned that the example of the Reformation in Nuremberg could not be used as a precedent to justify religious change in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> In Nuremberg, it was claimed, they had been dealing with different individuals during a more auspicious period, and the Eltern warned of the difficulties the Council would face from the Bishop, but more particularly from the Emperor, if Augsburg infringed the rights of religious houses which enjoyed imperial protection. One such was the Reichsabtei of St. Ulrich, but almost certainly the Eltern had in mind the wealthy Dominican convent of St. Katharina.

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 16th March 1534.

2 Ibid.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 16th March 1534. '... Unnd wiewol es unnsers bekennens fast ain nutzlich Christenlich werck ist, In ainer Rinckmawr unnd ainem ainigen Comun soverr das fuglich unnd mit gutem friden beschehen mag, ainhellige predig antzurichten. Wie wir dann in unnsr stat Nurmberg vorlanng. Aber gleichwol zu ainer anndern unnd gelegnern Zeit dann yetzo, auch durch anndere mittel unnd gegen personen, die in unnsrem verspruch schutz unnd schirm, dero wir auch mechtig gewest sein, getan haben...'

During the Reichstag of 1530, the nuns, fearing interference in the affairs of the house by the Council, made an appeal to Charles V for his protection. Charles granted the nuns his Schutz und Schirm, and guaranteed their freedom to live by their rules free from any interence,

... spiritual or secular, with the exception of their holy order ...<sup>1</sup>

This situation presented a major obstacle to religious reform in Augsburg, as undoubtedly Charles had intended it should.<sup>2</sup>

Protestantism could scarcely be enforced in Augsburg without measures being taken to curtail the influence of the nuns of St. Katharina, but any attempt to do this would bring the Council into direct conflict with the Emperor. The Eltern clearly identified the inescapable consequences of enforcing Reformation legislation in Augsburg, and it was on these grounds that they urged the Council not to proceed. This warning received an immediate and angry response from the Council which complained of the unjustifiable sharpness of the letter from Nuremberg.<sup>3</sup> It made clear that this was not rash action, but taken only after careful consideration and consultation. The Council believed that there was an ideal opportunity for action:

... we know of no better time ... than now when the League has ended; if we had acted during the time of the League then the clergy would soon have had help against us.<sup>4</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 6th October 1530. See Appendix 2.

2 Neither Roth nor Wolfart consider the full implications of the Emperor's action. cf. F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 1, p.345.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 22nd March 1534.

4 Ibid.

The period of weakness amongst the Catholic forces presented a suitable period for Augsburg to resolve its religious disunity and the Council made it clear to the Eltern that it intended to proceed with or without the support of Nuremberg.<sup>1</sup>

The case against the Reformation was amplified in a memorandum presented to the Council by Peutingen in April 1534.<sup>2</sup> He severely criticised the projected disputation and religious reforms which he stressed were illegal and were certain to have harmful consequences for the well-being of the city which he reminded the Council was isolated and without allies. Peutingen made it apparent that he had little sympathy for the clergy, who in the preceding years of dearth and hardship had done nothing to help the poor in Augsburg, but this he believed did not justify an illegal Reformation. For the sake of,

... the ordinary citizens, rich and poor, all our wives and children, and most of all for our Fatherland ...<sup>3</sup>

Peutingen pleaded with the Council to think again before taking action. Peutingen identified the best interests of Augsburg as lying in the existence of a strong Empire and Emperor despite the city's disagreement with Charles' attitude towards religion. For the good of all its people, therefore, Augsburg should remain obedient to the Emperor and seek to preserve his favour and his authority, since fragmentation of the Empire and the imperial

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 22nd March 1534.

2 Ibid., Nachtrag 1, Nr. 14.

3 Ibid., fol. 14.

power would, believed Peutingger, favour the enemies of the city.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholics also received support from the Bavarians when, on behalf of Duke Wilhelm, his Chancellor Leonhard von Eck visited the city on 27th July. Eck expressed concern at the religious unrest in Augsburg, for which he held the Protestant pastors responsible and he warned the Council that it must wait for a General Council before interfering with the Church.<sup>2</sup> If the Reformation was enforced in Augsburg, Eck warned that the city would be blockaded by the Bavarians and, cut off from its food and trade supplies, could not expect to survive for more than a month.<sup>3</sup> These efforts to dissuade the Council from reform were overshadowed by the Protestant advances in Germany in 1534. On 12th July the Habsburg forces were defeated by the Hessians at Lauffen and by the end of June Duke Ulrich had recovered control of Württemberg. King Ferdinand had reason to fear his own deposition and at the humiliating peace of Kadan, signed on 29th June, he had to consent to the restoration of Ulrich to Wurttemberg and the cessation of all proceedings by the Reichskammergericht against Protestant rulers and cities. Without the forces of the Swabian League it had been revealed to the Council that the Habsburgs could not impose their demands upon southern Germany. At the same time the disagreements between the Bavarians and the Habsburgs continued and there appeared to be no prospect of their co-operating in action against their

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1 Ibid., fols. 1-2.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 27th July 1534.

3 Ibid.

Protestant enemies. The prospect for religious reform in Augsburg without interference from outside had never been better and the Council was determined to seize this opportunity.

The pressure for reform amongst the lower orders had by July 1534 grown to a critical level. The knowledge that at last the Council was considering introducing legislation to enforce the Reformation encouraged excitement, but the Lutheran Huber also describes how the Augsburg pastors deliberately roused public feeling to fever pitch. According to Huber the pastors all preached daily on the necessity for immediate reform and they made it clear to their congregations that they would leave Augsburg if the Council refused to act.<sup>1</sup> The pastors also urged guildmembers to approach their Zwölfer and guildmasters with the demand that action to remove the Catholic clergy and establish the Protestant faith must be taken.<sup>2</sup> Clearly this political pressure from the guildmembership had the desired effect of forcing the Council to act for on 7th July the Council wrote to Imhof, the mayor, who was absent in Nuremberg that he must return to Augsburg by 20th July for a special meeting of the Large Council.<sup>3</sup> The letter reported how many guildmasters had been approached by the membership of their guilds with the demand for the Reformation to be enforced in

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1 Hubers Relation in, W. Germann, op.cit., p.56.

2 K. Wolfart, op.cit., pp.103-4.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 7th July 1534. Preu believed Imhof had deliberately gone to Nuremberg in an attempt to avoid being implicated with religious reforms which he believed were imminent: Preu, p.60.

Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> The situation had become critical and the Council had decided, in the absence of Imhof, that it could not hesitate further but had to proceed with legislation to enforce restrictions on Catholicism in Augsburg.<sup>2</sup>

The Council was not however planning to enforce a total prohibition on Catholic services, for when the Large Council met, actually on 22nd July, it discovered that the legislation covered only the limited objectives which in March the Council had described to the rulers of Ulm and Nuremberg.<sup>3</sup> All churches and chapels were to be closed with the exception of the Cathedral, St. Ulrich, St. Moritz, Hl. Kreuz, St. Georg, St. Stephan, St. Ursula and St. Peter where restricted Catholic worship would still be allowed. The Zechpfleger in each parish were to take charge of all endowments and Church plate which was to be used for the benefit of the poor, a measure which would denude the churches of their treasure and restrict the enactment of many Catholic services. All Catholic preaching was forbidden and in future only those pastors appointed by the Council were permitted to preach and although nobody was to be forced to attend their sermons the Council insisted that in future all monks and nuns who remained in the city should be free

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 7th July 1534: 'von vilen ratgeben gemelt worden ist, das der gemain mann der relligion halben etwo murmul, und besonder etlich bey den zunftmaistern emsig anhalten'.

2 Ibid.: 'Demnach wir heut abermain mit dem merern beschlossen haben, das wir in solhen sachen lenger nit stillsteen, sonder wie sich ains rats vorgethunem beschluss gernes gepurt, furfaren werden'.

3 See p. 339.

to attend Protestant services whatever the rules of their order or the wishes of their superiors.<sup>1</sup> This legislation was no more than a first step in a process of gradual reform designed to end Catholic preaching and restrict Catholic worship in Augsburg but the way was left open for the introduction of further reform at a subsequent date.

The edict proposed to the Large Council was approved by over three-quarters of its members<sup>2</sup> but was not made known in the city. The printed version is dated 29th July, one week after the meeting, but was not in fact published until 2nd August. Meanwhile on the following morning, before the details of the legislation were known a delegation was sent by the Council to the Cathedral and subsequently to St. Ulrich, St. Moritz, Hl. Kreuz and St. Georg.<sup>3</sup> The clergy were informed that all Catholic preaching was to cease and that all property belonging to the parish or endowed by laymen was to be handed over to the Zechpfleger. By midday all but the exempted churches were locked, and all Catholic preachers silenced.<sup>4</sup> The clergy and their supporters had been given no opportunity to protest or appeal against the actions, for by acting swiftly the Council had pre-empted opposition.

The legislation passed by the Large Council on 22nd July did not constitute a total reformation in the religious life of the city.

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1 St. A.A., Ratserlässe, 1507-99. This collection is not foliated.

2 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.175.

3 Sender, pp.384-7.

4 Ibid.

The Mass had not been abolished in Augsburg, although its celebration had been considerably restricted, and the Catholic clergy had not been driven from the city. These measures nevertheless marked a crucial turning point in the Reformation in Augsburg, as, for the first time, the Council had committed itself to support of the Protestants. Despite the limited scope of the reforms, their implications were of major importance to the political, economic and religious life of the city, as they entailed a total break with the policies and commitments of the past. The legislation was in defiance of the undertakings made by the Council to the Emperor at the meetings of the Reichstag in Speyer (1529), in Augsburg (1530) and in Regensburg (1532), when the city had promised to take no measures against the Catholic Church, nor to permit the introduction of religious changes.<sup>1</sup> This meant that Augsburg must expect to face the hostility and retaliation of the Emperor and the Reichskammergericht to its actions. Even though the Reformation in Augsburg was incomplete the Council could no longer claim to be neutral, for it had, by its disobedience, effectively estranged itself from the Emperor and his policies and made apparent its hostility towards the Catholic Church.

The decisions reached by the Council were made after lengthy consultation and consideration, with full knowledge of the implications and likely results. By defying the Emperor, Augsburg had abandoned its special relationship with the Habsburgs, and, since it could no longer rely on his favour and protection, the

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1 See p. 281.

economic and political interests of the city had been placed at risk. The moderation of the reforms was intended to minimise the threat of retaliation, since the Council clearly wished to avoid a confrontation with the Catholic powers, preferring instead a Reformation by instalments. Nevertheless, a decisive break with the Catholic Church had been made, which the Council could scarcely hope to conceal. Moreover, the city could not expect either the Emperor or King Ferdinand to overlook the defiance and disloyalty of its actions.

The measures had made little progress towards resolving doctrinal divisions; theology had played little part in the plans of the Council which had acted to remove the most dangerous sources of unrest and disunity in Augsburg. By silencing the Catholic preachers and ensuring that its own pastors had the sole right to preach the Council had removed the most immediate cause of discord and controversy. With the influence of Catholicism considerably curtailed, the Council could hope for an end to the religious disputes which had aggravated social divisions and unrest in the city. Having publicly identified itself with the Reformation cause, the Council could anticipate support from the pastors for the policies of the Council. Indeed, since it had taken legal measures to establish the monopoly of the pastors for preaching in Augsburg the Council was in a position to impose a formal contract (Bestallung) and governmental control over the pastors and their activities.<sup>1</sup>

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1 See p. 390.

The new laws also removed the popular justification for criticism of the Council which had acted to demonstrate that, far from defending Catholic abuses, it had ensured the true preaching of the Gospel in Augsburg. The measures to transfer the wealth of the parish churches to the control of the Zechpfleger were also designed to minimise the potency of anti-clericalism as a source of discontent. Steps had been taken to end resentment of the clergy's wealth, whilst at the same time releasing large sums of money for the alleviation of poverty at no direct expense to the Council or taxpayers. Previously the demand for religious reform had served as a rallying point for those amongst the lower orders with social as well as religious grievances. It had provided these groups with a degree of cohesion and determination that presented a serious threat to the dominance of the Council. With the agitation prompted by religious controversy brought under control and the justification for religious grievances removed, the authorities could hope for a decline in the unity and strength of its opponents whom it could identify and punish as malcontents. The Council had not, however, given into the major demands of the Zwinglians. It had not driven Catholicism from Augsburg, and it had not established Zwinglian domination of religious life, except in the area of preaching. The Council had also taken no measures to establish any new system of Church organisation or Christian discipline, which would increase the power of the pastors, or would seek to turn Augsburg into a corpus christianum. In fact the Council had stood against this, and used the opportunity of the introduction of religious change in 1534, to re-assert the authority

of the oligarchy over the religious life and over the populace of the city.

The Council in Augsburg had acted in 1534, not to resolve matters of disputed doctrine but rather to control the division and unrest in the city. The oligarchy of the Mehrer had felt itself threatened by the rise of grievance and hostility amongst the lower orders which had found expression in support for the Reformation and by conceding to the demand for religious reform, the Council hoped, at least temporarily, to calm unrest and opposition. Fear of intervention by the Swabian League and a desire to safeguard the commercial interests of the city had previously restrained the Council from taking decisive action, but in 1534 the political situation had changed. The demise of the Swabian League and the apparent weakness and division of the Catholic powers enabled the Council to institute reforms without fear of intervention. Determined not to let this opportunity pass, the Council seized the chance to put an end to the worst effects of religious division in Augsburg. Having read the warnings from its own lawyers the Council knew the potentially dangerous consequences of its actions, yet by 1534 it clearly feared the threat of rebellion from its own townspeople more than it did the retaliation of Church and Emperor. To solve its most immediate problem of social disunity the Council was prepared to risk the more distant threats of retaliation.

The action of the Council had, however, placed Augsburg in a dangerous and vulnerable position; for it had estranged itself from its powerful Catholic neighbours without gaining for itself

any Protestant friends or allies. The moderate, compromise religious settlement in Augsburg was only made possible by the weakness of the Catholic powers in South Germany, and once they had recovered their strength and unity the Council and people of Augsburg would discover the consequences of their actions.

## CHAPTER NINE

### THE MAGISTERIAL REFORMATION

CHAPTER NINE

Following the introduction of reforms in 1534, it becomes increasingly difficult to assess the reaction of the Council and populace to the Reformation, as there is a marked decline in the quality and quantity of surviving source material. This is particularly noticeable with the records of the Council. The detailed records of the government become scant, especially the Dreizehner Protokoll, which from 1524 provided information concerning the meetings and deliberations of the Council of Thirteen. After 1534 they became scarce and fragmentary. Similarly the volume of material preserved in the Literalien declines, the drafts of letters for dispatch, letters received and Council memoranda. When compared with the volume of correspondence from earlier years, clearly all has not survived from 1535 and subsequent years.

These gaps may be due, in part, to changes within the civic administration. After serving for forty four years as Stadtschreiber, Peutingner resigned his post in March 1534, although he remained in the service of the Council for a number of weeks whilst instructing his successor Hans Hagk.<sup>1</sup> The new Stadtschreiber Hagk<sup>2</sup> may have been less conscientious in taking notes during Council meetings and less careful in preserving official documents. He may also have had different methods of collecting and storing documents which have

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1 Preu, p.60.

2 See p.315.

not withstood the test of time. The circumstances surrounding Hagk's resignation, however, in October 1537, show that he was discontented with his burden of work and responsibility and with the remuneration.<sup>1</sup> Hagk enjoyed a considerable salary in comparison with his predecessor, 400 gulden per annum compared to the 284 paid to Peutinger, and in reality his resignation may have been prompted by disenchantment with religious changes in Augsburg. In the surviving fragment of his memorandum prepared for the Council in 1533, Hagk had shown himself to be a supporter of the Zwinglians,<sup>2</sup> but by 1537 it was clear that the Council would not fulfill the demands for religious reforms which the Zwinglians had previously made. The Council had instead attached the city to the Schmalkaldic League, forced acceptance of the Lutheran Wittenberg Concord upon the pastors, and imposed church ordinances which did not conform to the original demands of the Zwinglians.

Council minutes and correspondence of relevance to the implementation of the Reformation in Augsburg may also have been intentionally removed or destroyed. A number of documents, including the memoranda concerning the introduction of Reformation legislation prepared by Hagk and Musculus in 1533, have had crucial sections torn away. This would suggest that at some time

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.335-6. Brady has shown that in Strasbourg too the syndics and bureaucrats suffered from the growing weight of administrative and diplomatic duties. T. Brady, op.cit., pp.225-7.

2 See p. 315.

the archive was pruned of sensitive material, which could incriminate its authors if, for example, it fell into the hands of the Emperor. Since many documents compiled by Hagk are involved, and since he had easy access to the archives, he is the most likely person to be responsible, presumably before he left his position as Stadtschreiber in 1537. This destruction may otherwise have taken place prior to the entry of Charles V into Augsburg after the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League, for there is no evidence of the Emperor removing and using these compromising documents. In general, however, the survival of many other incriminating records, does not point towards a purging of the archive in 1548. Some of the lack of records and documentation may have been caused by a deliberate attempt of the councillors to exclude Hagk from their discussions and decisions, either because he was considered to be unreliable, or because they did not wish any official to have the dominance over the political affairs of the city, which had previously been enjoyed by Peutinger.<sup>1</sup>

There were at the same time a number of administrative reforms being introduced, which led to policies being devised and discussed by small committees of the Council, rather than the full Council. One of these was, for example, the Committee for Religion, which commissioned the memoranda concerning religious reform in 1533, and devised the religious legislation of 1534. It is also apparent that important decisions, particularly concerning foreign relations,

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1 Through his marriage into the Welser family, however, Peutinger was himself a member of the Mehrer, whereas Hagk was not.

were being made by a Secret Council composed of six leading councillors. It had been established in 1534 to deal with the threat of war created by the introduction of religious changes, but it had rapidly extended the scope of its activities and authority. Roth believed that the Secret Council did not displace the Thirteen as the major policy making body until 1536,<sup>1</sup> but the evidence shows this assumption to be incorrect, and that the transfer of influence occurred earlier. Already in March 1534 the Secret Council, with its own seal and under its own authority, had dispatched letters to Ulm and Nuremberg, discussing its intention of introducing measures of religious reform.<sup>2</sup> An inner Secret Council formed from senior councillors may have been in existence prior to this, for when the decision to establish the Committee for Religion was taken in 1530, it was made by seven councillors, including three mayors, meeting in the house of Hieronymous Imhof.<sup>3</sup> Clearly the Secret Council had considerable influence, but unfortunately the minutes of its meetings for this period have not survived, if indeed a record of the deliberations was regularly kept.

Along with the decline in official records there are fewer useful chronicle sources available. The chronicle of Rem ends in 1526, that of Sender in 1536, although Preu continues until 1537. Some knowledge of events in the city and the impact which outside

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.287.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 12th March, 22nd March, 1534.

3 Ibid., 23rd December, 1530.

influences had upon the course of the Reformation in Augsburg, can be gained from the correspondence and works of the religious leaders. Luther was in contact with the Council and with his leading supporters in Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> His correspondence, however, shows him to have been pre-occupied with his distrust of the commitment by Augsburg to Lutheran teachings, and concerned over the continuing influence of Zwinglianism in Augsburg, especially amongst the pastors. Bucer too was a correspondent of the Council and, amongst the pastors, corresponded with Musculus.<sup>2</sup> He was well informed of events in Augsburg, in part because in 1534 and 1535 Bucer spent long periods in the city. His influence between 1534 and 1537 was of crucial importance to the course of religious and political developments in Augsburg. It was through the mediation of Bucer that a doctrinal accord was agreed between the pastors and Luther, which facilitated the participation of the city in the Wittenberg Concord and its entry to the Schmalkaldic League. Bucer was also to play a leading role in the formulation of the Kirchenordnungen of 1537, which were to shape the form of worship and the powers of the Protestant Church in Augsburg. In these respects the evidence provided by his writings is of importance in evaluating events after 1534, but they throw little light on the reaction within the city to the religious and political changes which were being enforced.

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1 W.A., Br. W., vols. 7-8.

2 Martini Bucerii, Opera Omnia.

Of more value in this area is the correspondence of Kaspar Huber and Johann Forster, two Lutheran clerics who lived in Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> Their published letters, many of which were addressed to Luther, provide a detailed, although highly biased account of events in Augsburg, which concentrates on the activities of the Zwinglian pastors in the city. Both of them acknowledged and criticised the dominance of the Zwinglians over the populace, and complained that the Zwinglians had not changed their attitude towards Luther's Eucharistic teaching, neither had they ceased their interference in civic politics, even after their acceptance of the Wittenberg Concord. Both Huber and Forster reveal the suspicions of Lutherans, that Augsburg wanted the protection of the Schmalkaldic League, but was not prepared to accept Lutheran teachings.

A leading role in the diplomacy of the city after 1534 was played by the Stadtarzt Gereon Sailer. He played a crucial part in the negotiations between Augsburg, Philip of Hesse and Luther, for the acceptance of the city to the Wittenberg Concord and the Schmalkaldic League. His correspondence, much of which has been published by Roth, unfortunately exists only in fragmentary form before 1540.<sup>2</sup> The diplomatic correspondence of Augsburg, contained in the Literalien, concerns the relationship, both with the neighbouring Catholic rulers, the Emperor, the Bishop and the

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1 Published in W. Germann, op.cit., and W.A., Br. W., vols. 6-8.

2 F. Roth, 'Aus dem Briefwechsel Gereon Sailers' in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. i (1904).

Wittelsbachs, and the attempts by the city to gain greater accord with the Schmalkaldic powers. It provides useful information about civic policy in the later 1530's. In his account of this period, Roth drew heavily on these sources,<sup>1</sup> and provides a detailed description of the conduct of foreign relations by Augsburg. His work, however, reflects the extreme difficulty of demonstrating the forces within the city which facilitated sweeping changes in religious policies, and how these reforms were received by the Council and populace. In particular, a lack of sources prevents a detailed investigation of the crucial problem of how the authorities were able to assert their control over the pastors, and successfully restrain the discontent amongst the lower orders, two elements which during the previous decade had played a decisive role in the direction of civic policy. The paucity of material relating to the process of decision making by the Council, the decline of information concerning the activities of the pastors within the city and the response to events by the lower orders, makes difficult any attempt to trace the motivation behind the actions of the Council and the populace.

Useful evidence concerning the objectives of the religious policies of the authorities is provided by the Reformation legislation, which the Council enforced in 1537,<sup>2</sup> but which was little used by Roth.<sup>3</sup> This demonstrates the matters of priority

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2.

2 Printed in, E. Sehling (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, (Tübingen, 1963), pp.50-64.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.324-7.

and concern for the Council, particularly in its insistence in retaining control of the religious life of the city. The legislation imposed the control of the Council over the pastors, both in the enforcement of Christian discipline and in matters of doctrine. The regulations also fulfilled the desire of the Council to end religious divisions, sectarianism and unrest, by the establishment of a Protestant Church, and with the enforcement of religious uniformity.

The events of 1534 could be seen as a defeat for the ruling oligarchy of Augsburg. After attempting to follow a policy of religious neutrality, the mitler weg, for more than a decade, the Council had been forced by popular pressure to pass legislation which favoured the Zwinglian preachers and placed limitations upon the Catholic Church. All the political and economic consequences of the acceptance of the Reformation could now be anticipated. The city lay open to the attacks of its enemies, and its commercial interests were placed in jeopardy. It faced the threat of hostility and retaliation from the Bavarians, from Emperor Charles, King Ferdinand and from the Reichskammergericht.

This break with its previous policy also meant that the Council faced serious political repercussions from its legislation within the city. From the middle of the fifteenth century, the ruling oligarchy had striven to complete its domination over the city, by limiting any competing jurisdiction exercised either by the guilds or the Church. As was the case in Ulm,<sup>1</sup> so also in Augsburg the

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1 E. Naujoks, op.cit., pp.13-20.

Council had gradually undermined the political independence of the guilds, by manipulation of their elections, and by ensuring that only the candidates of the Mehrer were eligible to hold high guild offices.<sup>1</sup> The Council had on a number of occasions legislated to regulate trade and production, for example its regulations of 1524 concerning the sale of cloth,<sup>2</sup> thereby removing the power and influence of the guilds over the regulation of their members. There had also been interference in trade disputes, as for example in 1523 when the Council intervened to settle a dispute between the masters and apprentices of the cutlers guild.<sup>3</sup> This decline in the authority of the guilds, particularly after the Ulrich Schwarz affair in 1478,<sup>4</sup> removed a dangerous focal point of organised popular expression and opposition to the government of the Mehrer der Gesellschaft. Similarly the Council had been successful in its attempts to reduce the authority of the bishops and Cathedral Chapter in Augsburg. The privileges, prerogatives and legal powers of the bishop had been eroded, while the regulation of parish finances and the control of the property of some religious houses, with the support of the Council, had been brought under the direction of laymen serving as Pfleger.<sup>5</sup>

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1 See p.45.

2 St. A.A., Anschläge und Dekreten 1490-1649, Teil 1, Nr. 7.

3 St. A.A., Ratsbuch, fols. 36-7, 1523.

4 See p.47.

5 See p.59.

The events of 1534 had set a dangerous precedent from the point of view of the Council. Under the threat of incipient violence, it had been forced to abandon its own policies, and adopt those which the populace demanded. For the Council there was also a threat from the use the pastors had made of their support from within the guilds. They had encouraged their followers to lobby the guild officials, to force changes in the policies of the Council.<sup>1</sup> The Lutheran Forster was later to maintain, that at the time of the guild elections in 1536, the Zwinglian pastors instructed the guildmembers only to vote for men whom they knew to be favourable towards the Reformation.<sup>2</sup>

This brought into question fundamental principles upon which the power of the oligarchy had been based. Most important of these was the belief which the Council of Augsburg shared with other oligarchical civic governments, that the Council was a ruling authority and not a Stadtparlament.<sup>3</sup> The councillors did not consider themselves to be answerable to the guild membership, but instead believed the citizens were their subjects. The Council rather than the citizens was sovereign, and consequently the Council was free to devise and enforce its policies without consulting the people of the city, ruling according to what it considered to be the best interests of Augsburg. The application of this principle removed political influence from the citizen, and placed the

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1 See p. 344.

2 W. Germann, op.cit., p.115.

3 E. Naujocks, op.cit., p.13.

direction of the community in the hands of the Mehrer. This form of government relied upon the manipulation of guild elections to ensure that only the official nominees achieved guild office,<sup>1</sup> and it also required the populace of the city to be kept subject to control by the oligarchy. The Council had discovered from the events of 1524 that demands for religious reform had provided unity and religious legitimisation to the forces of popular resistance to the authorities, and with these the populace had discovered a means by which the domination of the oligarchy could be successfully attacked.

After the initial successes of the Schilling riots of 1524, the authorities had seen that the populace, encouraged by its victories, had extended its demands and begun to agitate for social and economic reforms.<sup>2</sup> In 1534 a similar threat existed; that following the early concessions to religious reform, there would develop new demands for far-reaching changes within the city, which would cause a shift in the balance of political and economic power. Musculus and his supporters, for example Kötztler,<sup>3</sup> had clearly expressed their desire to see a Zwinglian theocratic style of government in Augsburg. This concept appeared to strengthen communal discipline by stressing to the populace the need for service and subjection to the general good of the community. It also posed a threat to the

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1 The destruction of guild records on the orders of Charles V after 1548 prevents a detailed study of the electoral practices employed. cf. T.Brady, op.cit., p.173.

2 See pp.150-1.

3 See p.320.

government, since by binding together secular and religious authority, the political role and influence of the pastors would be increased, while the political independence and power of the Council would be diminished. This movement of power would be contrary to the course of political development in the city which had prevailed for the previous century. The Council was also suspicious of the close alliance which existed between the pastors and the lower orders, for there was the danger that the readiness of pastors such as Musculus and Keller to appeal to the populace for support, would only stimulate the discontented elements within the city to further resistance against the government. The Council had therefore to ensure that the initial concessions which it had been forced to make to the forces of popular unrest and pressure for religious change, were not followed by more extreme political, economic and religious demands, which were inimical to the interests of the Mehrer and their domination of the city.

In July 1534 the leaders of the Council, Imhof, Seitz, Wolfgang and Ulrich Rehlinger, had no alternative but to bow to pressure within the city to concede the reforms which they had previously avoided. The evidence, however, suggests that by these concessions, the Council was staging a strategic retreat as a first step in the restoration of its lost authority and prestige. The constant hesitation and reconsideration by mayors such as Hieronymous Imhof and Georg Vetter, show the Council to have been unenthusiastic about the introduction of religious changes, particularly in the form advocated by the pastors and their supporters. The Council recognised the danger posed by intervention from outside, from

the pressure for social change which the Reformation appeared to encourage, and from the diplomatic isolation which a Zwinglian style Reformation would enforce upon Augsburg. Consequently the Council refused to be pushed into an immediate introduction of the pastors' demands, but acted instead to reduce the most immediate causes of unrest. Pastors were not conceded a monopoly over the religious life of the city, a voice in the government, or supervision over the moral and religious affairs of the inhabitants, in the form of a clerically dominated Zuchtpolizei. The measures which the Council had taken against the Catholic Church were contrary to the warnings given by the Emperor, the Duke of Bavaria and the Bishop and had identified Augsburg with the Protestant cause, but not on the terms demanded by the pastors. The legislation was an acknowledgement by the Council of the irresistible popular pressure for Augsburg to become a Protestant city. The breathing space it procured for the authorities meant that they could begin to construct a Protestant settlement in Augsburg, over which they had control and which would support and extend, rather than undermine, the position of the oligarchy.

The reforms of 1534 which restricted Catholic worship and abolished Catholic preaching, represented the high watermark of the success of the popular based Reformation in Augsburg. The subsequent period witnessed an increase in magisterial intervention and control. Three stages in the progress of the Reformation in the imperial cities have been described by Ozment, who demonstrated how the impulse for religious change passed from the evangelical preachers, to the populace, and finally to the magistracy.<sup>1</sup>

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1 S. Ozment, op.cit., p.125.

In this process the magistracy is shown as playing a crucial consolidating role once the Reformation had established itself amongst the citizens, but the secular authorities are also described as having restrained and moderated the effects of religious change

To the extent that governments prevented Protestant preachers from erecting new papacies and enforced a certain moderation and simplicity in religious life, they may even be seen to have been more in accord with the original impulse of the Reformation than many a zealous Protestant cleric.<sup>1</sup>

The case of Augsburg corresponds closely to this model, but it also reveals a further dimension. The Council was certainly acting to control the 'new papists', but the manipulation of the religious disputes by the Council needs to be seen within the context of internal political trends, which were peculiar to Augsburg. By its intervention after 1534, the Council was continuing the process of increasing authoritarian oligarchical control, which had long been evident in Augsburg, and which was reflected by the similar events in Ulm<sup>2</sup> and Constance.<sup>3</sup> The consolidation and control of the Reformation in Augsburg was principally motivated by the desire of the oligarchy to retain its control over the city, and to this political consideration the pastors were forced to subordinate some matters of religious doctrine.

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1 Ibid., p.131.

2 E. Naujocks, op.cit., pp.13-14.

3 B. Moeller, Johannes Zwick und die Reformation in Konstanz (Gütersloh, 1961), pp.78-9.

The course of the Reformation in Augsburg does however show differences from the model established by Moeller in his Imperial Cities and the Reformation. He stressed there the importance of 'a community ethic'<sup>1</sup> in promoting the progress of the Reformation in the Upper German imperial cities. With this he emphasised the desire of councils and citizens to see Church and State as one body, which could more successfully direct the community towards Christian salvation.<sup>2</sup> The later introduction of a Zuchtordnung in Augsburg in 1537 does much to support these views, but the further assertion by Moeller that,

Nevertheless, actual political considerations never played a decisive role. From the very beginning it was always politically more dangerous and delicate to choose Zwinglianism than to choose Lutheranism,<sup>3</sup>

is not supported by the Augsburg example. Events were to show that after 1534 political considerations were to be a decisive factor in determining the form of the internal religious organisation of the city, and that the strengthening of communal discipline was to have political as well as religious significance for the citizens.

In the wake of the religious reforms of 1534 the disunity between the Council and the pastors became apparent. The advice of Musculus to the Council,<sup>4</sup> showed that the pastors desired the introduction of Reformation legislation, which would turn Augsburg into a Protestant

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1 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, p.69 and p.82.

2 Ibid., pp.66-7.

3 Ibid., pp.95-6.

4 See p.323.

community, regardless of the hostility which this would provoke from Catholic neighbours. The Council, on the other hand, was not prepared to accept the advice of the pastors in the formulation of its foreign policy. Having taken measures against the Catholic Church, the Council wished to placate the Catholic powers in order to reduce the threat of retaliatory action, and therefore refused to proceed with Protestant reforms. It also became clear that the Council wished the city to become a member of the Schmalkaldic League, in order to provide Augsburg with the military protection of the Protestant alliance. Any hope of joining the League, however, precluded the introduction of further Zwinglian reforms, and instead necessitated, against the desire of the pastors, a closer accord with Lutheran doctrines.

The Council believed that the threatening attitude of the Catholic powers gave it good cause to ignore the demands of the pastors and follow its own, more cautious foreign policy. On 27th July 1534, Chancellor Leonhard von Eck of Bavaria had presented the Council with a letter from Duke Wilhelm, which urged the upholding of the Catholic Church in Augsburg and the dismissal of the Protestant pastors.<sup>1</sup> It also contained a threat which could not be taken lightly by the Council, that the city would be blockaded by the Bavarians, and with its trade and supplies severed, Augsburg could not hold out for longer than a month.<sup>2</sup> This threat was

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 22nd July, 1534.

2 Ibid., '... wann diser Stat die gewerb genomen, victualia gespert, kunten Si Sich nit vier wochen halten'.

enacted in part in April 1535, when a prohibition against Bavarians selling meat to Augsburg caused severe shortages in the city.<sup>1</sup>

The Council also feared the hostile attitude adopted by the Habsburgs towards Augsburg. The Emperor writing from Spain in October 1534, ordered the Council to restore the Catholic preachers and Church property within twelve days.<sup>2</sup> This letter had been preceded by a warning delivered by the emissary of King Ferdinand, Hanns Jakob von Landau, on 29th September, which instructed the Council to reverse all the religious changes it had introduced.<sup>3</sup> If the city failed to comply with this instruction, Ferdinand threatened that severe, but unspecified retribution from the Reichskammergericht would follow. The Council was warned that these punitive measures would cause great hardship for all the inhabitants of Augsburg.<sup>4</sup>

The Council experienced difficulty in deciding how it should respond to this letter, and the evidence from the draft replies which were prepared but rejected, reveals that opinions within the Council were divided.<sup>5</sup> In the original draft reply to Ferdinand, it was

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.228.

2 Ibid., p.218.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 29th September, 1534.

4 Ibid.

5 Although Roth was apparently aware of the difficulties encountered by the Council in formulating its response to Ferdinand, he did not discuss the conflicting contents of these documents, nor the divisions within the Council which they reflected. F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.219.

maintained that the Council had been forced to take action, by the danger of division and unrest amongst the citizens, which had been caused by the preaching of false doctrines:

Firstly, as the worthy Council, from the duty of its office considered and decided, that the honour of Almighty God was damaged through false teachings of our holy faith, also that amongst our fellow citizens and the common man, grew not only certain dangerous errors, but also not inconsiderable opposition, from which all kinds of problems, especially in the community /would/ follow, unrest, and the destruction of; the citizenry, Christian unity and peace.<sup>1</sup>

Reforms, it continued, had only been introduced to preserve peace, unity and order,

... to uphold peace and unity amongst our fellow citizens, and to prevent further division, difficulty, irretrievable damage, and ruinous destruction of good order (guten pollice).<sup>2</sup>

It was stressed that Augsburg could not be fairly accused of breaking the Imperial peace, as it had not acted to abolish the Mass or seize the property of the clergy. The only secularisation of property which had occurred was that which already belonged to the parishes, and that had been used to alleviate the suffering of the poor in a period of price inflation.<sup>3</sup>

Another draft provided a religious justification for the reforms in Augsburg, stating that the Council had acted only to suppress abuses and to silence the Catholic preachers, who by their false doctrines were stirring up unrest in the city.<sup>4</sup> Eventually,

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 1534, Nachtrag 1, V.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., Nachtrag 1, IV.

a more conciliatory version of this draft was sent to King Ferdinand. It stated that the legislation had the support of the Large Council, and the authorities could only be considered to have been performing their Christian duty by taking action against religious abuses.<sup>1</sup>

In an attempt to reduce the anger of the King, which would be aroused by this defiance, and to forestall plans of retribution, the Council sent a second letter to Ferdinand. In this he was reminded of the long-standing loyalty of the city to the Habsburgs, and that Augsburg was a city which paid all its imperial taxes and dues.<sup>2</sup> This was a shrewd attempt by the Council to deflect Habsburg anger against the religious reforms, as it played upon the vital importance for the Habsburgs, especially in their wars with the Turks, of taxes contributed by Protestants.

The careful preparation for the reply revealed the desire of the Council to cause as little offence as possible to the Habsburgs, and the rapid political developments which occurred towards the end of 1534, emphasised the necessity of maintaining this position. The Council had relied upon the diplomatic disarray amongst the Catholic states, prompted by the rivalry between the Habsburg and Wittelsbach dynasties and the demise of the Swabian League, to protect the city from concerted retaliation. To some extent the risks taken by the Council appear to have been justified, for the Habsburgs were keen to secure the financial support of Augsburg merchants for a projected imperial alliance in Germany. As a

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 29th September, 1534.

2 Ibid., 10th December, 1534.

result the Council received an amicable letter from the Emperor in January 1535, which expressed his favour towards the city and urged the Council not to join the Schmalkaldic League, for this measure would have placed the wealth of Augsburg at the disposal of his enemies.<sup>1</sup> When contrasted with the earlier letter of King Ferdinand,<sup>2</sup> the letter of the Emperor clearly revealed the conflict of their political and religious policies, and this was a weakness which the Council had to exploit in order to protect the city.

There were still grounds for alarm, however, in the course of diplomatic and political developments, and aware of the danger, the Council stationed Ulrich Welser, Stephan Eiselin and Hans Hagk in Vienna in late 1534.<sup>3</sup> Their task was to plead the case of Augsburg at court, and to relay to the Council any information concerning the political schemes and intentions of Ferdinand. What was becoming apparent by this stage was that the disunity amongst the Catholic states, upon which Augsburg depended, appeared to be ending. The process of reconciliation had begun in June 1534 at Kadan, when Ferdinand renounced the Habsburg claim to Württemberg following the defeat of his armies by Duke Christoph, and was in return acknowledged as King of the Romans by his enemies, including Philip of Hesse.<sup>4</sup> More disturbing for Augsburg

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 1st January 1535.

2 See p. 368.

3 For their reports see St. A.A., Literalien, 1534 and 1535.

4 K. Brandi, The Emperor Charles V (London, 1970), p.331.

was the reconciliation of Ferdinand with the Bavarians in September 1534, for they at once began negotiations for the restoration of the Swabian League.<sup>1</sup> The authorities in Augsburg were alarmed by what appeared to be the formation of a new league of princes, which would be inimical to the interests of the cities. The surviving correspondence between Augsburg and its allies in the three city league, Ulm and Nuremberg, shows that Augsburg was not alone in these fears.<sup>2</sup> Already on 16th September the Council had written to Ulm, warning the authorities there that it believed a league of princes was planned,

... from which the cities will be separated and excluded, or only allowed in after great difficulty.'<sup>3</sup>

These measures threatened to isolate the Protestant cities, and in order to prevent this from happening, Augsburg considered sending an ambassador directly to the Emperor to plead the cause of the cities. This strategy had worked in the conflict over monopolies at the Nuremberg Reichstag, but was now opposed by Nuremberg, which feared arousing still further the distrust of the Emperor.<sup>4</sup>

The worst fears of the Council were fulfilled in November 1534, when it was invited by King Ferdinand, along with other cities, to participate in a conference at Donauwörth, aimed at the

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.215-6.

2 See, St. A.A., Literalien, July to November, 1534.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 16th September, 1534.

4 Ibid., 7th September, 1534. The idea of a direct appeal to the Emperor was still favoured in Augsburg.

restoration of the Swabian League. The correspondence between Ulm and Augsburg which survives in the Literalien for November and December 1534, shows their fears that any new league would intervene in the Protestant cities to reverse all religious reforms.<sup>1</sup> Consequently both cities refused to join the new league, unless matters concerning the religious allegiance of its members were excluded from its authority.<sup>2</sup>

The measures which had been taken against the Catholic preachers, made impossible the participation of Augsburg in any Catholic league, a point forcibly made by an unidentified councillor in a meeting of the Thirteen in April 1535.<sup>3</sup> The threat that the Swabian League could be revived, made it expedient for the city to gain membership of the Schmalkaldic League to protect itself against retaliation from its Catholic neighbours and enemies. Earlier efforts to join the Schmalkaldic alliance had foundered on the opposition of the Elector of Saxony and Luther.<sup>4</sup> In a letter to the Council of 8th August 1533, Luther had expressed his hostility towards the pastors in the city, totally rejecting their doctrine and refusing to be associated with them:

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1 Ibid., 16th September, 1534.

2 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.225.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, April 1535, fol. 163.

4 See p. 291.

... for the sake of Christ prevent your preachers... from boasting to the people that they teach and believe the same as us... we know only too well that they teach Zwinglianism... one knows well, and can perceive from their printed catechism, that they were against us and still are...<sup>1</sup>

This was a clear indication that Luther still retained the hostility which he had demonstrated towards the Zwinglians at the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529. The divisions still existed and prevented the Zwinglian cities of southern Germany from forming an alliance with the Lutheran states.<sup>2</sup>

In his assertion that in the crucial area of communion doctrine, the Augsburg pastors followed the teaching of Zwingli, Luther was undoubtedly correct. In particular Luther objected to the catechism which had been published by Wolfahrt in 1533, and which was in general use in Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> The doctrine expounded by Wolfahrt concerning the Eucharist, made clear his belief that the bread and wine remained unchanged and served only as symbols.<sup>4</sup> Apart from

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1 W.A., Br. W., vol. 6, pp.510-11.

2 E. Wolgast, Die Wittenberger Theologie und die Politik der evangelischen Stände (Gütersloh, 1977), p.129.

3 W.A., Br. W., vol. 6, p.511.

4 B. Wolfahrt, Catechismus. Das ist ain anfengklicher Bericht der Christlichen Religion vo den Dienern des Evangelions zu Augspurg, fur die jugent aufs kurtzest verfasst un beschriebe (Augsburg, 1533) '... das brot und wein nit in seinen leyb und blut verendert/sonder die substanz/das wesen und natur des brots und wein bleyben... wie nun das brot und der wein den leyb speysst und trenckt/also wirt die seel/durch das brot des lebens im glauben mit dem leyb und blut Christi warhaftig gespeisst/getrenckt un lebendig gemacht.'  
cf. S.M. Jackson (ed.), Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland (2nd ed.), (New York and London, 1903), pp.474-8.

this Wolfahrt was known to be on good terms with Schwenckfeld,<sup>1</sup> and had previously published a sermon on baptismal doctrine, which had convinced his Lutheran critics that he was a dangerous sectarian.<sup>2</sup> When the Lutheran pastor, Dr. Johann Forster, arrived in Augsburg in 1535, he was appalled by the Zwinglian nature of the church services. After he had attended a service celebrated by Keller in the Franciscans Church, Forster condemned it as containing only Zwinglian doctrines. On the other hand when he first officiated in Augsburg, following the Wittenberg doctrines, he was condemned as a papist and his words caused anger amongst the populace and pastors:

A few weeks afterward, according to the instructions, as I intended to celebrate communion at St. Johann, I preached about the Holy Sacrament after the Wittenberg manner and understanding, that within the bread and wine there was also the Body and Blood of Christ. With this I heard in the Church muttering and disturbances amongst the people, and many stood up and left. I did not understand the meaning however, until I later heard the cry that I wished to drive Christianity into the bread, and make the Body of Christ out of bread, and lead the people back to the old popery... Afterwards Musculus came to my house, he was angry /and said/ I should not have spoken so. It had angered the people.<sup>3</sup>

These events demonstrated the problems faced by the Council. It had been forced by popular unrest to pass religious legislation which favoured the Zwinglians, and yet at the same time believed it was necessary for the city to gain membership and the protection

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.258.

2 See p.267.

3 W. Germann, op.cit., p.96.

of the Lutheran dominated Schmalkaldic League. In July 1534 the Council had closely followed the progress of discussions between Melanchthon and Bucer, aimed at gaining accord between the Upper German cities and Luther.<sup>1</sup> From the information sent to the Council by Bernhard Besserer, the mayor of Ulm, the Council knew, even as it was enforcing measures against the Catholic preachers, that there were strong hopes of an agreement being achieved between the Schmalkaldic League and the Upper German cities. This must have held the Council back from taking decisive action against the Catholic Church and instituting a Zwinglian Reformation, for this would have stood in the way of Augsburg's entry into the League. In the latter half of 1534 the Council maintained strong pressure upon Ulm, to use its good offices to assist the desire for membership of the Schmalkaldic League by the Augsburg Council. On 4th August the Ratsadvokat of Ulm, Hieronymous Roth, responded to the Council's demands by promising to find out all he could concerning the possibility of League membership for Augsburg.<sup>2</sup> Later the Council of Ulm made the first of many attempts, along with Philip of Hesse, to persuade the Elector of Saxony to soften his attitude towards Augsburg.<sup>3</sup> The pleas were rejected by the Elector on the grounds that Augsburg had never accepted the terms of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>4</sup>

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 31st July, 1534, Bernhard Besser to the Council. '... Melanchthon expressed his belief, that the disputes between ourselves and Luther concerning the sacraments /could be/ finally and certainly solved and settled.'

2 Ibid., 4th August, 1534.

3 Ibid., 7th September, 1534.

4 Ibid., 13th September, 1534.

The rejection on doctrinal grounds of the attempt by Augsburg to join the Schmalkaldic League, meant that the city lacked powerful Protestant allies who could protect the city from the threat of retaliatory action by the Catholic powers. It was in an effort to end this religious and political isolation that the Council turned to Martin Bucer, who increasingly after 1534 influenced the religious and foreign policies of the Council. The success of the mediation of Bucer between the Zwinglian cities and the Lutheran powers became the lynch-pin of the foreign policy of the Council, in its continuing attempts to gain entry to the League. It was also on the basis of the substantial success of Bucer's religious settlement in Strasbourg, which after 1534 achieved religious harmony in the city without undermining the authority of the Council, that he was invited by the secular authorities to play the leading role in establishing the formation of a Protestant Church in Augsburg in 1537. After many requests by Augsburg, Bucer was released by the Council of Strasbourg to offer his services on a temporary basis in November 1534.<sup>1</sup> His tasks were not easily fulfilled, for on the 14th of December the Council again asked the Strasbourg authorities to send Bucer, this time for a six month period.<sup>2</sup> On the 8th April 1535, the Council again made a strenuous plea for the services of Bucer, and this letter clarifies the reasons why his presence was considered to be

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.184.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 14th December, 1534.

so important.<sup>1</sup> It was reported to Strasbourg that Bucer teachings were well received in Augsburg by the ruling authorities and all ranks of society,

unnser guetherzigen Burgerschafft, Armen unnd Reich.<sup>2</sup>

This reliance upon the intervention of Bucer revealed the tensions which existed between the Council, the pastors and the populace. Bucer was called to the city to preach and calm popular discontent with the new religious arrangements, for his sermons were successful in quelling the religious unrest amongst the populace, while those of the pastors appear to have further provoked it. He was also successful in moderating and controlling the attitudes and demands of the pastors. Important in provoking this disunity was the influence of the Zwinglian Keller, for only Bucer amongst the Augsburg pastors, had sufficient influence to persuade Keller to moderate his hostility towards the Lutherans, and then not always with total success.<sup>3</sup> In this period Augsburg had no theologian of stature, which was in part the result of the policies of the Council, which in its efforts to copy the religious organisation of Strasbourg, had recruited pastors there, whom the Council had been prepared to release.<sup>4</sup> These, Wolfahrt, Musculus, Sebastian Maier and Theobald Schwarz had not been leaders of the

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1 Ibid., 8th April, 1535.

2 Ibid.

3 See p.383.

4 See p.285.

Strasbourg Reformation, and continued to be strongly influenced and guided by Bucer.<sup>1</sup>

An important aspect of Bucer's teaching was, as Moeller has noted, the emphasis he placed on the need for unity within civic society,<sup>2</sup> and during his period in Augsburg Bucer preached forcibly of the need for the citizens to be united amongst themselves.<sup>3</sup> The Council believed the influence of Bucer had calmed the divisive passions amongst the population and impressed a new spirit of unity, '... die Got gefellig Ainigkait...' on the pastors.<sup>4</sup> Despite this praise, Bucer was clearly experiencing difficulty in winning acceptance amongst the populace and pastors for his doctrines of conciliation. The Council was however adamant that if Bucer left the city and his calming influence was removed, division and animosity would occur again.<sup>5</sup>

There were a number of reasons why the Augsburg Council was eager to retain the services of Bucer. He appeared to be the only man who could persuade the pastors and populace to accept the religious reforms of the Council. The authorities also, with

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1 For example in their proposals for religious reform in 1534, K. Wolfart, op.cit., pp.42-3.

2 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, p.81.

3 A transcript of a sermon preached by Bucer in Augsburg in 1531 emphasises this point '... hertzliebte Augspurger Ir welt hie wol bedenken wer do bettet, und wetlet also mit Im betten umb aynigkait. Ainigkait ist von nöthen, oder Ir werdt in poden verderben'. St. A.A., Literalien, 17th June, 1531.

4 St. A.A., Literalien, 8th April, 1535.

5 Ibid.

their employment of preachers from Strasbourg under the direction of Bucer, were attempting to establish a religious settlement in Augsburg similar to that in Strasbourg. The doctrines of Bucer were strongly influenced by the theocratic designs of Zwingli, and he placed great emphasis on the importance of the Christian civic community:

Bucer described the Church as a perfect model of community, as "the most perfect, most friendly and most faithful brotherhood, community, and union". Each member had been assigned his place by the Lord, and all were now to compete in helping each other, and thereby benefit the whole body.<sup>1</sup>

This concept could ultimately raise for the Council the threat of its being forced to share its power with the pastors and citizens, but the example of the religious settlement in Strasbourg demonstrated that this was not the case and that the secular authorities had retained their control of the city.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from his calming, unifying and mediating influence, Bucer was, according to the Council, providing the citizens with new understanding of the Eucharist and the Gospel.<sup>3</sup> This new interpretation amounted to Bucer persuading the pastors and populace to turn away from the support of Zwinglian Eucharistic doctrines and move instead closer to the teachings of Luther on the Eucharist. The Council knew from previous experience, that this reform was essential if Augsburg was to be given membership of the Schmalkaldic

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1 B. Moeller, op.cit., p.81.

2 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.224.

3 St. A.A., Literalien, 8th April, 1535.

League. The account of events provided by Kaspar Huber, a Lutheran in Augsburg at the time, indicates the role played by Bucer in the realignment of doctrine, which was intended to lead to improved relations with Luther. Huber criticised the sincerity of Bucer and others who were involved in this process, which he believed had been instigated by the Council for the purely political motive of gaining entry to the Schmalkaldic League.<sup>1</sup>

Following the account of Huber, towards the end of 1535 Bucer began publically to preach, that he and the pastors of Augsburg agreed, that formerly they had misunderstood the doctrines concerning the Elements in the Eucharist.<sup>2</sup> This revision of doctrine amounted to a major concession to Luther, and Huber, who was in the confidence of one of the pastors Dr. Michael Weinmair and probably speaking from reliable information, believed this change to have been instigated and sanctioned by the Council.<sup>3</sup> On hearing the news of this change of heart, Luther declared his personal delight, but Huber believed it was only the Council and not the pastors who had altered their views.<sup>4</sup>

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1 W. Germann, op.cit., p.57.

2 Ibid. '... das er (Bucer) den handel vom sacrament bisher nit genugsam verstanden und ausgetruckt hette, dann er von der darreichung des leibs und bluts nichts gelert hett, auch nicht genugsam verstanden, derhalben er solches gern, gott zu eheren bekennen wolt, und solches nit allein für sich, sonder auch fur seine mitbrüder, die andern predicanten.'

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

To maintain the goodwill of Luther a ten point statement of doctrine was compiled by Bucer and signed by all the Augsburg pastors.<sup>1</sup> This document dealt with all the major areas of Christian doctrine, and was so worded as to state both the views of the Augsburg pastors and to specifically deny the doctrines of sectarians and heretics. In the crucial area concerning the Eucharist, the statement demonstrated that a major change of doctrine had taken place amongst the pastors, for they stated that in the Eucharist the bread and wine became the true Body and Blood of Christ.<sup>2</sup> This doctrine, the pastors said, refuted the Zwinglian belief that

... in the Communion we are only given empty symbols and not our Lord Christ himself.<sup>3</sup>

This important doctrinal concession indicated that two major changes had occurred in the Augsburg Reformation. Firstly, there had been a realignment of religious allegiance, and secondly the Council had been successful in its measures to win control over the words and actions of the pastors by imposing a Bestallung upon them.<sup>4</sup>

There were indications that the changes had not been accepted enthusiastically by the pastors, who had done so only on the

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.275-8.

2 Ibid., p.277. 'Das im hailigen Abentmal, uns mit brot und wein, überraichet, geben und empfangen wirdt, der ware leib und das ware blut unsers Herre Jesu Christi.'

3 Ibid.

4 See p. 389.

insistence of the Council. Keller, in particular, had followed Zwinglian teachings on the Eucharist since 1525, and although he signed the statement, he attempted to persuade the printer who was preparing copies of the document for general circulation, to alter the section on the Eucharist to reflect a more Zwinglian view.<sup>1</sup> This conduct brought Keller a sharp rebuke from the Council, which then forced all the pastors to swear that they would abide by the statement contained in the articles:

... the mayors showed that they were angry with them, and demanded that the pastors be called before the leaders of the Council, and must swear a solemn oath, that they had willingly issued /the statement/, also swear a solemn oath that they would abide by it and profess it before the people, and allow the articles to be printed again.<sup>2</sup>

With this agreement secured the Stadtartzt, Gereon Sailer, was sent with Huber by the Council, to express to Luther the desire of the authorities, the pastors and the citizens for a closer understanding with him.<sup>3</sup>

In order to maintain its approaches to Luther the Council offered to break the monopoly of preaching it had recently given to the Zwinglian pastors by requesting the services of a Lutheran preacher for Augsburg.<sup>4</sup> The Council favoured the return of Rhegius, who since 1530 had been in the service of the Duke of Lüneberg, and

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1 W. Germann, op.cit., p.85.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p.59.

4 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.248.

Luther, delighted by this demonstration of good intent, expressed his favour towards Augsburg in a letter he sent to the Council on 20th July 1535.<sup>1</sup> On the same day Luther dispatched an amicable letter to the pastors in the city. Addressed to, 'Venerabilibus in Domino viris et charissimus fratibus, ministris Ecclesiae Augustanae sinceris et fidelibus', this bore no trace of Luther's former hostility towards the pastors.<sup>2</sup> He claimed that the receipt of the doctrinal statement had been the happiest event in his life. In the event, the services of Rhegius could not be secured and in his place Dr. Johann Forster, a trusted friend of Luther, was sent to Augsburg from Wittenberg.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of this process of conciliation the Council showed little regard for doctrinal decisions and the effect of the religious realignments upon the Protestant Church in the city. The Council was prepared to ignore the teachings of its own pastors on the Eucharist, and when for example Keller attempted to resist this, the Council used the authority of the Bestallung over the pastors, to force compliance upon them. The events of 1535 did not mark a mass conversion of councillors to Lutheranism, for as Forster was to find, the Council forced the pastors to agree to public statements of doctrine, but did little to enforce changes in the services and preaching within the parish churches.<sup>4</sup>

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1 W.A., Br. W., vol. 7, p.210.

2 Ibid., p.213.

3 Ibid., p.220.

4 W. Germann, op.cit., p.101.

The correspondence between Luther, Forster and Huber shows that they all continued to be suspicious of the sincerity of the pastors and the commitment of the Council to Lutheranism.<sup>1</sup> When Luther wrote to the pastors in October 1535, he stated his belief that the populace had been corrupted by Catholic abuses, but he also implied criticism of the pastors by suggesting that the moral condition of the populace had never been lower than at that time.<sup>2</sup>

From Luther's point of view, the religious situation in Augsburg was far from ideal, but he was responsive to the threat to German Protestantism from Habsburg power. Since the Torgau Declaration of 1530 Luther had recognised, albeit unwillingly, that resistance to the Emperor could under certain circumstances be justified. The fears aroused in 1535 and 1536 by the apparent revival of imperial and Catholic power were as real in North Germany as they were in Augsburg. They pointed towards the need for Protestant unity, and with it a strengthening of the Schmalkaldic League. On both sides there was a new willingness to negotiate and compromise. The clearest sign of this was the suggestion by Luther for a conference of pastors to achieve lasting unity and accord within the Protestant Church. The suggestion was made by Luther in separate letters of 5th October to the Council and the pastors.<sup>3</sup> At the same time invitations were sent to the Protestant clergy in Strasbourg, Ulm and Esslingen.

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1 Ibid., p.96.

2 W.A., Br. W., vol. 7, p.288.

3 W.A., Br. W., vol. 7, pp.289-292.

There was great concern within the Council that these discussions should be successful in establishing religious unity.<sup>1</sup> The loss or destruction of the detailed Council records and correspondence from this period make it difficult to discover the attitude within the Council and city to the Wittenberg negotiations. The correspondence of the leading theologians who were present at the discussions gives some insight into the theological issues debated, but it is difficult to construct from this evidence the role or the actions of the Augsburg Council. The representatives of the Augsburg pastorate present at the meeting were Musculus and Wolfahrt, who succeeded in making a favourable impression upon Luther.<sup>2</sup> Forster, however, believed that they were acting upon the instructions of the Council and not following their own inclinations.<sup>3</sup> When the terms of the Wittenberg Concord, which emerged as a result of these discussions, became known in Augsburg, they were welcomed by the Council and citizens and accepted by the pastors.<sup>4</sup> To the Council the Wittenberg Concord seemed to remove the religious barriers which had distanced Augsburg from the Schmalkaldic League. At the same time the rising political threat posed by the Catholic powers, strengthened by the impending summoning of a General Council of the Church, prompted the Elector of Saxony to abandon his scruples over entering an alliance with Augsburg and the other cities of Upper Germany. The

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1 St. A.A., Literalien, 13th April, 1535.

2 W.A., Br. W., vol. 7, p.421.

3 W. Germann, op.cit., p.146.

4 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.262 and 274.

wealth and resources of these cities made them now appear to be useful allies. At the meeting of the Schmalkaldic League in May 1536 the application of the city for membership of the League was accepted.<sup>1</sup>

The major changes which occurred in the domestic politics and foreign policy of Augsburg between 1535 and 1537 mark a new phase in the Reformation in the city. By 1535 the magistrates had taken control of the Protestant movement and were successful in imposing major doctrinal changes upon it, and in establishing a system of religious organisation and discipline which no longer presented a challenge to the authority of the ruling oligarchy. Prior to 1534 the Council had been on the defensive before a popular Protestant movement, in which an alliance of pastors and populace had challenged the spiritual and secular authorities. After 1534 the Protestant Church was brought under the dominance of the Council, whose rule it upheld in return for official recognition and support. The most important step in this development was for the Council to win control over the words and actions of the pastors, for it was only through this that the agreement with the Schmalkaldic League was obtained, and a religious settlement similar to that of Strasbourg imposed.

In his memorandum to the Council of 1533 Musculus had demonstrated how this control could be achieved.<sup>2</sup> He held out the inducement that once the Council had committed itself to the Protestant cause by passing Reformation legislation, it would be

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1 Ibid., pp.287-8.

2 See p. 326.

possible for the authorities to regulate the conduct of the pastors through a Bestallung, or contract. Musculus had recognised the dislike of the authorities of the political activities of the pastors, and he realised that the possibility of curtailing these would be welcomed by the Council. The difficulties which the authorities had experienced in maintaining control of the city had been increased by its inability to discipline or control the pastors, who relied on their support from the populace. This alliance of pastors and people had created a powerful political pressure group within the city which the Council had to remove if it was to retain its dominance.

The apparent defeat of the Council in 1534 had played a crucial part in this process, for following the advice of Musculus, the Council insisted that the pastors agree to the terms of a Bestallung devised by the secular authorities, in return for granting them a monopoly of preaching.<sup>1</sup> An acute lack of documentation surrounding these events precludes a detailed investigation of how the Council persuaded the pastors to accept the restraints of a Bestallung or how the pastors reacted to its imposition. They may have been influenced by events in Strasbourg in 1534, which revealed the danger posed by sectarians, and the need for the civil authorities to protect the Church and the Gospel.<sup>2</sup> Certainly Musculus was closely associated with Bucer in his campaign against the radicals

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1 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, January, 1535, fol. 150.

2 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.222.

in Strasbourg,<sup>1</sup> although a similar threat was not apparent in Augsburg. The pastors may also have welcomed the Bestallung for it committed the Council to open support and defence of the Protestant Reformation. They knew that in return for their compliance they would receive a salary and the protection of the Council against arrest or persecution from their Catholic enemies.

The original Bestallung signed by Wolfahrt survives in the Staats und Stadtbibliothek at Augsburg.<sup>2</sup> Another identically worded but later Bestallung signed by Forster, survives in the Stadtarchiv of Augsburg and has been printed by Sehling.<sup>3</sup> Wolfahrt's Bestallung shows that the Council intended it to be an effective restraint upon him. The terms it imposed revealed what the authorities considered the duties and responsibilities of the pastors to be, and what actions they were to avoid. Particular emphasis was given to the duty of obedience which Wolfahrt owed to the Council,<sup>4</sup> and the responsibility he had to preach obedience to the populace,

... to preach that the subjects (underthanen), are obedient (gehorsam) to their appointed rulers.<sup>5</sup>

Wolfahrt was forced to accept restraints on his conduct, which

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1 Ibid., p.225.

2 See Appendix 3.

3 E. Sehling (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, vol. 12 (Tübingen, 1963), pp.46-8.

4 Appendix 3, line 23, p.426.

5 Ibid., line 10, p.425.

would make impossible a repetition of the events of 1534 when the pastors used popular unrest to constrain the Council to pass religious legislation.<sup>1</sup> He promised that he would write and say in his sermons nothing which attacked the authorities, the common good or public order. The Council specifically stipulated that Wolfahrt should not preach so as to stir up the common man against the Council, nor to create unrest, dissatisfaction or division.<sup>2</sup> Wolfahrt was instead to remind the populace in his sermons that authority was established by God, and was therefore to be obeyed.

In order to prevent a repetition of the attempt of the pastors to organise an appeal to the Large Council in 1533,<sup>3</sup> Wolfahrt was forced to promise that he would never join a conspiracy, group or discussion which was directed against the Council or designed to cause civic unrest. On the contrary, in the event of there being civic unrest and disobedience, Wolfahrt was to condemn these acts from the pulpit. The Council was also concerned to destroy the connection between evangelical doctrine and popular unrest, which had been seen, for example, in 1525 when scriptural proof had been used to justify rebellion against the authorities.<sup>4</sup> The Council insisted that Wolfahrt should always refute any claim that its rule was contrary to the will of God.<sup>5</sup> The weapon of

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1 See p.344.

2 Appendix 3, line 4, p.425.

3 See p.307.

4 P. Blickle, Die Revolution von 1525, pp.141-3.

5 Appendix 3. 'Ob sich aber begeben, das die Obrigkeit in Ir Regierung (das got gnediglich verhueten woll) wider Gott offentlich unnd gefarlich hanndlen wurd, Soll und will Ich das... Canntzel ausszufueren nit understeen'.

scriptural justification for breaking secular and canon laws, which the Council itself had used in 1534 against the Emperor and the Church, was not in future to be employed against the Council. This statement constitutes a determined defence against the encroachment of theocratic principles; for the Council was defending its right to govern without censure or reference to what either the populace or the pastors considered to be the will of God. If any conflict should arise between Church and Council, Wolfahrt promised he would publicly support only the mayors. By conceding these points he had undertaken to give his full support to the authorities, in his capacity as a pastor, and to condemn and resist any who opposed the Council.

The authorities also used the opportunity of the Bestallung to restrict the doctrinal as well as the political utterances of the pastors. Wolfahrt promised to preach

... the Holy Gospel and pure Word of God,<sup>1</sup>

a definition open to wide interpretation. To avoid this confusion he undertook to introduce no doctrinal innovation, nor anything which would bring him into conflict with the other pastors. Any changes in doctrine in Augsburg could henceforth be introduced only after authorisation by the Council, which had by this measure gained the control over religious doctrine and disputes which it had long sought. It was through this authority that the Council was able to force the pastors to accept the mediation of Bucer between Augsburg and Luther, and to agree to the Wittenberg Concord.

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1 Ibid.

The Bestallung specifically forbade Wolfahrt and the other preachers from redefining doctrines amongst themselves and attempting to force new beliefs on the Council.<sup>1</sup> The pastors clearly acknowledged the danger of restricting their freedom over doctrinal discussion and insisted that the Lutheran Forster be forced to accept an identical Bestallung with the same restrictions when he arrived in Augsburg.<sup>2</sup>

In order to provide some effective sanction to enforce its claims, the Council gained the agreement of Wolfahrt to a clause by which he acknowledged the power of the authorities to dismiss him whenever they wished if he, '... no longer pleased'. From the example of Schilling in 1524, the Council could remember the difficulty of removing preachers who had widespread popular support, for this could lead to violent demonstrations in their favour.<sup>3</sup> To avoid a recurrence of this Wolfahrt promised not to protest against any decision by the Council to dismiss him, but to leave quietly. In addition to these special controls the pastors agreed in the Bestallung to pay all civic taxes and obey the civic courts, preventing any claim for clerical exemption being raised by the pastors. In return for his consent to these conditions Wolfahrt was to be paid 150 gulden per annum in quarterly instalments, and was to be granted the Schutz und Schirm which the Council of Augsburg gave to all its citizens.

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1 Ibid., line 22, p.424.

2 W. Germann, op.cit., pp.114-5.

3 See p.126.

The acceptance of the Bestallung by the pastors in Augsburg in March 1535 marked a turning point in the establishment of the Protestant Church in Augsburg. It made the pastors subservient to the secular authorities and facilitated the process through which the Council could disassociate the demands for religious change from social and political grievances. At the same time the achievement of control over the pastors allowed the Council full direction of events in the city. The introduction of the Bestallung marked the beginning of the magisterial Reformation. Once the Council had gained this dominance it began to plan measures which would incorporate the Protestant movement into the institutional life of the city. The Council also used its power to moderate and re-direct the demands of the pastors, and to ensure that the challenge to authority which the Reformation had created was ended.<sup>1</sup> Instead control over the Protestant Church was to be used to strengthen the rule of the Council over the city.

The commitment to the Protestant pastors by the Council shown in the Bestallung, and the entry of the city into the Schmalkaldic League, marked a crucial turning point in the Reformation in Augsburg. Any attempt to follow a middle way had been abandoned and the fear of religious discontent in the city had forced the Council to accept Protestant doctrines and become an opponent of the religious and political policies of the Emperor. The religious situation in Augsburg, however, remained ambiguous, for even though

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1 Cf., S. Ozment, op.cit., p.130.

the city had tied itself to the Protestant cause by its membership of the League, it was not itself a Protestant city, insofar as it tolerated both the presence of the Catholic clergy and the celebration of the Mass. The Council had not achieved full control over spiritual life and jurisdiction in Augsburg, neither had it secularised the property of the Church, with the exception of the endowments administered by the Zechpfleger.<sup>1</sup> After many years of attempting to appear neutral in the religious disputes by a refusal to take decisive action against the Catholic Church, the Council had by the middle of 1536, little to lose by progressing towards a complete Reformation. It believed the protection of the Schmalkaldic League was a defence against retaliation from the Emperor and other Catholic powers, and the example of other cities, notably Strasbourg, indicated that positive political advantages could be achieved from the establishment of a Protestant order which regulated the lives of the citizens.<sup>2</sup> From the point of view of the Council, the introduction of religious reforms which enhanced the power and authority of the magistrates and urged the people to obedience had a number of advantages. It would raise the standard of Christian life in the community, which would bring the favour of God upon Augsburg, and it also provided a means for the oligarchy to restore and increase its control over the city.

There were strong forces at work in Augsburg in 1536 in favour of the abolition of the Mass and the total removal of Catholicism.

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1 See p. 345.

2 M. Chrisman, op.cit., pp.226-8.

Lack of direct evidence makes it difficult to identify where these ideas originated and who provided them with the strongest support. Luther and Forster were at one with the Catholics in urging the Council to avoid any further measures of religious reform, which would inevitably infringe the rights and property of the Bishop, Cathedral Chapter and religious houses, and antagonise the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> These arguments which had tempered the actions of the Council in 1534 were not, however, to be heeded in 1537. In order to explain the events Roth used the scanty evidence to create a scenario which closely mirrored the situation between 1533 and 1534.<sup>2</sup> Using the knowledge that Bucer, Musculus and Wolfahrt were preaching in favour of a completion of the Reformation in Augsburg in 1536, Roth believed that a situation was created in which, as in 1534, the pastors inflamed popular feeling in favour of such a reform to so high a pitch that it could not be ignored by the Council.

There are some misleading flaws in this interpretation which give a distorted view of the events between 1536 and 1537. In particular, Roth did not take account of the important change which had taken place in Augsburg since 1533, which placed major obstacles in the way of any attempt by the pastors to challenge the authority of the Council. Since 1535 every pastor had accepted a Bestallung, and although their motives for doing so and the means used by the Council to enforce the terms of this agreement are unclear, it is certain that the restraints imposed upon the pastors by the Bestallung were

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1 W.A., Br. W., vol. 7, p.461, and F. Roth, op.cit., p.294.

2 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.288-91.

effective. They had allowed the Council to force the pastors to alter their doctrine of the Eucharist in the statement of belief devised by Luther, and as a result of this the Council has been able to enforce the terms of the Wittenberg Concord on the pastors. In 1536 the pastors were no longer free to preach as they wished, and if Bucer, Musculus and Wolfahrt were making demands in their sermons for further religious reforms, they must have had the permission of the Council. In this case rather than being forced into action by the weight of popular pressure, the Council was in fact encouraging the sermons to provide itself with scriptural and political justification for the introduction of its own Reformation legislation.

An example of this process was the publication of a pamphlet in Augsburg, under the joint authorship of Musculus and Bucer justifying the call for religious reform despite legal objections.<sup>1</sup> For this purpose Musculus had translated a text of St. Augustine directed against the Donatist heresies in Africa. In his attack St. Augustine criticised the imperial authorities for the protection they were giving to the heretics maintaining that in the defence of Christianity and the suppression of heresy, any minor authority was justified in breaking

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1 W. Musculus, Von Ampt der oberkait in sachen der religion und Gotsdienst. Ain bericht auss gotlicher schrifft des hailigen alten lerers und Bischoffs Augustani/an Bonifacium den kayserlichen kriegs Grauen inn Aphrica. In Teütsch gezogen durch Wolfgangum Meusslin/Prediger beym Creutz zu Augspurg. Mit ainer Vorede/und zu end des Buchs mit ainem kurtzen bericht von der allgemainen kirchen Marti Bucer.

This pamphlet had originally appeared in Strasbourg, cf. M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.225.

imperial law.<sup>1</sup> The parallel between the protection given to the Donatist and that afforded the Catholics by various emperors was readily apparent, but it was emphasised in an introduction and conclusion by Bucer. He also stressed his long held belief that governments should protect their subjects from the falsehoods of Catholicism<sup>2</sup> as all people must be able to hear the Gospel if they were to find grace.<sup>3</sup> This pamphlet carried the names of the authors and printers and presumably had the sanction of the Council for Musculus had in his Bestallung promised not to publish his views without the permission of the authorities.<sup>4</sup> There was no attempt to conceal or suppress this invitation to the Council to reform, which was designed to illustrate the legal and religious justification for the introduction of the Reformation.

There are scarcely any records of the meetings of the Thirteen for 1536, and it is impossible to establish the role or the attitude of the Council during this campaign. Events were to show, however, that the Council approved of the demands and may even have instigated them. The duty the Council believed it had to fulfil its Christian duty to its citizens formed the basis of a pamphlet which it later published to justify the introduction of further laws

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1 Ibid.

2 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, p.79.

3 M. Chrisman, op.cit., p.86.

4 See p.391.

for religious reform.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Council, or at least a powerful group within it, now favoured the introduction of further measures of religious reform. Roth made much of the evidence of Forster, that prior to the Council elections for 1537 the pastors, himself excluded, urged the populace to vote only for guild representatives who favoured the Reformation. This agitation then created an atmosphere in which the new Council was forced to act.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of Forster may also contain some polemicism and resentment, for he shared the view of Luther that Augsburg should await the results of a General Council of the Church before introducing new Reformation legislation.<sup>4</sup> He was doing all within his power to disassociate himself, in the eyes of Luther and the Emperor, from the course of events in Augsburg and the accuracy of his account is therefore suspect. There is also no evidence to substantiate the claim made by Forster that in 1536 and 1537 the fear of imperial retribution striking Augsburg if the city enforced the Reformation, prompted many of the wealthy to flee the city.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Ausschreiben an die Römisch Kaiserlich und Königliche maiestaten/unsere allergnedigste Herren/auch dess hailigen Römischen Reichs Churfürsten/Fürsten/Graven/Herren/Frey. und Reichstett/von Burgermaister unnd Ratgeben des hailigen Reichstatt Augspurg/Abtuung der Pöpstlichen Mess/unnd annderer ergerlichen Ceremonien und Missbreuch belangende (Augsburg, 1537).

2 W. Germann, op.cit., pp.115-6.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.288-91.

4 W.A., Br. W., vol. 7, pp.460-2.

5 W. Germann, op.cit.

There was certainly no large scale flight of the rich as occurred for example in Strasbourg in 1548.<sup>1</sup>

The speed with which the Council acted to introduce and enforce the Reformation, within days of assuming office indicated that a high degree of unity existed within its ranks. The wrangling and hesitations which the councillors, in 1533, had required a year to overcome before introducing religious changes, were not apparent in 1537. The speed of the process also suggested that this was not a new scheme which had suddenly been forced upon the authorities as a result of the recent elections, for the new Council could not have had sufficient time to prepare the legislation and plan its execution. The evidence points towards this being a long-term plan of the Council for which careful preparations had been made some time in advance.

The major difficulty for the Council proved to be finding men willing to take the responsibility for the introduction of the legislation and to risk the incrimination this would bring. The fear of being held culpable by the Emperor for this act of defiance, may explain the extreme lack of official documents concerning the events. Mang Seitz, who was unpopular in the city on account of his arrogance and financial transactions,<sup>2</sup> took his turn as the mayor representing the guilds, but the patrician mayor Ulrich Rehlinger, a Protestant supporter, resigned his office pleading

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1 T. Brady, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, pp.280-7.

2 Preu, p.72.

old age and infirmity.<sup>1</sup> There were difficulties in finding a patrician replacement for Rehlinger<sup>2</sup> but eventually the choice fell upon Hans Welser. He was known to be an ardent Protestant supporter but had only served on the Council for one year.<sup>3</sup> He did his utmost to avoid holding the office claiming lack of experience and ability, and he also stressed that his family did not wish him to hold the office as they feared the consequences of government policy would damage the Welser business.<sup>4</sup> Clearly the Welsers feared retaliation from the Emperor against their commercial interests if they were seen to be assisting the Reformation in Augsburg. Welser was forced by his colleagues to become mayor as he rejected the alternative of leaving the city and renouncing his citizen rights.

The Reformation legislation was approved by the Small Council on 16th January, only eight days after it had taken office, and on the following day it was approved by a special meeting of the Large Council.<sup>5</sup> The authorities were acting with speed and resolution

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1 Ibid., p.74.

2 The decline in the number of patrician families by the early sixteenth century left only a few individuals eligible for this office.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.311.

4 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.339, '... dass er von seinen lieben herrn vatter und gepruedern zu furstand irs gewerbs und von merer gelegenhait wegen ires handls alher verordnet worden, dem er nun bei dem schweren ampt nit dermassen, wie ir notturfft eraisch, obligen und ausswarten mög, das dann irer handtierung nit zu klainer ver hinderung raichen werde.'

5 Preu, p.75.

and without consulting others in order to present the Reformation in Augsburg as a fait accompli, both to the allies and enemies of the city. The measures approved by the Large Council attacked the Catholic Church in the city in three crucial areas. Firstly, the Council firmly committed itself to the Protestant cause by the immediate abolition of the Mass and prohibition against its celebration in Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the Council insisted that all the Catholic clergy and their servants should accept citizenship and civic responsibilities and taxes, including swearing an oath of allegiance to the Council. Thirdly, it was decided that until a General Council met and decided on the issue, all pictures and statues in the churches were to be removed and stored.<sup>2</sup> This was not an invitation for iconoclasm as the offending articles were to be removed only by the workmen of the Council, 'ordentlich und unzerprohen', and here the councillors were protecting tombs and family chapels as well as the endowments of their ancestors.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this monks and nuns were to be encouraged to leave their houses and those who resisted were to be subjected to regular Protestant preaching. The convent of St. Niklaus was to be closed and the nuns moved to St. Katharina, even though these were different

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1 An official version of the meeting of the Large Council is printed by, F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.360-4.

2 Ibid.

3 A similar situation had existed in Strasbourg in 1525. 'The regime recognized the residual property rights of the descendants of donors in the objects donated and permitted them to rescue and take home the material fruits of ancestral piety.' T. Brady, op.cit., p.221.

orders.<sup>1</sup> The exemption of St. Katharina was of importance for this house had been granted imperial protection by Charles V in 1530, as the nuns had feared intervention by the Council.<sup>2</sup> The civic authorities clearly were doing their utmost to avoid giving their Catholic enemies a pretext for intervention.

The Council insisted that it was acting from religious motives and that the legislation was intended to remove the abuses of Catholicism from the city.<sup>3</sup> The Mass was abolished because it could not be justified from Scripture and because the Council believed it diminished the honour of God. Similarly, statues and pictures were removed as '... verzweifelter, gotloser aberglaub, der eren und dem befelch gottis zuwider'.<sup>4</sup> The new laws were proclaimed in the city on the following day, the 18th of January, and simultaneously a delegation from the Council informed the Cathedral Chapter and then the remaining monks and nuns of the new laws. All Catholic clergy were given eight days to comply or leave the city and the Council refused the request of the Chapter for

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1 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, pp.360-4.

2 St. A.A., Literalien, 1530, fol. 92, 6th October.

3 F. Roth, Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 2, p.360, 'Zu plantzung und merung der ere des almechtigen, auch erhaltung christenlicher, erlicher, guter policei und burgerlichs, friedlichs lebens'.

4 Ibid. The Council did not provide scriptural justification for demanding the citizenship of the clergy, but maintained it would lead to, '...guter, christenlicher, friedlicher policei entgegen aber abfal, unsicherhait und zertrennung der burgerschafft, auch alle ungleichait und der genannten gaistlichen frechait.'

more time to consider its position.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the clergy chose to leave. The Chapter, the nuns of St. Ursula and the remaining monks of Hl. Kreuz went to Dillingen and the abbot and monks of St. Ulrich, with one exception, left for the monastery's country estates.<sup>2</sup> Forster believed that Musculus wished every Catholic inhabitant to be expelled, but the Council would not agree, although a watch was placed on the city gates to stop people slipping out at night to hear Mass.<sup>3</sup>

Having seized control of the religious situation in Augsburg, the Council commissioned Bucer to frame regulations which would govern religious life and the newly established Protestant church, a task similar to that which he had recently completed in Strasbourg.<sup>4</sup> The results were the Kirchenordnung and the Zucht und Polizeiordnung, which re-imposed a uniformity of religious observance on the community. The power of the secular authorities was employed to enforce a Protestant religious settlement but there remained a clear division between Church and State with the Ordnungen clearly establishing the predominance of the secular over the religious authorities. The force of the Gospel had been used to enhance the power of the oligarchy. The situation in Augsburg therefore closely resembled that described by Naujoks in Ulm.<sup>5</sup> In both cities the

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1 Ibid., p.315.

2 Ibid., pp.316-7.

3 St. A.A., Dreizehner Protokoll, 3, fol. 231.  
W. Germann, op.cit., p.187.

4 E. Weyrauch, Konfessionelle Krise und soziale Stabilität, p.110.

5 E. Naujoks, op.cit., pp.76-8.

rulers had faced the problems of popular unrest and the demands by their pastors for a theocratic organisation of government. In both cases the councils resisted giving the pastors legal powers to control the lives and morals of the citizens until the rulers were in a position to force the pastorate into subservience. In Ulm and Augsburg the officials responsible for enforcing the Zuchtordnung were chosen by the councils, not the pastors, and were directly responsible to the secular authorities which placed firm limits upon their powers.<sup>1</sup>

An investigation of the new regulations for the Church and moral life of the citizens reveals the political as well as the religious implications of the legislation. The attempt to impose Christian ideals on a community was not new<sup>2</sup> but the regulations of 1537 gave the Council a novel and unprecedented degree of control over the Church and the people in the city. Bucer was undoubtedly concerned that through the legislation the spiritual life of the city would be improved and a stable religious settlement established. The majority of the new regulations reflected this concern but they also show that in certain key areas the Council had achieved, through this legislation, many of its long-term political aims. This is shown in the Kirchenordnung with the repeated affirmation that the Council was the highest authority in the city, with jurisdiction

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1 The Kirchenordnungen is printed in, E. Sehling (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI Jahrhunderts, (Tübingen, 1963), pp.50-64.

2 S. Ozment, op.cit., pp.33-4.

over the bodies and the souls of its subjects.<sup>1</sup>

The religious legislation provided the Council with the means to restore civic unity and religious peace. The pastors were directed that they were to include in their sermons admonitions to the citizens for love and unity within the city.<sup>2</sup> This also applied to the pastors who were ordered to preach only according to the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>3</sup> The form for all church services was closely regulated and the Ordnung specifically mentioned that Musculus who preached at Hl. Kreuz and Keller at the Franciscans, both of whom followed a different order of worship, were to conform to the new regulations.<sup>4</sup> The Council stipulated what prayers<sup>5</sup> and what hymns<sup>6</sup> could be used during services and made strict rules governing the sermons of the pastors. On Sundays and festival days the sermons were not to last for more than one hour, as the common people (and doubtless some councillors) could not concentrate beyond that time.<sup>7</sup> Texts were to be simple to avoid confusing the congregation and sermons were to be arranged

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1 For example, E. Sehling, Kirchenordnungen, p.53. 'Weil sich dann auch ain erbar rat geren als ain christenliche oberkait beweisen wolte, auch uber alle seelen den obern gewalt hat.'

2 Ibid., p.50.

3 Ibid., p.51.

4 Ibid., p.56.

5 Ibid., pp.67-72.

6 Ibid., p.64.

7 Ibid., p.58.

to cover all the books of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> During weekday sermons, which were limited to half an hour, the pastors were to read from and explain the Gospels.<sup>2</sup> Certain weekday sermons were in Latin, for the instruction of scholars, but to ensure the ordinary people were not excluded these were followed by a German summary.<sup>3</sup>

All the pastors in Augsburg were reminded that they were subject to the Council, which alone was responsible for religious organisation in the city.<sup>4</sup> All the pastors had to adhere to the communion service devised by Bucer which affirmed the Real Presence.<sup>5</sup> In each parish church every Sunday the pastors had to recite identical prayers including prayers for all secular authorities, especially the Council.<sup>6</sup> The guidance of God was sought for the Council, followed by prayers that its subjects should be obedient.<sup>7</sup> Prayers for the Council and pastors were followed by prayers for the rich and poor of the city.<sup>8</sup> The Council could no longer call on a belief in Good Works to persuade people to assist the poor, but it reminded the pastors that they must remind their congregations of

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1 Ibid., p.56.

2 Ibid., p.49.

3 Ibid., p.59.

4 Ibid., p.60.

5 Ibid., p.81 '... mit warem glauben jetzund empfaen und niessen seinen waren leib und wares bluot, ja in selb.'

6 Ibid., p.70.

7 Ibid., 'Den undertanen aber gib ain willig, glimpfigs herz, der oberkait in allem, das nit wider dich ist, zu gehorsamen.'

8 Ibid.

the Christian duty to help the poor by contributing towards the poor relief each time they attended Church.<sup>1</sup> To ensure that the regulation concerning child baptism were followed and Anabaptist practises forbidden, all children had to be publically baptised in their parish church during the Sunday service.<sup>2</sup>

The legislation imposed religious uniformity on Augsburg and it ensured that the doctrines and activities of the pastors should not be harmful to the interests of the Council, indeed, wherever possible, they were to assist and uphold the authorities. In this respect there is little evidence of the concern for corporate salvation described by Moeller, much more a drive by the oligarchy to assert its dominance over the community.<sup>3</sup> The regulations were designed with religious objectives in mind, but they also clearly had a secular dimension. A similar aspect was visible in the efforts to enforce moral discipline on the city. The Council believed that the pastors had a duty to admonish, warn and direct sinners, and they were especially instructed to preach against wordliness and arrogance.<sup>4</sup> These warnings were particularly to be directed towards the young who were to be urged to be respectful and obedient.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Ibid., pp.61-2.

2 Ibid., p.63.

3 B. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, p.103.

4 E. Sehling, op.cit., p.61.

5 Ibid., p.62.

In order to maintain order and discipline within the Church the Kirchenordnung of 1537 ordered the establishment of a Konvent, formed from the pastors, their assistants, the Pröbste from each parish, and an official of the Council.<sup>2</sup> This was to meet regularly to discuss the condition of the Church and the conduct of its own members,<sup>3</sup> but all its decisions had to be ratified by the Council.<sup>4</sup> This organisation closely resembled that which Bucer had earlier established in Strasbourg.<sup>5</sup> In addition the pastors and Pröbste in each parish were to assist those they considered to be sinners to improve their lives by warnings and instruction. If however the sinners proved to be recalcitrant they were to be refused communion and if this failed they were to be reported to the Council which would deal with them as it saw fit.<sup>6</sup> Clearly the Council was eager for the assistance of the Church in the suppression of misconduct, sin and crime, but at no point was it suggested that the clergy should have the power of excommunication, a term which was carefully avoided. The punishment of offenders remained with the Council which had carefully restricted the power of the pastors and Pröbste. The Council was the supreme

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- 1 The parish Pröbste had been established in 1533 although the documentation concerning this has not survived.
  - 2 E. Sehling, op.cit., p.51.
  - 3 Ibid., pp.52-3. Members were however warned to avoid rancour and personal bitterness.
  - 4 Ibid., p.53.
  - 5 E. Weyrauch, op.cit., pp.112-3.
  - 6 E. Sehling, op.cit., p.54.

authority in Augsburg and it was clearly unwilling to share its power with the Church.

The legislation controlling the Church was supplemented in August 1537 by a Zuchtordnung.<sup>1</sup> This was designed to raise the standard of Christian observance in the community and ensure that spiritual discipline was enforced. As such it served to enhance rather than challenge the political objectives of the Council, by its maintenance of unity and order in the city. In the introduction to the Zuchtordnung the Council stated its view that the preaching of the Gospel had encouraged people to reject sinful ways, but that moral laws were essential for the defence of the Christian Church, the glory of God and the benefit of public order. The Zuchtordnung was, '... zu pflanzung aller Zucht und Erberkait/Auch erhaltung guter Pollicey.'<sup>2</sup> A system of Zuchtpolizei could be useful for the Council in the identification and punishment of crime, which could then also be identified as a transgression against the laws and will of God. There was however the danger that such a system could develop into a rival authority to that of the Council, particularly if the pastors were given an independent role in the policing of morals. The legislation in Augsburg avoided this by ensuring that the Zuchtherren were nominated by the Council and serious offences were dealt with by the mayors or the Council.<sup>3</sup> The system was

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1 St. A.A., Ratserlasse 1507-99. Ains Erbern Rats der Stat Augsburg Zucht und Pollicey Ordnung.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

strengthened by the call to all inhabitants to report to the Council, any whom they knew to be recalcitrant sinners.<sup>1</sup>

Much of the legislation was prompted by religious concerns, for example the measures against blasphemy, those urging regular church attendance and the enforcement of marriage laws, although the Council recognised that this was also a matter of social concern. Other measures affected the secular authorities more directly in their efforts to enforce peace, order and discipline in the city. Libellous songs which could cause unrest and damage authority were forbidden on the pain of fine and imprisonment.<sup>2</sup> Drunkenness was also condemned as a sin because it led to disturbances. To avoid this no drinks were to be served in the city after 9 p.m. and the Stadtknechte were to visit inns to arrest offenders and report landlords who encouraged drunkenness in their establishments. A large section of the Zuchtordnung was devoted to the sins of disturbing the peace and spreading false rumours. The Perlach area, situated in the poorest quarter of the city,<sup>3</sup> was recognised as being the most dangerous and volatile area. In this part of the city the carrying of weapons was strictly forbidden with heavy fines for offenders, ranging from seven to fourteen gulden.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid. '... Dardurch Erber gute Pollicey/Frid/und bruderliche Lieb zerrütt und zertrennt wirdt./Auch ander unzelbar argernus und unrat/mit beschwerung aller Oberkait und Erberkait erfolgt.'

3 See p. 33.

4 Ibid.

Causing unrest was considered to be a serious offence to be dealt with by the mayors and again with fines of up to fourteen gulden. If the offender had directed his attack against the Council he was liable to expulsion, mutilation or execution.<sup>1</sup>

In 1537 after many years of temporising and hesitation the Council took action to abolish the Mass and firmly commit Augsburg to Protestantism. The Council, like the ruling authorities in other cities had acted since the 1520's to slow the progress of the Reformation because it feared the consequences which adherence to the movement would have on its relations with the Emperor. It also recognised that a potential political threat existed in using Scriptural justification for disobedience to a higher authority, which might easily be directed against its own power. By 1534 however it was apparent that the pressure in favour of Protestantism in the city could not be resisted. The Council realised there was little hope of a compromise settlement of the religious dispute either at a national or international level. The Council therefore undertook a painstaking process to introduce to Augsburg a Protestant religious settlement designed to restore peace and unity to the city.

With the introduction of the Kirchenordnung and the Zuchtordnung the process of religious reform was completed. From the content of this legislation the result of almost twenty years of intense political and religious activity in Augsburg can be judged. The new settlement was, in part, a victory for those

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1 Ibid.

who had campaigned for religious change, for the Mass was forbidden, the Catholic clergy expelled and a Protestant order of worship imposed on all inhabitants. The complaints against the abuses and laxity of the Catholic Church had resulted in a vigorous new organisation of religious life, which was intended to raise the level of spiritual life for the whole community. These measures of religious reform however only represent one side of the Reformation. The demands for religious change in Augsburg had been closely linked with popular unrest, prompted by demands for political and economic change. The content of the Ordnungen shows that these demands had not been met.

The populace, which had seen in the Reformation the promise and opportunity of social and political change was to have these hopes removed by 1537. Through its control of the Protestant Church and pastors in Augsburg, the Council ensured that the demands for Protestant reforms could not be used by the populace as justification for attacking the power of secular authority. The demands of the pastors for a theocratic form of government, in which the actions of the Council would be governed by religious considerations defined by the pastors, had also been refused. The Council remained in control of policy making and, in addition, made itself the arbiter of religious doctrine and theological disputes. In this way the Council had established the authority of the secular over the spiritual power. By its organisation of the Protestant Church in Augsburg, the oligarchy of the Mehrer had successfully consolidated and increased its control over the community. The force of

religion and Scriptural authority was to be henceforth used to uphold the established power of the Council and to keep the citizens in obedience.

CONCLUSION

The evidence from Augsburg promotes further discussion and a wider understanding of the Reformation in the German imperial cities. The religious disputes which developed after 1517 clearly had a great impact upon both the spiritual and the political life of the city and were rapidly assimilated into other conflicts which already divided civic society. The most striking feature of political life in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century was the high degree of conflict between the Council and the citizens and populace, which constantly threatened to erupt into violence and rebellion. The root of this hostility lay in the resentment felt by the populace against the oligarchy of the Mehrerer, which had been established in the fifteenth century in the wake of the guild revolution. This government had shown itself to be unresponsive to the economic and political demands of the populace, and demonstrated its determination to assume dominance over the political and economic life of the city, ruling as an oligarchy which was not answerable to the guild members. The economic difficulties experienced by many of the inhabitants of the city in the early sixteenth century served to increase the hostility between the wealthy merchant oligarchy and the populace, and aggravate the grievances held against the government and the rich of the city. The religious divisions increased this hostility still further and demonstrated the conflict of interests between the populace and the Council. The theological disputes of the Reformation therefore rapidly became a part of the long-standing political conflict within the city.

An important feature of the Reformation in Augsburg, as in other cities, was the high level of popular support for religious change. This was to prove a major motive force behind the Reformation until 1534, and it was popular demand backed by the threat of rebellion which forced the unwilling Council to accept and enforce religious change in the city. The appeal of Protestantism to the lower orders had a number of motives. The prolonged campaign waged by the populace against the authorities in favour of the Reformation, indicates this support was generated by more than a profound disenchantment and disillusionment with the Roman Catholic Church.- The delay until 1537 before the abolition of the Mass shows that the Council was not directed by strong religious sentiments. Similarly the evidence from Augsburg concerning the widespread shifting of popular religious allegiance after 1525 from Luther to Zwingli indicates a wider motivation than a general desire to revive the concept of a corpus christianum. In Augsburg the popular support for Zwinglian teaching was not based on a desire for corporate unity and identity but on exactly the opposite; for it was viewed as an effective means by which the lower orders could resist the centralising and authoritarian measures of the Council. The principle of theocratic government advanced by the Zwinglian pastors and supported by the populace, undermined the supremacy of the oligarchy in Augsburg by insisting on the subjection of the Council to the rule of God and emphasising its duty to rule to the benefit of the community. This doctrine gave religious justification and provided a rallying point for popular resistance to the oligarchy of the Mehrer. In this way in Augsburg, as in Strasbourg, the age

of the guild revolutions was tied to the Reformation by the anti-oligarchic sympathies of the Zwinglian supporters amongst the populace.<sup>1</sup> The demands were reinforced by the preaching and actions of the Zwinglian pastors, who consciously encouraged and manipulated popular pressure upon the Council in the hope of enforcing the acceptance of a Zwinglian Reformation and a theocratic organisation of government.

The acceptance of Protestant pastors and doctrines in the city was therefore forced by the lower orders upon the Council, which had either to concede or face the threat of imminent rebellion. Individual members of the Council supported demands for religious change and demonstrated strongly anti-clerical sentiments but the Council, as a whole, was not prepared to introduce any changes which would weaken the power of the oligarchy over the city. It was for this reason that the Council attempted to follow a policy of the mitler weg and refused to respond to the demand for the establishment of a Zwinglian religious settlement before 1537. In the summer of 1534 the force of unrest in the city caused by economic hardship and by political and religious grievances amongst the lower orders, and orchestrated by the Zwinglian pastors, forced from the Council a number of concessions. These concerned the organisation of preaching but did not constitute a Reformation, nor a capitulation by the oligarchy to the populace. Instead the authorities used the pastors' fears of sectarianism and Catholic and Imperial retaliation to gain, through the mediating influence of Bucer, doctrinal and

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1 T. Brady, op.cit., p.238.

political concessions. In return for winning the support of the Council the pastors were prepared to drop their demand for a voice in the political affairs of the city. By the Bestallung of 1536 the pastors accepted the authority of the Council over both political life and matters of doctrine. Consequently when the Council legislated for a Protestant Reformation in 1537, the character of the Protestant Church in the city had significantly altered. The threat to oligarchical domination which had been constituted by the widely supported demand for a theocratic form of government was removed. Far from posing a challenge to the Council, the Protestant Church after 1537 offered it support by preaching to the citizens the duty of all to accept and obey the Council. By 1537 the pastors were no longer the mouthpieces of popular grievance, but the servants of the Council.

The evidence from Augsburg therefore shows the need to reconsider certain attitudes towards the Reformation in the imperial cities. The evidence does not support the belief that the desire to create a godly community by the Council and citizens existed as more than rhetoric. The appeal of Protestant theology struck a responsive chord in Augsburg, but the religious demands were seized and manipulated by populace and oligarchy as weapons in a longer and wider political conflict. Protestantism was recognised by the populace as a means of limiting the domination of the oligarchy and constraining it to accept the economic and political as well as the religious dictates of the lower orders. The oligarchy refused to concede these demands and instead, by gaining the compliance of the pastors, successfully used the Protestant movement as a means of

extending and consolidating its control over the city.

Augsburg provides an extreme and important example of the urban Reformation in Germany. The reforms which were enacted during this period were profoundly and permanently to affect civic society and the political and religious life of the community. This study has investigated forces which motivated and shaped these changes, in the belief that through this process, a greater understanding of the Reformation in Augsburg will be achieved, and with it a contribution made towards a deeper understanding of the Reformation in the cities of Germany.

APPENDIX ONE.

MAYORS OF AUGSBURG. 1518-1537.

<u>YEAR.</u>	<u>MAYORS.</u>
1518	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1519	Georg Langenmantel. Ulrich Arzt.
1520	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1521	Georg Langenmantel. Ulrich Arzt.
1522	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1523	Ulrich Rehlinger. Ulrich Arzt.
1524	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1525	Ulrich Rehlinger. Ulrich Arzt.
1526	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1527	Ulrich Rehlinger. Ulrich Arzt.
1528	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1529	Ulrich Rehlinger. Anthoni Bimel.
1530	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1531	Ulrich Rehlinger. Anthoni Bimel.
1532	Georg Vetter. Hieronymous Imhof.
1533	Ulrich Rehlinger. Mang Seitz.

MAYORS OF AUGSBURG.

<u>YEAR.</u>	<u>MAYORS.</u>
1534	Wolfgang Rehlinger. Hieronymous Imhof.
1535	Ulrich Rehlinger. Mang Seitz.
1536	Wolfgang Rehlinger. Johann Haintzel.
1537	Johann Welser. Mang Seitz.

APPENDIX TWO.

THE IMPERIAL SCHUTZBRIEF FOR THE CONVENT OF ST. KATHARINA.

OCTOBER 6TH, 1530.

Wir Karl der funfft von gottes gnaden Romisch Kayser....  
Bekennen fur unns unnd unnsere nachkomen am Reich, offennlich  
mit disem brieve, unnd thun kunt allermenig, Wie wol  
wir aus angeborner guetin unnd kayserlicher miltigkeit,  
allen unnd jedlichen unnsern unnd des heyligen Reichs  
unnderthanen unnd getrewen, gnad und furderung zu beweysen  
genaigt. Jedoch erkennen wir unns mer willig unnd sorgsam  
zu sein, den personen so der welt Ippigkeit zu Rugk  
gelegt haben, unnd got dem allmechtigen, In ainem gaistlichen  
lautern leben, one unnderloss fleissigklich dienen, unser  
gnade zubeweysen unnd mitzutailen, unnd Sie bey frid,  
Rwe unnd gemach, unnd Iren freyhaiten zubehalten unnd  
zubeschirmen. Wan wir nun guetlich angesehen unnd war  
genommen haben der Erber unnsere lieben andechtigen Veronica  
welserin Priorin unnd Convents des Closters Sannt  
Katharina, Sannt dominici ordens, In der Stat Augspurg  
gelegen, Erber gaistlich leben und wesen, Auch den loblichen  
gotsdienst, so sie dergleichen in gemelten Closter on  
unnderloss volbringen.... Auch Ir alt herkomen gebrauch  
unnd gut gewonhaiten die ir vorfordern, unnd sy bissher  
gehabt, unnd loblich hergebracht haben, inn allen iren  
worten, Claisulen, puncten, articulen, unnd begreiffungen  
zu gleycher weyss, als ob die selbe, alle unnd jede, von  
wort zu worten hierinne begriffen unnd geschriben stunden,  
Als Romischer Kayser gnedigklich becrefftiget, Confirmiert  
unnd bestett, unnd darzu die gemelten priorin, Convent

unnd Closter damit~~die~~ selben bey frid unnd Iren Erbern hergebracht wesen beliben, got dem allmechtigen, desterbass gedienen, unnd von nyemandts beschwardt belaidiget oder bekomert werden mögen, in unnsern unnd des heyligen Reichs sonndern verspruch Schutz unnd Schirm genomen unnd einpfanngen. Auch von newem mit disen hernachgeschriben gnaden und freyhaiten begabt unnd fursehen haben. Nemlich das Sie nun hinfuro allain von Irer ordenlichen Obrigkait visitiert, und wider alt herkomen nit beschwungen werdenn, Jemandts weltlichen bey solher visitacion zuleiden oder sitzen zulassen, das sy auch wie von alter herkomen ist, on beysein anderer gaistlichen oder weltlichen, ausgenomen die Obrikait Ires heyligen ordens, priorin, Supriorin, und Schaffnerin mögen erwelen, Unnd das Sie vom Vicari Irs orden bestätt. Auch von den weltlichen oder andern an sollichen nit verhindert. Auch das Inen wider Iren willen kain priorin oder andere Amptfraw ausserhalb der freyen wal oder Election Intrudiert oder geben werd.... Ferrer, das man Inen wider alt herkomen kainen lutterischen, oder sonst dergleichen unchristenlichen prediger wie jetzt newlich bescheen ist, in ir kirchen zu Sannt Katherina stell, sonnder Inen, wie von alter herkomen ist, die predicanten Irs heyligen ordens ainicherlay verhindernus vergönne unnd beleiben lass.... Das Inen hinfuro kain Bawrmaister oder annder weltlichen Amptleut wider Iren willen unnd wider alts herkomen geben werden, Sonder das sy die selben, wie von alter, selbs mögen erkiesen unnd annemen....

St.A.A., Literalien, 6th October, 1530.

APPENDIX THREE.

THE BESTALLUNG OF BONIFACIUS WOLFHART. MARCH 1535.

Ich Bonifacius Wolfard vonn Buchen, Bekenn hiemit diesem  
brieue, unnd thu kunth allermennigklichen, Das die  
Fursichtigen Ersamen unnd weysen meine gunstigen  
gepiettennden herren Burgermaister und Rat der Stat  
Augspurg, Mich zu ainem Predicanten, Lerer, auch der  
Cristlichen kirchen daselbst, unnd Irem diener bestellt  
unnd aufgenommen haben, Dergestalt, das ich zu zeitten  
auch an orten unnd enden alhie zue Augspurg wann unnd  
wo jeder zeit Inen gefellig ist, und Mir von Irentwegen  
angezaigt wirt, das heilig Evangelium unnd rain wort  
Gottes lauter verkunden, ain heilige schrift durch  
die annderen auslegen unnd erkleren. Danebemn das ubel  
der notturft nach anregen wie ainem getrewen Cristenlichen  
Predicanten gezimpft, sennfftmuetig und beschaidenlich  
straffen, unnd von der Canntzel mennigclich in der  
gemain. Aber weder mit benanung noch andeutung sonderer  
personen, von allen falschen Gotsdiennsten, lastern  
unnd sunden, zu der Ehr, auch warem diennst unnd allen  
loblichen tugenden wie sich gepurt, ermanen. Unnd doch  
die wurcklich straff der ubertrettung der underthanen,  
der Obrigkait on allen eintrag, Irrung oder verhinderung  
frey unnd ungemessigt lassen, allain das Ich Si mit  
Cristenlicher beschaidenhait alles böses oder args, so  
offenlich örgeret, nach Irem bevelch unnd wie sich  
nach gestalt der sachen, jeder zeit gepuren mag  
abzustellen. Hingegen was gut unnd besserlich ist

zupflanntzen unnd zuffurdern, in gemain leren und auch gepurlicher weis ermanen soll unnd will. Ob Sich aber begeben, das die Obrigkeit in Ir Regierung (das got gnediglich verhueten woll) wider Gott offenlich unnd unnd gefarlich hanndlen wurd, Soll unnd will Ich das (unru, ungehorsame, oder auch widerwertigkeit bey der gemaind zuverhueten) an offner Canntzel ausszufueren nit understeen, Sonnder solchs zu bessern wie sich der ordnung Cristi, unnd sonst der gelegenheit nach immer gezimmen mag. Zuvorderst den herren Burgermaistern allain furhalten. Unnd so die in dem kain gepurlich oder pillich einsehen thun werden. Alssdann fur ain Erbern Rath wie gepreuchig begeren, unnd daselbst meinen bevelch, gottes willen unnd gebot. Also mein anligen ainem Erbern Rat selbs, der notturfft nach anpringen, verkunden, unnd was dem entgegen getreulich anzaigen. Weiter sol ich ainiche newe ler, die zu Irthumb unnd spaltung raichen möchte nit aufpringen, schreyben, leren, noch predigen, sonnder wo etwas sollichts entstende, des Ich mich mit den andern ains Erbern Rats Predicanten verainbarn wurd, oder nit, so soll Ich doch dasselbig, on sonnder vorwissen, willen unnd vergunst ains Erbern Rats, auch weder predigen, leren noch schreyben, gleichsowenig, als, das die Oberkait derselbigen gericht oder recht undertruckt oder das dero nit so furohin wie bisher gepurende gehorsam gelaistet werden soll. Sonnder soll unnd will Ich alles das zu zersterung oder zerutung der Erberkait, gemaines nutzes

unnd guter Policey oder zu bewegung des gemainen mans wider die Oberkait, oder die Cristen menschen zu Irrung zufuren oder sonst gegen ainander zuerhötzen gedienen, oder ursach geben möcht, auch alle unnd jede anndere erwörkung des unfridens oder unru, in meinen predigen vermeiden. Dartzu mich schehens stumpfierens unnd lesterens (annderst dann als vil ainem prediger ain zimbliche schuldige unnd billiche erinnerung, warnung, straff unnd ermanung an das volck gezimbt unnd zugelassen wurdt) enthalten. Sonnder also predigen, das die underthanen Irer ordenlichen Oberkait gehorsamen unnd Sich dero nit widersetzen sollen. Auch die ordennliche Oberkait, wie es die gegen Gott dem allmechtigen zuverantwurten getraut, Regieren unnd verwalten lassen. Das Ich auch bey kainer conspiracion, bösen, ungetreuen, oder unerbaren anschlegen unnd handlungen, die sich in ainich weis oder weg wider ainen Erbarn Rath unnd gemaind diser Stat Augspurg zu unfrid, oder unruh ziehenn möchten, gegenwertig sein noch zu solchem hilff, Ratt, Beistannd oder gehell geben, Sonnder wo Ich solchs gewar wurde, das Jeder zeit meinen herren den Burgermaistern, on allen vertzug, mit allen nottwendigen umbstenden (wie dann ain jeder frommer getrewer underthan oder diener, das seiner ordenlichen Oberkait oder herschafft zuthun schuldig ist), demselben ubel der gepur nach zubegegnen, unnd das abzustellen wissen, getreulich unnd warhaftig antzaigen, eröffnen unnd daran gar nichts verhalten soll noch will. Zue dem Ich auch gedachten meinen herren, auf Ir anfrag unnd begeren Jeder zeit mit

grund der schrift, nach meinem bessten verstand antworten mit hochsten vleiss Raten unnd zum treulichsten handlen, auch in alle unnd jede andere weg ains Erbern Rats unnd gemainer Stat nutz unnd frommen, wie anndere underthanen Burger unnd diener verpflichtet sein furdern unnd schaden (als vil an mir immer gesein mag) verhueten oder warnen. Dartzu alle unnd jede meine gegenwertige unnd kunfftige unnd ligennde gueter, sovil deren jeder zeit in der Stat Augspurg Etter unnd steur gelegen sein alweg wie Ire Burger versteuren, auch von allem Wein, Bier unnd Mett so ich fur mich selbs unnd zu meinem gewonlichen haushalten alhie, an mich pringen, Welcherlay gestalt sich das gefuegen wurde, wie jeder zeit der Stat Augspurg geprauch ist das ungelt aussrichten. Auch wie die Burger unnd annder diener sambt allen unnd jeden gegenwertigen unnd kunfftigen meinen dienstleuten, umb alle sachen unnd hanndlungen, die seien peinlich oder Burgerlich, kaine aussgenommen, umb die peinlichen, vor ainem Erbern Rath alhie sollich derhalben vermog habender freyhaiten wie annder zu urtailen unnd zustraffen haben, unnd der der Burgerlichen Sachen halben, vor dem Statgericht recht geben und nemen, auch ainem Erbern Rath, als meiner von Got unnd kayserlicher Maiestat gesetzten Oberkait, in allen Iren gepotten unnd verpotten gehorsam, oder umb die ubertrettung dermelbigen, der verschuldtten straffen, wie die Burger gewertig sein, unnd sunst gemainlich alles unnd jedes annders thun unnd lassen soll unnd will, das ainem Cristenlichen fridlichen Predicanten unnd frommen

Erbern diener gepurt unnd zusat. Umb unnd für solche  
meine muhe, dienst unnd verpflichtung Ain Erbarer Rath  
meine gunstigen herren, Mir alle unnd jede Cottenber zu  
rechter angedingter belonung, besoldung unnd dienst gelt  
dreyssig, Siben unnd ain halben guldin Reinisch (trifft  
der Jar Sold hundert unnd funffzig guldin) bezalen. Daneben  
Mich nit weniger dann Ire Burger schutzen, schirmen, auch  
bey frid unnd recht handthaben sollen. Ob aber uber kurtz  
oder lanng zeit Ich Inen zu ainem Predicanten, Lerer  
unnd diener nit mer gefallen, unnd Si mich desshalben,  
oder aus ainicher andern bewegknis urlauben, von unnd  
ab dem Predigamt, leer der kirchen unnd Irem dienst  
abschaffen wurden, des Si alweg vollen gewalt unnd gut  
macht haben, das Ich jeder zeit dasselbig urlauben one  
alles widersprechenn guetlich unnd willig annemen. Und  
alssdann ganntz tugentlich abschaiden soll und will.  
Dergleichen Ich zu jeder zeit urlaub zubitten auch gut  
macht haben, das Mir dann uf mein pitlich begeren gegebenn,  
also das Ich wider nemen willen, weder von ainem Rath,  
noch der gemaind alhie aufgehalten, annders dann das Ich,  
nach erlanngung des urlaubs, noch ain halb jar lang, das  
nechst darnach umb vorigen Sold nach anzal zurechnen ainem  
Erbern Rath diser Stat Augspurg (sover ain Rath das begeren  
wurde). Laut diser meiner bestallung zethun unnd zelassen  
verpflicht sein, pleiben unnd aller erst nach aussgang  
desselbigen halben Jars meiner pflicht ledig gezelt unnd  
erlassen werden soll. Geschehe dann, das Ich uber kurtz  
oder lanng zeit kranckhait, alters oder annderer redlichen

ursachen halben, das Predigampt, der kirchen unnd meiner herren dienst lennger nit verwesenn möcht, so soll unnd wurdt alweg zgedachter meiner Herren ains Erbarñ Rats gutem willen steen, mein dienst zuerkennen und mich in solcher meiner wirigen kranckhait oder alter, nach meinem verdienen unnd wol oder ubel halten zubedencken. Wölche bestallung Ich wolbedachtlich angenommen, darauf dem allen unnd jedem, wie obstat aigenntlich zugeleben unnd nachzukomen, bey meinen Eren, trewen, unnd glauben zugesagt unnd sollichs mit meinem Aid bestetigt, alles getreulich unnd ungeverlich. Des zue warem urkunth, Ich den Ernuesten Herren Allexander Bestler des heiligen Reichs Stat vogt zue Augspurg, das der sein Insigel, doch Im unnd seinenn Erbern on schaden an disen brieff gehennckt, erpetten hab. Solchs meines gepets umb das Insigel geschehen send gezeugen. Die Erbarñ Hanns Prager Goldschmid unnd Ulrich Kraus kistler, baid Burgere daselbst hiertzu sonderlich beruefft unnd pitlich vermöcht. Gebenn auff Achtzehenden Tag marcii. Als man zalt nach Cristi unnsers lieben herren gepurt Tausenndt funffhundert dreyssig unnd funff Jare.

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